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LABOR ACTION

AUGUST 19, 1946

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

FIVE CENTS

Meat Up 30% -- Butter Up 32%

Between June 15 and July 15, food prices registered the biggest monthly jump in history, averaging 13.8 per cent according to Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Meat prices recorded close to the dizzyest leap—30 per cent.

Milk went up 15 per cent; butter 32 per cent. Fats and oils rose 9 per cent; chickens did as well as fats and oils; cream and bakery products went up 3 per cent.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics at the same time reported a general rise in living costs of 5.5 per cent. Bureau of Labor Statistics are known to be conservative in matters of this kind, but their figures tell enough of the story. And prices have gone still higher since July 15.

They do not, however, tell what each of us knows: these price increases represent so much of a wage cut. Nor do they say what is equally well known: rising costs in the essentials of living affect the workers' pocket most. The greatest part of the workers' pay envelope goes precisely for such things as meat and bread and milk.

The same week that the above figures were released, Reconversion Director John R. Steelman announced that he had ruled against wage increases, specifically rejecting a request for a 3 1/2 cents an hour increase for Pacific Coast lumber workers.

Add them up: no wage increases plus rising costs equal ... a wage cut!

Do Not Let Britain Finish Hitler's Task!

August 13, 1946—As these lines are written, Palestine hovers on the edge of civil war. The crisis in that country has come to a climax with the following developments:

1) Britain has announced that no more "illegal" Jewish immigrants would be allowed to enter Palestine, later to be chafed up to the Jewish quota. Such "illegal" entrants are to be sent to the island of Cyprus.

2) The Hagana, underground mass resistance movement of the Jewish population, has called upon the people of Tel-Aviv, all-Jewish city, to march upon the port of Haifa, adjacent Arab town, where several boatloads of European Jews await entry.

The British announcement cutting off "illegal" immigration into Palestine is a masterpiece of imperialist hypocrisy. In a statement which cuts off the homeless Jews of Europe, today rotting in DP camps, from their hope of finding shelter, the British have the gall to begin with these words:

"No country in the world has been a better or more consistent friend of the Jewish people than Britain."

It is with this prelude that the British decree that the Jews of Europe, fleeing renewed persecution, are to be sent to the dismal concentration camps of Cyprus rather than to Palestine, which many of them see as a new home. The British attempt to justify their decision by references to the recent terrorism of Irgun Zvai Leumi—a small, unrepresentative terrorist group. But they "neglect" to mention that this very terrorism is directed against the British policy of restricting immigration, a policy which condemns hundreds of thousands of Jews to the living death of the DP camps. That this vile hypoc-

risy comes from a British government which calls itself Labor makes the situation even more sickening.

Apparently this latest and most flagrant British decision has stirred the Jews of Palestine into a fury as nothing else before. For the call of Hagana to march upon Haifa's port can only mean the beginning of a large-scale struggle, if the leaders of Hagana know what they are about and how serious such a call must necessarily be. Surely the sight of the pitiful refugees on the ships in Haifa's harbor—crowded into unsanitary quarters and appalled at the news that they are to be sent to desolate Cyprus—surely this sight will inflame the marching Jews of Tel-Aviv into action going beyond the bounds of mere mute protest.

The traditional British policy of "divide and rule"—recently culminating in its plan to partition Palestine and thereby tighten its hold over both Arabs and Jews—requires at present a strong anti-Jewish policy. But the tragedy of the situation is that the Jews and Arabs, both of them bitterly opposed to continued British imperialist rule, are themselves so sharply divided and unable to form a united bloc against their mutual oppressor. Were such unity effected, British rule in Palestine would be doomed.

The British decision to bar further "illegal" Jewish immigration must be bitterly opposed and fought.

LABOR ACTION urges full support to the struggle against the British ruling! Open the doors of Palestine to unrestricted Jewish immigration! Open the doors of the United States to unrestricted Jewish immigration! Save the homeless, long-suffering Jews of Europe! Do not let Britain finish Hitler's task!

Detroit WP Offers SWP Use of Its Hall

DETROIT, Aug. 11—A mass rally to protest the arson attack on its headquarters was called by the Detroit branch of the Socialist Workers Party at the Danish Brotherhood Hall on August 15. The speakers include Emil Mazey and William Jenking of the UAW, Matthew Smith of the MESA, Clouser Current of the NAACP and Al Renner of the AFL.

Soon after the hoodlum attempt to burn down its hall, the SWP found itself under attack from the city authorities. The Department of Safety and Engineering utilized the event as a pretext to "investigate" the SWP hall and ordered it closed by August 12 on certain trumped-up technicalities. These technicalities can be applied to almost any labor organization.

The police department, according to a statement of the Detroit organizer of the SWP, has been trying to shift the blame for the arson attack away from the responsible fascist vigilantes and has been experimenting with the idea that perhaps the whole

affair is the result of some "factional" fight in the Trotskyist movement.

But such an attempt by the police is doomed. All sections of the labor movement have indicated their support of the SWP in protesting the fire attack. Leading spokesmen of all groupings in the labor movement and the UAW have denounced the attack.

The Detroit branch of the Workers Party, upon learning of the order closing the SWP headquarters, sent a telegram to the SWP, offering the use of its hall to the SWP until such time as it could re-establish its right to meet freely. In addition the WP proposed that a spokesman for the WP be placed on the speakers' list of the rally Thursday night to make clear to all that both organizations are in 100 per cent unity on this question, and further suggested the formation of a United Front Committee to defend the right of all labor groups to meet without interference. No reply has yet been made to these communications.

PRESS FOR WAGE RAISES AS OPA OK'S PRICE JUMP

Cost - Plus!



Two events were especially noteworthy on the price front last week. First, a large section of auto workers in the Ford and Chrysler locals raised the demand for wage increases. Second, OPA Administrator Paul A. Porter announced that the Office of Price Administration would pursue a policy of "price flexibility." Both these events must be understood against the background of rising living costs, for which see the box that appears on this page.

Consider the second of these two events first. As hearings before the Price Decontrol Board (note that "decontrol") were to open, Porter issued a statement which said that "our price people have been given orders to use every means to expedite the

granting of legal price adjustments. . . . We are determined to grant increases on a business-like basis and urge industry to present complete information when asking for adjustments."

We do not doubt a bit that the Decontrol Board will grant increases on a "business-like" basis—that is, on a basis satisfactory to business men. The gentlemen who represent industry will come before the board and solemnly petition for relief from "iniquitous" controls which allow them a scant fortune. Some of these requests, too palpably indefensible, will be turned down, or only half granted. But increasing numbers of businesses will be relieved of the "strain" of price controls and be given an "honest" chance to stache away some extra-substantial profit.

How will it add up for labor and the masses of people? We know that already. Prices were mounting steadily under the old OPA. The old and presumably firmer OPA than this new emasculated set-up, allowed price increase after increase. During the weeks without any control at all, prices zoomed with jet propulsion speed. Since the reinstitution of controls, prices have continued to move upward at a neat pace. OPA will be "flexible." It will relieve industrialists of hardships. It will gouge bigger holes out of "stabilized" wages. The Decontrol Board, which is now hearing complaints, will manfully do its job for business, and release more and more commodities from the "red tape" of even the shabbiest price control. That's one side of the picture.

SITUATION IN UAW

Meanwhile, in labor's ranks pressure is growing that something be done to stop this steal, as it CAN be stopped. Workers in the Ford local of the United Automobile Workers Union last week demanded a SLIDING SCALE OF WAGES. The Chrysler local asked for a cost-of-living bonus. The packinghouse workers are asking for wage increases, and a guaranteed annual wage. We are sure that these represent the aspirations of the great mass of workers in this country.

In the UAW, Walter Reuther has gotten himself into an impossible position. His ridiculous and inexcusable scheme for a labor-management conference fizzled when it was generally ignored by the big auto manufacturers. Inside the union, the man who led the General Motors strikers this past winter, and recently spoke of tackling the industry for wage increases, is under attack from all sides.

(Continued on page 2)

Army Brass, Dollar-a-Year Men Tapped Big War Contracts for Graft

"From my seat it has looked as if everybody and his brother were out to get the government during the lush war years." Thus testified Comptroller-General of the United States Lindsay C. Warren before the Mead investigating committee.

And further: "With some high officials of the government 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."

These are plain words about wartime profiteering and graft, spoken by one who certainly had a grandstand seat from which to watch it. Maybe Mr. Warren spoke up because he is an honest man; maybe because he has a peeve. At any rate, he spoke up.

He named names. Major George W. Parker, Army contracting officer assigned to Howard Aircraft Corpora-

tion of Chicago, winds up with a civilian job as general manager of said company.

Colonel Forest W. Smith, Army contracting officer with Schwitzer-Cummings Company of Indianapolis, rates reward as manager for procurement in aforementioned corporation.

Captain G. I. Calvert, dealing with Sheffield Steel Corporation as regional ordnance officer, after leaving the Army, gets a soft spot as metallurgical engineer with Sheffield.

Major Kerrwin Hagerty, contracting officer for Army air force, becomes vice-president in charge of production of Northwestern Aeronautical Corporation of St. Paul, for wartime services rendered.

THE ITCHING PALMS

So goes the story of the dirty deal and the itching palm, the story of individual and corporate aggrandizement while the rivers of the world ran red with people's blood. And these

grafters and profiteers were the ones who shouted "democracy" the loudest.

"Time after time an efficient, careful contracting officer who was seemingly trying to protect the interests of the government, was suddenly taken off of his job and sent somewhere else." This is more of Mr. Warren's testimony. There was little room for those who wouldn't play ball—by orders from higher up.

When Mr. Warren finished his testimony, which also revealed that billions of dollars were lost to the government by switching contracts to avoid audits—one firm switching "to help the war effort" long after the war was over, Senator Mead had this to say about the general situation:

"So these boys were taking care of themselves as dollar-a-year men, to see to it that employers got the contracts. Then these same fellows, or fellows just like them, were taking care of their employers again in the termination settlements which Uncle

Sam had to pay—all at the cost of the taxpayers and all pumping money out of the Treasury. I think that you enlightened the committee and expanded our knowledge of this subject, and I assure you that it will be dealt with very firmly and emphatically in our report."

Did it take the testimony of Comptroller-General Warren to enlighten Mr. Mead and his committee on the elementary facts of life? If so, they deserve to be in kindergarten and not in Congress.

No; they are not so naive. Everybody knew, when the dollar-a-year brigade marched on Washington, that it was going there to push greedy hands into the war treasury. The scandals revealed after World War I were sufficient proof that the dollar-a-year pay-riots had to be stopped in their tracks. They were not.

The present investigation is hardly a credit to the investigators, whose mo-

(Continued on page 8)

Lynch Mobs Spread Terror in the South

By ERNEST RICE MCKINNEY

Workers Party Candidate for Congress
22nd Congressional District, New York

White mobs are still at it in the South, where "white supremacy" is maintained by the poll tax, murder, the rope, the club and the shotgun. This time they are upholding the glory of the white race in Alabama. Two white war veterans, who evidently did not see enough action against Hitler and Hirohito, decided to keep in condition for the next imperialist war by beating up a Negro resident of Athens, Ala. The two men were arrested, but were released by the mayor of the town when a mob gathered at the jail. I suppose the mayor decided that it wasn't worth while to uphold "law and order" and then be found hanging from a tree. So when the mob promised to disperse, the mayor released the two white assailants.

PM, Marshall Field's paragon of liberal virtue, reports that some little county judge handled the mob almost single-handedly at the beginning. The little judge insisted on "sanity," says the PM account. And what was the "sanity"? The judge "talked the mob into electing six leaders to search a theater for the Negro whose disappearance had touched off the violence in the streets." This, of course, was a terrible thing for this Negro to do. Get beat up and then run. He should have hung around until the mob came. He had no business to disappear and touch off "violence" in the streets. After a lone Negro is assaulted by two white men in Alabama, he is expected to remain on the spot until a mob gathers to finish the job.

The little judge was certainly an advocate of "sanity." He quieted the mob by inducing it to wait until six of its leaders located the Negro. Then

they could have taken him quietly to the outskirts of the town, tied him to a tree, saturated him with kerosene and had a nice quiet man-riote in the good old Southern tradition.

Why should the mob mill around when there was a more democratic way? They might wreck the theater or other property. They might storm the jail or burn it down. That's not good for the taxpayers. They might go out to the Negro section and lay it waste. That's not good for the white folk who own the property.

PM is jubilant over the progress of civilization in Alabama. It carries a map showing Columbia, Tenn., with the caption: "Race disturbance flared here last February. Twenty-five Negroes held for trial." Monroe, Ga., is there with the caption: "Four Negroes lynched July 25; murderers still at large." And Athens, Ala.: "White ringleaders of mob molesting

Negroes Saturday night held for hearings." PM's story says that "authorities said that it was impossible to determine the number of Negroes injured, since they fled from the town or went to their homes." This is what is known to liberal journalism as "molesting" Negroes. A few of them were accosted on the street. They were only called bad names. The mob of 500 was only trying to scare them.

A LITTLE EDUCATION

PM closes its hopeful account with a statement from a native which "heartened those who deplore the outbreak." Said the native: "We've got to stop doing it this way. It ain't right. Maybe we'd just better educate 'em and let 'em earn a decent living." "This from a man," says PM, "who in the twenties might have been a member of a lynch gang. To Alabama's liberals, it is better than they expected this year or next."

I suppose that all of us should rejoice and be thankful along with PM and the Alabama liberals. Alabama lights the way to "sanity." Furthermore, we tend to agree with the native. Education might help and a "decent living" for all in Alabama would do wonders.

But before education gets a chance or a "decent living" is the rule for all, we have an idea that there will have to be several thousand funerals in Alabama, Georgia, Tennessee and elsewhere. The little judge said that next Saturday they will be prepared to "turn the fire hose on any mob—nobody with wet clothes wants to lynch anybody." We don't know about this but we suspect that some mass ACTION in the South would be a far better deterrent to lynching than wet clothes. We think it would have a wonderful educational effect!

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Come to Think of It

The "Friend" of the Jackass . . .

By **HAL DRAPER**

Before I start talking about Blackie the burro again—and you can't stop me—I want to mention that I met Professor Caspar Nippenob day before yesterday. Professor Nippenob—"old Bubbletop" the students used to call him affectionately back at Hogwash U.—knows everything about what happened before Columbus discovered America. Besides that he's a very liberal soul and reads newspapers too.

So we got talking about the high cost of living and price control, and the professor was saying that Senator Taft is a bad man for wanting to give OPA the business.

"But did you see what Truman did to HIM?" chortled Nippenob. "That veto message to Congress told them off. Just like Roosevelt—standing up for the people."

I agreed that Truman was just for bleeding the OPA to death instead of tying a stone around its neck, and that prices had gone up twelve per cent in a month under the bill that Truman did sign, and that Truman's board was handing out price increases like John D. Rockefeller did with dimes, and so on.

"That's the trouble with you radicals," says Professor Nippenob, "always wanting perfection. You can't get everything at once, my boy. You must realize that Mr. Truman got as much out of Congress as he could."

"I don't deny," he says, "that there is still a great deal to be done. But if we all get behind the good men in Congress and strengthen their hand, the people will defeat the reactionaries."

That was about as far as I got with Professor Nippenob, because he talks faster than I do. And besides all his talk of Truman versus Taft reminded me of my favorite jackass, Blackie, which I was talking about last week, and I was afraid he would take it the wrong way if I told him what was on my mind.

"Here's what I mean about Blackie. You know, handling a burro on a pack trip isn't like saying giddyap to a milk-wagon horse. Last week I revealed how to get the beast started but that's only the beginning. You've got to keep him going when he decides to go on strike. And when there's a brook to cross you're more likely to get wet than he is unless you know how."

This maneuver takes two, to break the animal in right. For the first two days my wife marched behind with a long pointed stick. The stick has to be longer than the burro's hind legs. Any time Blackie took a strike vote, she didn't actually have to prod him—just move it up close and he'd report for work again.

