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LABOR ACTION

AUGUST 12, 1946

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

FIVE CENTS

Dewey Action Whitewashes Freeport Killer

By ERNEST RICE MCKINNEY

After receiving the report of his "investigator," Lawrence Greenbaum, Governor Dewey has decided to close the Freeport, Long Island, case of the Ferguson-brothers. This is the case of the two Negro brothers, ex-GIs, who were shot and killed by a white policeman, one Joseph Romeika, as they stood in line with their hands over their heads awaiting the arrival of the patrol wagon. The excuse given by Romeika for the shooting was the one usually given by cops after they have murdered somebody: he shot in self-defense, he saw the man drop his hand to his hip.

According to Greenbaum, there was some testimony given in his "investigation" to the effect that one of the brothers talked about having a gun and that one of them "leaned over and dropped his right hand to his hip." One of the brothers is said to have corroborated this. The policeman killed the man who was supposed to have the gun but did not stop there. He immediately fired another shot at one of the others, hitting him in the arm.

It is claimed that this shot went through this man's arm and lodged in the head of one of the brothers who was standing in line, causing his death. This cop was having a real field day with his target practice on the heads, arms and bodies of these Negro ex-GIs. With bullets doing such queer things as going through one man's arm and lodging in the skull of another standing at his side, it is to be wondered how this cop escaped shooting himself.

Furthermore the "investigator" did not answer the question as to why the cop fired the second shot. Charles Ferguson had already been killed. Joseph was standing next to him. The cop fired at Joseph and struck him in the arm. Alphonso was standing beside Joseph and this same bullet after passing through Joseph's arm entered Alphonso's skull killing him! Greenbaum, the "investigator" could not account for the movement of this erratic bullet.

There are some pertinent questions to be asked. Why did this cop fire the second shot. The men were said to have been standing in line with their hands over their heads. Why was Joseph shot with his hands up over his head? Furthermore if Joseph did not have his hands over his head

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Armed Veterans Buck Tennessee Machine

By ABE VICTOR

Arming themselves with pistols, rifles, shotguns and at least one sub-machine gun, a group of ex-GIs stormed a jail in Athens, Tennessee, in a battle against the McMinn County Democratic machine and succeeded in getting all the ballot boxes which the entrenched Democratic machine job-holders had locked up in the jail. Immediately an official of the McMinn machine proclaimed that the reform ticket headed by war veterans had won in the Democratic primary. He pledged to issue election certificates although all the votes had not yet been counted.

This capitulation confirms charges that the McMinn machine had been guilty of practices designed to steal the election. Had the entrenched Democrats been able to prove their innocence they would have appealed to the Governor to intervene in the events on August 1 in Athens.

FOUGHT CRUMP MACHINE

Twenty-three men were wounded, one or two so critically that it was thought possible they might die, in the six hour pitched battle at the county jail on August 1 and in sporadic fighting the morning after. State Senator Paul Cantrell and Sheriff Pat Mansfield, leaders of the machine which had perpetuated itself in county offices for more than ten years and which was charged by the ex-GIs with being bent on winning this primary contest by a falsification of the count, were in hiding.

Former Lieutenant Commander Ralph Duggan and ex-GI James Buttram, a giant of a man and formerly a football player, led the veterans "non-partisan organization" which attempted to supervise the polling and

were provoked into using rifles and submachine guns in order to do so. Their candidate for sheriff was Knox Henry, an overseas veteran and their chief objective seems to have been political reform.

The Cantrell-Mansfield machine is just one example of the Tennessee boss politics. At the same time that veterans took to arms to defend their democratic rights in Athens, the Crump machine was winning another lease-on-life in the rest of the state through machine politics. Senator Kenneth McKellar, backed by the Crump machine, defeated Edward W. Carmack, who was backed by the PAC of the CIO, and won the Democratic nomination which means virtual election. Here as elsewhere the CIO follows the abominable policy of refusing to run independent labor candidates.

BOLTE STATEMENT

Charles G. Bolte, national chairman of the American Veterans Committee, asserted on August 2 that the election struggle in Athens, Tennessee, was "part of a fight that veterans are carrying on for clean elections" throughout the United States.

He said the Tennessee veterans were "driven to violence to get a fair count of the ballots."

Bolte called on former GIs to "make it their business from now until November, at every primary and election, to see that a fair count is given to all candidates so that the practice of good government becomes a reality everywhere in America."

He said that the AVC, a World War II veterans' organization, cannot condone violence, "but that conditions which provoked the Athens struggle were shameful!"

WP Candidates Rap 79th Congress Record

"With a criminal record of neglect of housing, health, minimum wages, FEPC, elimination of the poll tax, Federal anti-lynch bill, and many other things needed desperately by the American working class, the Seventy-Ninth Congress adjourned last week without setting a date for reconvening." These were the comments made by Max Shachtman and Ernest Rice McKinney, Workers Party candidates for Congress, when asked for a statement on the record of that body.

"Not only did Congress demonstrate a reactionary attitude toward these problems, but it passed a business-man's OPA and it also passed the notorious anti-labor Hobbs bill," the Workers Party candidates continued. "The nation-wide state of affairs with regard to housing is abominable. Veterans have returned who are unable to find decent homes, or any

homes at all. And America has never had enough decent houses, anyhow. There are still

11 million homes without running water

15 million without private toilets

17 million without private baths

7 million in need of major repairs

"By the end of 1946, according to the National Housing Agency three million, four hundred thousand families will be forced to live with relatives or to double up with others.

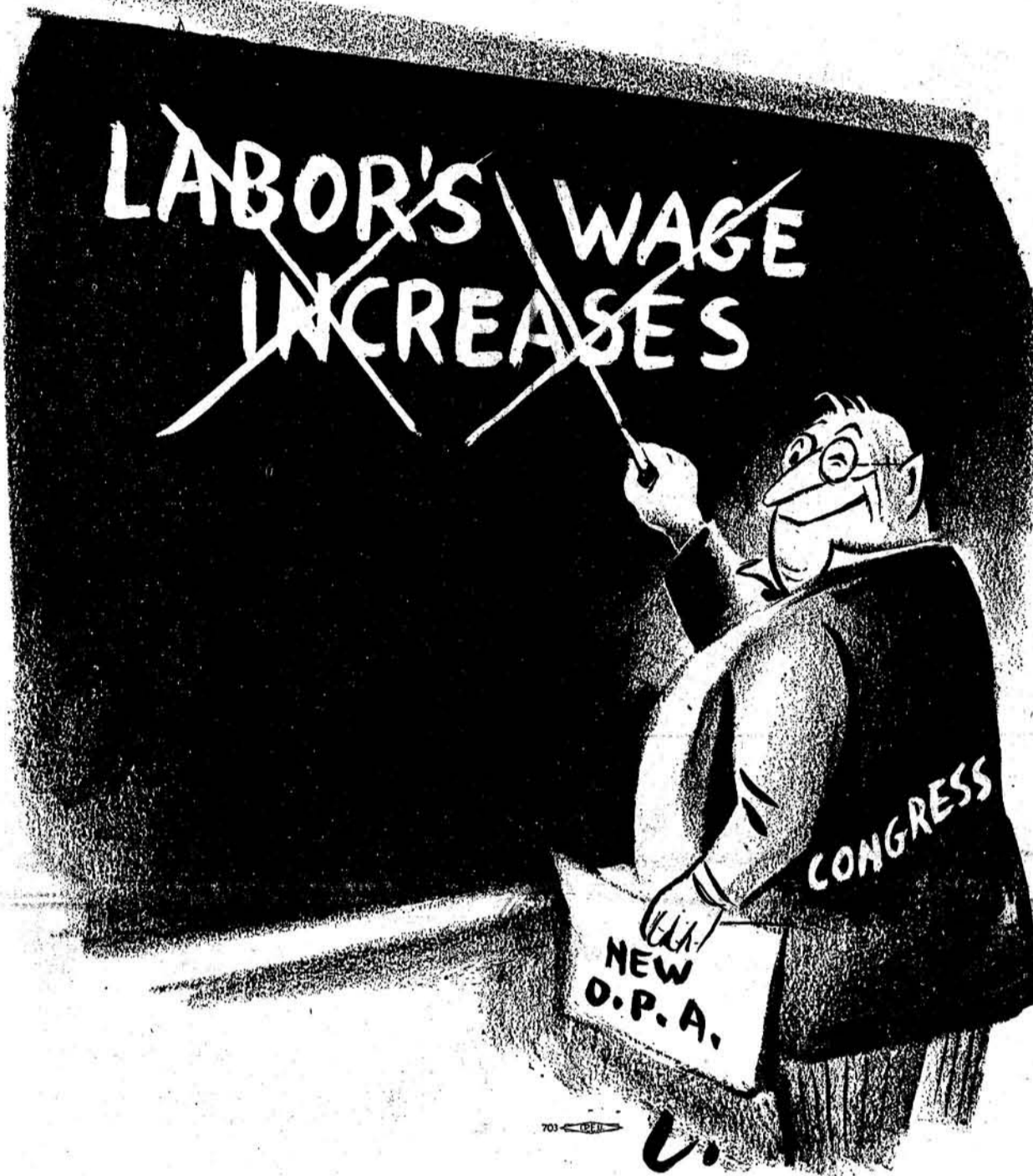
"Congress is catering to the real estate bosses who prefer to build expensive apartment houses or to collect high rents on slum property. The only solution to the housing problem is the 250 billion dollar housing program advocated by the Workers Party."

Max Shachtman and Ernest Rice McKinney, when asked to comment

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PRICE CONTROL ACTION IS STILL MAJOR NEED!

The Double Cross



By EMANUEL GARRETT

We could be mistaken, but we think there is a deliberate attempt to play down the price situation. Reports that we receive from various parts of the country, and a careful check of the daily press, indicate a kind of silent attempt to produce an atmosphere of apathy in face of the nation-wide price gouge.

For several weeks the daily press played the price situation up big. It reported in great detail the death and "revivification" of OPA. It told the story of rising prices and gave columns of attention to the buyers' protests. Not so this last week. Less and less space is being given to the most vital news issue before the American people: prices. The object, whether by organized design or instinctive reaction on behalf of the manufacturers, real estate lobbies and business men's associations: keep it quiet, discourage action, try to make the people accept the situation.

Powers Clash At "Peace" Conference

By HENRY JUDD

Whatever hopes the people may have had for a democratic People's Peace and rehabilitation of a war-battered and tired world have quickly been dashed in the opening week of the Paris Peace Conference. Birds of many hues and feathers are gathered together in the Luxembourg Palace of Paris, but the mild and gentle dove of peace is reported to have beaten a hasty retreat out of the nearest window on the Conference's opening day. The atmosphere of shabby double-dealing, cynical trickery and deceit proved too much for her.

Twenty-one nations have gathered together, for the announced purpose of restoring harmony and peace to broken Europe: the harmony and peace which is supposed to lift the old Continent out of its divisions, economic doldrums and atmosphere of hunger and decay. Yet, it is clear, one week of the Conference indicates that anything but this will occur; that the division of Europe into two sharply opposed camps (the Anglo-American Europe and the Russian Europe) will be intensified; that little or nothing will be done to revive economic and social life. The fact that UNRRA goes out of existence in December of this year has not yet been mentioned

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The Workers Party and LABOR ACTION, however, do not propose to let the issue die. It is for us the number one issue before the American working class. If the price steal demanded action a week or two ago, it demands it more strongly today. Comb through the papers and you will find, hidden somewhere on an inside page, a casual item about prices going up. But that, of course, isn't necessary. Everyone of us is a buyer. We know how the dollar has shrunk in purchasing power because what was 10 cents before is now 20 cents or more. It may be a dying issue for the press, but for every housewife in the country, except for that useless handful who wallow in luxury, it is a daily issue of the gravest importance.

WHAT TO DO

OPA is not going to hold prices down. We therefore must depend upon ourselves. And in this situation it is labor that must give the lead. Buyers' strikes have already demonstrated their effectiveness: where butter, for example, has piled up in the ice boxes of the grocers, prices have come down a little. But buyers' strikes have also demonstrated their limited usefulness. Something more is required, and we say that this something more is: POPULAR PRICE CONTROL COMMITTEES, organized on a community basis, composed of labor representatives and housewives, tied together through union headquarters and other channels on a city-wide and nation-wide scale.

Many things must be done. For one thing, it is an elementary necessity for labor to go after wage increases that will compensate for loss of pay through price rises. The CIO News this week reports that labor has suffered a 15 per cent wage cut since a year ago March. The CIO News quotes the U. S. Department of Labor publication, The Labor Market:

"Settlement of most labor-management disputes in manufacturing left the average factory worker who had three dependents with about 11 per cent less 'real' wages—purchasing power—in March, 1946, than he had a year before."

The CIO calculates another 4 per cent wage cut as of today, making 15 per cent in all. Add to that the drop in take-home pay which the CIO reports as 8.9 per cent in one year (from an average of \$47.12 in April, 1946, to \$42.92 in April 1946). For hundreds of thousands of wage earners the drop and cut have been even greater. Obviously then, wage increases are required, and it is to the shame of such labor leaders as Philip Murray and Walter Reuther that they have dropped their projected campaign for a boost in pay. It is therefore up to us to raise the question in our unions, to place the matter of wages on the union agenda.

But no one line of action is sufficient. Especially in this price situation must we take action such as will make LOWER prices. It is disgraceful that, powerfully organized as labor is, after the many battles it has waged, we must now seek to MAINTAIN our

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Control Prices at Their Source!

"Open the Books!" Is Vital Slogan in Tackling Price Problem at Point of Production

By SUSAN GREEN

The great mass of people in this country are arriving at the unanimous conclusion that prices will not be held down by the government. After June 30, workers and housewives demonstrated, demanding a return of the OPA. Now that "dear Harry" has signed a worse OPA bill than he first vetoed, the people begin to see they must rely on themselves. For the very first thing that happened after the President signed the zombie OPA bill, was a rise in prices.

Shoes and coal led the list. Then came men's shirts, shorts and pajamas, followed by men's clothing. On foodstuffs, prices of the not so important items were, officially speaking, rolled back to June 30 levels; but meat, dairy products, poultry, eggs are decontrolled until August 20 at least. The price of coffee will go up, and of course bread has gone up. Clothing will be even dearer. Vacuum cleaners, washing machines, refrigerators, furniture, these will be beyond the reach of even more people than now. The auto companies which already got two price boosts this year, are slated to get \$100 more on a car. In a word, Congress passed, and the President signed, not a price control bill but a deal between politicians and capitalists for higher prices.

WHAT ARE FAIR PRICES?

More and more people understand that this is what was put over on them. Therefore, workers and housewives have taken to mass action in the form of a buyers' strike, picket lines and similar steps.

But the question of the hour is, WHAT ARE FAIR PRICES? How are they to be arrived at? If consumers are not to buy overpriced merchandise and foodstuffs, they must know what prices are right for buying.

When OPA lapsed on June 30 and prices escalated upward, there were some people depraved enough to say that these prices were fair because they were less than black market prices. The cook-eyed conclusion to be drawn was that the cost of living was actually going down. Of course, this was fantastic. The mass of consumers did not pay black market prices because they couldn't afford to. They simply did without the things monopolized by the black market.

However, most people aroused by price pyramiding do not take the black market as a measure of fair prices. Most people seem to think that the

pre-June 30 levels, that is, OPA ceilings before the OPA lapsed, would be fair enough. But here is where most people are dead wrong. They are wrong because the only way to fix fair prices is to relate them to profits and wages.

RELATED TO PROFITS

This is exactly what the General Motors strikers did last year. They demanded a thirty per cent increase to bring their wages to cost of living levels—and they coupled this demand with the one that the prices of cars not be increased. The UAW-CIO proved, in a documented brief, that the auto companies could grant this thirty per cent wage increase without raising prices, and that the companies could actually decrease prices and still make more than pre-war profits.

Facts and reason did not, however, triumph. The auto workers got only 18½ cents an hour raise, far less than the thirty per cent needed to parallel the cost of living. And car prices were not held, but from the time of the strike to June 30, OPA granted the auto barons two unwarranted price increases.

Can it be said that the June 30 prices of cars are fair prices? Indeed not; they are profiteering prices. The auto workers and the car buyers are the goats for the auto companies.

The same situation prevails throughout industry. At about the time of the auto strike at least two government surveys informed the President that manufacturing industries could afford to grant wage increases of around twenty-five per cent, without boosting prices to the consumer and without any loss in profit. But, by and large, workers got only 18½ cents an hour increase instead of the twenty-five per cent that industry could afford to pay without raising prices. And, instead of holding the price level, between the settlement of the steel strike in February 1946 and June 30, OPA director Paul Porter approved no less than five hundred industry-wide price increases.

There is no disputing these facts. The conclusion is that June 30 price levels are not fair. Relating wages, profits and prices, June 30 levels are profiteering levels.

OPEN THE BOOKS!

The nation has obviously arrived at a pass where fair prices have to be fixed. Prices today reflect wartime profits, government cost-plus contracts, National Association of Manufacturers

lobbying, big business in government, black market. A new evaluation must be made in order to fix fair prices at which the masses can buy and feel warranted in buying.

There is only one place where the facts and figures for fixing prices fairly can be found. That place is the books of the corporations. In the books of the companies is kept the information as to cost of raw material, cost of labor, wear and tear on machinery, profits per article, profits in bulk, backlog of orders, new orders in prospect, and so on. Here is hidden the secret of fair prices. The books of the corporations must be opened. But to whom?

Certainly it will not do much good to open them to the capitalist government or any of its agencies. More information will not alter the class character of the capitalist politicians. The whole history of war and post-war prices shows that even those politicians who stood for price control, developed weak knees when the capitalists belittled loud enough for higher prices and bigger profits.

The logical group to whom the books of the corporations must be opened are the workers. The General Motors strikers made this demand. It is the basic answer to the question of how to fix fair prices and fair wages. The principle here is that profits are the concern not alone of the profit-grabbers but of all the people. In each corporation the interests of all the people can be represented by Price Fixing Committees of workers, democratically elected. This is how price levels can be fixed that will be fair. And then the neighborhood committees of workers, consumers and housewives can see to it that these democratically fixed price levels are actually adhered to.

So while LABOR ACTION and the Workers Party support the buyers strikes, the picketing of price gougers, the shopping committees and mass demonstrations, we must point out that the questions of what are fair prices and how they are to be fixed still remain for solution. For that we go to the point of production, by Price Control Committees of workers using all the information that the profiteers keep hidden in their books.

The Newest Gouge

The OPA on August 5 authorized price increases in cotton textiles that will lift the retail price of cotton apparel about eight per cent and the retail price of such items as sheets and towels about 17 per cent.