But that's only one side of it. If that's all you did it would be a risky business because Blackie would get moving away from the stick and forget to stop. Then where would you be?

That's where I came in. I walked at his head with the lead rope in my hand. Not tight, you understand—enough slack so he wouldn't notice it most of the time but firm enough to ease him in the right direction.

When the Menace with the pointed stick scared him on, I patted him on the head and "saved" him from the prod by guiding him across the brook

or around the windfall or wherever we wanted him to go. He loved me like a brother.

I was the good guy. I fed him dried prunes, delicious cigarette butts, and if he wanted the cellophane wrapper too, I let him have it. Naturally he was grateful.

So that's how it went—me rubbing him behind the ears, and my wife bringing up the rear making noises like the National Association of Manufacturers.

Obviously there was a great difference in front and the Main Danger behind.

Before we were through, we had a no-strike pledge from Blackie. Of course he was half-starved before he got back to the hay in the stables but he had one consolation: that pointed stick never touched him.

I always wondered what we would do if he decided he was fed up with the double play, but the same thought never occurred to him—he wasn't burro-conscious. So Blackie carried the load and we took it easy.

The next time you get to be President of the United States, remember that a Taft is just as necessary as a Truman for sinking price control with a minimum of ruckus. The people might have gotten madder if our poker player-in-chief had gutted the OPA without being able to use a Man With a Pointed Stick as an excuse.

You'd think even Professor Nippenob would be able to understand that. The ruling class knew this trick before Columbus discovered America. But the jackasses are still falling for it.

OFF LIMITS

By **James M. Fenwick**

Maj. Gen. Alden H. Waitt
Chief, Chemical Warfare Service
U. S. Army

Dear General Waitt:

To tell the truth—and don't let that strange word "truth" frighten you, dear general—I never expected to find myself writing to an officer in the U. S. Army.

After all, as a former pfc I have a certain self-respect to maintain, especially since it turns out that you and other untouchables who had the power of life and death over us in the recent war, seem to have been pretty chummy with Murray Garsson, the war profiteer, who numbered among his friends ex-convicts and more amateur scoundrels like representative May, chairman of the House Military Affairs Committee.

But you seem so dishonestly confused and ignorant on the career of the 4.2 mortar which was supposed to be your specialty that I cannot resist writing. Of course, to do you justice, you may be quite honestly confused or ignorant. Those qualities, in fact, along with several other nasty characteristics, seem to be an occupational disease with army officers. But in either case a letter is in order.

TO REFRESH YOUR MEMORY

One of the facts you seem especially vague on is the number of men killed by premature explosions of defective 4.2 shells. I was not with a chemical mortar battalion during the war, I was with the infantry. But out of my limited experience I want to give you a few names, a date, and a place, in order to refresh that conveniently poor memory of yours.

On September 15, 1944, the second battalion of the 16th Infantry was on the outskirts of Brand, Germany. Its attack was being supported by the 87th chemical battalion. (Its field code name was Camel White.) In the midst of the heavy firing a 4.2 shell exploded prematurely, killing one enlisted man and wounding seven others.

I remember the incident as if it were yesterday, dear General Waitt, because of a little act of bravery and self-sacrifice which occurred and which must be so incomprehensible to a person like you. One of the wounded men who was being loaded on a jeep-ambulance rose up on his elbow on the stretcher and said, "Take care of the other group first. They're wounded worse than I am."

A FEW REFLECTIONS

I have often thought of those men who died or were wounded in that pleasant field in Germany on a sunny September afternoon. Do you know what conclusion I've come to? Those men were killed or wounded through their own negligence. They just weren't very smart.

Because if they had been smart they would have chosen rich parents like Murray Garsson, who manufactured those same 4.2 mortars. Then, like Captain Joseph Garsson, his son, they would have had friends like Andrew May, chairman of the House Military Affairs Committee, who would have seen that they were "protected and taken care of" while they were in the army—especially from those notoriously treacherous 4.2 mortars.

And if they had been court-martialed they would have had you to intervene directly with General Eisenhower, as you did for Captain Garsson, carrying a letter from representative May asking for a special investigation because Captain Garsson's father "is one of my warm personal friends."

So that's why I always come back to the same conclusion: those men who died or were wounded weren't smart. They chose the wrong parents. They should have chosen parents like the Garssons, with their hired fixers in Congress, their army lickspittles like you, their gilded women, their buddies from the underworld, and their Wall Street friends—all of whom "took care" of themselves very well during the war.

Yes, they "took care" of themselves very well—and far better than those men of the 87th chemical battalion lying dead and wounded in a now forgotten field in Germany two years ago were able to.

JAMES M. FENWICK.

Editorials

Open the Doors to the Jews!

In the controversy which has taken place about the British attitude towards Palestine, and the question of admitting Europe's Jews to Palestine one question has been conspicuously ignored: What about this country, the United States?

The liberal press has wept itself to death about the insensitivity of Britain's attitude toward the Jews; it has raged and ranted about Britain's closing of Palestine's doors to the Jewish DPs of Europe, who have no home and are eager to leave the continent. Very good; we agree.

But how are we to explain the deadly and conspicuous silence which this same liberal press maintains about the failure of the United States to admit Europe's homeless Jews to this country?

Is it not a case of chastising Britain for what the United States itself fails to do?

The resources and area of this country are tremendous. There are vast stretches of land in this country which are most sparsely populated, which could easily ab-

sorb new settlers. Why are these areas not opened to the homeless and terrorized Jews of Europe who seek shelter?

Many of these Jews wish to go to Palestine, you may say. Good; those who want to go there should be allowed to. But those who wish to come to this country should also be welcomed.

It is easy for President Truman to strike a pose of indignation about the British attitude towards Palestine; but that attitude is shown as sheer hypocrisy so long as he does nothing about allowing them into this country.

For every unionist, every socialist, every honest person who has a spark of sympathy and sensitivity in his heart in behalf of the pathetic remnant of Europe's Jews it is imperative to say:

Open the doors of whichever country Europe's Jews wish to go! Open the doors of Palestine to unrestricted immigration! Open the doors of the United States! Do not let them perish!

"Butch" and the Glass of Beer

"Little Flower" LaGuardia stepped off the plane the other day at Prague airport, Czechoslovakia. He was hot and thirsty and some government official offered him a glass of beer. Now we imagine that the Czechoslovakians wish he had been offered a return ticket going in the other direction instead!

Because high and mighty LaGuardia, the so-called liberal whose heart, as UNRRA director, supposedly bleeds for the cause of Europe's hungry people, is threatening to cut off Czechoslovakia's grain and wheat supply! One glass of beer apparently means that all of UNRRA relief to that war-stricken country is being diverted for beer-making! If we ever saw an example of high-handed, imperialist insolence it is this threat of LaGuardia's. Not being satisfied with putting Europe on strict rations to America, this imperial-

ist representative is now proposing to tell the people of Europe what and how they shall eat. Is it rations plus prohibition, Butch?

A Czech gave LaGuardia the answer he deserves. He pointed out that (1) there is very little beer in the country; (2) the working people and masses get none of it at all and (3) beer has always been considered by these people—as by most Europeans—a normal part of their staple diet. It is food to them, just as much as ice cream is food to Americans.

Let's cut out the phony toughness, LaGuardia. UNRRA is expiring at the end of this year. What do you propose to do about that? That's something worth raising hell about, not that glass of Pilsener. And, by the way, Butch, how did it taste? We noticed you didn't refuse to drink it.

Free Speech: Moscow and Carolina Seek New Wage Increases - -

Free speech is a great thing to fight for—in the other guy's country. That seems to be the conclusion from the squabble at the so-called "peace" conference now being held in Paris.

Those two noble apostles of freedom, Mr. Molotov from Moscow and Mr. Byrnes from South Carolina, broke out into a rash of invective against each other.

Molotov said that the press in the United States was owned and controlled by the monopoly capitalists, that it represented the point of view of Big Business. True, very true.

Byrnes said that the press in Russia was the organ of a totalitarian dictatorship, that it reflected only the needs of the ruling bureaucracy and could not be depended on to report the news as it really occurred. True, very true.

As is usually the case with diplomats, these two managed to tell the truth... about each other.

When you think of it, though, it really takes a lot of gall to make such statements. Look at Byrnes. He comes from South Carolina, home of Jim Crow, where the press is controlled by a group of rich planters and capitalists and where the ideas of the Southern oligarchy—persecution of minorities and racial discrimination—are spread. What right does Byrnes, representative of Southern Jim Crowism, have to speak on free press?

And then Molotov. This man who represents a regime which has destroyed freedom in its boundaries to an extent equalled only by the Nazis! This man who represents a regime which has sent millions to death in its secret concentration camps without a word about it in its press. He dares speak in the name of democracy and free press!

A sickening spectacle, isn't it—two defenders of free press: Mr. Molotov from Moscow and Mr. Byrnes from South Carolina.

IRISH TROTSKYISTS REORGANIZE GROUP

The Irish Trotskyists have resumed open activity, with headquarters in Dublin. The movement is beginning to attract small numbers to itself, though progress is slow. Our comrade writes of the difficulties of the movement in Ireland as follows:

"When you consider that even the reformist Labor Party is debilitated and without a basis in the country side; that trade union consciousness is only beginning to manifest itself on a national scale, surely then you can appreciate our organizational weakness."

UNDERGROUND CONFERENCE DENOUNCES FRANCO TERROR

We publish below a resolution on the Franco terror in Spain adopted at an underground conference of the Spanish socialist organization, POUM (Party of Marxian Unification). The POUM is not part of The Fourth Internationalist (Trotskyist) movement, but embraces in its ranks many worker-revolutionists. Though the POUM has, in our opinion, committed many errors, and failed, in the words of one of its best known militants who

recently wrote to us, "develop in Spain a completely accurate line. . . ."

(1) is a party with strong influence among the Spanish working class. Our correspondent adds that "with all its defects and centrist character" it is violently hated by the Stalinists, as well as by the Franco dictatorship, because of its influence and its independence of the counterrevolutionary Stalinist machine. "With reference to the POUM," reports this same comrade, "a year and a half ago a split occurred. One part of its militants, the smaller part, abandoned the Party to move closer to the social-democracy." We expect further information on the POUM, and will report on its activities from time to time in addition to our reports on the activities of the Trotskyist organizations throughout the world. We also plan a critical article on the history and policies of the POUM.

The resolution of the underground conference, sent to us by the directing committee of the POUM with the request that we make it known to the workers of the United States, follows:

"Once again under the Franco terror, the POUM has reunited its cadres somewhere in Spain to examine the

political situation, the living conditions of the Spanish working class and the possibilities of strengthening the struggle against the Franco regime.

"Many delegates from sections in Catalonia, Madrid and from the Center, from Valencia and from the East have discussed and adopted resolutions on the political situation, trade union work, the tasks of underground organization and the international situation.

"The Conference of the POUM, reaffirmed the determination of the Party to struggle to the end for the overthrow of the Franco regime, and denounced the maneuvers of international capitalism which are trying to replace the Franco government by a reactionary military dictatorship.

"It established a program of demands. It declared that it is necessary to consolidate the unity of action of the CNT-UGT (anarchist and socialist trade unions) to reinforce the work of the Alliance of Democratic Forces in view of the fight for bread, for democratic liberties and for the Republic.

"It made an urgent appeal to the political and material solidarity of the revolutionary socialist organizations in all the countries."

—E. G.

LOS ANGELES READERS: LABOR ACTION FORUM Profiteers Vs. the People The Story of OPA

Why Price Control Was Scuttled . . . How Price Control Can Succeed . . .

Speakers: **TED ENRIGHT and ANNE RUSSELL**

Sunday, August 18, 8 P. M. AT KNIGHTS OF PYTHIAS TEMPLE 917 VENICE BLVD. (off Figueroa)

CHICAGO READERS: TROTSKY MEMORIAL MEETING

Speakers: **ALBERT GOLDMAN** Formerly Attorney for Leon Trotsky
ERNEST ERBER Author of "Plenty for All"

Friday, August 23, 8:00 P. M. ATLANTIC HOTEL 316 S. CLARK ST.

Auspices: Workers Party

(Continued from page 1)

Reuther's strength in the union rested on what the ranks of the union held to be a militant program. Piddling around with labor-management schemes is hardly that. Two weeks ago, after a conference with Murray, Reuther gave up his campaign for wage raises in favor of some gibberish about "stabilizing the dollar." On the price front, and that has the most vital bearing on wages, Reuther has, in effect, capitulated.

The situation in the auto union is of the utmost concern to us. What the largest and one of the most militant of our unions does is of first rate interest. We shall discuss the situation there in great detail in next week's LABOR ACTION. For the present we merely note in passing that Reuther's stand has weakened labor's fight against rising prices, and is patently in violation of the needs of the auto workers. That the Stalinists, the great incentive-pay boys of not so long ago, are exploiting the situation to win support only emphasizes the need of a strongly militant program.

So too we note in passing the outrageous comments of the AFL's Labor Monthly Survey. If Murray and Reuther are acting indefensibly in chasing after management and Truman to cooperate in "stabilizing the dollar," the AFL publication reflects—and let us speak plainly—a scab attitude! Said this journal which purports to speak for labor: "Today all Americans are being penalized because a small portion of American workers used the strike for political purposes last winter. Practically the entire living cost rise has occurred since the steel workers forced the price ceiling break in February."

No wonder the Times gave this venal piece prominent attention in its editorial columns. The Times speaks for finance and industry. We regret to say that the Labor Monthly Survey spoke for them as well.

One of the reasons we are being penalized today is because CIO and AFL leaders alike were playing around the White House when they should have been leading picket lines. One of the big reasons we are being penalized today is precisely because the steel workers did NOT get the wage increase they needed, because their wage increase was stolen from them in price increases, because in "forcing" the Government to dictate wage price formula, to borrow a phrase from the Survey, their leaders didn't stand pat on the strength of the unions to prevent price increases.

This disgraceful AFL statement, (and we have only quoted two sentences) and the situation in the UAW bring us back to the essentials. We know what is happening to our pay checks. We know what OPA is doing and will do. What can we do to stop this?

The Ford workers have part of the idea. A sliding scale of wages! There's nothing extraordinary or impossible about that. But it won't be won in labor-management conferences; that's a certainty!

The packinghouse workers have part of the idea. A guaranteed annual wage! That's a necessity under all conditions.

The union men and women, and people generally, who responded, and are still responding, to buyers' strikes have part of the idea. They won't do the job, but they will certainly put a crimp in the scheme of the profiteers. Business men don't make a profit unless they sell their goods.

The price situation demands a double answer: action to control prices, together with action to offset price increases, already in effect through wage increases. Therefore, in addition to the above, the Workers Party and LABOR ACTION see as necessary:

- (1) Popular Price Control Committee to hold prices in check.
 - (2) A conference of all unions, AFL, CIO and independent, to plan concerted wage and price activity.
 - (3) An aggressive union campaign to raise again the demand of the General Motors strikers: wage increases without price increases!
- Every one of these is a realizable goal. Business is losing no time in pursuing its own aims. Our aims are tied up, bogged down in the inertia and misdirection of union officials who are not responding as they should to the demands of their memberships. We think that the sentiment of labor's ranks is clearly enough established; that like the Ford workers, labor wants ACTION on wages and prices!

CANADIAN GROUP PROTESTS ATTACK ON DEMAZIERE

We have received a communication from the French Canadian Revolutionary Party of Workers and Farmers, in Quebec, protesting the Stalinist assault on Albert Demaziere, Central Committee member of the French Trotskyist Party. The letter follows:

"The CEC of the PRCF-OP (Parti Révolutionnaire Canadien - Français-Ouvrier - Paysan) has unanimously adopted a resolution of protest against the brutal treatment given Albert Demaziere of the Internationalist Communist Party at a meeting in Nice by Stalinist gangsters.

"This campaign of terrorism against sincere revolutionists not only in France but everywhere in the world, is plainly indicative of the degeneration of Stalinism.

"CHARLES PAPINEAU,
For the Central Comm. of the PRCF-OP."

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The Heritage of Leon Trotsky -- And the Role of the Workers Party

By EMANUEL GARRETT

"Is the Workers Party a Trotskyist organization and is LABOR ACTION a Trotskyist paper?" The question is one that is often asked us, and the answer to it is: Yes! The question, however, deserves a fuller answer than that, and it is the intention of this article as well as others that appear in this issue of LABOR ACTION to supply that answer.

It is, for example, well known that there were serious differences of opinion, notably on the "Russian Question," between comrade Trotsky and the members of the Workers Party. We were sharply criticized by comrade Trotsky, and criticized him in return. Yet we consider ourselves Trotskyists. Only two groups find this a strange phenomenon. Oddly enough they consist of opposites. One group is so staunchly Trotskyist, it would distort Trotsky's ideas into an uncritical cult, and excommunicate all dissenters. The other group, considerably more amorphous, is so preoccupied with preening its "democratic" feathers as against the "bureaucratism" of Leninism-Trotskyism, that it finds itself unable to tolerate a difference of opinion between revolutionists. Thus, one group contradicts the very essence of Trotskyism through canonization of the great revolutionist. The other distorts his work and teachings through ignorance or deliberate falsification, as the case may be, and so justifies its own escape from revolutionary politics into the miscellaneous swamps of utopianism, liberal mumbo-jumbo and worse.

Many men and women have contributed to the great body of socialist theory. Among these certain names stand out for their exceptional contributions—for example, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels who built the massive foundations of scientific socialism, or the beloved leader of the Russian Revolution, Lenin. There are others as well, giants who in knowledge, practice, and organization advanced the revolutionary movement immeasurably: for example, Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht. Leon Trotsky is one of these. Each of these was a creative contributor to the edifice of socialist theory and organization, and from them we have learned, as well by their disagreements as by their agreements, the method and meaning of Marxian principles and investigation.

TROTSKY'S GREAT STRUGGLE AGAINST STALIN

In the struggle that Trotsky waged against the gravedigger of the revolution, Stalin, until a Stalinist assassin struck him down at his work table, the revolutionary program was pitted against a counter-revolutionary distortion of that program. Issues of tremendous historic importance, both inside and outside of Russia were at stake, and from the pen of Trotsky came documents fired with a brilliance of Marxian Leninist theory, emphasizing and elaborating the basic revolutionary principles of the communist movement. This is not the place to enter into a discussion of each of these historic issues: the problems of Russian economy, the nature of party democracy, the "Lessons of October" as they were related to the struggle of the working class outside of Russia, the problems of the Chinese Revolution, the struggle against fascism, and many others. Nor is this the place to discuss Trotsky's elaboration of Marx's theory of the Permanent Revolution which had the most intimate bearing on the development of the revolutionary movement, especially in the "backward" countries such as China. It is enough to say that the Trotskyist tendency was characterized by the firmness of its internationalist convictions, its struggle for a democratic regime in the party, and its application of independent Marxian analysis to the multiple problems of our day.

We were allied with Trotsky, as members of the same movement, in his struggle against Stalin. Many of us who are now members of the Workers Party helped to build the first Trotskyist organization in the United States, the Communist League of America. Today, in the Workers Party, the revolutionary principles as enunciated by Trotsky form the framework of our program, and serve us as a guide in the interpretation of new problems. Those of you who are most familiar with our history know that the Workers Party grew out of a split in the Socialist Workers Party in 1939-1940. We are not concerned here with the nature of the regime (Cannon's) that provoked the split. The principal issue in dispute was the defense of Russia: should revolutionists defend or not defend Russia under any conditions. We said no, Trotsky, and with him the majority of the SWP, said yes.

OUR DIFFERENCES WITH HIM

Trotsky based his position on the argument that Russia was a degenerated workers state. Our party, after an intense discussion, arrived at the conclusion that Russia was not a work-

ers state, and at our second national convention in 1941 adopted the position that Russia was a bureaucratic collectivist state, the unique phenomenon of a bureaucracy that had succeeded in destroying the revolution and taking over the state power in a country where the working class had vanquished capitalism and nationalized property.

Trotsky defended his position on the premise that the distinguishing feature of a workers state was nationalized property; but, since the party and other instruments of working class control had been destroyed by the Stalinist bureaucracy, he called this a DEGENERATED workers state. We argued that nationalization without workers' control was not socialist in quality, that working class democracy was essential to a workers' state for it operated according to different historical principles from a capitalist state. Though in his last major works, "The Revolution Betrayed" and others, Trotsky conceded that a new type of state, neither capitalist nor working class, was theoretically conceivable, he maintained to the end that Russia was a degenerated workers' state. (For a fuller exposition of this point, see Max Shachtman's essay in "The New Course.")

It is idle speculation to question what would have been the development of Trotsky's views, whether the new crimes of Stalin would have led him to a new policy as the Stalinist crimes in the Germany of 1930 to 1934 led him to a new policy then: to call for the formation of a new revolutionary international, the Fourth.

The fact remains that up to the time of the assassin's blow, Trotsky had not changed his position, and that in the course of presenting his position he polemized very sharply against us. But the fact also remains that the bases of our analyses of Russia and Stalinism, which we have developed far beyond any point stated by Trotsky himself, derive from the direction he



LEON AND NATALIA TROTSKY GREETED ON THEIR ARRIVAL IN MEXICO BY FRIDA RIVERA AND MAX SHACHTMAN, NATIONAL CHAIRMAN OF THE WORKERS PARTY

gave us in his series of brilliant interpretations. In no sense is this meant by way of minimizing our differences; quite the contrary, the difference was a grave one for it involved what is, after all, one of the fundamental questions of our epoch: the nature of Russia and Stalinism.

THE SPIRIT OF TROTSKYISM

Now, it is possible to reduce the man to a saint, and cheapen his works into oracular texts. The Socialist Workers Party does precisely that. The sum of their understanding goes no further than the specific lines written by Trotsky; thus, if Trotsky wrote one thing based on the events of 1936 it is impossible to amend that view, or revise it, in the light of the events of 1946. To us, that is the very opposite of Trotskyism, and defeats its ends. It is, in short, a revolting spectacle that defies the very spirit of the man's life and work. No man in our generation was more proud than Trotsky in his devotion to Lenin's teachings. Yet, in the great days that followed the Russian Revolution, Trotsky did not hesitate to take issue with Lenin. Did that make him less of a Leninist? Hardly. How Trotsky flayed those who stifled the meaning of Leninism by converting Lenin into a sacrosanct figure! In this connection,

it is worth our while to reread Trotsky's earliest major polemic against the depredations of the bureaucracy in Russia, "The New Course" (recently republished by the Workers Party). What is "The New Course," if it is not a plea for critical, creative thinking in a democratic party atmosphere? Without that there is stultification—and the party is destroyed in the grip of bureaucratic ignorance. The great revolutionists themselves, Marx, Lenin and Trotsky, invariably turned away with horror and distaste from those misguided followers who considered it sufficient to repeat their "lessons" by rote, as though Marxism were some bodiless catechism.

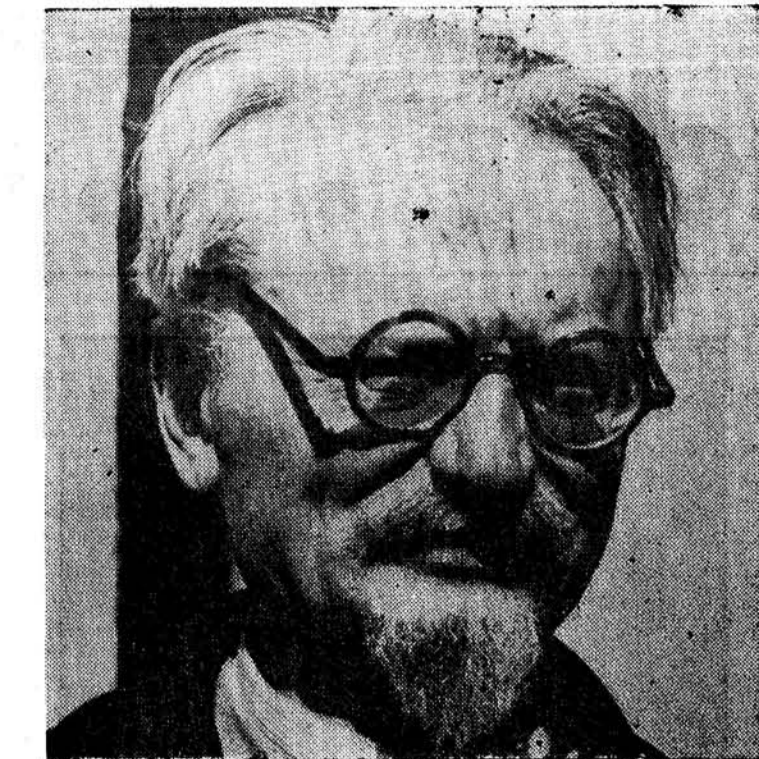
Consult *The New Course* again, and you will find that it is an unanswerable argument against monolithism in the party, that is against the self-destructive idea (for a revolutionary party) that all must share the same view, that differences of opinion on matters of policy are impermissible. In that respect too, those who stand on the virtue of their "official" Trotskyism, while creating a monolithic regime in the party, contradict what is to us of the Workers Party a salient characteristic of Trotskyism. By way of illustration, we gladly acknowledge the existence in our party of comrades who hold different points of view on Russia, including Trotsky's point of view.

It is precisely because we take a creative analytical approach to the problems of our day, and the interpretation of historical events, that we call ourselves Marxian revolutionists and Trotskyists. We study the writings of these great teachers; and we study their method. How did they tackle this problem? How did they judge this situation? The method of applying to the class struggle, internationalist principles is of the utmost importance. So, applying this method, we worked out our policy on the "national question" in Europe—the necessity for raising once more to the foreground, in the particular situation of Nazi occupation and allied occupation that followed it, democratic slogans, slogans for national liberation. Trotsky may have agreed with us; he may have disagreed with us; it is conjecture in any case. What we do know is that we approached the new problem created in Europe during and after the war, armed with revolutionary principles which served us as instruments of analysis and decision.

THE "TRANSITIONAL PROGRAM"

Among Trotsky's greatest contributions as leader of the Fourth Internationalist movement, was his development of the "transitional program." This program is incorporated into our Party program. Not word for word, nor line by line. As Trotsky intended it should be, we have applied it according as the situation demanded, amplified it, interpreted it in the context of our problems. This transitional program, which Trotsky put forward in a document of monumental insight, "The Death Agony of Capitalism," was intended to bridge the gap between the politically conscious level of the masses of the world today and their historical future in a socialist society; its purpose was to advance slogans of a qualitatively higher social level than immediate demands that pose the necessity for fuller revolutionary socialist action. The "Death Agony" is magnificent in its revolutionary vision; but to bow before each of its formulations as holy writ is to make of it a shabby caricature out of keeping with its author and its intent. The Workers Party understands the transitional program as a weapon for the socialist reconstruction of society, and we utilize it against the bankrupt system of capitalism as the situation dictates. Thus we have given prominent place in our transitional program to what we have called the GM Program, though the struggle of the GM strikers and the demands that issued from it, occurred long after the "Death Agony" was written.

Revolutionary socialism is the most vital of all political philosophies, constantly refreshed by the experience of the working class and the application of Marxian theory. Certain principles we consider basic; without them there is no revolutionary perspective: class struggle as against class collaboration, working class internationalism, anti-imperialist war, the building of the revolutionary party, and others of equal meaning. It is necessary to study these principles, to seek them in the writings of the great revolutionist and in the record of their work. They are the principles upon which we stand in the struggle against capitalist rule and Stalinist reaction. We will not tolerate class collaborationism or social patriotism in our ranks, though we welcome REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISTS regardless of this, that or the other differences in approach or policy. As revolutionary socialists we are partisans of the Trotskyist movement, dedicated to building the international revolutionary movement, proud allies of the great teacher, Leon Trotsky.



LEON TROTSKY AS HE WAS IN 1937

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!

The Social and Economic Problems of the South

Operation Dixie and the Social Structure of the South

By DAVID COOLIDGE

In last week's article we pertained the situation in the South as discussed to its economic poverty, the domination of the economy by Northern capitalism and the efforts of the Southern bourgeoisie (capitalists) to raise themselves to some sort of independent status. It was remarked that a drive such as that contemplated by the CIO would be desperately opposed by the Southern industrial, agricultural rulers. This makes necessary the most careful and cautious planning. Many tactical procedures which would be taken for granted in the North would have to be modified for the South.

SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS TO ORGANIZERS

Some of the instructions issued to organizers are interesting and enlightening. Organizers are to make special efforts to become a part of the community; they must act as though they were local people and not "outsiders." They should go to church on Sundays and participate in other activities of the native population. If an organizer calls at a home and the man is away, he is to call again when the "head of the house" is at home. It is not so much that these procedures are not of value in the North but that they are imperative and of general advantage in organizing in the South. As a rule,

the organizers must be Southerners. There will be a minimum of Jewish and Negro organizers and they will be greatly limited in their field of operations.

The CIO would not have to give special attention to these things in the North. Northern business men, editors and workers would not concern themselves with the fact that an organizer is a Southerner and had lived in Monroe, Ga., all the years before he came to New York to organize clothing or textile workers. A Southern organizer working in Ohio would not have to resort to extraordinary efforts to demonstrate that he was not an infidel, atheist or free-thinker. While one should at all times be careful about such conventions as not paying undue attention to the woman in the family while the husband is away, Northern women exercise a far greater degree of freedom in such matters than do Southern women.

A white Southerner working in Illinois would not risk being run out of town if he addressed a Negro man as Mr. Jones or a Negro woman as Miss Smith. If he decided to have white and Negro workers together in one local there would be no danger that the whole organizing campaign would have to be suspended for months or years.

In order to deal adequately with

the many questions which are raised in connection with organizing in the South, those mentioned above and in last week's article, it is necessary to inquire how the South came to be what it is. Why is this section of the country so backward? Why is its political life of such a low order? Why is there so much ignorance? Why does virtually all of the political, social and economic thinking and acting revolve around the place of the Negro in Southern society?

In the first place, the South expends an astonishingly small amount of money for free public education. While the South has a higher proportion of children of school age than any other section of the country, it appropriates less, far less per capita, than any other section. For the U. S. as a whole the average expenditure per pupil is about \$80 annually. For ten Southern states the average is about \$50 for white children and only \$18 for Negro children. This is the average for the ten states, but in Georgia and Mississippi the expenditure runs respectively about \$8.00 and \$9.00 for Negro children. Obviously, this means that the quality of instruction is poor. This is bad enough but added to this is the fact that teachers, white and black, are severely restricted in the subjects they are permitted and in the manner of treating these subjects. One can im-

agine, for instance, what is taught to white youth about the Civil War, slavery, trade unions, the rights of Negroes and the social position of women and children.

That is not all. It is not unusual, in the rural and small town areas, for a female Negro teacher to have demands made on her that she become the concubine of a white school official if she retain her job. Negro men teachers often have demands made that they either pay in advance for teaching jobs or agree to "kick back" part of their meager monthly salary. As a rule this is handled by some "Uncle Tom" Negro who also demands that he receive some honorarium from the hapless teacher in the form of cash or a hunting or fishing trip to be paid for by the teacher.

It should not be forgotten, too, that the school year is only an interlude between cotton-chopping and picking. In these areas school is closed and parents, pupils and teacher go to the fields to work until the harvesting is over. The economic basis for this educational poverty and degradation is the low income and per capita wealth of the South. There are also political, social and economic reasons.

The ruling class of the South perpetuates itself and retains its power and prestige through the maintenance

of ignorance, stupidity, superstition and poverty among the masses. It is here that economic exploitation is the most barbaric. It is here that the social customs are the most outmoded. It is here that political life is the most corrupt and rotten.

Life in the South is cheap; homicide flourishes; and "law," particularly in the rural sections, is largely a matter of personal taste and inclination. This is the section where one literally finds capitalism "dripping blood and dirt from head to toe; out of all pores."