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

SIU Wins Wage Gains for Seamen

The Seafarers International Union (AFL) moved one step closer to victory over the ship owners in their present negotiations when the operators broke down and agreed to sign about the best wage agreement seamen have ever had.

a month. Unlike the CMU, all men earning \$200 and over will receive \$1.25 overtime. The other provisions are, by and large, similar to the CMU gains: reduced work week in port, payment of overtime for sea watches on Sunday, increased room and food allowances when the ship cannot provide these in port, and higher stand-by pay (\$1.45 an hour).

BIG STEP FORWARD

All these gains represent a considerable step forward not only from previous contracts, but from the CMU contract. How was it possible for the SIU to obtain a better agreement? A quick glance at the activities of both unions during negotiations will give us the answer. The SIU during the past few weeks has tied up dozens of ships up and down the coast and Gulf.

They have "hung the hook" on these vessels so as to strengthen their negotiations. The CMU, for all its talk, never once attempted job actions to show the bosses that they were serious.

Added to this there is the traditional policy of militancy by the SIU Seamen; while it is many years since the NMU, strangled by its Stalinist leadership, has pulled a waterfront strike. Not that the rank and file NMU men didn't want to "hit the bricks." But in the middle of 1941 Russian foreign policy demanded that American labor subordinate its differences with capital because Russia had just become involved in war with Germany. And so the puppets of Stalin called the 1941 bonus strike a "bum beef." Let us hope that the progressive rank and file of the NMU

will dump its corrupt Stalinist leadership so that it will never again be able to strangle the militant spirit of the NMU seamen.

The big drawback in the SIU wage-agreement, as in the CMU contract, is that, no sooner do the seamen win an increase than it is wiped out by the ever rising cost of living. How can we hold on to our gains? All agreements must have "escalator" clauses in them which will automatically raise our wages as prices go up. All maritime workers should insist on an escalator clause in their agreement. The NMU and SIU should also join the other unions in mapping a strategy to halt inflation. Only labor and consumers' committees to control prices can keep our hard-won gains from going down the drain.

Parley Delegates Protest PAC Policy

By BILL CARNEY

PHILADELPHIA—A meeting recently called by the Philadelphia director of the CIO-PAC for the purpose of discussing program and candidates for the 1946 congressional elections, boomeranged for the leadership when the delegates actually insisted on discussing the topic.

After a routine report on organization and literature distribution, a UE (United Electrical and Radio Workers Union) representative from among the delegates, which included executive board members of the Philadelphia Industrial Union Council and international representatives of the local CIO affiliates, called for the report.

The PAC secretary reported that a PAC committee had met with Congressman "Mike" Bradley (self-styled "labor's friend") and that the only candidate open for discussion was the gentleman selected by the Democratic City Committee to run in Bradley's place, since the latter was going to devote full time to managing the Democratic City Committee. All other candidates were incumbents seeking

re-election with the blessings of the Democratic Party. Bradley had assured the PAC committee, which had some doubts about his proposed successor, that this candidate, though an automobile salesman, was a great guy who had a good record in World War I.

CITE BRADLEY'S RECORD

This report evidently did not satisfy the UE delegate who had asked for it. He pointed out that he had been on the PAC committee that had gone to Washington to line up Philadelphia congressmen to vote to uphold the presidential veto on the emergency anti-labor legislation during the railroad strike. At that time, Bradley announced that he would not vote to sustain the veto. In later discussions, Bradley informed the PAC committee that if they were not interested in supporting his candidates they might as well break off relations then and there. The UE brother also pointed out that when the PAC committee had discussed the question of the habitual absenteeism of another CIO-supported congressman, Representative Sheridan, the latter told

them he was not beholden to them and said he didn't much care whether PAC supported him or not, since they didn't have anywhere else to go.

After some feeble defense of Bradley and Sheridan, made by a representative from the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, delegates from the Ship Workers' Unions voiced their disillusionment with the PAC policy and urged that the PAC begin to build a Labor Party.

SEES LABOR PARTY NEED

At this point, the delegate from the UE again took the floor to say that all the time he was in Washington attending the conference with Bradley and Sheridan he kept seeing the ghost of that member of the Philadelphia Industrial Union Council who for two years had been insisting on the formation of an independent Labor Party. Now he understood. And as far as his own local was concerned, he was sure that when the news of the reception of the PAC

committee by Bradley reached them, they would refuse to support the PAC-Democratic Party campaign.

Then the national representative from the Ship Workers' Union took the floor to state that in view of Bradley's attitude, he had resigned from the Democratic ward committee and that as long as the local PAC was going to support the Democrats, he would resign from the PAC.

A last feeble attempt to pour oil on troubled PAC waters was made by a Socialist Party member, there as a representative from the Steel Workers, who announced that he "sympathized" with the sentiments expressed by the delegates, but that "the time was not yet ripe" for any other action than that contemplated by the Philadelphia PAC.

That ended the discussion and the Philadelphia PAC-CIO was left in the position of the hunter who had grabbed the tiger by the tail. What next?

Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor...

Vet Tries to Find Home in Seattle

Dear Editor:

My wife and I came up here to Seattle to live. We are from Southern California and we thought getting an apartment was hard down there, but up here in Seattle it is even more difficult.

The rooms I have looked at here would really knock your eyes out. And the prices they ask! An apartment is out of the question completely and if you persuade some snooty real estate agent even to take your name you feel as though your entire day was worth while.

Let me tell you about one place that I was sent to by the Veterans Housing Aid, a civic organization set up here in Seattle. It was an apartment that in 1939 rented for \$25-\$30. Now the landlord has it rented to two couples for \$40 per couple and she was trying to get us to rent there also. This was the set-up: The front room was occupied by a couple. One of the bedrooms was occupied by a couple. The bedroom that led off the kitchen she wanted us to take. What used to be the dining room was fixed up as a living room (if you can call it that) and all six of us were supposed to share the kitchen and bathroom. You might think that the landlady would take care of the gas and electric. But not her. She wasn't satisfied to take it out of the cool \$120 per month she was getting. Gas and electric were extra.

Then the wife and I went back for some more places to look at. After we told the social worker what we thought about the last place she gave us a few "better" addresses. We went to one "sleeping" room, as they are called here, where the owner wanted \$8.50 a week—no kitchen and the bathroom in the hall. The wife being desperate was willing to take it. But after a second glance at the entire house, I could see that it was a shady joint and we turned it down.

I could tell you about beds set up next to furnaces, rooms made up of rough beaver board right next to the washing machine and sinks. But what's the use? There was another that I looked at that was a lulu! One room and in it a double bed, a small closet, a table, two chairs and a small stand on which was a two-plate electric "stove," and just enough room to walk around from bed to door and back again. Price—\$40 per month. How do you like that?

Well, finally we went to see the County and City Housing Authority. The first thing they told us was that we could not hope to get into a permanent project until nine to twelve months from now. So we said, what can you give us now? She gave us an address out in Kirkland. Being new to the city, we took it only to find

that it was twenty five miles out from the city center and otherwise as bad, as impossible and as expensive as anything we had seen.

You can get your name taken for housing at the federal housing project now being built, if you are going to college and if you have children. I am not going to college and I am glad I have no kids, what with the housing shortage being what it is.

Sure there's lots of houses going up. But the price on them is \$10,000 and the ones that fall into the \$6,000 class (that's the kind you pay fifty or so a month to the bank) are so lousy you don't want to buy them. If you do find one worth buying, the Veterans' Administration evaluator won't pass on it.

Then there's another catch in this GI loan deal. It may be OK for those who have dough but it's not so good if you haven't got any. If you buy a place you have to make what amounts to a down payment of \$300—out here it's called earnest money and includes money to seal the bargain, pay for filing some paper or other, searching the claim, etc. You also pay insurance for a year and another item which I have forgotten. Finally you get the place, let's say, then you have to buy furniture. Then you have to get some more credit. And try and get it. When they know your car is in hock so that you could buy a house and that you are laying out \$50 or \$60 a month for payments on the house they give you the fishy eye.

This is only part of a sad story of one ex-GI. There must be thousands of others. I like the idea of your \$250 billion housing program. As a matter of fact I'd settle for half of that right now.

It's a hell of a situation when a man of twenty-eight, with a wife, can't find a decent place to live in. And I say that a system that can't house the people who live in it is no damned good and ought to be junked for something new. If all the veterans and all the people who haven't got a decent place would get together and stand up on their two feet and howl, and demand something better maybe we'd begin to get somewhere. Instead they go around being grateful for some crummy old flop house. It's time we get together and did something to get that \$250 billion worth of houses.

J. S., Seattle.

Reader Discusses Price Problems

Dear Editor:

From the four corners of the country comes the cry of protest against the rapidly mounting cost of the necessities of life.

For months we stood in line waiting to buy a little square of butter once a week or a little meat, but there was none to be had.

Women Railway Workers Get Raw Deal in Detroit

DETROIT—Although they have wide local support including progressive sections of the labor movement, both AFL and CIO, women railway workers are getting a raw deal from both their employers (the city) and their union officials of District 26, Amalgamated Association of Street Railway and Motor Coach Employees of America, AFL.

Since December, 1945, when there were 325 women employed on the city's transportation lines as motor-men, conductors and drivers, they have been gradually laid off until there are now only 24 left. When the last layoff of 43 more was announced for July 24, the Industrial Women's Emergency Committee was formed by women of various union and civic groups. This group sent delegations to their union officials, picketed the city hall on July 24 and 25, circulated petitions to the Civil Service Commission, and has elicited support from various groups and individuals.

Among them are Walter Reuther who sent letters of protest to both DSR Commissioner Sullivan and Mayor Jeffries (although he is unfortunately unable to get his own UAW local-unions to fight to get laid-off women back to work), Councilman George Edwards, the NAACP, etc. The DSR women have now constituted themselves a permanent organization.

The Civil Service Commission and the railway system claim that women and some men were hired in 1942 with the understanding that it was only for "the duration and six months," but discriminate against the women by refusing to allow them to take an exam for permanent service. To replace the last 43 fired, an order was placed with USFS for new, inexperienced men. Most of the women are Negroes, and some of them have been subjected to double discrimination—first as women and second as Negroes, since a number of the white women to be fired were offered office jobs with the railway system, while only one Negro woman was.

Women attended their Division 26 meeting en masse on July 27 and were

thrown a limp dishrag in the form of a motion that legal aid be employed to see that where women had been laid off out of line of seniority they be compensated and reinstated.

Andrew Sade, business agent, proved himself completely incapable of any militant action against this purge in a rambling speech in which he said the division had already done its best to win the women's grievances.

Division 26 members should realize that discrimination and violation of seniority rights of any kind weaken their union.

The Boss's Dictionary Day-dream:



WP Candidates - -

(Continued from page 1)

on the important problems which were never solved by the Seventy-Ninth Congress, stated:

"Congress adjourned without passing any minimum wage law. In these days when the price of food, or clothing jumps five or ten per cent every other month we must have job and wage security by means of a guaranteed annual wage, providing \$2500 minimum a year. But this is merely a guaranteed minimum. The record of American production during the war has proved that an income of \$5,000 per year per family is easily attainable. The Workers Party stands for a \$5,000 annual income for each family.

"But Congress refused to pass even the 65 cent an hour minimum wage law which was before it this year. And this law was a pitiful and poor substitute for a genuine minimum wage bill. Even with this miserable substitute, a worker employed for fifty weeks at forty hours per week would earn only \$1300 per year. And what percentage of workers get 50 weeks of work a year?"

"And of course the bosses are conducting a great conspiracy against us. They are trying to squeeze out of us in prices what we won in wages through hard and bitter struggles on the picket lines of this country in the past six months. The auto workers, the steel workers, the electrical work-

ers and the meat packing workers: won wage increases through blood and sacrifice, through their unions and struggles.

"This conspiracy of price increases must be smashed. When it was a matter of producing for war, the capitalist system of America performed miracles. Why can't it do the same for peacetime needs? The Workers Party says let the workers in each industry through their unions and stewards committees and special price committees control the prices of their OWN industry!"

Max Shachtman, National Chairman of the Workers Party, is a candidate for Congress from the 15th Congressional District, Brooklyn. Twice candidate for Mayor of New York, Shachtman was one of the leaders of the demonstration against the Nazi Bund meeting in February 1939. Fifty thousand workers participated in that demonstration.

Ernest Rice McKinney is the Workers Party candidate for Congress from the 22nd Congressional District, Harlem. For twenty years McKinney has been an organizer, a journalist and a fighter for Negro and labor rights. He was an organizer for the Steel Workers Organizing Committee, CIO and at one time an editor of the Pittsburgh American, a weekly Negro paper and a columnist for the Pittsburgh Courier.

PRESS MANAGER'S PRESS ACTION BY HENRY JUDD

Here's the second issue of the new, 8-page LABOR ACTION—filled with labor news and revolutionary message to its readers. It is too early yet to have received comments from our readers about last week's first 8-page LABOR ACTION, but we do know that all copies have been mailed out and were going fast when last heard of.

A word on our circulation. Since the new, 8-page LABOR ACTION is a paper that must be sold—in the form of subscriptions and public sales—it is natural that its circulation has temporarily decreased below that of the 1 cent, 4-page LABOR ACTION of the past. To pay for its increased costs (and how they've increased), we can no longer afford the wide, free distribution of the past. The press run on the first, 8-page LABOR ACTION of last week was, therefore, a total of 13,500 copies.

Of this total 8,000 were sent to subscribers and 5,000 to our bundle order agents. We expect to build this up shortly to 15,000 and keep going from there.

Remember: The new 8-page LABOR ACTION counts entirely upon its bundle order circulation and new subscriptions for its income.

SOME FACTS ON THE NEW EIGHT-PAGE LABOR ACTION:

- (1) Eight pages, at five cents per individual copy.
(2) Bundle orders to agents at three cents per copy, with additional copies available for special distributions at one cent per copy.
(3) A six-month subscription—anywhere in the U. S.—for 50 cents.
A year's subscription—anywhere in the U. S.—for \$1.00.

(4) Bundle orders, or changes in bundle orders, must be in our office by noon on Thursdays.

NEW SUBSCRIPTIONS:

We're off to a good start on subscriptions to the new, 8-page LABOR ACTION. The following new subs were obtained last week, with Akron leading.

Table with 2 columns: City and Number of Subscriptions. Includes Akron (12), Detroit (9), Cleveland (9), New York City (6), Chicago (6), San Francisco (4), Newark (3), Buffalo (3), Philadelphia (3), West Virginia (3), Boston (2), Seattle (2), Los Angeles (1), Louisville (1), Streator, Ill. (1), Miscellaneous (1), TOTAL (65).

LABOR ACTION AGENTS SPEAK UP!

From Akron's agent McLain, the man who sent in 12 subscriptions last week for LABOR ACTION, we get a pledge to "cooperate in every way with the new system as outlined in your recent letters." Thanks, E. J., and you've made a good start.

And from our old pal, Miriam, in Detroit, we get word that "we're distributing LABOR ACTION at the factory gates with leaflets announcing the coming 8-page LABOR ACTION. Here's hoping we make a good beginning..."

I Want to Subscribe to THE NEW EIGHT-PAGE LABOR ACTION 114 West 14th St., N. Y. 11, N. Y. Name Address City Zone State 50 Cents for Six Months \$1.00 for a Year

current prices and at the same time demanding that there be no increase in the price of the commodity they are producing.

Secondly, that the CIO shall immediately convert the PAC into an independent Labor Party and invite the other organized labor groups to

full participation. Further, that the rank and file of all other organized labor groups demand their leaders to accept the invitation to participate in the formation of an independent Labor Party.

BILL CARNEY, Philadelphia.

With the Workers Party

AKRON

The Akron Branch invites readers of LABOR ACTION to attend the following classes: (1) Tuesday evenings at 8 p. m.—"THE FIGHT FOR SOCIALISM." (2) Wednesday afternoon at 2 p. m.—"THE WORKERS PARTY, THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY." Write to Box 221 for further information.

BOSTON

LABOR ACTION Educational Forum, Otisfield Hall, Roxbury, Mass. Thursday 8 P. M.

BUFFALO

HEADQUARTERS at 639 Main St.

CHICAGO

LABOR ACTION, 1703 West Madison St., Room 3, Chicago 12. Telephone: CHESAPEAKE 5758.

Office hours: 3-5:30 p. m. daily, except Sundays, Tuesday and Wednesday evenings.

A series of classes is being held on each Friday night at party office at 8 o'clock on "The Fight for Socialism."

2. Attend the picnic held at Dan Ryan Woods on Sunday, August 18. Fun program organized for all to participate in. Food galore.

3. Public meeting at the Atlantic Hotel, 215 So. Clark St., Friday, August 23 at 8 p. m. with Albert Goldman speaking in memorial to Leon Trotsky and with Ernest Erber presenting the program of revolutionary socialism today for popular price control committees.

DETROIT

Headquarters, 3773 Gratiot (at Mt. Elliott). Office hours: Tuesdays and Thursdays, 11 a. m. to 2:30 p. m.; Wednesdays, 7:30 to 10 p. m.

Class in "Fight for Socialism" every Wednesday at 8 p. m.

Public meeting, Tuesday, August 27, 8 p. m. Ernest Erber on "Fight for Price Control and Housing."

LOS ANGELES

Office: 316 1/2 West Pico Boulevard, Room 1.

Office hours: Daily except Sunday, 12-3. Monday, Wednesday, Friday also 4:30-6:30.

Monthly Forum: Sunday, August 18: Wages and Prices (watch column for place).

NEWARK

LABOR ACTION HEADQUARTERS in Newark at 248 Market St.

A series of three lectures on the history of the Trotskyist movement will be given by Saul Berg, New Jersey organizer of the Workers Party, on Saturdays at 2:45 p. m. on August 3, 10 and 17. Place: Newark headquarters.

The Newark Branch of the Workers Party will hold the following forums at its headquarters:

Friday, August 16, 8:30. The Fight for Jewish Freedom. Speaker: Ann Gordon.

Friday, August 23, 8:30. Why the SWP Minority Joined the Workers Party. Speakers: Al Russell, Oscar Schoenfeld.

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Program of the Workers Party

I. For Price Control by Labor and the Consumers

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

II. For a Living Wage

1. For an immediate wage increase to meet the rising cost of living.
2. For an escalator clause in every union contract to provide for automatic wage increases to cover any additional price rises.
3. For job and wage security through a guaranteed annual wage, providing for a \$2,500 annual minimum.

III. Clear the Slums! Build Homes!

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

IV. Tax the Profiteers

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

V. Nationalize Big Business

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

VI. End Discrimination Against the Negro People

For full social, political and economic equality for Negroes.

VII. Open the Doors to the Jews

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

VIII. For Full Economic and Educational Opportunities for Veterans

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

IX. For Peace and Freedom

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

X. For an Independent Labor Party and a Workers Government

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

FOR A SOCIALIST AMERICA AND PLENTY FOR ALL!

"Who Is Behind the Workers Party?"

By ERNEST ERBER

"Who puts out this paper?" asks a new reader as he scans an issue of LABOR ACTION.

"LABOR ACTION represents the point of view of the Workers Party," answers his fellow worker who has given him the copy.

"Who's behind the Workers Party?" asks the reader and in asking this question reveals much about how the average person thinks in such matters as a result of all the corruption and racketeering that has become a part of life under capitalism.

With so many people and movements out to take one in and the "never-give-a-sucker-a-break" philosophy that governs conduct under capitalism, the idea that people can join a movement because they sincerely believe what they say, strikes the average person as most unusual. That people should "get into something" without "getting something out of it" seems foolishly impractical to many.

The answer to the question, "Who's behind the Workers Party?" is that there is no one behind the party. Everyone who has something to do with the policies of the party is inside the organization. Organizations with people behind them are controlled by the rich, big business. They stay in the background and supply the money and pull the strings. The Democratic and Republican Parties have people behind them. These are the bankers and industrialists who finance Republican and Democratic campaigns. They are not publicly linked with these parties. It would not do them much good to have bankers and manufacturers openly controlling them. The Communist Party has "people" behind it. These are the people who run the dictatorial government of Russia and pull the strings for the Communist Parties all over the world.

WORKER IDEALISM

The Workers Party has no one behind it and desires no one. It firmly adheres to the idea that no movement will ever do the workers any good unless it is democratically controlled by the workers themselves and that they put up the money to finance it. A movement that will stay true to its working class program must be made up of people who will give freely of their time and money because they fully understand and believe in what the movement stands for.

"But aren't you expecting too much of people to build a movement on such a basis? You can't expect workers to be idealists," objects the new reader.

Yes, we DO expect workers to be idealists, at least in the sense in

which we understand the term. As a matter of fact the workers give daily evidence of their idealism in their trade union struggles. True enough, when workers strike they expect to see an immediate improvement in their conditions as a result of increased wages. But isn't it true that the increase of 18 cents which the General Motors strikers got after three months without pay checks could not make up the lost wages in many years, even if the price increase had not wiped it out? Then why did they continue to go on striking? They went on striking because they knew that there was more at stake between the workers and the corporation than a few cents an hour. Workers know that you either whip the corporation or it whips you. And vice to the workers if the corporation does the whipping. The steel strikers of 1919 suffered for seventeen years because they were crushed in their strike. Workers go on striking even when the simple arithmetic is used to prove that it "does not pay" because they know that there are things that "pay" in terms that cannot be calculated in dollars and cents.

Take the many strikes that take place simply for the right of union recognition. During the organization period of the CIO in 1935-37 the majority of strikes made no demands for wage increases. Their sole demand was "recognize the union." Millions of upper and middle class people could not understand why millions of workers should lose weeks of wages in striking for a "principle." Yet anyone who has worked in a shop and knows the difference between taking whatever gaff the foreman wants to cut loose with in an open shop and being able to tell the foreman off where you have union security, will immediately understand why workers strike for the "principle" of union recognition.

Then, there are the sympathy strikes in which workers walk off the job with no demands for themselves but out of solidarity for other workers. Why should workers have made an unbreakable principle out of never crossing a picket line? It is because someone else's bread and butter is at stake and they act out of solidarity with them.

TWO EXAMPLES

No, fellow worker, you are wrong when you say that you can't expect workers to be idealists. Workers continually sacrifice immediate personal gains in behalf of the movement of the workers as a whole. What is required is that the workers thoroughly understand why they should make sacrifices. Wherever a union acts fully in accordance with such an idealistic

(Continued on page 6)

LABOR ACTION MAGAZINE

August 12, 1946

A Paper in the Interests of Labor

Page 3

Ten Years of the CIO—A Stirring Story of the Rise of American Labor

By IRVING HOWE

The Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) has become so much a part of the consciousness of the people of this country that it comes almost as a shock to recall that the CIO is only ten years old—practically an infant as labor organizations go. And yet in those ten brief but exciting years, this mighty organization of industrial workers has become a factor of first importance in the United States; it has brought about tremendous changes in the conditions and attitudes of millions of workers; it has given American labor a consciousness of its strength unequalled since the 1830's when the first important, if halting, attempts were made in the young nation to organize a few workers into unions.



The CIO has just published a little booklet called "The Truth About the CIO" which details its tumultuous history for these past ten years. This booklet stimulates memories for us which our readers, no doubt, will find similar to their own.

CRAFT UNIONISM PROVED OUTDATED

In 1935 the trade union movement in America, as contrasted with its present strength of about 15,000,000, had less than 5,000,000 members. Company unionism, today almost entirely wiped out, was rife in the big industries. The use of armed strike-breakers, company thugs, state militia to break strikes was a usual occurrence. The AFL, then the only national-wide federation, was hopelessly out-of-date; it could not touch the mass industries because its horse-and-buggy craft unionism would mean twenty ineffectual and competing craft unions where one industry-wide union was needed.

So great was the need for militant labor activity, so pressing the need for union strength, that by 1935 a conflict broke out in the AFL. A number of unions, such as the United Mine Workers, found that if they themselves were to continue to exist and expand, it was necessary that allied industries, such as steel, be strongly organized. But the AFL, by its inept and conservative craft methods, had made a dismal failure in steel; membership in the almost moribund AFL steel union had fallen from 100,000 to 10,000.

And then the CIO was formed by eight AFL unions, under the leadership of John L. Lewis, head of the United Mine Workers. A bitter struggle broke out inside the AFL: industrial versus craft unionism, twentieth century versus nineteenth century methods. The conflict took a personal and dramatic form when John L. and Joe Hutcheson, reactionary head of the carpenters' union, came to blows at the historical 1935 AFL convention; but beneath that flareup, and much more fundamental than it, was the fact that an issue of grave importance was being decided: should the mass industries of America be unionized?

Think today how much has been done, what great progress has been made! Sometimes we socialists, in our criticisms of the CIO leadership—always made, of course, from the point of view of strengthening and improving the unions—tend to overlook the magnitude of these accomplishments and to forget how much blood was sacrificed and how much sweat was spent in organizing the CIO.

For big business didn't take it lying down. Recognizing what a mortal enemy industrial unionism was to it, the gigantic U. S. Steel Corporation, for instance, knew that if its workers were organized it wouldn't be able to repeat the scandal of doubling its net profits in 1924-29 without giving a single wage increase during those years! The giant corporations fought—but they couldn't stop the advance of America's workers.

The first great test came early in 1936 when the Akron rubber workers went on a six-week strike, during which they introduced the new and revolutionary technique of "sit-down." They occupied the factories and would not be budged; they defied the property rights of the rubber barons, even though they might have given you a queer stare if you'd put it to them in just that phrase. And they won!

Then came the deluge: an incredible growth of mass unions. The CIO steel union, despite the million dollar propaganda campaign which the American Iron and Steel Institute initiated against unions, broke through the stronghold of American capitalism and organized the steel workers. They took over or wrecked company unions; they persisted despite the bosses' strong-arm tactics and labor spies.

And then the auto workers! Here were America's most militant, aggressive workers moving into action as never before. The UAW, later to become the largest union in the world, moved at break-neck speed, struck General Motors in a sit-down strike and in 1937 forced GM to sign on the dotted line.

WHAT THE CIO HAS ACHIEVED

Today the CIO, with its six million members, is at the apex of its strength. Let us take a glance at what industrial organization has meant to America's workers:

1) It has resulted in a feeling of confidence and strength which is the most hopeful sign for those who look to labor as the force which can be stimulated to take bold action and, by creating its own government, solve the problems which the workers of this country face. Where formerly company spies and police reigned in undisputed terror, as in Ford, today union stewards speak for their brother workers and struggle in their behalf. True, boss domination continues, and with it insecurity for the workers; that will always be the case so long as capitalist society exists.

2) In many CIO unions there has developed a degree of democracy which has few equals. Of course, the CIO has its share of pie-cards and bureaucrats, but what union today can equal the democracy of the United Automobile Workers? Even in those unions in which the Stalinists have wormed into control, such as the Electrical Workers (UE), the desire for democracy among the ranks is so keen that the Stalinist leaders are often forced to allow a certain amount of freedom to opposition. Not that the CIO is perfect on this question of inter-union democracy; not by a long shot. But you need only compare the internal functioning of, say, an AFL building trades local with that of a UAW local and you see the great progress that has been made.

3) The CIO has, by and large, kept racial and religious preju-

The Social and Economic Problems of the South

What the CIO Faces in Operation Dixie

By DAVID COOLIDGE

These articles are to be about the campaign now being conducted by the CIO and the AFL to organize the South. The articles will be largely a discussion of the CIO campaign for reasons which will be discussed later. The articles will deal not so much with the CIO itself but with the South. It is necessary to know something about the South if one is to understand the meaning and significance of this campaign. Such a venture as "Operation Dixie" is no common garden variety of trade union organizing drive. In many important respects it is something quite different from a trade union organizing drive in the North.

While it is true that any trade union organizing project must be carefully and cautiously planned and carried through with the utmost attention to correct strategy and tactics, these factors must have special attention in the case of the South. This is particularly true in relation to the CIO. The CIO is the outstanding example of the notion and the practice of industrial unionism, vertical trade union organization; over against the craft or horizontal organization, such as one finds with the AFL.

The CIO finds and has its base among the mass production workers both in industry and agriculture. That is, the CIO draws its support mainly from the semi-skilled and unskilled workers and toilers. Among these are the workers in the textile, garment, automobile, mining, chemical, lumber, furniture and rubber industries, as well as the millions of semi-proletarians engaged in capitalist agriculture. The CIO, therefore, particularly in the South, will be conducting an organization drive among the genuine proletarians and toilers and not among the skilled workers; the "aristocracy of labor."

THE NATURE OF SOUTHERN ECONOMY

The southern section of the capitalist ruling class does not take kindly

to any form of aggressive or effective trade unionism. This is true of the industrialists, the planters, the financiers, the politicians and their satellites in the schools, church and press. This section of the national ruling class is not only still on the make in its own name but it is at the same time the representative of, and a committee of management for the big northern capitalists who operate extensively in the South.

Both northern capitalism and its native southern representatives are interested primarily in the recovery of the South's tremendous natural resources and raw materials for the production of manufactured goods, at the lowest possible cost of production. This means that the northern capitalists desire that the South remain predominantly an agricultural region and a producer of raw materials. This means that the southern economy will be operated with the lowest possible capital investment and with a minimum of surplus wealth for investment in industry.

The economy of the South therefore remains somewhat of a colonial economy: producing raw materials, opportunities for the investment of northern capital and a market for the sale of manufactured articles processed and fabricated from those raw materials. Such a system makes the South a great debt ridden area. It has small financial reserves of its own, so to speak. The financing of its industries and its agriculture is done by the North. A large part of the profits from agriculture and industry go to the North and are not used for the social, economic and cultural improvement of the South.

BACKWARD AGRICULTURE AND INDUSTRIALLY

Such a system demands that the wages of the masses of the people be kept at the lowest level compatible with existence. With the bulk of the wealth drained off by the big capitalists of the North, the native southern industrialists, financiers and planters, in order to get their share, resort to the harshest economic, political and social measures against the masses of the southern people.

dices out of its ranks; it has rejected the Jim Crow policy which so disgraces our AFL unions. For the CIO found that when it went out to organize the mass industries, in which many Negroes worked, a policy of refusing to treat the Negro workers as brothers simply meant suicide. Who doesn't remember the famous Ford strike when the company tried to use Negro workers as strike-breakers by telling them that the white workers hated them, and when the white workers appealed successfully to their Negro brothers to join ranks and thereby won the strike? Today there are hundreds of thousands of Negro workers in the CIO; they have won a new sense of dignity in their acceptance as equals in the army of labor—and thereby the white workers by their side have also won a new sense of tolerance and brotherhood.

4) The CIO has brought to its members many material advantages. Thus the average hourly wages of auto workers went up from 74 cents in 1935 to \$1.40 in 1946; those of steel workers from 65 cents in 1935 to \$1.30 in 1946. Hours have been shortened, conditions improved, speed-ups resisted. Of course, many of these increases in wages have been eaten up by the rising cost of living; but ask yourself: would wages have gone up to the same degree to meet the rising cost of living if there hadn't been union organization?

5) The CIO has shown, through its Political Action Committees, the political strength of labor, even if only potentially. We mention this point last because it brings up the major weakness of the CIO at the moment: its lack of political independence. Though it has organized an independent political arm, the PAC, its politics are not yet independent. The CIO still flits around, fiddling with so-called "liberal" capitalist politicians. Its leaders still resist the idea of an independent Labor Party. And that is why so often what the workers win on the picket line, they lose in Washington.

The CIO has a great past—a history made possible by the sacrifices, struggles and devotion of thousands of its active militants, the stewards, the men who do the small union tasks, who keep things going; who, when the time comes, walk the picket lines be it cold or hot; who run into debt to keep the struggle going; who fight off the cops or the scabs when the picket lines are attacked.

It is they, the many unnamed heroes of the CIO's struggles, who have built their unions to present-day strength. They have reason to be proud. And it is to them that we look for the future: to maintain the tradition of militant union struggle as opposed to playing ball with the bosses; to maintain the tradition of union democracy; to push through to success Operation Dixie; to drive the Stalinist leeches from control of the few unions on which they have festered; and, above all, to move decisively toward building a political arm as strong in labor's behalf as is its economic arm: the political arm of an independent Labor Party.



breaks, the forests, the rice and tobacco fields and in the lumber camps.

THE AWAKENING OF SOUTHERN LABOR

The raising of the standard of living of the urban workers will either draw the rural workers away or create an insistent demand from them for an improvement of their own standard of living and working conditions.

This is what the leaders of the South and their retinue of political demagogues are talking about when they speak of the CIO as "Communism," "foreigners," "outsiders," and "trouble-makers." This is why they would prefer the AFL with its out-moded craft structure and indifference to the problems of the masses of the workers. These leaders and their political managers and arrangers know also that an organization such as the CIO cannot confine itself to the purely economic disabilities of the mass of the people. Due to the poverty level and their complete lack of organization, they have no way of improving their situation. They cannot participate in politics in any effective way. They can have no say in the levying of taxes; they can only pay the taxes set by those who can engage in politics. They cannot put pressure on for educational, health and cultural facilities because they are virtually impotent in the political area.

They cannot organize themselves because of their poverty, lack of experience and an age old lethargy which has been induced by the conditions under which they have existed. The coming of the industrial union movement, however, with its relatively broad and enlightened program, will provide not only the medium of trade union organization; but an educational, cultural and potential political apparatus for the southern masses as they have never known before. Such an awakening is what is known as "Communism" in the ranks of the southern capitalist ruling class. (Another article by David Coolidge on "Operation Dixie" and its problems will appear next week.—Ed.)

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

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EMANUEL GARRETT, Editor
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IRVING HOWE

HENRY JUDD

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Editorials

Make It a Nationwide Demand!

The United Packinghouse Workers of America (CIO) has just completed its program in preparation for meeting the packers in negotiations for a new wage contract. The type of demand it will make is already indicated by the policy adopted at its Montreal convention.

High up among its demands, the UPWA calls for a guaranteed annual wage based on a forty-hour week for fifty-two weeks in the year. No worker can be laid off without two weeks' notice. In addition to the wage demand, the union program calls for a social security fund to provide workers and their dependents with medical, surgical and hospital care. This feature of the program calls for payments to all workers

who are permanently disabled or suffer death arising from sickness or injury.

The annual wage demand and the program for social security are an indispensable part of the struggle of American labor for a living wage and economic security. The weakness of these demands is that they are yet confined to a small number of unions such as the UPWA.

To make the above demands effective, it is necessary that they become the demands of every international union affiliated to the AFL and the CIO. Such a united struggle for an annual wage would truly make it an effective and realizable demand.

Make it a nationwide demand!

The Vatican and Fascism

The reactionary social and political role of the Vatican and the Pope is not confined to the great problems of the day; it can be seen even in less important events which are symptomatic of the greater issue. A case in point is that of Arthur Greiser, former Nazi gauleiter of the Polish province of Poznan, just hanged in Poland as a "war criminal."

Greiser was one of the cruelest of Hitler's hangmen. Once head of the Nazi party in Danzig, he helped to organize the fascist gangsters of that city. In the years prior to the war, in the seizure of Danzig by the Germans and in the subsequent pogroms against the Polish and Jewish masses of Poland and the Corridor, Greiser played a leading role. He subjected thousands of people to a bestial torture and other thousands to death in concentration camps and gas chambers.

But Greiser was caught after the collapse of the German army and the Nazi state. Like many others of his breed, this sadistic butcher appealed to the Pope for intercession to save his life. And the Pope responded with a typical statement that he was "following the example of the Divine Master," when he asked that Greiser's life be spared.

The action of the Pope brings to mind

the general role of the Vatican and the Catholic priests in the struggle against fascism. One must never forget that in Italy the church supported Mussolini and his government. The conflict between them arose only when the fascist state interfered with some of the "prerogatives of the church." In Germany, too, the Catholic church had no conflict with the Nazi regime until the regime took over the Catholic youth organizations. The story of Spain is still fresh in mind. There the Franco revolt was blessed by the church and assisted in every way to establish fascist rule. In Poland, the Catholic church is an inspirer of anti-Semitism.

All of this is not to say that the Catholic church, the Vatican and the Pope are fascists. But it does mean that in all social struggles which involve the continuation or abolition of capitalism, they stand on the side of reaction and the maintenance of the profit system of class exploitation. In Germany, Italy and Spain, where the class struggle took the form of a fight between the masses and fascism the Vatican and the Pope supported fascism. In all other countries, they support those parties and movements which play an equivalent political and social role to the fascists; defenders of capitalism against all who would change the social system.

Bigger Scandals Still To Come

It will undoubtedly be years before the full story of wartime profiteering and corruption, of the trafficking in lives by the merchants of death, is unearthed. We have already had a glimpse into the scandals-to-come through the May-Garsson disclosures. As we follow the reports of the Mead Investigating Committee, it seems to be clear enough that the May scandal is only a tiny fragment of the whole picture.

Last week, Lindsay C. Warren, Controller General of the United States, charged before the Mead Committee that \$65,000,000 in cancelled war contracts had already been settled "and the door closed forever on any recovery of overpayments by the Government." Mr. Warren further declared that "it looked as if everybody and his brother were out to get the Government during the lush war years."