UNIONIZATION ATTACKS SOCIAL STRUCTURE

The South does not have a high regard for education of the masses, their participation in politics, or any aspirations of the masses for a higher standard of living, but the South does have its traditions, its taboos and its own peculiar social institutions. The organization of the workers, even the white workers, into industrial unions is, and must be, a direct assault on the whole structure of southern economic, social and political life and customs.

The very concept of industrial unionism and the proposal to organize workers into such unions is a direct attack on the whole southern social structure. It is this, not alone for the reason that it is a plan to raise the

wages of these lowly workers and toilers, but because it is a plan to organize in such a way that the Southern overlords will not be able to defeat the plan. They will not be able to defeat the plan primarily for the reason that the CIO must organize the Negro workers along with the white workers. No matter how cautious the CIO is, and caution is indicated, it will not be able to escape carrying the campaign to the Negroes, even if there were any intention to proceed with the white workers alone. But even if in the beginning the overwhelming majority of the new unionists are white, this will not save the situation for the ruling class. Because to elevate the wage standards of the poor white workers and to give them a sense of security and power will of itself tend to lessen their enmity toward the Negroes. These white workers will learn eventually, out of their experience, that they must include the Negroes in order to consolidate their new economic and political gains.

On the Negro's part the awakening will be far more profound and pregnant. What Negroes need more than any other section of the population is what they have had the least of: organization as workers, into distinctly workers' organizations which are striving for their advancement as wage-earners. Ever since their eman-

ipation Negroes have been beguiled into multitudinous and variegated organizations which have attempted to free them from Jim-Crow and secure for them their democratic rights. These organizations have been of limited value. Some of them have been and are of dubious worth. None of them has approached the problem from the point of view that they were dealing with a proletariat which was overwhelmingly proletarian or semi-proletarian, thereby indicating the nature of the program necessary, as well as the type of leadership needed to carry that program into action.

ORGANIZING THE NEGRO WORKER

The NAACP, the organization with the largest Negro membership, aside from the church and fraternal societies, boasts of a membership of over 500,000. These members are all over the U. S. in 1,000 branches. The majority of them are Negro workers. But they really have nothing much to do. Thousands of them are in the South. Five hundred thousand Negroes in trade unions in the South would be able to do more for "the advancement of colored people" than many thousands more could do for the same ends in any organization such as the NAACP.

This section of the resolution of the (Continued on page 4)

An Heroic Socialist Leader . . .

Trotsky - a Revolutionary Internationalist Who Never Compromised With Social Oppression

By J. R. JOHNSON

For nearly half a century Trotsky was a revolutionist. Such was his consistency, and his achievement, that we are apt to forget the tremendous power of will and devotion to an ideal that his life signifies.

He begins as a youth organizing workers in a Russian town. At that time, Tsarism enveloped Russian life like a cloud of evil. The young revolutionaries in Russia had nothing firm, nothing established to which to attach themselves. Nourished only by

traditional sentiment of opposition to Tsarism, they reacted to the stifling society around them by plunging into underground activity. They read some pamphlets and looking around for some workers, began to organize them.

Far different it is today and particularly since 1917. Whatever the ups and downs of the labor and revolutionary movements, in the very worst circumstances in which they find themselves, there is still the memory of, the heights they once reached.

Trotsky and his contemporaries began practically from zero.

The result of that first burst of activity as a youth was years of prison and deportation followed by escape and voluntary exile. He grew to maturity in prison, in Siberia, in London, Paris and Vienna. Life among prisoners, deportees, and exiles is not calculated to strengthen and develop the human spirit. It breaks more men than it makes. Yet Trotsky emerges from it at the age of 25 and almost overnight becomes President of the

Petrograd Soviet, one of the acknowledged leaders of the 1905 revolution.

It is proper to pay tribute to his ability. But ability does not explain everything and at a certain stage the ability itself has to be explained. This rapid growth and capacity to fill whatever position the revolution demanded sprang from a complete denial, rejection and repudiation of bourgeois society. In his "My Life" he relates a revealing episode. While in exile in Siberia, he and his comrades read Trotsky's ex-communication by the Tsarist church. Trotsky relates that as they read the nonsensical rigmarole they said to themselves: No, the future is ours; it cannot be with these people. That explains him. He was confident that the future was ours.

To have lived in Russia was to have gained a foundation of opposition and belief in the proletariat which was crucial to Trotsky's development.

EXPERIENCE IN EUROPE

But he did not confine these ideas to Russia. Between 1902 and 1905 this youth, with only sixteen years of normal life behind him, traveled in Europe. By the time he had returned to Russia for the 1905 revolution, his European experiences had laid the foundation for his theory of the Permanent Revolution. With the same practical boldness which enabled him to direct the affairs of the first Soviet in history his theoretical ideas embraced the whole of Western Europe. There, too the future was ours.

Once more his stay in Russia was short and he took the road to exile again by way of escape from Siberia. For nearly a dozen years Trotsky continues to prepare for the next Russian revolution. The story goes that he was given to playing chess in the Café Centrale in Vienna. When the news came of a revolution in Russia the Vienna chief of police said with great scorn "Who will make a revolution in Russia? Mr. Trotsky of the Café Centrale!"

But Marxists do not need to judge their historical conceptions by the reactions of police chiefs. Trotsky himself relates the cold disdain, the deadly civility, with which leaders of the Austrian Social-Democracy treated his expectations of a revolutionary upheaval in Europe. There is no need to go into how triumphantly Trotsky's view was justified. Between 1917 and 1923 the revolution could give him no task which he was not able to fulfill.

DECLINE OF THE REVOLUTION

But after 1923 there begins a new phase in his career. It is a phase of continuous decline of the revolution, at home and abroad, and personal defeat in Russia ending in exile once more.

He remains in revolutionary temper, devotion and will, the same man that he was before.

We who have been closely associated with his ideas and organization tend to take this for granted. We seem to think that it could not have been otherwise. That is a mistake. Marxists can weaken, capitulate, become demoralized. Trotsky remained as unshaken as some force of nature.

Operation Dixie - -

(Continued from page 3)

Workers Party on the U. S. adopted at its last convention, dealing with the Negro has the following to say: "... the organization of the Negroes in the South into the CIO cannot but have the most revolutionary consequences for the developments of the Negro people and their struggle. . . . The indispensable prerequisite to a fighting unity of the Negro people on a progressive and effective basis is the political and 'organizational' differentiation of the Negro people into class organizations, tendencies and movements. In the course of this differentiation the Negro proletarians, allied with white proletarians, will be in a position to take the leadership of the whole Negro people, a leadership without which the struggle of the Negroes for equality is doomed to petty-bourgeois ineffectuality, capitulation, or outright sterility. The unity of the Negro people, in other words, can and must be established first by the separation of the Negro people into class movements and then by its realliance under the leadership of the proletariat.

From the standpoint of this perspective and this necessity, the CIO drive into the South is of the most vital and even of historic importance

Hounded from country to country, his children murdered, in perpetual danger of assassination, in the last years guarded day and night, slandered as never man was slandered before, he remains the man he was when he followed the star of the ascending revolution in the first quarter of the century. It is possible to say with absolute confidence: History knows nothing like it.

AN ASTOUNDING PERSONALITY

As a person, as an individual, as one who has chosen a path for himself and devotes to it all his powers, inexhaustible courage, selflessness, an indestructible, historical perspective to which everything personal is subordinated, in all this Trotsky remains the most astounding personality of the modern world. Just look for a moment at the spectacle presented by Hitler, Goebbels, Goering, Hess and the rest. These gentlemen, it must never be forgotten, built themselves and grew to power on one fundamental principle, the destruction of Marxism.

Yet today Marxism lives. It commands no great political organizations. But its doctrines have been preserved and extended, it has adherents in both the advanced and backward countries of the world. The Stalinists, its most tenacious enemies, periodically denounce and slander it with a vigor which is out of all correspondence to its present political effectiveness. Why? They know the importance of ideas, at least of these ideas. That these ideas live and are active in political life is due more than anything else to the revolutionary courage and will of Trotsky.

The Nazis cut a great figure in the world at one time. Today where are their theories of blood and race and soil, their swastika and all the other rubbish they had swept up into such an imposing pile. They are destroyed. Marxism is not.

No, Trotsky was a man greatly gifted but it is impossible to see in his strength and endurance the influence of ideas upon a personality. Without these ideas he could not have stood up under the accumulated blows and pursued his work unshaken to the end. For those who are pondering over the fate of society and their relation to it, a study of his life and the spirit that moved him should mean much.

Absolute rejection of bourgeois society, acceptance of the proletariat as the revolutionary force destined to overthrow it. Within that framework he was able to meet all the demands and trials that were thrown upon him in a crumbling society. It was a steel framework against which all the monstrous power of bourgeois society could not prevail. It was a perpetually welling spring of energy and resource for the education and organization of the proletariat, to help prepare it for the overthrow of bourgeois society.

So, that even as we stand astonished at this towering intellectual personal achievement, we realize that a complete and adequate explanation of it, can be only in the ideas which strengthened and sustained him.



LENIN AND TROTSKY REVIEWING THE RED ARMY

How Could One Man Have Done All This?

By IRVING HOWE

Just as in modern society there is an increasing tendency towards a productive specialization in which each man merely does one operation, apparently meaningless and without satisfaction in itself; so too in the intellectual world of capitalist society there has taken place the same kind of destructive specialization, the compartmentalization of human knowledge into pigeon holes.

Leon Trotsky was one of the few thinkers of our time who escaped this deadening division. His approach to life and thought was total: the approach of a committed revolutionist who summed up in his action, his passion and his thought a central outlook which allowed him to view contemporary society as a whole. Trotsky, for all his vast and often unsuspected knowledge, was not the most erudite man of his time; there were many fields in which other people knew more than he. But no thinker of this century, since the death of Lenin, was able to use a theoretical method—Marxism—in such a way that it served as a rigorous guide, a controlling instrument and yet did not become a rigid dogma. Trotsky's outlook was from one perspective, the most fruitful of all historical perspectives: Marxism; and yet the whole world, all of its concerns and ideas, was within his purview.

SCOPE OF HIS WORK

For a man so thoroughly committed to the life of revolutionary action and all its attendant dangers, Trotsky's writings reveal an extraordinary breadth of interest, scope of knowledge, and flexibility of approach. In his young manhood, he tells us in his fascinating autobiography, he worked—almost simultaneously—on his first projection of his greatest contribution to Marxism: the theory of permanent revolution, as outlined in his little known book, *Our Revolution*; on his as yet untranslated 1905, a history of that revolution in Russia; on a collection of literary essays on such figures as Ibsen and Shaw (which someone would do well to dig up, translate and publish); and, while in Siberia, on a study of Freemasonry, which was unfortunately lost. All this apart from the vast store of polemical and political articles which one expects from a practicing revolutionist!

Trotsky's primary interest was, of course, Marxism: the theory of socialist revolution. Trotsky's work is consistently polemical, as is that of most Marxists, for Marxism is a theory of action above all else.

Yet Trotsky was able to produce a work which is at the very pinnacle of its type: his gigantic *History of the Russian Revolution*. This book—the only Marxist rival to which in the field of history is Marx's own *18th Brumaire*—is not only one of the very greatest works of history ever written; it is a living challenge demonstrating the superiority of the Marxist method when used by skillful hands.

Much of Trotsky's writing remains, unfortunately, untranslated. His studies of military problems written during the civil war period, in fact, most of his writings from the period of the Russian Revolution until his exile from Russia, are not available in English. But those that are available, and those we know of by hearsay, again attest to the range and power of Trotsky's mind. Imagine, if you will, a revolutionary leader at the helm of a young workers' state suffering from intervention, breakdown and starvation, who yet finds time—in between battles and political work—to write voluminously on military problems; to write a masterpiece, "Literature and Revolution," discussing problems of iterations which were passionately and (in such contrast to Stalin's later intellectual tyranny) so freely discussed in Russia of the early twenties; to write an almost forgotten little book called "Problems of Life" in which he raised problems of revolutionary morality: religion, swearing, sex, home and family life.



THE ORGANIZER OF THE RED ARMY CHATS WITH A YOUNG SOLDIER

"Five Years of the Communist International"

A SOURCE-BOOK OF POLITICS

THE FIRST FIVE YEARS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL, by Leon Trotsky. Pioneer Publishers \$2.50

By ABE VICTOR

Here is a collection of documents from the formative years of the Third International which provides a mine of precious material of revolutionary politics. The most brilliant portion of this book is Trotsky's *Report on the World Economic Crisis*, written for presentation to the delegates of the Third World Congress, of the Communist International. It deals with a question upon which many political thinkers have demonstrated their inept approach, of whom not the least is Joseph Hansen who writes the Foreword. No where is it written, however, that those who publish a book must understand.

Many toes have been stubbed on the hard edge of this question because it is difficult to examine a post-war era; then to examine the working class organizations in order to arrive at a judgment: retreat, advance, or consolidate your forces. To make an analysis of a country in which the capitalist class has achieved temporary stabilization without becoming conservative or a sectarian, requires a deftness which not every revolutionary leadership possesses.

The postwar years 1919-1921 were difficult and complex periods in the evolution of world imperialism. A proletarian revolution in Russia had successfully resisted the armed counter-revolutionary force of British and American imperialism. Revolution had overthrown the German monarchy and the Hungarian bourgeoisie. A revolution was developing in Italy. Soviets were spreading throughout Europe.

THE POST-WAR PERIOD

Japan, then a victorious nation saw twenty-five per cent of its population involved in food riots. Strike after strike occurred in two other victorious countries; Great Britain and the United States. Few nations escaped the flames of working class rebellion. To any neophyte in the use of these tools with which revolutionists attempt to build their party, this would have been a period of predictions of an immediate revolutionary upsurge.

Not for Trotsky. In June 1921 he confronted the delegates of the Third World Congress with several questions: "Does development actually proceed now in the direction of revolution? Or is it necessary to recognize that capitalism has succeeded in coping with the difficulties arising from the war? And if it has not already restored, is it either restoring or close to restoring capitalist equilibrium upon new postwar foundations?" (p. 176)

For some of the delegates to the Third World Congress to even pose the possibility of capitalist equilibrium was to feel that a bucket of icy water had been splashed upon their ardor. For them the imminent collapse of world capitalism was axiomatic. The left wings of several of the Communist parties in Europe had impetuously sought to open the gates to an offensive at a time when the hundreds of millions of the best workers in Europe were binding the wounds of their defeats in Germany, Austria, and Hungary. Trotsky and Lenin sought to adjust the tactical line of the Communist International to the reality.

Said Trotsky in this report: "... inasmuch as the revolution has not come hot on the tracks of the war, it is absolutely self-evident that the bourgeoisie has

utilized the breathing space afforded it, if not to surmount and eliminate the most frightful and terrible consequences of the war, then at least to camouflage them, patch them up, etc., etc. Has it succeeded in accomplishing this? In part, yes."

And then he develops his point, indicating where the capitalist world order had been fortified against new revolutionary outbreaks and where it remained vulnerable.

At the same time he tried to make two things clear. 1.) "the current commercial-industrial crisis (might) be superseded by a period of prosperity in a greater or lesser number of countries." 2.) That "this would in no case signify the beginning of an organic epoch (of prosperity). So long as capitalism exists, cyclical oscillations are inevitable. These will accompany capitalism in its death agony, just as they accompanied it in its youth and maturity." (p. 260).

REVOLUTIONARY EBB

Simultaneously with this he struck a note of gloomy possibility, which should today ring in our ears. "It is absolutely self-evident that the more protracted the world proletarian revolutionary movement is in its character, the more inevitable will the bourgeoisie be impelled by the contradictions of the world economic and political situation to engage in another bloody denouement on a world scale. This would signify that the task of 'restoring capitalist equilibrium' after the new war would have for its basis conditions of economic havoc and cultural savagery in comparison with which the present state of Europe might be regarded as the height of well-being." (p. 254).