By "everybody and his brother," he means, of course, the patriotic war profiteers, the munitions makers and respectable men of business who coined "untold millions" while labor was shackled with a no-strike pledge. And, come to think of it, why shouldn't they, according to their lights. It wasn't a people's war. That kind of talk was meant for bulk sale to the millions who had to be drafted or kept at a work bench building the "arsenal of democracy." The boys in the know, the little ones like Garsson and the big ones who haven't been named and aren't likely to be named, they knew it was THEIR war.

None of this shocks us. It is the kind of

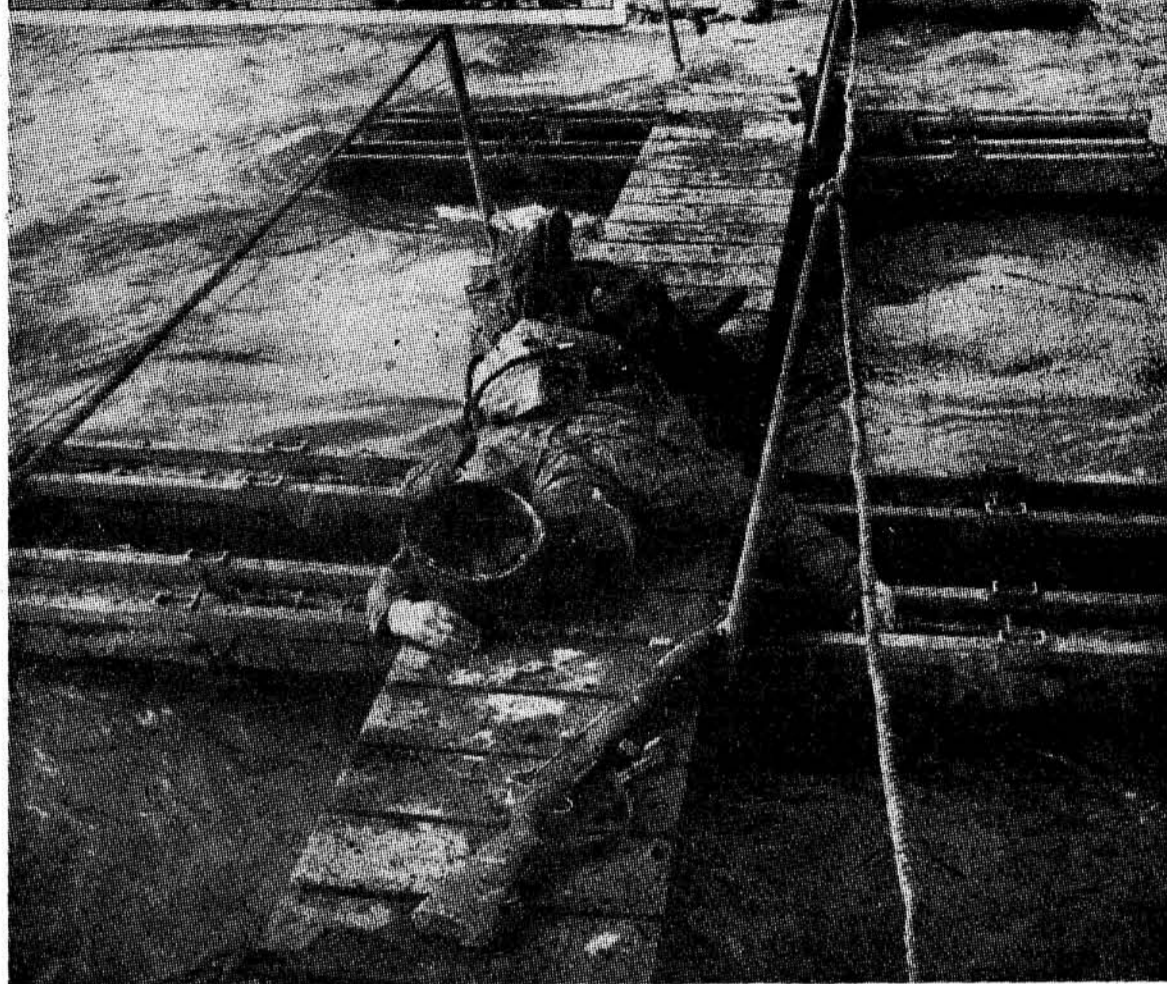
thing you expect in a capitalist world. Isn't the whole system built on robbery, cheating, exploitation and corruption? Isn't the difference between May's dishonest conniving with Garsson and U. S. Steel's "honest" pillage merely a difference of method?

It is easy to grow irate when you read Warren's statement: "With some government officials the acceptance of entertainment, including cocktail parties, hotel bills and even travel, from the contractor, while at the same time drawing travel expense and per diem from the Government, was the rule rather than the exception." It is equally easy to become indignant when we read about men like Major George W. Parker, Col. Forest W. Smith, Capt. G. I. Calvert and Major Kerrwin Hagerty who went to work for corporations with whose war contract settlements they had had a close connection while officers in the army. But of what use is indignation if directed only at these small fry?

Corruption! It's an old story. It will be part of our social system, of our Government until class rule is swept away by the working class in the establishment of a workers' commonwealth. Tin-boxes, grafting, and the super-swindles of the "lush war years"—they are merely an exaggerated reflection of normal capitalist behavior. Wait: we haven't heard anything yet; there are bigger scandals to come.



"By this time we should have learned that no one is richer by war. All are poorer, including the victors." — General Bradley.



"... The good spirit for which they died is part of the life we live today." — General Bradley.

Fourth International Notes

WF SENDS GREETINGS TO THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

The following resolution was adopted at the recent national convention of the Workers Party and forwarded to the Executive Committee of the Fourth International:

"Dear Comrades:

"The fourth national convention of the Workers Party sends warmest fraternal greetings to the Executive Committee of the Fourth International and to all its sections.

"Our party regrets the failure of the Conference of the Fourth International to approve the proposals we addressed to the Conference. Nevertheless, we feel firmly attached to the Fourth International as our International. We are firmly of the opinion that the differences that divide our party from other comrades in the International cannot be considered a barrier to the unity of the American or the International movement. Our party stands committed, formally and in fact, to the reunification of all the forces that stand on the fundamental principles of the Fourth International, its traditions and its struggles. Because of these principles we consider it our International. It is our International because of all of the world-wide movements it alone resisted the chauvinistic wave during the Second World War and upheld the banner and perspective of socialism.

"Our convention bows in tribute to the memory of the militants of the Fourth International who fell in the battle against reaction during the war.

"In the name of the fourth national convention of the Workers Party and of every member of our party, I ask you to communicate this message of solidarity with the Fourth International to all its sections.

"With party greetings,

"MAX SHACHTMAN,

"National Chairman,

"Workers Party."

FRENCH STALINISTS BEAT UP DEMAZIERE

According to a news story in last week's Militant, Albert Demaziere, one of the most prominent representatives of the Internationalist Communist Party (PCI) and a member of its Central Committee, was severely beaten up and scarred by a gang of Stalinist hoodlums at a meeting in Nice on July 12.

Demaziere was set upon when he took the rostrum to protest the invasion of the meeting by some 200 Stalinists, who were organized to prevent the speakers from being heard. The police were markedly absent.

This is not the first such experience that Comrade Demaziere has had with the Stalinists. During the Nazi occupation, groups of Maquis freed Comrade Demaziere together with some Stalinists from a Nazi jail.

Even at such a moment the Stalinists made an effort to assassinate Demaziere, who saved himself by breaking away and seeking refuge with a group of Maquis. Last week's LABOR ACTION reported the similar experience of a Spanish socialist.

Of all the Trotskyist organizations in Europe, there is no doubt that the French party is making the most rapid strides forward. We have already reported the vote received by the party in the recent elections despite the obstacles placed in its way. To counteract the parliamentary illusions that are widespread among the French working class, the party, the Parti Communiste Internationaliste (PCI), is planning to intensify its activity in the CGT (French trade union movement). It is also planning a series of popular pamphlets. The PCI is trying to organize a broad workers front against Stalinist repression.

PALESTINE TROTSKYISTS PUBLISH NEW PAPER

After long delay, our Palestinian comrades have re-established contact with the Trotskyist movement in other countries. They report that after considerable difficulties they have obtained a license to publish a paper,

Haifon Hademokrati (The Democratic Paper) in Hebrew. Before the war, they published on a much larger scale Haor (The Light). Two active groups exist in Tel Aviv and Jerusalem. Many difficulties face the group, financial as well as others, but they are in the process of overcoming them.

A comrade writes from Jerusalem:

"We think that The New Internationalist is one of the best Marxist-Leninist papers ever published in English. We agree with the main points of your criticism of the attitude of the SWP toward Russia. However, we regret the organizational breach which occurred between the two factions... and we hope that the effort toward unity will be continued.

"We are a small group and there are great obstacles in our way. Both sectors, the Jewish and the Arab, are under the influence of extreme nationalists. In addition to that the pressure of Russia in this country and in the Middle East is daily growing and in their struggle against England both nationalist camps try to win the sympathies of the new factor in the politics of the Middle East and therefore show a complete lack of criticism and extreme servility toward the Stalinist bureaucracy."

The Workers Party--

(Continued from page 3)

view of the struggle of labor it is a fighting, progressive movement. Its idealism is born of an understanding of the long range aims of their struggle. Wherever a union places its own immediate craft interests above the interests of its own industry above that of the workers as a whole, it is a backward and reactionary movement.

An example of union idealism is the GM strike. The auto workers said, "Wage increases without price rises" because they were not interested in gaining more wages through higher prices which the workers as a whole would have to pay. An example of union backwardness and shortsightedness is the scabbing of the 18 railroad unions during the railroad strike.

These 18 craft unions said that they had no dispute with the railroads. It only involved the two brotherhoods that walked out. If scabs operated the trains, they were perfectly willing to supply crews. Their lack of idealism was not due to some streak of meanness in their character. It was due to their backwardness in not understanding the real nature of the struggle between the rail workers and the companies and of labor and capital, in general.

When we use idealism in this sense, we are really discussing the degree to which workers have come to un-

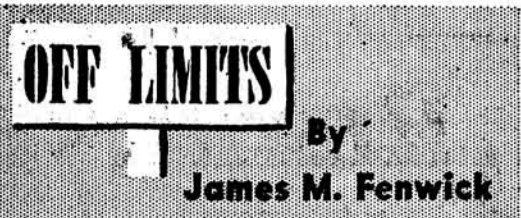
derstand that their interests are tied up with those of the working class as a whole, that no worker or group of workers can in the long run improve their position at the expense of the working class as a whole. The long run effect of such efforts always plays into the hands of capital and to the detriment of all workers, including those who secured some short run advantage. Such an understanding of the interests of the class as a whole we Socialists call class consciousness.

BUILDING THE FUTURE

The most class conscious workers are those who understand, not only the need of class unity in the immediate fight against capital, but also the long-range, historic goal of the working class in re-organizing society upon a Socialist basis. The most thoroughly conscious and far-sighted of these join the Workers Party.

"But how many are there who understand these things today? Isn't it true that your Workers Party consists of only a handful of people? How can such a small party get anywhere?"

We are firmly convinced that even such a small party, with a program that coincides with historic development, can not only "get somewhere" but will re-make the world. However, we will leave the reasons for our firm belief to our discussion of next week.



General Omar N. Bradley, known far and wide by his public relations office, his relatives and his Ralph Ingersoll, editor of PM, as "the soldier's general," last Memorial Day chose to enlighten a world in which only a few, alas, can be generals and so many of us, not smart like General Bradley, must be content to remain the eternal enlisted man.

"By this time," he said, "we should have learned that no one is richer by war. All are poorer including the victors."

Such a statement, half insolence and half idiocy, enlisted men have long since learned to expect from army officers, and General Bradley may even believe it himself. But no one else is thereby obligated to believe it, especially since the breaking of the Garsson case.

"All are poorer, including the victors." That is a lie. Only the working class is poorer because of the war. For the capitalist class the war years were golden ones. The career even of Murray Garsson, who is, it should be remembered, actually a nobody among the real rulers of this country—the capitalists—proves it.

UP FROM SLAVERY

Beginning only with a non-existent firm's letterhead and an unshakable faith in the corruptibility of congressmen, Garsson quickly ran this into a chain of firms which handled \$78,000,000 in war contracts. Garsson, a former associate of the gangster Dutch Schultz, did not invest a cent of his own money. The government financed everything.

Associated with Garsson in his patriotic enterprise were such typical characters as Benjamin F. Fields, an ex-convict. With such persons involved, it is not surprising that the business was conducted on a moral level considerably lower than those noble ideals for which the war was supposedly fought.

Andrew J. May, chairman, no less, of the House Military Affairs Committee, accepted bribes from the Garsson firm for "favors" he was able to extend it.

Albert W. Jacobson, a legal adviser in the Chemical Warfare Service, who handled contract approving, was paid \$20,000 a year by the Garsson company.

Expensive Christmas gifts were given to assorted generals and other officers in the Chemical Warfare Service who were in a position to aid the profit-making activities of the Garssons.

May intervened personally with General Eisenhower when Garsson's son, a captain in the Chemical Warfare Service, was court-martialed.

THE REAL SITUATION

In short, the Garssons and their political and military friends, like the capitalist class as a whole, of which they are a small part, emerged from the war richer than ever before.

They should have, for World War II was their war. It was fought primarily to contest the world trade market menaced by the expansion of German and Japanese capitalism.

"All are poorer...? No, only the working class of all countries is poorer. For it was they who were killed and mangled in the war, it was they who worked long hours in the shops, it is they who now are confronted with inflation, poverty, destruction of their homeland, and the prospect of an atomic war.

The Garssons, their capitalist betters, and their soldiers like you, General Bradley, emerged from the war quite satisfied.

You will pardon us if we don't believe you.

Observations Of a Veteran

By WILLIAM BARTON

It was just about three months ago that we rushed to the deck of our converted German luxury liner to get that long sought for view of the New York harbor. A week earlier we had strained our necks for a last lingering look at Le Havre, France, its docks finally in complete use, but its battered port area a perfect symbol of the war-wrecked continent we were leaving. Before us now was the resplendent New York skyline. Here was another obvious symbol: of the undiminished strength of the American fabric amid world wreckage. It was good to be home.

After three months it's still good to be in the U. S. To walk down a street where a stretch of intact houses is not a rarity, where a score of children do not try to scrounge for pieces of chocolate and adults for cigarettes, where the wartime loss of a friend is a conspicuous tragedy instead of a matter of course, remains a pleasant sensation.

Admiring the skyscrapers and bridges and elevated highways is still a fascinating delight. But how strong is the social fabric behind these dramatic indices of might and stability? What have these three months revealed to this returned involuntary traveler?

Being prepared through regular communication with the States to pay fifty bucks for the cheapest suit helped one adjust, but that even these would be unavailable except by constant searching was not anticipated. Being previously forewarned made it easier to pay a dollar for the most meager restaurant meal, but seeing staple foods get dearer and scarcer in the land that had seen no fighting or air attacks, had increased the amount of crops harvested and livestock brought to market, that was behind on modestly set commitments of shipments to needy countries—that is almost unbelievable.

Even more fantastic has been the revelation of the housing crisis. When four families huddled into what was formerly the small dwelling of one in Munich, Cherbourg or Liege, the logical explanation was apparent in the neighboring piles of rubble that once was homes. But for the U. S. it still does not make sense. No physical signs of war, an industrial machine that can ship stratospheric amounts of war material all over the world—side by side with a staggering apartment hunger. Scores of old friends with the same experience; five or six years of married life with little more than a room to live in, unused furniture that can't be taken out of storage, jobs that can barely support themselves and their families. The structure of American capitalism is not as mighty as the magnificent architectural edifices that make up the New York skyline.

(To be continued)

Analyzing an Imperialist Device

Reparations: New Blow at the European People

By ALBERT GATES

A peace conference is now being held in Paris. Gathered in the Luxembourg Palace are the diplomatic representatives of the victorious nations. Presumably all the nations are to help "win" the peace of the world. However, the small nations, that is, the militarily weak nations, have only a consultative role to play. The Big Four has already determined, in all important respects, the decisions of the "peace conference."

To call the meeting in Paris a "peace conference" is in keeping with the universal hypocrisies of capitalist society. It is more than a year since hostilities have ended in Europe and Asia. Since the war resulted in a crushing defeat of the Axis powers, the danger of a new war from that quarter is obviously completely eliminated. On the other hand, from a realistic point of view, the prospect of an immediate war resulting from the sharp antagonisms among the victor nations is also rather far-fetched.

The nations of Europe and Asia will be several years seeking to attain some degree of normal economic, political and social life. The devastation of the greatest war in the history of mankind has been far too vast to render possible such a new war among the new imperialist rivals.

Why, then, the meeting in Paris? The big powers have gathered together the members of the UN to ratify a conquerer's peace, to establish a formal legality, by agreement, to an imperialist redistribution of the spoils of war. The problems are many, the conflicting interests fundamentally unbridgeable.

The Paris Conference is merely the stage where the open diplomatic struggle between the two first-rate powers in the world today, the United States and Russia, takes place. As a natural result of this rivalry, the UN is divided into two camps, the Western and Russian blocs. While this struggle is fundamentally irreconcilable, the two blocs are in agreement on one thing: making the defeated nations pay for the war through occupation, seizure and removal of industrial equipment and raw materials, indemnities, reparation payments and territorial revisions and annexations.

The only disputes involved here are over the kind of penalties; and here the differences have a political significance since they relate to the impending conflicts among the powers and their respective desires to improve their political-military positions against each other. Since the Big Four is in principle agreement on their right to impose a conquerer's peace on the defeated countries, their quarrels assume a totally hypocritical tone.

CHAOS AND PEACE

The conferences at Yalta and Potsdam established this "right" for the Big Four to settle the fate of Europe. Thus, all the defeated Axis powers

and the smaller nations which Germany occupied and forced into the war on its side are treated as vanquished nations in common. These countries are occupied or divided territorially. Their economies, like the rest of Europe, are completely disrupted. Hunger stalks the Continent. But the only contribution the victor nations can make is to increase the devastation and disintegration of Europe.

The worst malefactor among the bandit nations is Russia. On the heels of the advancing Russian army came the specialists and technicians who dismantled whole industries and together with raw materials, livestock, farm products and forced laborers transported them to Russia. The forced migrations of peoples assumes an even more desperate and cruel form than they did under Hitler. At least Hitler never said that he was carrying out his barbarous crimes in the name of "democracy and peace," in the name of the Four Freedoms. Russia has forcibly incorporated non-Russian territories into its borders. Mutilating the economies of the coun-

tries which she occupies, the Stalinist bureaucracy has made a revival of those countries impossible.