And at another point he commented, "If we grant—and let us grant it for the moment—that the working class fails to rise in revolutionary struggle, but allows the bourgeoisie the opportunity to rule the world's destiny for a long number of years, say, two or three decades, then assuredly some sort of new equilibrium will be established. Europe will be thrown violently into reverse gear. Millions of European workers will die from unemployment and malnutrition. The United States will be compelled to reorient itself on the world market, reconvert its industry and suffer curtailment for a considerable period. Afterwards, after a new world division of labor is thus established in agony for 15 or 20 or 25 years, a new epoch of capitalist upswing might perhaps ensue.

"But this entire conception is exceedingly abstract and one-sided. Matters are pictured here as if the proletariat had ceased to struggle. Meanwhile there cannot even be any talk of this if only for the reason that the class contradictions have become aggravated in the extreme precisely during the recent years." (Emphasis Trotsky's). (p. 211).

As can be seen by the last two sentences, Trotsky saw the possibility of a United States which emerged the dominant power, of a new epoch of capitalist upswing and of a Europe so impoverished that the proletarian revolution was not immediately on the order of the day.

Compare these words with the editorials in the Fourth International which ridiculed the necessity of supporting and working in the movements for national liberation in Europe and which even today believes that the proletarian revolution is on the immediate order of the day and it will be seen how Trotsky's vision compares with that of the Socialist Workers Party who publish his writings.

A Fighting Voice of Freedom!

Trotsky's Teachings Are Not a Dogma but A Critical Guide to Political Thought and Action

By ALBERT GOLDMAN

Like all great thinkers who participated actively in the struggle for human progress, Trotsky left a body of ideas which, in reality, cannot be understood without grasping the method and the spirit of the man. To accept Trotsky's ideas as dogmas, to repeat them mechanically without comprehending that they must be understood in the light of conditions that prevailed at the time Trotsky first advanced them, is to do exactly what he fought against throughout his whole mature life.

It is contrary to Trotsky's method to solve a theoretical problem primarily by a system of reference and quotation. It is contrary to Trotsky's method to assume that he or anybody else was always correct and to argue and act on that basis.

IMPORTANT TO UNDERSTAND METHOD

Six years after the assassination of Trotsky by an agent of Stalin it has become clear that Trotsky is not immune to the fate that has befallen all great thinkers after their death. Those who, day in day out, proclaim that they and they alone are the "official disciples" and insist that the world listen only to them show that they do not comprehend or do not want to comprehend the essential method of the "master." One need only consider the ideas presented and the tactics followed by the leaders of the Socialist Workers Party in the last few years to realize that the formal acceptance of Trotsky's ideas without an understanding of his method can easily lead to a course that is the exact opposite of what Trotsky would have followed were he alive.

It is, of course, impossible to be certain as to what policies Trotsky would have proposed as a solution to all of the problems confronting us at the present moment. It happens frequently that those who base themselves on the same general method differ sharply on particular theoretical or practical problems. There is and there can be no general method in the science of revolutionary politics which guarantees that those who accept it will agree on all questions. There is only one condition where one can be reasonably certain of no differences—where fascism or Stalinism prevail.

If it is impossible to be certain as to what policies Trotsky would have followed with reference to all of our problems, we can, however, be certain that Trotsky's method excludes some of the policies followed by the leaders of the Socialist Workers Party. The latter, following Trotsky, hold that we are living in the epoch of proletarian revolution. From this general proposition they conclude that in Europe democratic slogans are not to be raised or are of secondary importance. It is impossible to conceive that Trotsky would have reached such a conclusion, because he determined his attitude on such a question not alone from the general proposition of the nature of the epoch but from a close analysis of the particular factors which determined the consciousness of the masses at a particular moment.

There can be legitimate differences on the nature of the slogans that are to be used if these differences are based on a different estimate of the consciousness of the masses or as to whether a particular slogan is or is not what the masses want to struggle for. But one does not follow the Trotskyist method if he deduces slogans from a general characterization of the epoch we live in.

HIS APPROACH TO CURRENT ISSUES

Now is it possible to imagine that Trotsky would have opposed (as do the leaders of the SWP) the slogan of "wage increase without price increase" on the basis that it was not included in the program of transitional demands formulated in 1938 or because of a certain formula contained in that program. If the masses, disturbed by a very rapid increase of the cost of living, can be set into motion by the slogan of freezing of prices, no formula would have prevented Trotsky from adopting such a slogan.

With the greatest of confidence, we can rule out the idea that Trotsky would have opposed unity between the SWP and the WP. Were he alive we can take it for granted that by this time there would be unity. For Trotsky would have recognized the obvious fact that the WP is a revolutionary party and that it would be of great benefit to the revolutionary movement if two revolutionary parties were to unite. The fact that there was a split in 1940 is something to be regretted by those who consider it to have been a mistake, but it is not a cause for opposition to unity.

Trotsky could not possibly have raised the present differences between the parties as a barrier to unity because, in the first place, he had confidence in his ability to defend his position and, in the second place, he was completely opposed to any policy which favored the building of a monolithic party.

Of one thing we can be absolutely certain. Under no circumstances would he have tolerated the devious and dishonest methods pursued by the SWP leaders in order to prevent unity. It is above all in pursuing such methods that they have betrayed the spirit of Trotsky.

It can be taken for granted that the question which would have occupied most of his attention is the defense of Russia. What can be said as to his probable attitude? Here we are on more debatable ground. Would he have clung to the formula: nationalized property—therefore defense? It is a subject of interesting speculation.

STALINISM AND DEFENSE OF RUSSIA

We can be certain only that he would not have been bound by the fact that previously he had formulated a certain proposition with reference to the nature of the Soviet Union and the necessity of defending it. For Trotsky was not one to be bound by a formula. Living reality was far more important to him.

If one takes living reality into consideration one is compelled to recognize the fact that the victory of the Stalinist

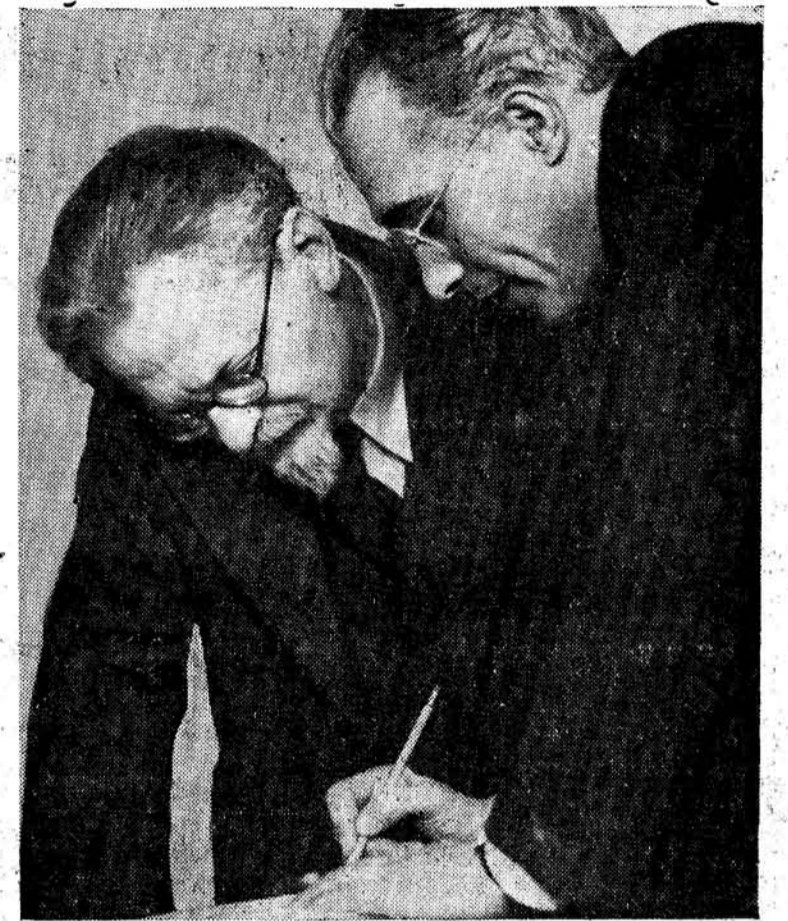
army has led only to the crushing of the socialist revolution. Trotsky contended that the defense of Russia must be subordinated to the interests of the world revolution. The defense of Russia means working for the victory of the Stalinist army but it is that very victory which constitutes as great a danger to the world revolution as the victory of the armies of any fascist country. Would Trotsky not have seen that the advantages of nationalized property are far outweighed by the harm to the proletarian revolution which the victory of the Stalinist army is sure to bring?

One can readily see the justification for following a policy of defense under a condition that prevailed in 1940, when one could still expect that the war and a victory of the Stalinist army might lead to a revolution in Europe which would destroy Stalinism. But history has proved that the victory of the Stalinist army has been a very important factor in preventing the European revolution. It seems safe to conclude that Trotsky would have started with that conclusion and not simply repeated his formula about nationalized property. The very first principle of every revolutionary Marxist is not to cling to a formula of yesterday.

In the light of the real method of Trotsky one finds it difficult not to throw up his hands in despair when one sees in a resolution adopted by an international conference of Trotskyist parties the idea, with reference to the occupying Stalinist armies in Europe, that the sections should "tolerate the presence of the Red army only to the extent that it is a friendly proletarian armed force having as its objective to guarantee the fulfillment of agrarian reform and the state-ization of the means of production against imperialism and against national reactionary elements, without hindering in any way whatsoever the free development of the working-class movement." Such nonsense could be written only by people who are slaves to a formula. Alas we must admit that a genius is unable to prevent followers from bringing shame upon his ideas.

They who, like the leaders of the SWP, claim that Trotsky's program is a "finished program" or an "unchanging program," have in reality very little in common with Trotsky. They may publish Trotsky's writings; they may celebrate his anniversaries and proclaim undying devotion to him; they may shout that they are the only real Trotskyists and all others are only "counterfeits." But this does not make them Trotskyists in spirit and method. We must remind everybody that the Stalinists publish Lenin's works with full commentaries and celebrate his anniversaries. But this does not make Leninists out of them.

Far closer to the spirit of Trotsky are they who disagree with him and still disagree with him on many subjects but who understand that it is above all necessary to follow his method, which means to base oneself on the general principles of Marxism and to analyze living events for the purpose of finding the best possible policies in the struggle for the victory of socialism.



TROTSKY AND GOLDMAN CONFER AT THE MEXICAN HEARINGS WHICH EXPOSED THE MOSCOW FRAME-UP

How the "Old Man" Wrote the History

By ALBERT GATES

Many persons have had the opportunity to visit with and observe the habits of Leon Trotsky, the extraordinary hero and genius of the internationalist socialist movement. Those meetings and associations have been described, though not extensively. A biography of Trotsky has yet to be written, and those fragments which have been recorded of his life since his exile from Russia in 1929 will serve as source material for such biographical purposes.

What is written here is but one of those fragments of his life which left a vivid picture in my memory filled with many lasting impressions of Trotsky.

At the end of the year 1931, the latter part of October, November and part of December, I visited Trotsky in Turkey for what was to be a two-week stay. That it lasted longer was due to the circumstances which governed the life of Trotsky, his wife, Natalia, and the household at that time. A fire made his home on Prinkipo Island uninhabitable and brought him to an old paint-peeling frame house set in a large garden on the outskirts of the town of Kadikoy at the eastern shores of a cove-like extremity of the Marmara Sea. Across the water, several miles distant, lay Istanbul on the European side of the Bosphorus.

WORK ON THE HISTORY

I had apparently arrived at a "very bad moment." Trotsky was occupied with what is undoubtedly his greatest historical and literary work, the History of the Russian Revolution. I had already been told by others what a prodigious worker he was. But now I was actually to see that it was so.

I was soon to observe how completely absorbed Trotsky was in the writing of this monumental work. His main attention and energies were devoted to its writing. Yet at the same time he was to do some of his greatest political pamphleteering (the most prominent work was "Germany: The Key to the International Situation") and to assist with advice his numerous co-thinkers in other countries, as well as to maintain an immense correspondence with many people on diverse subjects.

As I recall, Trotsky followed an undeviating schedule of work, the monotony of which was broken by one hunting trip during my visit, and frequent fishing trips in his 12-foot row-boat. He arose about seven in the morning and prepared his work for the day. Breakfast was served about eight in the morning. Thereafter, he returned to his second-story workroom to begin his work in earnest. This was broken by noon-day lunch. After dinner, he would read and prepare his material for the next day's work.

His writing on the History was intense since, as he told me, the publishers were pressing him to complete the book. But he always needed "a few weeks more time." You could hear him pacing the thin-planked floor dictating in his ring-

ing metallic voice to a Russian stenographer seated at a typewriter. His hands held a sheaf of notes prepared earlier and there followed the steady outpouring of words and a rhythmic beat of the typewriter.

At times there would be a very abrupt halt in the work. Trotsky would appear downstairs on his way out to the garden. There he walked rapidly back and forth—ten, twenty, thirty minutes and suddenly he would disappear from the garden and you could hear again the sound of his voice and the beat of the typewriter. The garden walks served as a form of relaxation and an opportunity to think through problems which arose in the writing of the history of the Revolution. At other times it seemed that he dictated days without end.

A SCRUPULOUS HISTORIAN

He was a most scrupulous historian. This is evidenced by the fact that the work he wrote has never yet been challenged even in its minutest details.

Intellectual life in Turkey was not highly advanced. The most serious lack of all was a library which could be utilized by Trotsky in his writings. And yet he would permit no data to go unchecked, no assertions to pass unverified. Quotations were checked and rechecked from different sources. He had constantly to send elsewhere for material: a library book from Paris to check an analogy with the French Revolution; old Communist International material from Germany; Russian material from other places in Europe. The reader can readily understand the difficulties this created. Yet, Trotsky was never long delayed by such irritating hindrances.

On a table in his study workroom lay a number of topographical card maps of Petrograd (so named before the Russian Revolution) joined together like a completed jigsaw puzzle. These joined maps formed a picture of the city showing streets, buildings, alleys, squares and bridges. On the maps lay a magnifying glass which Trotsky used to determine the accuracy of the most minute geographical references to the street fighting at the capital, as well as other details.

When dictation for a section of the book was completed, he would take the manuscript, now a long roll of pasted typewriter pages, and begin a careful reading, editing and revision. Sections of the History were rewritten many times, until the precise and desired story was told.

Despite his intense interest in and occupation with the political events of the day and the life of the movement which arose to fight for his ideas, Trotsky concentrated on this historical work until it was finished. It is true that he never did meet the publisher's deadline, but then Trotsky never hastened a work to meet the needs of an enterprise whose love for books is usually secondary to schedule, advertising and profits. But if he did not adhere to these demands of the book publishing business, the world is richer for it. It has the definitive story of how the Russian workers took power!

Trotsky's Last Book - a Portrait of Joseph Stalin

By BRITANNICUS

Trotsky's Life of Stalin was unfinished when Stalin's assassin struck him down in 1940. He had completed seven chapters but had prepared a great quantity of notes and memoranda. These were given to Charles Malamuth, who had translated others of Trotsky's writings into English and was translating the life of Stalin. Malamuth completed the book. From the literary point of view he did a good job, making a connected, readable whole of the last chapters and yet keeping clearly before the reader the original material on which he worked. Politically, Malamuth has inserted into the book the idea that Stalinism was the inevitable result of the "one-party dictatorship of Bolshevism." Trotsky spent the greater part of his last years refuting that view.

It is also necessary to remind readers that this book has already entered into the political life of the time. It was ready for issuance in 1941, but the Roosevelt administration stopped its publication. In those days Stalin was the great friend of the democracies and an ally in the struggle against totalitarianism. Today Stalin is the totalitarian enemy of the capitalist democracies. There is therefore no reason to prohibit its further publication.

A furious and unbelievably dishonest attack has been launched on the book by the Stalinists and their literary supporters. It is clear, therefore that this is no ordinary piece of literature. To read, better still to study it is a political education. All we can do here is to indicate some of the main lines of thought.

CHARACTERIZATION OF STALIN

Trotsky's task was to write a Marxist biography of a contemporary political figure. He set out therefore to show how Stalin's early life, personal characteristics, and first experiences in politics fitted him for the role he plays today: executioner of Bolshevism and embodiment of bureaucratic tyranny. Trotsky, briefly, has written a study of personality in relation to social and political change. In this reviewer's opinion no such piece of historical writing in the same field even faintly approaches this type of biography.

Undoubtedly there are here and there places where Trotsky may seem to go beyond the margin of legitimate

deduction from evidence. But these are singularly few and the reason for them is obvious to anyone who knows Trotsky's impersonal attitude to history, his passionate devotion to fact and truth in political, and particularly, in historical controversy. Trotsky is relentless and with cause.

Stalin for years has carried out and has now completed a task absolutely unparalleled in human history. He has, as far as possible, obliterated the true history of the 1905 revolution, the 1917 revolution, and the rise of Bolshevism and the records of the foundation of the Soviet State. He has substituted a version of his own which is imposed on 200 million people in Russia and actively propagated by his parties all over the world. This was and is one of his greatest political weapons in his struggle against the revolution inside and outside Russia.

Trotsky was one of the few living people with the personal knowledge able to analyze and refute authoritatively this mass of lies. Here again the job is magnificently done. Whoever wishes to find out the truth about these matters can now do so. The Stalinist fabricators are left in ruins. If the personal exposure of Stalin plays so great a part it is because Stalin placed himself in the center of his historical reconstruction.

Those were the two main tasks that Trotsky set himself. Closely allied to this was the historical analysis of Stalinism as a political and social development. Here Trotsky seems to have probed deeper, to have clarified his previous analysis, buttressed it with historical analogies carefully worked out (e. g. the references to Thermidor). Here unfortunately we have not got his completed text. No collection of notes and memoranda, however ample, however orderly, can be a substitute for a finished work. Sufficient to say that here in unfinished form we have the ripest and most profound reflections of Trotsky on the development of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

ANALYSIS OF BUREAUCRACY

This reviewer is not attempting here any account of Trotsky's ideas on these subjects, least of all any controversy. That is for other places. But he wishes to stress what strikes him about the work in comparison with those writings in which Trotsky

had previously treated the same subjects. A good example, in fact a very striking one, is his analysis of bureaucracy in a political party, to be more precise in the Bolshevik Party.

As never before he relates the growth of bureaucracy to the activity of the masses. He recognizes even before 1905 the tendency of the more strict party men to dominate bureaucratically over the workers, a tendency which, however, is immediately destroyed by the workers themselves as soon as they take revolutionary action. One of the most startling passages in the book is where he analyzes the relation between the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party and the October Revolution.



IN THE WINTER UNIFORM OF THE RED ARMY

The protocols undoubtedly show that with the exception of several plenary sessions in which Lenin, Zinoviev and I participated, the Central Committee did not play a political role' (p 224).

That is astonishing enough. But the next sentence must shatter many previous conceptions. It reads:

"It [The Central Committee] did not assume the initiative in a single important issue. Many of the Central Committee decisions for that period remained hanging in the air, having clashed with the decisions of the Soviet. The most important resolutions of the Soviet were transformed into action before the Central Committee had time to consider them."

I have emphasized the most significant words. That this is no incidental passage is proved by the sentence which concludes the paragraph. "Only after the conquest of power, the end of the civil war, and the establishment of a stable régime, would the Central Committee little by little begin to concentrate the leadership of Soviet activity in its hands. Then would come Stalin's turn."

ROLE OF THE PARTY

Trotsky goes so far as to say (p. 64) that it is their differing conceptions of the relation of the revolutionary masses to the party which places Lenin and Stalin at opposite poles of the revolutionary idea. Again (p. 58) he writes that Lenin acknowledged the "erroneousness" of his theory that revolutionary class-consciousness was brought to the proletariat from the outside by Marxist intellectuals. It is not only the fact itself which is new and significant to this writer. Its importance is as a part of that clarification and deepening of Trotsky's ideas which is evident in every line of the book.

It is perhaps necessary to note at once that the role of the party and Lenin's conceptions of Bolshevism receive equal thought and theoretical sharpening. The analysis of Lenin's struggle with Stalin in 1912 (p. 145) is worth long and careful study by all who would understand Bolshevism.

CONFLICT OF PURPOSES

And this is perhaps the chief difficulty of the book. Trotsky, I would suggest, was riding too many horses at once. He was writing a biography for the general public and at the same time giving the results of years of effort and reflection on the great events

in which he had taken part. Some of the ideas are not fully developed. There are sentences and passages, which, taken by themselves, can be misleading. Furthermore, and this must be insisted on, he was ever a great and indefatigable corrector of his manuscripts. Had he had the opportunity to complete the whole and tie all the strands together, particularly in the concluding chapters, the various ideas would have been easier to grasp both in their individuality and as part of a whole. But the biography of Stalin is to be recommended to all types of readers.

The worker just finding his way to Bolshevism will get a picture of how a great Marxist looks at individuals in relation to society and a panorama of the modern world in general and the Russian Revolution in particular. The party member, the intellectual and the aspiring young Bolshevik can find here the ideas and reflections of the greatest political mind of our time, just at the moment when bourgeois society plunged into its final madness.

A FUNDAMENTAL WORK

Trotsky adheres firmly to his theory of Russia as a Workers' State and all the political and theoretical consequences that flow from it. Yet he penetrates more deeply into the Russian development than ever before. This book cannot help those who believe Russia is a Workers' State. It can only throw them into deeper confusion, especially with Russia occupying the world position that it does today. On the other hand, in the writer's present opinion, nowhere in his previous writings has Trotsky so completely and profoundly summarized the principles and practice of Leninism as a theory of revolutionary mass action. A final word, perhaps superfluous. The book bristles with controversial issues, large and small. I have only indicated here some of the major ones and my own reaction to them. But the controversial questions as raised here by Trotsky have this virtue. They are first, serious questions, and secondly, there is little doubt as to where Trotsky stands on point after point. Therefore, even for those who disagree or will disagree violently with him, on few or many points, the book has precious value. It will serve not only as a mine of information and ideas but as a stable point of departure in a world of intellectual quick-sands.

WORLD POLITICS

Dictatorship Employs Courts, Terror, Bribery

Behind Peron's Victory in Argentina

The Little Boat With The Four Elephants

Austria—said Karl Renner, her former President—is like "a little boat on which four elephants" are bearing down with all their weight and trampling on its flimsy bottom. The "four elephants" are of course Britain, Russia, the United States and France.

Since the occupation of Austria by the imperialist victors of the war, it has suffered enormously. Starvation has struck Austria blows of appalling proportion; its population lives today on a diet of 1,000 to 1,200 calories a day—which means that its people are simply wasting away.

The reasons for this tragic situation are several. Austria is not really an economic unit. It is, even in "normal" times, incapable of independent economic survival. Its economy must necessarily be meshed with those of Germany, Italy or a Danubian bloc. The reasons for its existence as a separate country are political, not economic. That is the situation in "normal" times.

But all of these difficulties are increased a thousand times by the present situation. Imagine a tiny, poverty-stricken country such as Austria—already wracked by the Nazi occupation—forced today to support four occupying armies. The largest of these armies, the Russian, has by its regime of terror, rapine, and theft simply grabbed whatever it desired. The occupying forces of the western capitalist powers have been concerned, not particularly with fleeing Austria, but rather with trying to maintain Austria within the orbit of their influence and preventing it from falling under the control of Russia. The conflict between Russian imperialism and Anglo-American imperialism in Austria has been extremely sharp.

The formality of joint occupation has been a mere pretense, and the Russians, by virtue of their vastly superior military forces have reached about two-thirds of the country.

STALINIST SEIZURE OF OIL FIELDS

They have deliberately seized every important industrial concentration which survived the war. Especially ferocious has been their hunger for oil. The Stalinist army seized the Zisterdorf oil fields, which had formerly been operated by an English-Dutch combine and has exploited them at an unprecedentedly rapid but wasteful rate.

The Soviet military commander, Kourassov, issued on June 27 an order decreeing that all formerly held German property in the Russian zone would be expropriated by the Russians.

In order to forestall this and similar Russian grabs, the Austrian government—in which the conservative Catholic Peoples Party dominates—took a bold step. It decreed the "nationalization" of a number of Austrian industries, many of them in the Russian zone. This plan was supported by the Social-Democrats and also by the small Austrian Stalinist Party.

As soon as the plan for nationalization was announced it met with many-sided opposition. As the New York Times correspondent, Albion Ross, wrote on August 8, 1946: "So far the criticism of the Austrian nationalization measures is coming exclusively from the Russians, the Austrian Communist Party press, large foreign oil interests with investments here and a French banking group with large investments in one of the banks to be nationalized." He further writes that "the

Socony-Vacuum Oil Company estimates that its holdings are worth something like \$100,000,000." No wonder Ross reports that "the situation is a little embarrassing for the American government."

The motives for the opposition to nationalization held by the French bankers and Socony Oil are not difficult to guess. They see in such a measure an end to their imperialist exploitation of the resources of Austria; and furthermore they are skeptical about the ability of the helpless Austrian government to reimburse them.

But the attitude of the Russians is even more interesting. Though they have in many instances nationalized the industries of the countries they occupied, they did so only where the government functioned as a Russian-dominated puppet. In Austria where the government attempts to exert some independence, the Russians object to nationalization since they realize that such nationalization would deprive them of the opportunity to dominate and profit from Austrian industry.

In this situation, the position of the comic-opera Austrian Stalinists is ludicrous. At the beginning they supported the nationalization move; now, however, as indicated in Ross' dispatch, they have begun to criticize the very same measure. Apparently, after a good verbal lashing from the local commissar (and perhaps the removal of some Browderites who wormed their way into the leadership of the Austrian CP . . .) the Austrian Stalinists saw the light and came out against nationalization. How this will sit with the people of Austria is not difficult to imagine: this spectacle of a party pretending to speak in the name of socialism, which opposes the expropriation of private industry so that a foreign totalitarian government may squeeze it dry!

THE MEANING OF NATIONALIZATION

Some paragraphs back, the word nationalization was put in quotation marks. The major party of Austria, the Peoples Party, is a party committed to capitalism. Yet it decreed a nationalization measure. This is not difficult to understand: it did so as a desperate attempt at survival, an attempt to prevent Russia's grab of Austrian industry. We can imagine the Austrian capitalists, such as have survived the war, thinking to themselves that it is better to have their government nationalize industry if that is the only way to prevent it from falling into Russia's hands. But even this nationalization decree is only partial: the Peoples Party announces that it will establish a system "called neither Capitalism Nor State Ownership." (Dispatch of Albion Ross, N. Y. Times, August 9, 1946.) Those industries nationalized will be formed into "cooperatives" of some sort, thereby providing a possibility for the resurgence of private capital.

The basic struggle in Austria does not involve Austrian capital, which has in any case been largely an agent of western capital. The basic struggle is between Russian imperialism and its Anglo-American rivals. In this struggle no holds are barred: the Austrian Stalinists oppose nationalization, the Austrian capitalist politicians propose it. Both of them serve as agents of foreign imperialists. And in the midst is the suffering, tortured, starving Austrian people—living under the blessings of the victorious "anti-Fascist coalition" which brought to them a diet of 1,200 calories a day.

IRVING HOWE.

PART II

By SUSAN GREEN

As pointed out by Freda Kirschwey in her report and by Ray Joseph in "Argentine Diary" as well as by other writers, the conditions of the working people in that country had improved during the war.

There were more jobs and higher wages, which many workers attributed to the Peron regime. However, this had not been enough to bring the masses into Peron's camp because they feared the regimentation and dreaded the terroristic measures they saw all about them, i.e., the imprisonment of labor leaders, the disappearance of militant workers, the reports of inhuman torture in concentration camps, etc.

Peron had made further bids for mass support by establishing, at the end of 1943, the Secretariat of Labor and Welfare with himself at the head, consolidating under his control about ten government departments having to do with social welfare. He demagogically declared for "social justice." He was responsible for wage increases for a few workers, gave unlimited use of gasoline to taxi drivers, announced improvements for migrant workers on the estancias, and promised all kinds of social benefits such as hospitals, maternity care, etc. However, these gestures were still not sufficient to win the masses. For they knew that Peron also had the uncontrolled power to withhold benefits from those who displeased him, the power of deportation, of levying taxes such as those paid by all working women, even if single, to take care of them if they should happen to become mothers. It was no secret that Peron was using the funds of the Secretariat of Labor and Welfare for his own political career.

However, in spite of the doubts and misgivings of the masses, when Peron returned after his opponents had demonstrated their weakness and he his dramatic flair for leadership, he was able to capitalize upon his previous "measures for the people," and to reach new demagogic heights.

THE WORKER'S SHIRT

Before Peron's resignation, the colonels had functioned without a party. They had hoped to win adherents from existing parties and concentrated their efforts against the Radical Party, the largest in the country, with some success. For the election, however, a government was formed: the Argentina Labor Party, with Peron as candidate for president and the whole slate filled by colonels, a na-

tional flag from whose pole hung a sweaty workman's shirt, was cynically chosen as the party emblem. Peron became the powerful leader returned to his people.

The Farrell government, as electioneering bait for Peron, issued decrees for wage increases of from 10 to 2 per cent together with year-end bonuses of a month's pay. To further prove that he is "for the poor" and "against the rich," an excess profits tax was levied for the first time in the history of the country. To the land-hungry peasants he also gave promises of dividing up the large estates. Touring the northern province of Jujuy, he assured the poor peasants that a decree was in preparation to divide the 800,000-acre estate belonging to a much-hated landowner. Because the landlords and capitalists and all employers opposed these measures, the poor were led to believe that Peron must mean well by the masses.

CHURCH FOR PERON

Kirschwey wrote: "Peron had all the advantages of a dictator bent upon making himself President. In addition he had the church. With few exceptions — the more remarkable because they were so few — the clergy supported Peron's candidacy, some openly from the pulpit, most of them quietly among their parishioners. Many democrats with whom I talked believed the church was their most dangerous and determined adversary."

The part that the church played in getting Peron elected cannot be over-emphasized. Many priests had a strong Falangist and fascist bias, and when they realized there was a chance of the Democratic Union winning over Peron, they used their influence on their followers. It must be understood that the masses are still very much under the domination of the Catholic Church.

Cortes reported on November 25, 1945, in the midst of the election campaign, that the priest of the Church of the Immaculate Conception told his congregation: "If in the explanation given you feel there is a pronouncement favoring dictatorship, you must know you must shut your mouths because Jesus Christ himself was a great dictator."

The Catholic weekly "Accion" published instructions to Catholics not to vote for candidates of the Democratic Union. The Argentina Episcopate addressed a pastoral letter to the clergy and the faithful reminding them of their duties in the approaching election.

Now let us look at the anti-Peron forces which had missed the bus and had given the masses no leadership when Peron was forced to resign.

After much negotiating, the anti-Peron opposition unified itself for the election. The Socialist and Communist parties and the Progressive Democrats agreed with the Radical Party to support the Radical Party candidates for President and Vice-President, Tamborini and Mosca. Thus the parties in the election coalition ran the gamut of the classes, i.e., die-hard reactionary, democratic, liberal and working class parties.

OPPOSITION LACKED PROGRAM

While Peron was making his demagogic campaign among the masses on promises of social improvement and on his so-called record in this respect, the Democratic Union offered no concrete program. It ignored the crying need of the country and city masses for social and economic changes of a radical nature. Kirschwey describes the campaign carried on by the Democratic Union: "The election was fought on a negative rather than a positive platform; it was fought to defeat dictatorship at home and a pro-Axis policy abroad; it was fought against Peron. The Blue Book only served to document charges already made over and over by the democrats. They campaigned to rid their country of the shame of Nazi domination of the army, Nazi control of major industries, Nazi control of foreign affairs. At the final huge Radical rally before the election the excited crowd chanted over and over, 'Argentina, Si; Nazis, No' and 'Libertad, Libertad.' The speakers enlarged on the same theme."