On their part the Western powers have contributed their share to the chaos on the Continent. The United States, Great Britain and France joined Russia in the occupation and division of Germany, the central problem of Europe. The Big Four, while drafting treaties for most of the Axis powers, has, for lack of agreement, left unsettled the German and Austrian problems. But they transferred territory from Italy and gave it to France. Italy's colonial empire has been taken and its disposition left for a later date. Draft treaties for Italy, Bulgaria, Finland, Roumania and Hungary were completed. And in each case, the Big Four agreed to indemnities and reparations.

Revolutionary socialists oppose annexations, indemnities and reparations because, in the final analysis, they are paid for by the sweat and toil of the working people. Those who have no responsibility for war, are forced to pay its penalties. The Bolsheviks under Lenin always opposed

annexations, indemnities and reparations as an extension of imperialist policy from war to peace, as measures leading to a more intense exploitation of the masses.

From an economic standpoint, how can a defeated state pay tribute? If, after a war, it loses its colonies, its share of the world market, much of its industry, raw materials, and territories containing coal and iron as well as industries, then there remains only one way in which the monopoly capitalists of defeated nations can partially pay their debts to their fellow capitalists. This is by increased exploitation of their people through longer hours of work, lower wages, worsened conditions of life and a general destruction of the living conditions of the masses.

THEN AND NOW

After the last war, Europe suffered greatly because the war was fought on its soil. Material destruction and loss of life were immense. Industry and agriculture were at a standstill and economic decline manifested itself in all countries, including those

of the Allies. The great progress that capitalist society had made theretofore was halted. The world market, the world division of labor and the world exchange of goods was destroyed for a time. Yet on top of all this, the Allies demanded from defeated Germany, Austria and Turkey, the payment of astronomical sums in goods and money.

The imperialist Versailles Treaty not only meant a long period of great poverty for the masses (the capitalist rulers of the defeated countries never did pay fully for their defeat) but held up whatever chance there was for an economic improvement on the Continent. It provided the impulse for the rise of reactionary nationalism and chauvinism which helped pave the way for fascism. Students of history will remember that the only way Germany was able to meet even a part of its debt was by dumping goods cheaply on the world market. This not only increased its rivalry with the United States and Great Britain, but was done at the cost of the German people who suffered low wages and mass unemployment. Even

then Germany could not fully revive its economy since the dumping of goods was at the expense of future production.

The same thing is being repeated now, even though the post-war conditions of 1945-46 are far worse than they were in 1918. Modern instruments of warfare have wrought a greater destruction of natural and man-made wealth. The loss of life has been many times larger than in the first war. The destruction of the economy of Europe is more severe—Europe is, as a matter of fact, an economic wasteland particularly in those areas which were once the centers of capitalist economy and culture. A divided and occupied Germany, an occupied Austria, an Italy still treated as an ally of Hitler, Balkan countries, once overrun by the Wehrmacht, now overrun by Stalin's troops, and in Eastern Europe, on a line from Stettin in Germany to Trieste, on the Adriatic, the heel of Stalinism stalks astride the necks of the people—this is Europe in 1946.

Leaving aside all other aspects of the treaties now before the Paris Con-

ference, let us consider just one contained in common in all of them.

As we indicated above, in all the treaties there is a provision for the payment of tribute to the United Nations in one form or another. The only power, however, which has demanded money reparations of the impoverished countries is Russia. The money payments total almost a billion dollars and are divided as follows: \$100,000,000; Romania, \$300,000,000; Hungary, \$200,000,000, and \$50,000,000 each to Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia; and Finland, \$300,000,000. German and Austrian reparations will be considered when the Big Four can reach a prior agreement. In the meantime, Stalin is stripping the zones over which he has control.

In making these demands, Russia has given added evidence that she has nothing in common with socialism, but practices an imperialism of her own. Stalin's theoreticians, who were once Marxists, do not have to be told that by their demands they have accepted imperialist policy which identifies the people with the crimes of their rulers; that they have saddled defeated nations whose economies are destroyed, with war debts and such conditions as make it impossible for them to establish normal economic conditions. Those who will have to pay these debts are the toiling masses of these countries. If the countries do not meet these payments, Russia, like all imperialists, thereby has an ace in the hole: She has a legal right to intervene in these countries or to tie their economies to the Russian.

To say that Russia pursues an imperialist policy of its own does not wholly describe Stalinist policy in Europe. Precisely because she is poorer than the other imperialists, Russian imperialism is less subtle, more ruthless.

The peace conference in Paris is, like the Versailles conference and the League of Nations, the meeting ground of imperialist robbers. To oppose their robbers' peace is to defend the people of Europe. To fight against this latest imperialist attack on the peoples of Europe is to carry on the struggle for a free and Socialist Europe.

NEXT WEEK:

The next issue of LABOR ACTION will be a commemorative number devoted to the life and teachings of that outstanding leader of the international working class—Leon Trotsky. It will mark six years since he was murdered by one of Stalin's GPU agents. Articles describing his life-long activities, his teachings and writings are scheduled. Many pictures of Trotsky at various stages in his revolutionary career will go to make this an outstanding issue.

Who Will Win in China - the U. S. or Russia?

"Sixteen million Chinese people in Kwangsi and Hunan provinces are rapidly becoming physically weakened as a result of acute starvation. Cholera and other endemic diseases are widespread." UNRRA report, July, 1946.

Behind the story of the developing civil war between the forces of dictator Chiang Kai-shek and his Chinese Communist rivals there lies the tragic story of the continued suffering of China's people.

The war is more than a year over, a war that lasted almost ten years for the Chinese nation, yet China remains in a state of military terrorization and conflicting armies continue endless battles across the exhausted nation. The Japanese have gone, but social conditions are more turbulent and chaotic than ever. From day to day, the general population does not know who its master is or will be—the troops of the Kuomintang government headed by dictator Chiang, or the troops of the Stalinist Hunan government headed by would-be dictator Chou En-lai.

A STRUGGLE FOR POWER

Economically and socially, China continues to stagnate. The dispersed millions, scattered by the years of war, are unable to return to their homes and set up again their productive life. The nation's industry has picked up but slightly since the war's end, and is still largely devoted to war

production. Crops will be poor again this year because of the disruptive effects of the war between the Kuomintang and the Communist parties. Fields are not sown and the rice areas not cared for. All this spells added disaster for one of the world's most miserable lands.

We must ask the question—what is this struggle about? Can it become a large-scale civil war, further tearing apart China? Above all, does either camp—Kuomintang of Chiang, or Communist of Chou—represent the masses of Chinese workers and peasants? Do any of the hardships and sufferings both sides inflict upon the people have any worthwhile meaning?

Our answer is a clear and unequivocal no. It is our opinion that the present conflict in China in no way involves the interests of the Chinese people, except insofar as it is to the people's interest to put an end to BOTH camps and halt their struggle for power. In this sense, there is no class civil war going on in China. There is no primary, all-embracing social conflict between opposing classes, or sections of classes, each seeking to impose its own form of society upon China. It is essentially a POWER STRUGGLE between sets of armed gangsters who terrorize the common people caught between the fire.

Between the official government of Nanking (Chiang Kai-shek) and the Stalinist government of Hunan (Chou En-lai) there is a dividing line: each wants power over the other and over China's 450 millions. Power to accomplish good, or power to exploit? The

record of the Nanking government speaks for itself. So does the record of the Stalinist Hunan government. Their rivalry represents the rivalry of two sets of warlords of the type that have plagued China for centuries.

CHIANG'S REGIME

Chiang's Nanking government is a government of Chinese bankers, big merchants, landlords and industrialists. Madame Sun Yat-sen's description of this régime as a reactionary, anti-democratic clique is perfectly correct, despite her whitewash of Hunan through her silence. It is one of the world's most corrupt nests. It continues to refuse relief to the Chinese peasants, to refuse permission to the Chinese workers to organize democratic unions, etc. All these are facts which are undeniable. Chiang's aim is to retain power in the name of the Chinese capitalist and landlord class. Chiang's offensive against the Stalinists today is dictated by the following objectives: (1) To force the latter to yield as much territory as they can be made to yield; (2) To break the Stalinist hold over China's railway and canal systems so that the grain lands and north coal fields of the country can be reached by his mercenaries; (3) To smash the Communists and their organizations wherever possible; (4) To reinforce the dictatorship of the Kuomintang Party.

Behind Chiang and his cut-throats stands the U. S. government and Yankee imperialism. There is no question on this score, nor does American imperialism make much pretense to the

contrary. Support of Chiang and his government are considered as elementary tactics and strategy in the general, world-wide fight now going on between America and Russia. The U. S. has supplied Chiang with all his uniforms, equipment, arms and cannon. General Marshall's pretenses at arranging a "truce" have all but been dropped since June of this year. By air and sea, our Naval and Marine forces set a full Chinese army smack down into Shantung peninsula, where they are attempting to drive out the Stalinist occupants. Our "neutrality" talk is a joke. Truman backs Chiang against the Chinese Stalinists and against Russia, the masters of the Hunan government.

THE STALINIST REGIME

The Chinese Communist (Hunan) government, while having a totally different base and purpose, differs in no essential respect in its conduct of state affairs from the Chiang government. It permits no free, democratic development in the territories under its sway; it covered up the Russian army's loot of Shantung and Manchuria; it permits small scale capitalism and landlordism in its areas; it recruits peasants to its armies by the same dragooning methods as Chiang employs. From the point of view of the interests of the Chinese worker or peasant, the Chinese Stalinist differs practically in no way from the Kuomintang gang, or any of the numerous looting warlords and destroyers they have long known.

In the present conflict, the Chinese

Stalinists are largely on the defensive. Chiang is better armed than they are (no wonder, since he has the advantage offered by American arsenals). They wish to protect their already seized territories (Hunan, the Chahar and Jehol provinces of Inner Mongolia, Manchuria, Shantung Peninsula), and other strips of territory extending southwards toward central and southern China. Furthermore, the Chinese Stalinists, since their territory (except for Manchuria) is largely confined to the backward, peasant hinterlands of the country, wish to reach the seacoast and its industrial cities, as well as the Yangtze River valley. They no doubt feel that they can gain support, through skillful demagoguery, from the industrial workers of Shanghai, Canton, Nanking, Hankow, etc. But Chiang will fight hard to prevent this breakthrough.

Behind the Chinese Stalinist stands, of course, the vicious hand of Stalin and his totalitarian régime in Russia engaged in world-wide rivalry with America. Both manipulate their puppets and tools, now arranging short-lived truces, now throwing disarmed armies into action, now seizing this area, now relinquishing another area, etc. China, then, has today become the scene of a futile, reactionary, hopeless (for the people) war between American imperialism and its Chinese capitalist tool, Chiang, on the one side, and Russian imperialism and its totalitarian agents located at Hunan, China. Whatever either camp stands to gain in this fight, the Chinese people can only lose.

Excerpts from a Forthcoming Pamphlet on SWP-WP Unity:

TROTSKYIST UNITY AND THE NATURE OF THE PARTY

The readers of LABOR ACTION are familiar with the struggle for unity between the Workers Party and the Socialist Workers Party which was initiated by the former Minority Group of the SWP under the leadership of Albert Goldman and Felix Morrow, and the Workers Party. The development of that struggle was recorded in LA by articles, documents and exchanges which took place around this issue. The struggle for unity met up against the bureaucratic concept of a revolutionary socialist party held by the Cannon leadership of the SWP. Thus, one stage of the unity fight ended with the entrance of the major part of the Minority Group under Goldman into the ranks of the Workers Party. A pamphlet on the struggle for unity is now in preparation. This installment is one of several which will appear in the columns of LABOR ACTION.—Editor.

By ALBERT GOLDMAN

On the surface it appears as if those of us who left the Socialist Workers Party and joined the Workers Party did so because the SWP refused to accept the proposal which the former Minority of the SWP made for unity of the two parties. If that were really the case, then what we did would be inexplicable. For within our ranks are comrades who have spent many years in the revolutionary movement and experienced revolutionary socialists do not leave a party because of a disagreement on a question that is apparently not so very important.

There can easily be an honest difference of opinion as to whether unity with a certain party or group is or is not advisable and necessary. In such a case the minority advocating unity accepts the decision of the majority and continues its efforts to win the majority to its point of view. But it was clear to us that the rejection of unity by the leaders of the SWP was not the result of an honest conviction that unity is incorrect but rather of a fear of having too many independent revolutionists within the party. The rejection of unity was to us final

proof that concepts and methods of organization completely alien to Bolshevism had been introduced by Cannon and his followers and that what they want to build is a monolithic instead of a revolutionary party.

It was of course possible for us to remain in the SWP and struggle against these concepts and methods but there were too few of us and too much of our time would have been wasted in controversies with a clique that almost invariably succeeded in dragging every intellectual conflict down to its lowest level.

We joined the Workers Party because we are of the opinion that a union of all the forces striving to build a revolutionary Marxist party—as against a monolithic party—will, in the long run, bring the best results.

Our hopes for unity are not completely destroyed and our struggle for unity is not over. If there is unity it will mean that the process of degeneration that has begun in the SWP will have been stopped. If there is no unity then there is nothing else to do except to proceed on our path of building a revolutionary Marxist party.

In 1940 a bitter factional struggle centering around the issues of the defense of the Soviet Union and the nature of the regime, led to a split. In my opinion, the comrades who split and formed the WP made a grave mistake; in their opinion they were correct. But the split is now part of history and what is necessary is to unite and not to fight over an incident of the past.

The very nature of the issues upon which the split was based should have led intelligent and experienced Marxists to expect re-unification. When informed about the split Trotsky wrote that the then Minority was determined to pass through the experience of an independent party. Such an expression indicated that he considered the split a temporary one, because he considered the issues leading to the split as issues that would be settled in a short time.

They who see in the revolutionary movement a process in which sharp intellectual conflict is inevitable and even necessary do not consider a split a crime for which one suffers eternal damnation. It is a very costly part of the life of the revolutionary movement and all efforts must be made to avoid it. But if a split does occur, revolutionists who are interested in the revolution and not in their cliques make every effort to unite the divided forces.

Personal animosities are aroused in the course of bitter factional strife. But what kind of revolutionists are they who persist in retaining these animosities regardless of the passing of time and the elimination of the issues that gave rise to the struggle? Lenin was by no means a gentle person in a factional struggle. Lenin and Trotsky fought each other fiercely. But they found no trouble in uniting when the question of the Russian Revolution, upon which they saw eye to eye, demanded unity.

Alas that so many petty people have found it easy to imitate Lenin in hurling terms of opprobrium, but have found Lenin's politics too difficult to grasp. And Lenin's politics included unifications as well as splits. And the same is true of Trotsky.

POLITICAL BASIS FOR UNITY

The mere fact that unity of the SWP and the WP would do away with tremendous duplication of effort would justify making all efforts for unity. There are now two weekly agitational organs—THE MILITANT with a circulation, let us say of 35,000, and LABOR ACTION with one of 20,000. Would not one paper sold to 50,000 workers be much more effective? And the two papers are so similar in content that the average worker cannot possibly distinguish between them. There are two theoretical monthly magazines. There is confusing duplication of effort on all fronts. Such a situation should be tolerated only if there are profound programmatic differences.

There are of course differences but they are easily compatible with membership in one party, provided there is a willingness on the part of the minority to abide by discipline in action. The most serious difference is on the question of the defense of the Soviet Union but in 1940 we of the majority of the SWP, following Trotsky, contended that there was no justification of a split because of differences on that question. If that was true in 1940, it is a thousand times more true in 1946 when the most important question before us is not the defense of

the Soviet Union but the defense of the European Revolution against Stalinism.

Other differences that developed during the period of separation are minor in comparison with the question of the defense of the Soviet Union. Under no circumstances could any one of them or all of them put together justify a split or the continuation of a split.

On the basic anti-capitalist program there are no differences; on the program of transitional demands there are practically no differences. Readers of the weekly papers of the two parties could easily see that during the war, both refused to support the war on the ground that they considered it, on the part of the United States, imperialist in character; both fought against the no-strike pledge; both supported all the strikes. At present the two parties support the struggle for higher wages; they advocate the formation of a Labor party; they demand the withdrawal of the American troops from all occupied countries; they defend the European Revolution against the Stalinists and the democratic imperialists.

On the question of the nature of a party both parties accept the principle of democratic centralism. It is true that the rejection of unity by the leaders of the Socialist Workers Party together with other indications point to a Stalinist trend on the part of the SWP leaders but they deny that; they insist that they have the true Bolshevik concept of party organization; so do the leaders of the WP. There may even be legitimate differences of opinion on the application of the principle of democratic centralism but such differences should not prevent unity.

Serious revolutionists must above all recognize that the time within which we can build a powerful revolutionary party to lead the masses to socialism is limited. The invention of the atom bomb gives us, in all probability, another post-war period and no more. The serious tasks confronting the revolutionary Marxist movement both in this country and abroad demand the strengthening of that movement through unification of the two parties that represent it.

If the political situation demands unity why is there no unity? Upon whom is the responsibility for the failure to achieve unity and what significance can be attached to the motives of those who have rejected unity?

WORLD POLITICS

Stalinism and Europe's Boundaries

By IRVING HOWE

The major problem agitating European diplomacy at the moment is that of boundary settlements. In the past 15 hectic years, the boundaries of several countries have been changed any number of times; other countries have, for periods of time, even ceased to exist as independent nations.

One of the most interesting sidelights of this general problem is the attitude which the various Stalinist parties of Europe have taken towards the boundary problem. This has been a very difficult matter for them. Basically and ultimately, their primary loyalty is to Stalinist Russia and it is in the interests of the Stalinist ruling class that they function. Yet, in a number of southern European countries they have been propelled into governmental responsibility and power by the bayonets of the Russian army; they therefore have imperialist interests of their own. Thus, for instance, the Stalinists of a country like Yugoslavia or Hungary are concerned not only—though still primarily—with the needs of Russian imperialism; they have, as dominant forces in their own native regimes, their own fish to fry.

STALINIST BOUNDARY CONFLICTS

In the past few weeks, I have worked up a list, probably not complete, of instances in which Stalinist parties of different European countries have come into conflict with each other on problems of boundary settlement. Here are the most dramatic instances:

1. French Stalinists urge the separation of the Ruhr from Germany; the German Stalinists urge its retention within the framework of Germany.

2. Yugoslavia Stalinists under Tito's leadership, want the strategic port of Trieste; the Italian Stalinists want Trieste to be part of Italy.

3. Hungarian Stalinists support frontier revision in Transylvania; Rumanian Stalinists insist that the borders of Transylvania be maintained.

4. Austrian Stalinists support the claim of the Austrian government to the South Tyrol; the Italian Stalinists oppose it.

5. Czech Stalinists want the Cieszyn coalfields, located at the point where Poland and Czechoslovakia meet, to be part of their country; while the Polish Stalinists oppose that.

6. Hungarian and Czech Stalinists are in conflict on the problem of the expulsion of Hungarians from Slovakia initiated by the Czech government.

Thus far, these differences exist only among Stalinist puppet parties themselves. They are not especially difficult to explain. It seems reasonable to assume that Moscow is allowing its puppets a certain flexibility of motion... so that they will continue to be efficient puppets. For instance, the issue of Trieste. The conflict over Trieste has reached the point where the next world war might well break out around that dispute, as this last one broke out around the issue of Danzig; that is, while such border disputes do not cause a war, they help ignite it. The rival imperialist governments of Yugoslavia and Italy are bitterly fighting for control of Trieste, and they have succeeded in inflaming among their peoples powerful nation-

alist sentiments on the question. If, therefore, the Italian Stalinists were to agree to the cession of Trieste to Yugoslavia, their hold on the Italian working class would be greatly reduced—and thereby their value to Stalin would decrease. So that it is to Russia's advantage to allow its puppet parties to take dissenting positions on boundary questions, in view of the fact that neither the Italian nor Yugoslav Stalinists will actually decide the fate of Trieste.

HOW FAR WILL THEY GO?

However, another incident has recently taken place which is of a more striking nature. Russian armies are deeply entrenched in Austrian territory. They control over a third of that unfortunate little country and they have sucked dry most of its economic resources. A dispute arose between the Russian occupying troops and the Austrian government over certain industries, including some formerly held by German Nazis, the ownership of which is now in dispute. The Russian occupation laid claim to these industries, and in a move to forestall their seizure by the Russians, the Austrian government decided to nationalize them. We shall not here discuss the significance of this nationalization—part of a general economic trend in Europe—except to say that the change was largely a formal legal one, since the industries in dispute had largely been held by the government already.

What is interesting is this: the Austrian Stalinists supported the motion to nationalize the industries in question. After this decision by the Austrian government, the Russian occupying authority objected to Austrian decision to nationalize on the grounds that it would deprive the Russians of what was "rightfully" theirs. When the Austrian government went along with its legal maneuver of nationalizing the disputed industries, it did so with the support of the Austrian Stalinists.

Apparently, then, for the first time a puppet Stalinist party has defied its master. But even here it would not do to jump to hasty conclusions. We simply do not have the necessary information: was there previous consultation between the Russians and the Austrian Stalinists? was the stand of the Austrian Stalinists agreed upon in such consultation? is there indication of open disagreement?

We ask these questions because it is possible that, again for reasons of political convenience the Russians may have allowed their Austrian puppets to register formal dissent. But whatever the specific facts in the Austrian situation, this much is certain:

Such terms as "nationalist" or "internationalist" when applied to the Stalinist parties are largely meaningless. They are primarily agents of the Stalinist ruling class of Russia; as such they can pose, whichever way is convenient to them, as nationalists or internationalists. In addition, in a number of countries they have developed interests and ambitions of their own, and these interests and ambitions may at one point or another come into conflict with those of other Stalinist parties or even with Mother Russia herself. But that stage, if it is ever reached at all, is not yet here. In the meantime, the Stalinist parties continue their role above all and before anything else as agents of the Russian ruling class.

Dictatorship Employs Courts, Terror, Bribery

Behind Peron's Victory in Argentina

By SUSAN GREEN

There sits in the Casa Rosada, the White House of Argentina, President Juan D. Peron. This military dictator, strongly influenced by the Nazis, using Nazi methods to down labor and all opposition, was actually elected president by popular vote in February 1946. Freda Kirschwey in her "Report on Argentina," The Nation of March 30, wrote: "Peron is a fascist and a demagogue, but the poor people of Argentina have elected him President." This is the consensus on the election.

Certainly these poor people of Argentina voted against their basic interests in supporting Peron. How did this come about? What lessons can be learned from this mistaken action of the Argentine masses so that the working people and the poor masses everywhere can be saved such expensive mistakes?

The career of Colonel Juan D. Peron to date must be considered in two parts. The first part, from the seizure of power by the colonels in June 1943 to October 1945 when Peron was forced to resign temporarily, was characterized by the wrath he aroused in every section of the population. The second part started within forty-four hours from his resignation with a decided improvement in his political position and culminating in his election. The reason for this change can be summed up thus:

The situation required a mass revolutionary party to lead the struggle of the workers and peasants against dictatorship and oppression. This was wanting, and the anti-Peron opposition was in the hands of those afraid of radical changes. This weakness gave Peron the springboard he needed to win the election.

LABOR ONLY 5% TO 10% WITH HIM

Prior to his resignation the Nazi-inspired Peron had only a small minority of the people with him. This has been amply attested to. The CIO Latin Affairs Committee branded as a falsehood the claim that Peron had the support of labor. Jacob Potofsky, head of that committee and secretary-treasurer of the Algamated Clothing Workers, pointed out "that the few unions that Peron could really claim for himself were dominated by appointed henchmen and goons acting in connivance with the regime's secret police... So-called pro-Peron labor demonstrations are usually staged in strategic areas of Buenos Aires by imported hoodlums, and sympathetic police concentration provided theatrical effects that caused them to be noticed by the population."

Ray Josephs wrote in American Mercury of November 1944 that most of the workers were not much impressed by Peron's promises of low-cost housing, reduced food costs, better wages and conditions. Harry B. Kurkland, in October 1945 Current History, wrote: "But, to the eternal credit of Argentine labor, he [Peron] was able neither to bribe nor to frighten enough of it into his camp to give him the authentic character of 'people's choice'." Dr. A. M. Berrando, a Buenos Aires lawyer seeking aid for the democratic forces of Argentina in this country, estimated labor's backing of Peron at from five to ten per cent.

While the estancieros (rich ranchers) and industrialists at first looked expectantly for benefits from the military dictatorship, by the fall of 1945 these classes were also openly hostile. A Bonapartist dictatorship, ruling by decree, without a congress to account to or be hampered by, the colonels increased military outlays until, in the fiscal year 1945, expenditures were five times the 1942 figure—the last pre-Peron year. While the estancieros and commercial and industrial owners were not unwilling to have the working people regimented into

stooze unions and deprived of political rights, nor even to wink at anti-Semitism, they were not willing, at this stage at any rate, to support a spendthrift bureaucracy rapidly separating itself from their control. The ruling classes were being subjected to decrees, their businesses interfered with, and their taxes increased as never before. On the question of neutrality in the war, the estancieros and businessmen felt that while it was profitable to do business with both sides as long as possible, the break with the Axis was delayed too long after the outcome of the war was apparent, thus jeopardizing business interests.

So in June 1945 nearly every important business and financial organization subscribed to a widely-publicized attack on the Peron government. Three days later the large cattle interests expressed their "absolute solidarity with the manifesto and commerce." Thus the anti-Peron revolt included all classes.

ON THE VERGE OF CIVIL WAR

The popular uprising against Peron verged on civil war. Workers demonstrated and struck. Teachers and students came out on the streets. Lawyers and professionals of all kinds participated. Women marched on the government palace. On September 29, 1945, in Buenos Aires, 500,000 turned out for the "March of Constitution and Freedom." There were 100,000 more people at the demonstration than voted in the 1940 elections in that city, as alleged by more than one reporter from the scene.

Even the military was split wide open. When Peron emerged as the leader of the group of colonels who had taken power, he boasted the support of all but 300 of the 3600 army officers, and told a Chilean newspaperman that "their undated petitions asking for retirement are on file and can be enforced at a moment's notice." But two years later it was the army that offered up Peron as the sacrificial lamb to allay the wrath of the population and thus save itself from a people's uprising.

On October 9, 1945, the Minister of Interior announced: "Peron, deferring to Campo de Mayo [military headquarters in Buenos Aires], has resigned his offices, as Vice-President, War Minister and Secretary of Labor and Social Welfare." During the previous night military planes and cars had swarmed into Campo de Mayo bringing officers from all over

the country, a means of convincing Peron he had to resign.

At this point the anti-Peron forces revealed their weakness. The politically heterogeneous opposition was distinguished by its spontaneity and courage in demonstrations, but had no program for unified action, no unified leadership, no ability to form a government. There was a revolutionary situation, with nothing revolutionary transpiring. It was reported in The Nation that as soon as Peron was out, the street fighting was abandoned. The struggle was slackened in the crucial days, before anything was accomplished. "All parties wanted Peron out, but there was little agreement on who should be put in his place or how to do it," is how Newsweek described the inadequacy of the anti-Peron forces. The mountain labored and brought forth a mouse in the form of a demand that the Supreme Court assume power until elections could be had. The anti-Peron masses had been let down.

The Campo group of course had no intention of relinquishing power. After arresting a group of army rebels who also wanted the Supreme Court to take over the government, it resumed power through the triumvirate of President Farrell, General Avalos heading the Campo group, and Admiral Luna. Nothing more revolutionary than this having transpired, Peron was back in Buenos Aires within forty-four hours. Without taking any government posts, he again put his hands on the controls of the military machine as the power behind the throne. Everybody knew this, from the most ignorant to the most politically conscious. After his momentary eclipse, Peron returned with the halo of leadership around his head—the only leader in a leader-loving country. His opponents had shown their weakness; Peron his strength.

PERONISTA TERROR SWEEPS ARGENTINA

Few people realize what a reign of terror was let loose in Argentina after Peron's come-back, and while it was not the only factor that swung the election in his favor—to which we will come later on—it was a factor of tremendous importance. After strengthening his position in the army by putting his men into strategic posts and increasing its numbers, as reported by Ray Josephs in PM, Peron went to work on the population.

Under date line October 17, several New York papers reported that Peron was bringing thugs into Buenos Aires from the suburb of Avellaneda. The police provided truck transportation, weapons and pesos for services rendered. Among the services they rendered was to force all passers-by to shout for Peron under threat of violence. With police help they attacked the Jewish quarters. They were wine and dined at public expense, housed in theatres and public buildings and given the free use of brothels.

Wide publicity was given in this country to the attack by Peronistas on the great mass meeting in Plaza del Congreso by the Democratic Union on December 8. There were many wounded and several dead. Cortesi reported that there was a many times greater crowd at this meeting than Peron "has ever been able to assemble." It was broken up by Peron's police who charged with armored cars and machine guns after the Peronista thugs had failed to break it up. A result of this meeting was that the police was ordered to search everyone for arms, which meant the anti-Peronistas. This was not the first police raid in search of arms. Cortesi reported a similar foray on October 26 when all arms were also removed from gunsmiths shops. In one form or another the Peronistas used terror throughout the election campaign up to a couple of days before election when the army took over to "assure free elections."

The workers and country poor were not prepared to resist this terror. Neither the Socialist Party nor the Communist Party and certainly not the Radical Party, the bourgeois party to whose leadership the two former bowed, had organized the masses for self-defense.

While Peron employed violence to purge the population, the government proceeded to shift the scenery for a "democratic election." It issued a series of "liberal" decrees. Elections were called for April, 1946, and later advanced to February. The ban against political parties was lifted. Some political prisoners were freed. Newspaper suspensions were cancelled. Universities were reopened—where, by the way, bloody struggles broke out anew. All this was done to get Peron elected "democratically."

(Another article on Argentina will appear next week)

Books You Should Know...

PATTERNS OF CULTURE, by Ruth Benedict. Penguin, 25 Cents.

Reviewed by SHIRLEY LAWRENCE

This book, a classic of American anthropology, is an analysis of three strongly contrasting civilizations—the Zuni Indians of New Mexico, the Dobu tribe of Melanesia and the Kwakiutl Indians of Vancouver Island. When she wrote the book about ten years ago, Ruth Benedict deliberately chose these obscure primitive peoples because she felt that she would have less prejudice or passion toward them than toward peoples she knew well. She proceeds to contrast these three peoples as a means of discovering different "patterns" of social life.

The Zuni Indians are a ceremonious people who value sobriety and mildness above everything else. They believe in moderation and the self-effacement of the individual for the sake of society and they place a high value on peaceful cooperation. The ideal man among the Zuni Indians is a person of dignity and affability who has never tried to lead or to seek personal power. Pleasant relations between the sexes is merely one aspect of pleasant relations among human beings. Their lives lack intensity or conflict; they evade danger.

The Kwakiutl Indians, on the other hand, exalt rivalry, self-glorification and excessive individualism. Among these people each individual constantly vies with all others to acquire more property. On top of economic power, the Kwakiutl Indians construct a series of non-economic relationships: nobility, titles, crests, special privileges. Their life is oriented about the idea of participating in competitions in which they could shame their rivals. So the object of all Kwakiutl enterprise is to show oneself superior to one's rivals. For them, triumph is an uninhibited indulgence of delusions of grandeur, and defeat a cause for shame which may even lead to death.

The Dobu people have points of similarity to the Kwakiutl Indians. Their values involve not so much triumph over others, but rather a constant ill-will and treachery, a jealousy and fierce exclusiveness of ownership, as well as an inability to construct a binding system of law for themselves.

What can we learn from the study of these three tribes?

ORIGINS OF CULTURE

Our "pattern of culture"—the product of a capitalist economy—is not universal and God-given, something which can never be disturbed or changed. While reading this book, we are jostled out of some of our dearly

cherished notions about the superiority of our ways, and we are thereby made to question some of our basic institutions. More than that, we are made to see that it is absurd to pass judgment, to feel superior towards other societies and peoples; we lose some of the provincialism which is the curse of his country.

Another conclusion we may draw from "Patterns of Culture" is that the idea that there exists certain universal traits of human nature is folly. Each society tends to inculcate certain patterns of behavior in the people who live in it. Thus what is "normal" for one society is not for another. For instance, many of the traits of the Kwakiutl Indians bear strong resemblance to what we would call a queer kind of frenzy, or what psychologists would call psychotic behavior; yet, the Kwakiutl Indians, consider those traits perfectly normal.

Still another illuminating idea is suggested by Benedict's study. Some of the traits which are considered normal in our society—competition, extreme individualism—are so exaggerated in the Kwakiutl society that we gain a clearer picture of their

character because of the extremes to which the Kwakiutl people bring them.

Though Patterns of Culture is a valuable book, there are a few shortcomings that should briefly be noted. Most important, the author lacks an historical method, which results in an enormous amassing of facts she does not properly utilize. She does not attempt to question why these primitive peoples have different cultures; she does not seek in their history or economic situation any reasons which might help to explain their varying "patterns of culture." She merely describes without explaining.

Another difficulty is in her application to society of terms usually reserved for the psychological study of individuals. But it is questionable if the terms of individual psychology can be transferred so readily to entire societies.

In short, Benedict's book suffers from some of the usual faults of present day American scholarship—an absence of the Marxist historical method. But that should not obscure the great value which it has.

Indian Trotskyist Paper Analyzes Nehru's Political Role

Jawaharlal Nehru, next to Gandhi, is the best known of India's leaders, in America. His books have been widely circulated here; his articles and statements appear frequently in the American press. Today, as president of the India National Congress party, Nehru is a leading figure in that country and has been mentioned as the possible Prime Minister of India, when and if an Indian government is set up.

We print below a revealing picture of this leader and spokesman of the Indian capitalist and landlord class—a picture of Nehru in action. The incident referred to is the famous uprising of the sailors of the Indian Navy last April. The article is extracted from the March issue of SPARK, publication of the Indian Trotskyists, and speaks eloquently for itself as to the true character of Nehru.—Editor.

Jawaharlal Nehru is the darling of the Congress left and the idol of the petty bourgeois masses. For he is, you see, a "radical" and a "socialist" who at the same time, is Gandhi's heir-designate. It is a pretty combination

in one person and produces pretty results. Witness the recent Royal Indian Navy affair.

When Vallabhai advised the RIN men to surrender unconditionally, Aruna Asaf Ali wired frantically to Nehru:—"Naval strike tense. Situation serious climaxing to grim. You alone can control and avoid tragedy. Request your immediate presence in Bombay." Nobody knows what magic Aruna expected of her hero. Did she, perhaps, expect him to differ from Vallabhai Patel? If so, she was soon disillusioned.

On February 27, Nehru gave a hundred-minute press conference. There he was asked: "Should not the city of Bombay observe a General Strike in response to Royal Indian Navy ratings?" His reaction was revealing. Reported the Hindustan Standard correspondent, "Pandit Nehru, who was all along answering questions calmly, suddenly flew into a temper and said: 'The RIN Central Strike Committee had no business to issue such an appeal. I will not tolerate this kind of thing. Fifteen men, however much I

like them, knowing nothing about the situation in Bombay, in India or the world, over the heads of everyone in Bombay, all recognized political parties, issue an appeal that there should be a General Strike. The obvious course open to the Strike Committee was not to issue such an appeal to three million citizens of Bombay over the heads of everyone in Bombay but to meet the recognized leaders and put before them their case and ask whether a General Strike was feasible and it was for the political leaders—be they Congress or the League, to decide after taking various factors into consideration."

One thing is clear from the above statement. Nehru obviously agreed with Vallabhai's advice to the RIN ratings.

However, the material point about Nehru's statement is something else. It is clear that, in his opinion, only the Congress and the League have the right to call general strikes. All other bodies must go to the leaders of these two bodies and subordinate themselves to such leaders' decision. Note

well. It is not a question of the advisability of a certain procedure. It is a claim of right to a certain procedure by reason of a claim that a certain right lies only in certain persons. According to Nehru, only "the political leaders" are entitled to call a strike. No one else is entitled to do so ("no business to issue such an appeal"). No one else can be allowed to do so ("I will not tolerate this kind of thing").

This is a startling proposition with far-reaching implications: It is a monopoly claim to initiative in the realm of political mass action for the Congress and League leadership. They and they alone, apparently, are entitled to decide on and call for political mass action. Nobody else, absolutely nobody else, apparently has that right.

It is necessary to stress that the question is not whether a call to action by any other body would be effective, that is, would be hearkened to by the masses. That is not the question. In fact, on this occasion the people of Bombay hearkened to the RIN

Strike Committee's call. They came out in unprecedented mass action. And they continued that action in the very teeth of Congress orders to "stop it."

It is precisely this fact that has outraged Nehru. Congress has been flouted by the masses it purports to represent. They hearkened to the call of others to action instead of obeying the Congress call to inaction. It is plain that Nehru's conception of the function of the masses in relation to Congress is that the masses must simply listen and obey. They have no right to independent initiative in action. That right is vested solely in Congress and the League.

It is necessary to characterize this claim of Nehru and of the Congress High Command for what it is. It is nothing but an effort to extend outwards that organizational totalitarianism which is today growing within Congress. It is an attempt to establish also a form of political totalitarianism by Congress over the masses. Today, dissident groupings within Congress are being crushed and dissident ideol-

ogies are being attacked in the name of the slogan, "One Party, One programme, One Leader." This was in relation to intra Congress politics. Now the same slogan is being turned outwards and, in its name, initiative in mass action is being denied to all others. (Parallel the League's claim to the exclusive right to represent the Muslim community. It is the same position in principle.)