This was no match for the "people's measures" with which Peron was waging his campaign under the sigis of a Labor Party label, with the banner of a worker's shirt, with his own "leader" charm and influence, with the persuasiveness of the police and the church and with the logical retort to his opponents that the war is over and that the Yankee imperialists should mind their own business.

But the Democratic Union, led and dominated by the capitalist Radical Party, could offer no program of radical change for the masses because that party stands for the social and economic status quo, minus the Peron dictatorship.

There is some doubt as to who benefited by the Blue Book issued by the United States Department of State. Plainly presented as an anti-Peron electioneering document, it gave Ar-

gentinians no information they did not already have and at the same time gave the Peronistas the advantage of being able to point to foreign interference in the election.

NO WORKING CLASS PARTY

There was no mass working class party to make the fight against Peron on the basis of a revolutionary program for the landless peasants and for the country and city workers. The Socialist and Communist Parties subordinated themselves to the capitalist parties. The former, though the third largest party in the country, was not willing to separate itself from the ruling class and lead the working class. As to the Communist Party, it was, as usual obeying orders from Moscow. So much so, that soon after the election, it supported a strike of packing house workers called as a warning to the world that it had better recognize Peron, or else, no meat! This turncoat move may be understood in terms of the plan of the Kremlin to recognize Peron.

To return to President Peron who will have an overwhelmingly Peronista Congress behind him. What measures will he take? In foreign policy, undoubtedly he is seeking a working arrangement with the United States. He has plans for the industrial and military development of his country. He covets American money, the only money to be had, and superior American products. As for internal policies, the nationalization of the Bank of Argentina by no means pre-sages a program for nationalization of industry. What he did was to assure his control of the financial resources of the country to carry out his plans. During the war he was also responsible for nationalizing certain communication systems, but this also had a specific purpose.

As far as the working classes are concerned, the pre-election demagogy will, if precedents can be relied upon, reveal itself in full. Then the anti-Peron struggle is due to take on new form and vigor. The working people and peasant masses will have to break away from the Radical Party and repudiate the misleadership of the Socialist and Communist Parties for collaborating with the rich landlords and capitalists organized in the Radical Party. It must build a party of its own — an independent revolutionary Socialist party.

Excerpts from a Forthcoming Pamphlet on WP-SWP Unity, by Albert Goldman

TROTSKYIST UNITY AND THE NATURE OF THE PARTY - II

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.

ATTITUDE TO THE WP

There was a sharp difference of attitude between the Minority and the Majority of the SWP towards the WP, even before the question of unity arose. The difference was between honest revolutionists interested only in the welfare of the revolutionary movement and cliquists interested primarily in the strengthening of their clique.

We of the Minority proposed joint action on all questions where we had no differences with the WP. We proposed a bloc in the trade unions; we proposed joint anti-fascist activities; we proposed to avoid the obscene spectacle of having two small revolutionary groups run competing candidates in the New York elections. All this we did simply on the proposition that a difference on one issue even though it leads to a split, does not do away with the necessity of common action on issues upon which we agree. The leaders of the Majority stubbornly refused all of our proposals. The leading comrades of the WP, on the other hand, agreed with us completely and were willing to unite in any action where there was no disagreement.

The attitude of the leaders of the SWP to the WP is revealed by Cannon's expression: "We must deepen the split." What can that statement possibly mean? It can mean only a conscious attempt to widen the gulf between the parties regardless of the fact that they base themselves on the same fundamental principles and have almost the same immediate demands. To deepen the split under these circumstances must mean falsification; it must mean and it did mean dis-

torting the position of the WP on the various questions—all for the purpose of deceiving and prejudicing the membership of the SWP, composed of comrades who for the most part do not read the WP press.

The comrades of the Minority read the WP press and told the truth about the contents. We had no difficulty in recognizing the obvious: that the comrades of the WP are devoted revolutionists. The leaders of the Cannon clique either read the press of the WP and distorted the contents or did not read the press. In both cases they shouted that the comrades of the WP are "renegades." Our attitude was based on the truth; the attitude of the Cannonites is based on falsehood.

THE RECORD ON UNITY

I must admit that when the Minority decided to introduce a resolution in favor of unity, the situation was not a favorable one. The SWP leaders had refused any and every kind of joint action with the WP. They were teaching the members that the WP comrades were renegades and that they should avoid fraternizing with them. On the other hand, the WP comrades were afraid of unity because they felt that unity with the Cannon clique would not be a pleasant experience. We knew that the SWP leaders would start by rejecting unity; we did not know how the WP leaders would react to our proposal for unity.

But in our opinion unity was correct and necessary and we decided to go ahead with our resolution. The violent reaction of Cannon to the resolution was a clear indication that our task would be extremely difficult if not hopeless. Never has he been so violent as when he shouted that the intention of those who introduced the resolution was to split the party. Later on he took that back but the violence of his attitude gave him away. For it disclosed that under no circumstances would he permit unity and he knew that such an attitude must necessarily lead to a split.

The Minority did not ask for immediate unity with the WP. We asked that the leading committee of the SWP go on record in favor of unity and proceed to investigate the possibilities of unity. That means a discussion with the leading comrades of the WP for the purpose of finding out whether unity is feasible. We understood that there were difficulties and that it was necessary to begin frank and honest discussions and to determine whether unity would work out in practice.

From the very beginning of our unity proposal we of the former Minority insisted that unity is not desirable if it means another violent factional struggle with another split

to follow. We were not and are not afraid of any discussions but we do not want bitter factional strife.

Throughout the whole controversy we stood for the principle of joint action of the two parties on all issues upon which there was substantial agreement, for the purpose of testing out whether or not the comrades of the SWP and of the WP could live in one party even though divided by differences on various questions. We said that close collaboration would prepare the membership of both parties for unity and would eliminate the personal antagonisms remaining from the factional strife of 1940. There is nothing like joint work in a common cause to make people forget animosities.

But shouting that the WP leaders were renegades and that the split must be deepened, Cannon reacted violently against the proposal for unity. To him it means the coming into the party of several hundred revolutionists who would be persuaded only by argument, who would not listen to his banalities with awe and proclaim his anecdotes as the writings of an inspired historian. Unity would mean more independent revolutionists in the party and he had enough of us as it was.

A CHANGE OF LINE

To our request to start a discussion with the leaders of the WP to determine whether unity was feasible, Cannon answered that no discussion was necessary because the press of the WP gave us all the information that was necessary to know that its program and activities made unity undesirable. The Minority of course did not want a discussion on program; we knew the program of the WP and that is why we were for unity; what we wanted was a discussion to see whether unity was practical.

Suddenly there was a change of line on the part of the SWP leadership. Instead of flat and open opposition to unity the formula was brought out: "We are neither for nor against—wait and see." Instead of rejecting any kind of discussion because the press of the WP gave us all the information necessary, the formula was adopted: "a thorough discussion and probing of all differences."

Officially the change of line was explained by the fact that the WP had sent a communication to the SWP, taking cognizance of the Minority's proposal for unity and indicating its favorable attitude to unity and willingness to discuss the question. As serious revolutionaries the WP leaders had not waited for an official invitation. They knew that the Minority had made a proposal and immediately took a position in favor of unity.

Since Cannon had previously stated that the program of the WP made unity an unrealistic proposition

and since he stated that the press of the WP gave us all the information necessary, it would seem that a communication from the WP should make no difference. But it was evident that unity was a powerful issue in the ranks of the International and open opposition to it would not be a good tactic. Comrade Natalia Trotsky had already expressed herself in favor of unity. It appeared desirable to Cannon to sabotage unity rather than oppose it openly. This explains the change of line. Unfortunately the members of the SWP shifted their position in the same manner that the members of the Stalinist parties shift theirs—whenever the leaders decide that a change is necessary.

When the line was shifted from open opposition to unity to a "not for, not against, but wait and see" attitude, a committee was designated to meet with a committee of the WP. At one of the meetings the WP comrades indicated their desire to publish a tendency organ after unity, for internal party circulation. This was immediately taken up by the SWP leaders and the party members were told that the real obstacle to unity was this demand for an independent tendency organ. Since the SWP leaders are "smart" people they did not put this down in writing but spread it throughout the party.

Thereupon the Minority addressed a communication to the WP asking the WP comrades to be satisfied with an internal party bulletin provided the right of a group to publish its own bulletin for internal party circulation be recognized by the SWP leaders. This proposition was accepted by the WP comrades but then the SWP leaders simply stated that the question of the tendency bulletin was not at all important and was not the one to prevent unity. The programmatic differences were important and these had to be discussed.

More than six months after the adoption of a resolution providing for a "thorough discussion" with the WP covering all of the differences between the parties, the Political Committee of the SWP presented the WP with a list of about fifteen questions and requested the latter to state its position on all of the enumerated questions. This apparently is to be the beginning of the "thorough discussion," although the list of questions was accompanied by a resolution which stated that on the basis of the answers to the questions the coming convention would definitely decide on the question of unification.

One-Tenth of the Nation

By J. R. Johnson

The record of violence against Negroes grows every day. It is not accidental. It was not unexpected. It is a part of the social crisis in the United States.

Note please that the violence manifests itself in all parts of the United States—not the South alone.

On February 5, in Freeport, Long Island, Policeman Romeika shot down the Ferguson brothers in cold blood. There was the official pogrom in Columbia, Tennessee.

Isaac Woodward, the 27-year-old veteran, was blinded in Aiken, South Carolina, by a policeman.

There have been the lynchings of the two Negro couples in Georgia.

There was the lynching of the Negro in Mississippi, beaten to death for a crime which it is now known he did not commit.

There has been the latest outbreak against the Negroes in Athens, Alabama.

These have all been given notice in the capitalist press.

But day after day the brutal mistreatment of Negroes in Harlem by the police continues. There have been protest meetings and a delegation is scheduled to interview Mayor William O'Dwyer and Police Commissioner Wallender.

WHO IS RESPONSIBLE?

Mass meetings took place all over the country to protest the lynchings—in Philadelphia, Detroit, Cleveland, Milwaukee (where 10,000 workers and their families assembled), Atlanta, New York—to mention a few. From every kind of labor, liberal and church organization, the protests of indignation have been raised.

But much, too much, of this protest and honest indignation is misdirected. In fact, the protests of newspapers like the New York Times are hypocritical to the last degree. They are hypocritical because they carefully cover up or ignore the outstanding fact that law and order are on the side of the lynchers!

To call this hoodlumism is to disguise, to conceal the truth, mislead the public and cover up for the criminals.

A policeman shot the Ferguson brothers. He may be a hoodlum, but when a hoodlum wears a state uniform, the state authorities are responsible for his hoodlumism. After

months of agitation, Governor Dewey appointed a commission to inquire whether the case should be reopened. He had been swamped with letters and telegrams from all over the United States and he had to make some gesture. The report which he decided that the case should not be reopened has been denounced by the National Lawyers Guild. It is a whitewash.

In the Woodward case it was a policeman who blinded the veteran. The War Department was asked to intervene. It has done nothing.

In the Columbia, Tenn., case the state police did its full share of the shooting, stealing and furniture-smashing.

LYNCHERS KNOWN

As for the Georgia lynching, even the reactionary World-Telegram of New York says editorially:

"The G-men who showed such skill in rounding up clever, highly trained spies in wartime should not be baffled by a rural murder in which twenty men participated. Surely, with the right amount of determination, they can find clues and evidence to lead to arrests and trial." (August 12.)

This is hypocrisy. The Negro press claims that the NAMES OF SOME OF THE GEORGIA LYNCHERS ARE KNOWN. In the Sykestown lynching of some four years ago, Negro papers and LABOR ACTION printed the names of the lynchers. Yet the local police and the FBI could not find them. If the FBI put in one-thousandth of the work it put in on the Lindbergh baby case it could find the murderers very quickly. It does not want to, and the World-Telegram knows that as well as we do.

Attorney-General Tom Clark made a grandiose announcement that all the resources of his department would be employed to bring the criminals to justice. That is hypocrisy. But he acts like a good servant. He takes his cue from his boss. It was six days, SIX DAYS, before the national indignation forced Truman to utter a protest.

But that is not all. The Hester family in Georgia is closely connected with the events which led to the lynchings in Georgia. Two days before the Negro, Malcolm, was jailed and two days before he was lynched,

Talmadge of Georgia visited the Hester family. He had a long conference with them. Two days before this conference the Hester family had made an attempt to seize Malcolm and lynch him. (They had been frustrated by a woman who called the sheriff.)

If any men are arrested and sentenced, Talmadge will be the next governor of Georgia and can pardon them.

OFFICIALS FAILED TO ACT

It is not white hoodlums who beat up Negroes in Harlem. When, as they sometimes do, whites and Negro boys fight in New York in border areas, that is one thing. Harlem Negroes are complaining of something else, of police brutality.

That is the record. Not so much cops on the beat, but Dewey, Governor of New York State; Tom Clark, U. S. Attorney General; Truman, the President; Talmadge of Georgia, all in their various ways are responsible for what is going on. They are responsible because by their actions they encourage violence.

If Dewey had intervened the morning after the Freeport murders and personally saw that justice was done, there would not be police brutality as Harlem has experienced during the last few months.

IF, immediately upon news of the Georgia lynchings, Truman had made a public announcement and called upon the Attorney General to spare no pains to bring the criminals to justice.

IF the Attorney General had sent his best men on the case and rapidly hauled them in.

IF the Times and the others had made it clear that not only the state but all organs of publicity and propaganda were not going to rest until justice had been done.

IF they had done these things, then they would have been doing their duty to the Negroes and to the nation.

But they do exactly the opposite. They save face. They do not do what they can easily do. Who does NOT do something is by that very fact actually doing something else. In this case it is protecting the lynchers, telling them as plain as day that they can get away with it. If those who make the protests and send delegations do not understand this clearly, then it is time that they did.

Truck Bosses Won't Pay For Strikebreaking

CHICAGO, August 5—In June, 1945, during the strike of truck drivers here, the federal government ordered 14,000 Army troops to Chicago and forced the troops to break the strike.

Now the truck operators, who hailed the strike-breaking services of the Army, aren't so keen about shelling out for the cost of breaking the strike.

The U. S. Attorney has just filed suits against 13 Chicago trucking companies in the federal district court, charging breach of contract in refusing to pay the wages of soldiers used as drivers and dockmen to break the strike. The suits ask a total of \$3,793, with interest and costs.

It was probably the world's cheapest strike-breaking job—for the bosses. They got the free use of thousands of troops for "protection" against pickets, plus the services of 250 employees of the Office of Defense Transportation and an undetermined number of F.B.I. flatfeet.

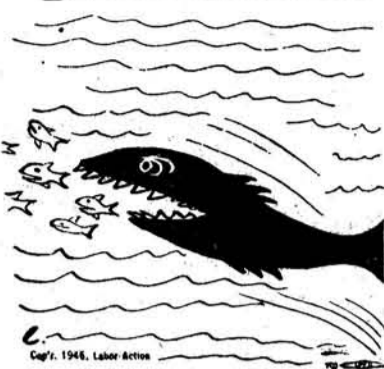
But cheap as the strike-breaking job was, the Chicago truck operators are still cheaper. They refuse to pay any part of the meager bill, preferring that the taxpayers foot the bill. "After all, it's our government. Why shouldn't it be used to break strikes, without cost to us," the bosses no doubt figure.

Akron Workers Propose Strike

AKRON, Aug. 5—At a regular business meeting, Goodyear Local 2 of the United Rubber Workers passed by unanimous vote a resolution calling for a 24-hour city-wide strike as a means to force a settlement in the seven-week-old strike at the General Tire & Rubber Co. The strike involves members of Local 9 of the U.R.W. After the unanimous adoption, the resolution was sent to the Akron CIO Council for adoption. Local 9 began its strike on June 20 after negotiations for a new contract proved futile.