This is totalitarianism in the bud and fuchlerism in the flowering. The masses choose the Congress. The Congress chooses its leadership. The leadership chooses its leader. (Do they not appeal to Gandhi and bring him in at every important stage?) Thereafter, the function of the Congress rank and file and of the nation is simply to obey the Congress leadership. Will the "Trust Congress!" slogan-shouters of the "leftist" persuasion remember this when next they announce that they will remain loyal to Congress and not go against its "respected leaders"?

PIERRE BOUSSEL.

The Price Struggle in France

We reprint this article from La Verité, June 28, weekly newspaper of the International Communist Party, French section of the Fourth International, for its clear and simple description of our slogan—Workers' Control of Prices. We respectfully call it to the attention of the Socialist Workers Party, our "orthodox" Trotskyist friends, who reject this slogan and conception.—Editor.

The Administrative Committee of the CGT (French Labor Federation) has just taken a decision of very great significance. It involves the constitution of "Price Control Committees," at department and local levels. Two circulars have been sent out to the departmental offices and to the federations, with the object of their being applied.

Some remarks are necessary about them:

(1) If it is correct and indispensable to form these committees, their composition must be precisely explained. Indeed, it is not sufficient to call for the convening, under control of departmental and local unions, of representatives of farmers' and

cooperative organizations, together with women's and small shopkeepers organizations.

We must show that a true, popular control over prices must have its point of departure at the point of production. That is, in each factory the workers will force the opening of the bosses' books and will examine them with the aid of accountants and unionized account experts.

Such a price control committee, at the factory, opening the books that conceal the business secrets, is the first step toward the effective functioning of the committees for whose formation the CGT calls.

(2) In the first circular, it is not indicated with sufficient clarity what means will be at the disposal of the "Price Control Committees" to make their decisions respected. It does state that "speculators must be denounced and the municipal and departmental authorities must be informed about them, for the purpose of prosecution"—a pious wish, given the fact that all the bosses, all the big merchants speculate to one degree or another; given the fact that the capitalist profit system itself calls for unbridled spec-

ulation. To force respect for their decisions, the Price Control Committees will have to diminish the authority of the profiteering capitalists.

The Price Control Committees, at local departmental and national levels, must themselves fix the prices and must make their decisions respected by basing themselves upon the workers and small farmers organized into their committees.

Comrade Marie Couette is correct in calling upon the housewives to support the decisions of such popular price control. For they are the most interested in seeing a stabilization in living costs and their rapid lowering.

If results are wanted, popular initiative must be called upon.

Workers in the shops, open the books of your bosses, suppress secret business and commerce, lessen the benefits of your bosses!

Housewives, in your neighborhoods, organize committees that will take in hand the control of prices.

PIERRE BOUSSEL.

Labor, Vets Picket Smith in Cleveland

By GERRY McDERMOTT
CLEVELAND—Organized veterans and organized labor joined hands here recently to picket successfully a meeting of G. L. K. Smith, America's leading fascist.
 Five hundred singing, shouting pickets answered the call of the American Veterans Committee to other veterans' organizations and labor unions. The pickets, marching in a continuous solid line and shouting and boing the fascist scum who crossed the picket line, far outnumbered Smith's listeners. Beyond a doubt, a good many of Smith's followers recalled even more militant picket lines which Cleveland labor has rallied against Smith in the past, and did not come.
 Smith made his usual anti-labor, Negro-hating, Jew-baiting speech to a very small audience composed mostly of wealthy women.

This is not the first time Smith has graciously been given the use of Public Auditorium and a large honor guard of mounted police by Cleveland's "Democratic" administration. Smith serves big business in his way and the Democratic machine works for the same master in its way, too.

Cleveland labor must recognize that the recent demonstration had one great weakness which must be corrected. The demonstration suffered from the heavy hand of the local Stalinist Party apparatus.

The Stalinists, who are influential or in outright control of many Cleveland veterans' organizations and union locals, were to a large degree in charge of the demonstration. As a result, news of the Smith meeting and a call for pickets went out late, and was not widely circulated. A real appeal to labor and the veterans would have brought such a demonstration as would make both the fascists and their honor guard of cops shake in their boots.

But the Stalinist bureaucrats do not want this. They contrive to appear as the only opponents of fascism, blocking ANY genuinely independent working class action such as an honest call for pickets would have brought forth. Labor and veterans must not depend on the treacherous Stalinists for leadership in the fight against American fascism. It is worth recalling the words of their henchman, Molotoff, during the Hitler-Stalin pact: "Fascism is only a matter of taste."

When the ruthless capitalist class really begins to finance Smith and his like, labor, the veterans and the minority groups must fight back with all their strength, or America will taste the slave-labor and mass-murder conditions that followed Hitler's victory over the German working class.

The Cleveland Branch of the Workers Party distributed leaflets calling for pickets when it became evident that the demonstration was not being widely publicized. Workers Party members took part in the demonstration with other members of their local unions. Many copies of the Workers Party pamphlet, "The Truth About Gerald L. K. Smith," were sold to pickets and sympathetic bystanders.

YOUTH NOTES...

PHILADELPHIA:

E. R. McKinney, national secretary of the Workers Party, spoke to the Socialist Youth League unit last Sunday. About thirty young people came to hear him speak on the recent lynchings and the effect the CIO's "Operation Dixie" will have in relation to the problem of Jim-Crow.

NEW YORK:

Approximately forty youths attended the New York SYL's forum on the "Russian Enigma." The speakers, Gertrude Blackwell and Justin Graham told of the betrayal of the Russian Revolution by the Stalinists and the growth of the bureaucracy. The meeting ended as it began with the singing of songs.

SUMMER SCHOOL:

The SYL will hold its first summer school in New York, August 20-September 7. Members and friends will participate in lecture classes and in field work sessions. The school includes the following courses:

- Essentials of Marxism—Shirley Waller, Nat'l Sec'y SYL
 - Nature of the State—Max Shachtman, Nat'l Chair, WP
 - Trade Unionism—E. R. McKinney, Nat'l Sec'y, WP
 - Marxian Economics—F. Forrest, LA writer
 - Rise and Decline of the Communist International—Al Gates, Editorial Board, LA
- Field work will include street corner meetings, sales of literature, etc. Beach parties, picnics, wiener roasts will add to the gaiety of the school. Any young reader who is interested in the school, please write SYL School Committee in care of LABOR ACTION for further information.

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Real Problems of Peace are Not on Agenda As Big Powers Clash at Paris Conference --

(Continued from page 1)
 at the European Peace Conference!

PEACE IS NOT THE IMPOSING OF ARBITRARY BOUNDARIES

The Big Four Powers, who dominated the conference, have presented the 17 other nations, with a series of proposed treaties to be imposed upon the unwilling, humiliated nations of Italy, Rumania, Hungary, Bulgaria and Finland—the losers of World War II. A study of the details of these Treaties (including the disputed sections) clearly reveals the first and basic truth about the whole Conference: we have here a gathering of victor imperialist Powers, with their satellites, determined to impose robber, imperialist, reparation and territorial grabbing Treaties upon vanquished peoples. These proposed Treaties are harsh treaties of revenge and cruelty, signifying the effort to permanently enslave millions of Italians, Rumanians, Bulgarians, Hungarians and Finns.

Boundaries are to be arbitrarily fixed, traded and exchanged. But boundaries involve people, the Finns formerly within Petsamo province who now will go to Russian totalitarian hands; the Rumanians of Bessarabia who will likewise fall into Stalin's bloody hands; the Italians of Breda who must go to the French; the Italians of Venezia Giulia, who will feel Tito's boot on their neck, etc. Are not these people to be given a choice or say in the matter? According to the Big Four treaties, no! Each boundary settlement of the "peacemakers," then cannot but fail to become a sore point for another war.

PEACE IS NOT THE EXTRACTION OF REPARATIONS FROM STARVING PEOPLE.

Italy—to pay \$100 million in goods produced, for Stalin's Russia.
 Rumania—to pay \$300 million in goods produced, for Stalin's Russia.
 Hungary—to pay \$300 million in gold and goods produced, for Stalin's Russia.
 Finland—to pay \$300 million in gold, for Stalin's Russia.
 Russia will extract, with the approval of the Big Four (and the little Seventeen), \$1 billion from the poor people, the workers and peasants, of the defeated lands. We know the poli-

tics. Italy loses Trieste, a major economic port for the country's life; Italy has its merchant fleet divided up among the Powers; its colonies are taken away (into the hands of England, to be sure, and not into the hands of the native people who live in them); its navy is destroyed. Italy will be a third or fourth rate Power, producing reparations for Russia.

Rumania, Hungary and Bulgaria are turned over to the Russian economic sphere; deprived of all but minute armies and forced to swallow a diet of reparations to Russia, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. Finland must lease whole cities and bases for occupation indefinitely by Russian troops. Land grabs, reparations and economic subjection—this is the content of the Big Four Treaties.

PEACE IS NOT DENIAL OF NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE.

The Treaties so weaken and nullify the nations upon which they are to be imposed that, in effect, they cease to exist as free and independent coun-

tries. Italy loses Trieste, a major economic port for the country's life; Italy has its merchant fleet divided up among the Powers; its colonies are taken away (into the hands of England, to be sure, and not into the hands of the native people who live in them); its navy is destroyed. Italy will be a third or fourth rate Power, producing reparations for Russia.

Goldman Speaks on WP Program At Two Meetings in Bay Area

OAKLAND, Calif., Aug. 1—Albert Goldman, former attorney for Leon Trotsky, who is now on a West Coast tour for the Workers Party, addressed two meetings in the East Bay area here under the auspices of the San Francisco Branch of the Workers Party.

On Sunday, July 28, Goldman spoke in Oakland on "The Workers Party Program for American Labor." Goldman emphasized repeatedly that the American government was able to ensure production of billion of dollars' worth of military supplies during the war, but such is the nature of the capitalist system that the same government cannot now get enough houses built to put roofs over the heads of thousands of workers and veterans who need them so badly. He pointed out, further, that the rising cost of living has wiped out the gains made by labor on the picket lines in hard won strikes, and that labor must organize a Labor Party to take over the government in this country so that production can be organized to meet the needs of the common people.

On Tuesday, July 30, Comrade

Goldman addressed a mixed audience of Negroes and whites on the subject: "Full Equality for Negroes" in Berkeley. He denounced discrimination of any kind against any national, racial or religious minority. Goldman visibly moved his audience with a description of the recent lynchings in the South, and laid the blame squarely on the system of hatred and exploitation under which we live.

He made a strong plea for unity between the labor movement and the Negroes in struggle against their common enemy, the capitalists and monopolists who are responsible for fostering racial prejudice. Goldman declared that only by a common struggle of labor and the Negroes can capitalism be abolished and a socialist society of freedom and equality established.

On Wednesday, July 31, open house was held for Comrade Goldman in Berkeley. At the request of many present, Goldman briefly discussed the life and work of Leon Trotsky with particular emphasis on his personal impressions of Trotsky at the Dewey Commission inquiry in Mexico City.

Louisville Mayor as Strikebreaker

Special to LABOR ACTION

LOUISVILLE, July 27.—Mayor Leeland Taylor has acted to the letter in the strikebreaking role he has played since his election. This is the end point of the wishy-washy policies of the AFL and CIO groups here who either endorsed machine candidates or substantiated abstention for endorsement instead of pursuing a positive independent line.

Taylor is the counterpart in Louisville of what Lyter Donaldson is in Kentucky, a strong man in the Democratic political machine. These men represent the real content of the Democratic party. In the last gubernatorial election Donaldson saw fit to run as the Democratic nominee. Winning the Democratic primary election was simple for a man of his power in the machine, but in the election his mediocrity proved so revolting that the Republican Simeon Willis was elected to office by the apathy of a non-voting public.

During the war when "we all had to pull together" the Louisville machine was able to afford a liberal mayor,

Wilson Wyatt, now Federal Housing Administrator. But when Wyatt's term expired, the machine decided that that was enough: it was time to cash in the chips. So Taylor was nominated and the machine carried him to office.

Taylor's record speaks for itself. He has raised taxes, openly espoused the spoils system and had the civil service laws modified, disallowed use of city parks for inter-racial gatherings, and used police against pickets in a recent truckdrivers' strike.

In a more subtle-reactionary approach he recently set up a city Labor-Management Committee with the customary 6-6-6 (or as workers know, 12-6) composition to mediate strikes. However, less than three weeks after its formation, Taylor's hand has been called by the city garbage tipplers who have struck for higher wages.

MODEST DEMANDS

The 125 tipplers in the CIO-United Public Workers of America struck for a wage increase from 70 to 85 cents an hour. This demand would seem

modest from men working 48 hours per week without social security or health insurance in the unhealthiest of occupations, and coming as it did after published statistics indicated that the cost of necessary living items had gone up 25 per cent since the end of OPA.

Taylor immediately hid behind the pretense that the city's fiscal policy couldn't afford the wage increases (despite tax increases). He refused to accept arbitration by a committee proposed by the union ("I refuse to deal with any union on strike against the City") and inserted an ad in local newspapers calling for strikebreakers at the old low wages.

After neither the strikers nor other workers responded to the ad, Taylor asked his Labor-Management Committee to take up the dispute. The UPWA asked the labor members of the Committee to resign "in order not to be a front for anti-labor action."

The workers responded to all this in good fashion, picketing the Mayor's office and chanting a strike song to the

tune of the Battle Hymn of the Republic.

But isolated and without funds, after five days they finally allowed the case to be submitted to the Labor-Management Committee on the basis of an agreement reached by their representative and the Mayor, which is a disgrace to the representative and to the labor members of the Committee. Among its provisions is one that the Mayor will enter with the union into an agreement binding only on Taylor personally and having no further binding effect on any other city official or future Mayor.

This is not collective bargaining, but a reversion to the master-slave relationship. Furthermore, the workers forfeit their right to strike, continue to work 48 hours, and are given no direct wage raise. The latter depends on the findings of an auditing committee, and what worker does not know the poor compromise at which this committee will arrive. Indeed this is a new low in collective bargaining, and perhaps it is not incidental that local Stalinists were the negotiators for the workers.

US - Russia Dispute Behind Espionage Trial

By VINCENT WHEELAN

SEATTLE, Wash. — By returning a verdict of "Not Guilty" on five counts of espionage and conspiracy against Russian Naval Lieut. Nicolai G. Redin attached here to the Soviet Purchasing Commission, a federal court jury on July 17 took the starch out of a Justice Department "G-Man" thriller involving charges that the Russian officer, under orders from Moscow, purchased for \$250 confidential information about the destroyer tender, U.S.S. Yellowstone.

Six agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation picked up Redin in Portland, Ore., March 26, shortly before his scheduled return with his wife and baby to Russia, and removed him to Seattle for trial. He was charged with soliciting and obtaining for a price from Herbert Kennedy, an engineer employed by the Puget Sound Yards of Todd Pacific shipbuilders, data on radar, gun-fire control and engine-room machinery of the 13,000 ton vessel which was launched in April of last year.

The five women and seven men who sat in the jury box for nearly four weeks were apparently unmoved by the flag-waving oratory of state's counsel. They heard U. S. Attorney Victor E. Anderson declare that an acquittal would brand as perjurers the navy officials and the FBI agents who were called to testify. After the long build-up, shot through with mystery, the climax proved to be a complete flop.

STRETCHING LEGAL POINT

FBI field men let it be known early in the case that Kennedy's house had been wired for sound. They said they had recordings of conversations concerning the alleged transactions taken when the two families were visiting at the Kennedy home. But when defense attorneys demanded that the discs be produced, Harry G. Maynor, in charge of the Seattle FBI office, said he was under orders not to answer questions or bring into court any information about recordings.

The story began to drag at this point. But in a surprise move declared to be unprecedented in federal courts, Judge Lloyd L. Black asked Chief Assistant U. S. Attorney Allan Pomeroy and Anderson to ascertain from the Justice Department whether or not the records could be played to the jury. Acting on the court's "urgent suggestion," government counsel got

in touch with Washington, D. C., and obtained permission from J. Edgar Hoover, FBI head, to play the records.

But when the needle was set to the discs, all the jury heard (in the words of Redin) was "Voices, voices, cracks and noise." This was mixed with shouts of children at play, bits of conversations, thuds and slams.

"SECRETS" WERE AVAILABLE

Testimony revealed that the Kennedys and the Redins had been close friends and were together often. The lieutenant said the marine engineer

"told me several times that he was once a big something in France and then he went broke and wanted to get into our office (the Soviet Purchasing Commission)."

One of the main bulwarks of the defense was that the Yellowstone information which Kennedy testified he sold to Redin can be found in many government textbooks and in publications available in the public library. In fact, Ivan Zabello, Russian civilian employee of the SPC, said on the stand that the same information was available in many Russian naval textbooks.

After deliberating eight hours and 40 minutes, the jurors cleared Redin on all counts. "We didn't feel that the government had sufficient evidence," said one of them.

WHY THE TRIAL?

Even a superficial examination of the evidence—or lack of it—presented by the government makes it clear that the Justice Department had a case without a leg to stand on. The attorney general and his Seattle staff must have known this from the beginning. All the FBI had was an unverifiable yarn from a shipyard engineer that Redin wanted to buy confidential information about a certain naval vessel.

A not unreasonable conjecture is that the whole maneuver was cut to fit the requirements of U. S. foreign

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Come to Think of It

There Is No Power Can Beat Us

By HAL DRAPER

Atomic power is a wonderful topic of conversation. Not that it will ever out-talk the weather, but the atom's got a lot of advantages.

In the first place, it's practically a dead certainty that the other fellow knows as little about it as you, so there's no holds barred.

In the second place, you can always start off with "I see in the papers today..."

So, like I was saying, I see in the papers today how the American Speleological Society has come out with a plan. Tuck that word "speleological" away in your bonnet. It means the society studies CAVES and I just learned it too.

But to get back to the A.S.S., which we will call Jack for short. Every man-jack of them offers his services to the government, free, to make a survey of all "caves, caverns and natural cavities" in the earth, for the purpose of relieving the expected housing shortage when the atoms begin to pop in World War Three.

I know this is a heck of a thing to talk about just when there's a big peace conference on with 21 nations giving their delegates expense money and everything, but I'm assuming that LABOR ACTION's customers are grown up and know all about the birds and sons of B's.

Now as a matter of fact, it was my friend Paperhead Pete that brought this news item to my attention, and he thought it was a swell idea.

"It's all up with the human race," he said. "And as for your revolution," he said, "all they'll have to do is drop a capital A on your boys and the revolution's over. Squish—like that. You can't beat it. Me, I'm getting a farm in Oregon and raise squash and zucchini."

"I see you're in a pessimistic mood today," I said, "I don't like squash and zucchini."

"It's not pessimism," says Pete, "the big boys got the upper hand now. You've got to face the facts. We'll make it sweet potatoes and bell peppers."

Now I could have told Paperhead Pete why an atom-bomb can squish a riot or a patch, but not a mass revolution. But when a fellow says, "I'm licked," he IS licked, whether he's licked or not. And if you got lost in that sentence, it'll clear up as soon as I explain what else the A.S.S. reminds me of.

That, namely, was a real jackass called Blackie who was my pack burro when my wife and I took a trip over the High Sierras in Yosemite in 1944, and this was the first burro I'd ever come close to.

The stable-man picked him out, turned the lead-ropes over to me, and said "He's all yours." That's all right with a sack of groceries but a burro is different. I got as far as the end of the rope. But there were the stable-man and my wife watching, so I jerked the lead in my masterful way and sternly yelled, "Get going, ya black devil." Blackie got going. He lit out the other way and then started

circling the corral with me hanging on to the rope. I lost ground at the rate of about five miles an hour, and it wasn't all on my feet.

It also wasn't dignified.

When Blackie stopped, the stable-man just said, "That ain't the way," which was something in the line of understatement. He showed how.

Now how do you move a burro when the beast goes on strike? I'd like to see the man that can pull a burro forward when he's got his forelegs planted down. The answer is: you don't even try.

Instead you take a short grip on the lead and jerk his head SIDEWAYS. That's all! It doesn't move him an inch yet, but it does one other thing.

It convinces the burro that you're his master. He's defeated, he gives in. And then you walk off with him. And he never knows that he's stronger than you. Because he's a dumb beast.

The paperheads who love to yell "There's no use," have got to learn some time that there is no power in the country that can lick the organized working class if it realizes its own strength—not the atom bomb, not the lynchers or union-busters, not the N.A.M. or the National Guard—not if Labor stands on its political and economic legs and says, "We're not going to be led by the nose any more. We built this country and we want it back."

The fellow who says "What's the use of fighting?" is nothing but a --- Well, I won't be calling names, but after all, Blackie WAS a jackass.

Congress Adjourns After Record of Loyal Service to Big Corporations

By V. JENSEN

Last week the 79th Congress adjourned and passed into the crowded limbo of bad congresses after a turbulent session in which the working-people of the United States and the public as a whole took one of their worst beatings from these their elected "representatives."

In spite of the Congressmen's haste to rush back to their constituencies and mend political fences in time for the November elections, they somehow squeezed in just enough time to vote themselves a pay raise from \$10,000 to \$12,500 a year plus \$2,500 (tax free) for expenses. Who said Congress wasn't conscious of the rising cost of living?

LABOR ACTION has always been for fair pay and a living wage. When a man (even a Congressman) does a good job—we think that virtue should be rewarded. What the 79th Congress did this year was worth a lot more than \$5,000 dollars... but not to the general population. It did a good job... but not for the working people.

Congress did a swell job for the big corporations, the railroad, real estate, steel and oil interests, the Jim Crow rulers of the South, the war profiteers, the working man, the vet, those "reconverted" to unemployment have to pay... and pay... and pay... for a job done for the corporations and the capitalist class?

Though LABOR ACTION is not nearly so great an admirer of free enterprise as Congress is, we think that these congressmen should return to the payrolls of the private industry they serve so well and the record of the Seventy-ninth Congress should indicate why.

DIRTY END OF STICK

On every issue involving public welfare, the working people received the dirty end of the stick from Congress. Every housewife who has to buy a quarter of a pound of butter, a little bacon, beef or milk; every returning vet trying to get a new suit; every kid who has to pay seven cents for an ice-cream cone instead of a nickel, knows what Congressional scuttling of OPA (inadequate as that was) has done to make the cost of living soar.

Then there's the problem of housing. If houses could be built on pre-election promises and Congressional wind, the housing problem would have been solved in no time. Unfortunately it takes sticks, stones, plaster, and a national plan to begin to attack the program. Originally Congress had before it a modest bill that called for only a million and a quarter homes to be built annually for the next ten years, with emphasis on low rental units. Even this bill which would only begin to nibble at the problem of providing decent housing for the United States, was too much for the 79th.

Under the pressure of real estate and building interests, it passed an emasculated so-called "veteran's emergency program" which called for 2,700,000 houses to be built by the end of 1947. Ceilings were placed only on new homes and subsidies were lowered considerably, which means that only homes to sell in higher price brackets will be built. (An "emergency" program designed to perpetuate the emergency.)

THE PAC'S "VICTORY"

When the 79th was elected, the CIO-PAC hailed its election as a "victory." Labor has had time not only to eat those words but to choke on them. From the very first wave of post-war strikes in auto and steel, the corporations sat back and waited for the profits guaranteed by the war tax bills even if they weren't producing, while Congress and the administration forced a settlement of an 18 1/2-cent pay raise (long since swallowed up in the rising cost of living).

Again Congress and the administration broke the railroad strike with the threat of drastic anti-labor legislation, passed by the House and shelved when the strike was broken.

Remember "full employment" and "freedom from want," for which we were supposed to be fighting? Remember the "60 million jobs" that Wallace said could be provided? Don't think the 79th Congress forgot that. That would up as a committee to "seek" not full, but "maximum" employment—that is a three-man council which will "investigate" and make recommendations on jobs legislation. More pie in the sky.

The very modest Wagner-Murray-Dingell compulsory national health insurance plan with its proposed expenditure of less than a billion dollars to be spent in ten years for vital state health services, maternal and child care, died in Congressional committee.

tees where it had been kicking around for over two years.

We could go on and on. The FEPC was killed, an anti-poll tax bill never got to the Senate floor, debate on an anti-lynch law was smothered by the threat of a Senate filibuster by Southern senators.

WHAT CONGRESS DIDN'T DO

We mentioned that Congress found time to vote itself a pay raise amounting to over 50 per cent but it couldn't manage to get around to dealing with the Minimum Wage Bill which would increase the present 40 cents an hour minimum wage to 65 cents now and to 75 cents in two years (try buying butter on that). This bill is now stalled in the powerful House Rules Committee.

These are the things the 79th didn't do. But other things they did do and did quickly without much of a fight. A bill was passed to dispose of government-owned surplus ships at a saving to the big shipping companies of 900 million dollars. (About enough to pay for the buried national health bill!)

The Western silver bloc lobbied a bill through Congress raising the price

of U. S. mined silver. This will come out of the taxpayer's pocket. A bill that would have surrendered all Federal claim to rich underwater oil deposits along the coasts and inland waterways to the states (and that means to the oil corporations) was passed by Congress but this steal was vetoed by Truman. The fate of this claim is still unsettled.

And lest we forget, the 79th passed the Hobbs "anti-racketeering" bill, ostensibly directed against union racketeers but potentially dangerous to union activities.

An there is more—much more. But these are the things that labor and the working people should remember when their local Congressmen come home this summer to pat the babies on their heads, pass out cigars and pose once more as "labor's friends." It was these same "friends of labor," Democratic and Republican, that labor and the CIO-PAC helped put into office. Labor surely must now see that it is time for these gentlemen to retire and for an independent Labor Party with a real program for security and plenty to take over.

Freeport Case --

(Continued from page 1)

how could the bullet go through his arm and strike Alphonso in the head even though Alphonso had moved from beside Joseph to his rear? The "investigator" is puzzled about this. Only two shots fired but two men are killed and one wounded.

Perhaps Joseph and Alphonso did move after Charles was shot. "... there must have been a movement out of line by one or two of these men," says Greenbaum. They must have disobeyed "the order of the officer to stand in line with their hands up." What would Greenbaum expect? Here are four men lined up with their hands up. The policeman begins shooting and kills one. It is conceivable that the men became frightened and started to run. At least one would expect some, sort of movement on their part to try and escape being murdered in cold blood. But Greenbaum seems to think that the normal thing for a human being under such conditions, is to stand perfectly at ease and have one's body made into a sieve. One further question: if the three who were still alive were running or beginning to run, why did this cop find it necessary to shoot them down?

INVESTIGATION A FRAUD
This so-called investigation by Greenbaum was a farce and a fraud. It was a whitewash of the District Attorney of Nassau, the grand jury and of the killer, Romeka. Greenbaum may as well have said, in the Georgia manner, that the Ferguson brothers met their death "at the hands of persons unknown." The only basis on which Greenbaum's investigation makes any sense is to say that the Ferguson brothers were shot down and murdered because they were Negroes. If they had been white there would have been a real investigation and a real attempt to establish the facts and the responsibility in such a

way that all decent human beings would have been satisfied.

This case has been hushed by Dewey because the Ferguson brothers were Negroes. Despite his pious but hypocritical protestations that "there is no evidence to establish that the officer, who thought his life was in danger, would have acted in any different manner had the four men before him been white and not colored," this is a lie! Greenbaum knows it, and Dewey knows it. Greenbaum gives the whole thing away when he says that the grand jury "concluded that there was no reasonable chance of a conviction by a trial jury." Greenbaum agrees with the grand jury and says: "... it is difficult for me to see how there could be any reasonable chance of a conviction..."

Here were two men killed who had only committed a misdemeanor, and there was no chance in Nassau County to convict the policeman who had killed them. Therefore Greenbaum, the "investigator," feels that it was just as well that no trial by jury be held.

Greenbaum's whole report to Dewey is hedged about with the quibbling and technicalities of a shyster lawyer who is not really conducting an investigation, but who is protecting someone and someone's interests. He closes his nauseating report with more pious and disgusting rubbish. "Each community must by itself work out decent livable relationships among its members, and thereby integrate itself into our American way of life." The dead Ferguson brothers have been "integrated into the American way of life." The integrator, Romeka, is free to continue his integration. There are more bullets in his gun.

We would like to ask investigator Greenbaum: would he take the same attitude if the two murdered men had been native white Americans and not Negroes?

Behind the "Experiment" at Bikini

Navy Seeks to Dull Atom Bomb Fears

By CARL DAVIS

Exactly one year ago a frightened world learned of the latest invention for destroying property and lives—the atomic bomb. The reverberations of the blast at Hiroshima traveled around the world with a speed approximating the leveling of one of the largest cities in Japan. Such terrifying destructive power had only been visualized in adventure and semi-scientific pulp magazines. But the real atom bomb brought the war with Japan to an abrupt end. It raised the question of the ability of mankind to withstand concentrated blasts of the greatest explosive instrument ever devised and to which no defense is possible.

The horror of the people was followed by conferences, forums and resolutions to seek some way to avoid war. But the skillful propaganda of the "statesmen" and professional military men has resulted in a growing complaisance toward the atom bomb.

The army and navy men in this country began a new type of propaganda. "This was not the last of new inventions and discoveries for war. There were other even more terrifying weapons!"

As if this would diminish the power of the atom bomb! After all, this was only one of the new weapons. There were still others: rocket bombs, rocket flown atom bombs, bacterial bombs, death-dealing rays, etc. Thus, by a system of comparisons the deadly power of the atom bomb was minimized.

METHOD IN MADNESS

There was purpose in this campaign of madness. The professional army men sought to defeat the propaganda of the scientists, liberals and pacifists that the discovery of the atom bomb meant the elimination of the mass army. The navy men did everything

in their power to deny that the atom bomb made a huge navy obsolete.

A struggle broke out in Congress over setting up controls and management of production of the atomic bombs as well as the peaceful and industrial aspects of atomic energy. Those elements who wanted exclusive civilian control of atomic energy and those who, acting as the spokesmen of the military men, sought to give control to the War and Navy Departments, battled it out. The Senate already decided against military supervision of the Atomic Control Board. The head of the House Military Committee, Andrew May, led the fight to weaken civilian control of the Board.

The Navy finally organized the expensive expedition to Bikini to "test" the effects of an atom bomb upon a modern navy. The experiment was a phony from the start, since, as some of the liberal press already pointed out, the purpose of the Navy Department was to prove that the atom bomb in no way made a navy obsolete and that all that was required was a "change in design" and a new strategy in the disposition of ships. In this experiment, the Navy determined the power of the bomb dropped upon Bikini lagoon. It placed the ships in special order. It was a controlled experiment.

Of course, it will be no news to our readers when we say that in atomic warfare not one bomb but hundreds will be dropped. And they will be of infinitely greater power than the one the Navy used in Bikini. Professor Robert Oppenheimer, the outstanding atomic physicist in this country, has declared that already an atomic bomb capable of destroying a hundred square miles can be built; that with new productive methods it will

be possible to produce atomic bombs at a cost of only a million dollars each!

Yet with all that is known of the power of the atom bomb, the Bikini experiment was so treated in the press as to make the weapon seem like any other explosive weapon. The whole fleet was not sunk! The lagoon was not dried out or turned into a boiling inferno! No hundred foot tidal waves were caused that traveled thousands of miles! Therefore... the atom bomb was really not such great shakes.

FEAR FROM BIKINI

Yet the secret report to the President which has not yet been made public reveals that the worst fears about the effects of the bomb have been confirmed again by the Bikini show. William L. Laurence, correspondent for the New York Times, who just returned from Bikini, writes alarmingly about the complaisance at large which characterizes the reactions to the experiment. The thing that Laurence does not seem to understand is that this reason was manufactured by the kind of propaganda which issued from the Navy Department and the press itself. Laurence writes:

"Scientists and others closely connected with the development of the bomb, who know its potentialities for wholesale destruction and who devoted their energies during the last year to arouse public awareness of the danger confronting civilization, consider it of vastly greater importance to gauge the effect of the Bikini tests on the change of attitude of the public toward the greatest problem facing mankind today.

"Considered from this point of view the Bikini tests add up to a tragedy of errors for which the world may

pay a heavy price unless measures are taken in time to counteract them."

But it is easy to determine the responsibility for this reaction, since it was manufactured in Washington, D. C. Laurence may look to his own New York Times in Hanson Baldwin's column for such additional responsibility. Baldwin, an Annapolis man with a strong Navy bias, wrote only a few days ago that the atom bomb was proved to be only another of the new weapons of warfare. Laurence goes on to say:

"Watching the cloud of death that spread over the Bikini fleet, this observer considered it obvious that amphibious invasions... would become impossible against an enemy possessing atomic bombs."

"A few atomic bombs exploded in the air and under water would not only sink all the invasion craft but also kill every man aboard them. Those who by miracle might escape the blast and heat would surely die by the invisible, all-penetrating radiation."

All else that Laurence writes about so alarmingly is already known. The Bikini experiment was a reflection of the war spirit, the preparation for new wars; it was a warning to other nations. It was a Navy spectacle to prove the untenable thesis that the atom bomb did not make a navy as it is now obsolete. All of this could have been and was foretold in advance. In that sense, nothing new was learned at Bikini.

The issue remains. Given the continued existence of capitalism, the world faces new wars and the danger of the extinction of civilization. The issue is: either capitalist barbarism, the death of civilization, or socialism! For that is the danger the world faces: Socialism or death!

Bares Aim of Palestine Partition Plan

By EUGENE VANSHAN

Britain once more proposes "partition" as a solution to the Palestinian problem.

The very word "partition" offers an insight into the nature of the British design for Palestine. Britain acts upon the old principle of "Divide and Rule." In order to retain control over Palestine, the crossroad to the Near East, Britain finds it expedient to further the separation of Arabs and Jews in Palestine. That such a program must prove disadvantageous to the welfare of the Palestinian people is of no concern to British imperialism. Should such a proposal be implemented, it would further tear apart the Arab and Jewish masses who should live together as friendly neighbors in one country but who are forcibly estranged from each other by British conniving and the reactionary nationalism of their respective leaderships. Such a "partition" proposal must further compartmentalize the Palestinian economy into Arab and Jewish sections and hold back the free development of its economy.

BRITISH KEEP POWER

"Divide and Rule" is an old British colonial tactic. Today, Great Britain is fighting a rearguard action to hold together the ties of her disintegrating empire. In order to hang on to control in Palestine, a country in which every one clamors for independence, Britain must set the people against each other and becloud the real issue, and that

real issue is freedom from British rule now, the right of the Jews and Arabs of Palestine to set up an independent democratic state.

The salient feature of this "partition" proposal is the way in which it enslaves Palestine to Britain, economically and politically. The Colonial office then gives lip service to "independence" and "self-rule." Self-rule is postponed into the indefinite future.

The plan divides Palestine into an Arab section, a Jewish section, and a third section under the control of the central Palestinian government. The central Palestinian government is to be headed by a British High Commissioner appointed in London. The Arab and Jewish provinces are permitted to elect assemblies of their own. However, the "speakers" of the assemblies are to be appointed by the high commissioner. Also, the High Commissioner is to appoint "Advisory" Ministers to the province governments. Finally the High Commissioner retains veto power over the decisions of the assemblies on all matters.

The clever British rulers are quite willing to allow Arabs and Jews to elect assemblies so long as power remains in their hands. The partition proposal is presented twenty years after Britain's acceptance of a mandate over Palestine guaranteed to lead the country and its people toward self-government. According to this proposal Britain remains the final arbiter on all matters in Palestine. Immigra-

tion into Palestine, a problem of prime importance to the Jewish population is made dependent on the whim of Britain. The same is true of Economic expansion which is indispensable for Palestine.

According to the partition plan, Britain retains control of Palestinian defense, foreign affairs, police, prisons, courts, railroads, port installations, post, telephone, telegraph, customs, radio, taxes. How thorough are these British scoundrels! They grant independence, but retain all the decisive elements of state power.

A PROGRAM FOR PALESTINE

All the people of Palestine are united in their feeling of contempt and loathing and hate for the British rulers. Yet out of this contempt for a common enemy, no unified action on the part of the Jews and Arabs has evolved so far. Why? This is basically due to the success of the British policy of "Divide and Rule." It is due to the reactionary Jewish-Arab leadership who pit Jew against Arab and Arab against Jew.

The partition plan for Palestine must serve as an object lesson to both peoples. Their great enemy is British imperialism and it can best be defeated by a common struggle of both Arab and Jew. Together, the Arabs and Jews of Palestine can build a free and independent Palestine in the Near East. But they can only do so on a program such as the following:

1. Independence from British Imperialism NOW!
2. Immediate convocation of a constituent assembly.
3. For free and unrestricted immigration into Palestine.
4. For a unified democratic republic. Against partition.
5. Land to the peasants.
6. Abolition of the usury system in Palestine. Free credit to the Arab peasantry.
7. For united organs of proletarian class struggle. Organize the Jewish and Arab workers into the same unions, joint cooperatives and organizations for the farmers.

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