READ AND SUBSCRIBE TO LABOR ACTION AND THE NEW INTERNATIONAL

The Boss's Dictionary Merger



YOUTH NOTES...

NEW YORK:

The Socialist Youth League held a Sacco-Vanzetti Memorial meeting last Friday. Over thirty young people listened to Tommie Baxton report on the frame-up of the two anarchists and their death which aroused the international labor movement nineteen years ago.

At the end of the meeting the group sang working class memorial songs.

PHILADELPHIA:

Jim Fenwick, Phil. Organizer of the Workers Party, spoke to over twenty youths last Friday on the Crisis in France. A full discussion took place on the strategy of the Trotskyists in France.

The Phil. youth hold two classes a week. On Tuesdays, they study the Fundamentals of Socialism and on Wednesdays, History and Program of the Fourth International.

BALTIMORE:

The Baltimore youth held a Lake-Side Party last week which comrades from Philadelphia also attended. A lively time was had by all playing baseball, singing, roasting weiners, etc.

Campaign Fund for MAX SHACHTMAN ERNEST RICE MCKINNEY

Sponsored by WORKERS PARTY ELECTION CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE 114 W. 14th St., New York 11, N. Y.

Name _____ Address _____ Contribution \$ _____

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 6798. 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."

Outdoor Beer Garden Party, the event of the era, with dancing to waltzes, polkas, swing; free fine lunch; excellent program of Handicapped Harmony, Latin lyrics, groovy and low-down blues, classical warblings and olden 90's melodrama; plus group singing and beer. What more do you want for only \$1.25 on Saturday evening, August 24, at Edelweiss Beer Garden, 3857-59 N. Ashland Ave.

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 Peace Control and Housing."

LOS ANGELES

Office Telephone: Richmond 7-3220. Class in "Socialism & Capitalism" every Monday evening at LABOR ACTION headquarters.

Study groups in advanced Marxism also forming. Interested readers get in touch with office for details.

NEWARK

LABOR ACTION HEADQUARTERS in Newark at 248 Market St.

PRESS ACTION

BY HENRY JUDD

Several months ago LABOR ACTION conducted a successful campaign for 5,000 new readers who were offered subscriptions at 25 cents for six months. Thanks to the efforts of LABOR ACTION's many friends, the campaign was a great success.

Now these subscriptions are beginning to expire and many readers will be receiving notices to this effect. We are sure we have made many new friends and sympathizers during this past six months, and the number of renewal subscriptions coming in is a testimony to this effect.

What we want to do now is to point out the fact to our new readers that their subscriptions are, for the most part, on the point of expiring. Every reader will be given ample notice and opportunity to let us know of his intention to renew his subscription. Although the renewal price will be higher—50 cents for six months; \$1.00 a year—the reader will be receiving a paper containing twice the number of pages as previously, and more interesting.

Finally, we urge all our LABOR ACTION agents to be aware of the fact that many subscriptions are now expiring. Lists will be sent out regularly to all of you. Thanks for your help in obtaining renewals.

FACTS ABOUT THE NEW EIGHT-PAGE LABOR ACTION

- Eight pages, at five cents per individual copy.
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- Bundle orders, or changes in bundle orders, must be in our office by noon on THURSDAYS.

NEW SUBSCRIPTIONS

New subscriptions slowed up this week, in contrast to last week's good showing.

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

NEW YORK CITY

CITY OFFICE—114 West 14th St.—Open all day until 7:00 p. m. Telephone: CHelsea 2-9681.

MANHATTAN—Meets every Wednesday at 8:00 p. m. Labor Temple, 212 East 14th St., Room 39.

EAST HARLEM—Meets every Thursday at 8:00 p. m. Workers Party Headquarters, 210 East 104th St., 2nd Floor.

HARLEM—Meets every Wednesday at 8:00 p. m. Workers Party Headquarters, 2143 Seventh Ave., Room 196 (near 127th St.).

QUEENS—Phone City Office. Meets every Thursday evening.

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

BROOKLYN-UTICA AVE.—Meets every Wednesday at 8:00 p. m. 259 Utica Ave., 2nd Floor.

BROOKLYN—Sunday Evening Branch meets every Sunday at 8:00 p. m., 276 Fulton St., 2nd Floor.

PHILADELPHIA

HEADQUARTERS, 1105 Walnut St. Branches meet Monday and Tuesday evenings at 8:00.

Socialist Youth League meets Fridays at 8:00 p. m. LABOR ACTION and the New International are on sale at the newsstand on the NW corner of 13th and Market Streets.

LABOR ACTION can be bought at news agency near NE corner of Broad Street and Girard Avenue. A Trotsky Memorial Meeting will be held in Room 40 Grand Fraternity Building, 1636 Arch Street, on Friday, August 23rd. Speaker: Max Shachtman, National Chairman, Workers Party. Subject: "Trotsky and American Labor." Admission 50 cents.

For information of other Workers Party branches and LABOR ACTION offices, write to the National Office, 114 West 14th St., New York 11, N. Y.

SOCIALIST YOUTH LEAGUE

The Socialist Youth League, youth section of the Workers Party, has youth units in the following cities: New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Detroit, Chicago, Cleveland, Boston and Seattle.

Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor...

Far East Rulers Hound Chinese

Dear Editor:

The artificial focussing on a minority group of the dissatisfaction of the masses of a country with their economic conditions, is not confined to the Western capitalist countries alone. In the Far East, the emigrant Chinese play such a role. That they fulfill the basic requirements of a "scapegoat" can be seen upon examination. First of all, most Chinese emigrants left their native land with some capital, determined to make their fortunes abroad. Many became prosperous; the rest remained as small, poor shopkeepers. Secondly, they are a most cohesive group—retaining their customs, speaking their own language, publishing newspapers in their own tongue. They have been referred to as the "Jews of the Orient." And the "Chinese problem" in the East is approaching the seriousness of the Negro and Jewish problems in the West.

The countries most involved are the Netherlands East Indies, the Philippines, French Indo-China and the Malay States. The bourgeoisie of these countries has been making use of this situation to cover up its own deficiencies. For example, in the Philippines last summer, a campaign was initiated by the Manila Daily News urging the deportation of "aliens"—who incidentally form a good portion of the population of that city—boycott of stores owned by Chinese and the most vicious and slanderous articles, all to the effect that the Chinese were responsible for the miserable conditions of the country.

That newspaper was published by the new President, Manuel Roxas, who, after collaborating with the Japanese imperialists, was given a "clean bill" by General MacArthur. The fact of the matter is that although the majority of the Chinese residents in Manila are small shopkeepers, their standard of living is about equal to the rural peasants!

A section of the Hukbalahap peasant army, known as Wha-Chi, consisted exclusively of Chinese and fought bravely against the Japanese invaders; but remember that the Huks found it necessary to defend themselves against the government troops as well. In a parade in Manila last September, when Chinese joined with Filipino peasants and workers to demand that the Huk leaders be released and that Japanese collabora-

tors be tried immediately, Roxas' newspaper became hotly indignant at the "alien" criticism of the government.

According to Christopher Rand in the August 6 Chicago Sun, there have recently been large massacres of Chinese in Java, as well as riots in most of the other southeast Asiatic countries.

That is the way the native bourgeoisie tries to exonerate its own weak, ineffective rule, its total dependence on the imperialists—by shifting the blame for economic chaos to the "most likely" minority group. Only with the taking of power by the revolutionary proletariat can a solution of this problem be reached.

M. YOUNG.

Companies Squeeze West Virginia Miners

Editor:

Mrs. Mike Kundrat, a widow of Osage, W. Va., has a problem. She has been offered the choice of buying the five-room house she inhabits or vacating. Back in May, 1942, when the Christopher Coal Company's No. 3 mine exploded, killing Mike Kundrat and 56 other miners, Mrs. Kundrat was assured by representatives of the company which owned the house that she could continue to occupy it rent and utility-free. Recently the house was sold to the Augusta Corporation and Mrs. Kundrat was told that she could buy it from them or vacate.

This incident serves as another illustration of the perfidy of the coal operators. If the working man has learned one lesson all too well, it is that management will keep only the promises which profit it.

Mrs. Kundrat is not alone in her problem, though the injustices of the situation are more glaring in her case. There are about sixty miners with families in Osage alone who are being forced to buy filthy, ill-accommodated shacks at rates set by the Augusta Corporation. We say "forced" because it amounts to that in the end since coal miners, whose livelihood is in the coal fields, cannot very well leave the camps. So in the press of circumstances, they are forced to buy these company houses, while the cost of living soars and as they enter the third month of two to three-day work weeks.

Although the inside worker in the

mines averages about \$12 a day, this doesn't go far when he works only two days and buys a week's groceries at the company store with its notoriously high prices even in normal times. In short, this is not the strategic moment for the miner to consider buying a house.

Many of the houses are being sold at the rate of \$500 a room. Perhaps \$1500 for a three-room house seems quite reasonable, but in this case three rooms are literally three rooms. A row of privies is regimented behind the houses and a public faucet is located centrally for convenience. A description of this community would be very like Agnes Meyer's description of Kevvir, Ky., which shocked the Washington Post early this year. It can be duplicated many times in Mongolia County, W. Va., alone.

P. A., W. Va.

An Exchange on The Polish Pogroms

Dear Editor:

I think LABOR ACTION has committed an impermissible error in its analysis of the causes of the Kielce pogrom. In his July 15 article, Irving Howe reports how the Stalinists have charged the underground with this atrocity and how the latter have placed the blame on the Warsaw régime. Then you comment "impartially" that "Both charges can well be true. There are numerous anti-Semites among the followers of General Anders, who is opposed to the Warsaw government."

Now this is rather raw. The Stalinists have been quick to charge the Polish resistance with being fascist. For just that reason we should be triply careful before giving the slightest credence to that allegation. Enough information has come out of Poland by now to establish that the Polish resistance against Stalinism is a genuinely popular movement.

The reference to General Anders' followers is wholly false. General Anders lead an émigré army, not unlike the "Free French." The resistance is a movement springing from within Poland, including, doubtless, many survivors of the Warsaw insurrection so brutally "betrayed" by Stalin. The fact that there are anti-Semites in Anders' army has no more relevance to the Polish resistance than the ex-

istence of fascists in de Gaulle's entourage had to the French. Even the existence of anti-Semites inside the resistance movement would not have any particular significance; there were undoubtedly fascist elements inside the French underground.

I think you are agreed that we can expect the growth of resistance on the part of the masses in those countries occupied by Stalin. This resistance will at first take on an inchoate and "classless" form, expressing itself as a desire for national freedom. We have a good idea of the kind of barrage with which the Stalinists will greet such a movement. It will be attacked as "fascist," "reactionary" and "anti-Semitic."

The Stalinists will stop at nothing in slandering a genuinely popular resistance movement. The Cannonites, for their part, will bend over backward and seize any pretext to avoid their revolutionary responsibility of giving clear and unambiguous support to the anti-Stalinist struggle. Genuine Bolshevism should certainly think a thousand times before giving even the slightest shadow of justification to either of them.

A. B.

(In Reply: Our correspondent raises two questions: one, the attitude which revolutionists should have toward the underground in Poland, which we shall not here discuss, but rather refer our readers to a coming issue of The New International which will print material on the matter; and two, the estimate made in LABOR ACTION on the Polish pogroms. On this latter point we disagree with A. B. and persist in our original opinion.)

That the Stalinists would try to smear the opposition with the label of "fascist" and "anti-Semite" is true; that fact was pointed out in LABOR ACTION'S articles. But to admit that is no reason to deny the perfectly obvious fact that there are "numerous anti-Semites among the followers of General Anders"—who comprise at least part of the underground. The underground in Poland is politically heterogeneous, but there is no question that there are probably anti-Semitic fringes to it. And it will not help in either a sober analysis of the Polish situation or the struggle to drive Stalinism out of Poland, to deny this fact.

Reader Likes the New Eight Pager

Dear Editor:

Just got through reading the eight-page LABOR ACTION and all I can say is that it has a good chance of becoming the best labor paper in the country.

Permit me to make a few suggestions. The trouble with most labor papers is that they think that men live by "bread alone." Of course the most important issue today is the economic class struggle. Yet, there are other fields in which the class struggle is being fought. I am thinking of the field of culture, i. e., philosophy, science, history, religion, etc. Most of these subjects are neglected in the labor press.

Now, I would suggest you devote a page, at least, to cultural subjects. Some of the best socialist writings are, for instance, in the German language, and it would be a good service to the American labor movement if some of it were translated. Such periodicals as the Archiv für die Geschichte des Sozialismus und der Arbeiterbewegung and Die Neue Zeit are rich in Marxist theory.

Or am I asking too much? A FRIEND.

Subscription	Count
NEW YORK CITY	13
Boston	7
West Virginia	7
Detroit	3
Chicago	2
Newark	1
Philadelphia	1
Baltimore	1
Cleveland	1
Seattle	1
San Francisco	1
Miscellaneous	1
Total	39

LABOR ACTION AGENTS TAKE THE FLOOR

From West Virginia, our on-the-ball agent writes: "We went out to Osage, W. Va., this evening for a subtlety session. Below are the results (six subs). This is not too good but the reason is that the miners are working only two and three days a week and are having extra financial difficulties on top of that. We only got to half of Osage tonight. Tomorrow or the next day the rest of us will cover the rest of the territory where we had distributions. We think the results are quite good and hope you'll keep them up.

From Reading, Comrade Pettinato writes: "I think we are on our way to putting the literature distribution on a profitable basis in Reading. We should be able to steadily reduce our indebtedness."

From Baltimore other active members of the Socialist Youth League, headed by Rose, writes: "Our youth outing is this Sunday. Many older people are coming and we expect to sell them subscriptions to the new LABOR ACTION. Perhaps we'll see you all at the summer school."

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Real Disputes Argued Outside of Paris Conference

"Peace" Conferees Battle for Power

By HENRY JUDD

The knock-down fight between America's representative, Byrnes, and Russia's Molotov continued to dominate the scene at the Paris royal battleground, sometimes mistakenly referred to as a peace conference. Name-calling, accusation and counter-charge, abuse and mutual slander marked the exchange of opinion between the two leading spokesmen of their respective imperialist governments. The dove of peace is still hovering outside the Luxemburg Palace, waiting to be called in to the ring. Poor bird...

It has been suggested that the Russian delegates are using filibustering tactics at the conference, with deliberate intention. This may well be the case. Behind the Russian "iron curtain," cutting Europe in two, the Stalinist agents are busy at work completing the job of (a) destroying any and all opposition; (b) imposing unwanted and dictatorial régimes upon the occupied countries; (c) carting off the last pieces of loot, plunder and machinery; (d) moving whole sections of peoples about, into Russia and other lands, for the Stalinist slave labor camps, and (e) taking

steps to bring the economic life of these countries into line with Russian economy. All this requires time. Stalin needs time to finish his murderous assignments and face the other nations with accomplished facts. This lies behind his stalling tactics at the peace conference and elsewhere.

COLD SHOULDER TO ITALY

On every conceivable question, big or small, that has arisen to date, America and Russia have sharply clashed. This is the basic note of the Paris gathering, underscoring this fundamental world disagreement that exists between the two major imperialist powers of the globe. As yet, the conference has not even discussed any important issues, such as the actual treaties themselves. This discussion will prove even more bitter than those held up till now.

But it must be noticed that when it comes to the question of "ganging up" on a helpless, defeated nation, even the two conference giants manage to get together, for the sake of extracting their rewards. Such is the case with Italy, whose Premier de Gasperi made a pitiful appeal for mercy from the hostile, cold dele-

gates. Molotov has denounced this appeal, along with his six satellite stooges, and America has had nothing to say on Italy's behalf as yet. Byrnes' handshake with the Italian Premier will be cold comfort to Italy's 45,000,000 people who must suffer the iniquitous terms of the robber treaty about to be imposed upon them.

WHERE THEY ACT

Concurrent with the conference, the big powers continue their war of nerves and unilateral action in Europe proper, each seeking to out-manuever the other. These acts are far more important than the empty words of the conference and will shape the clashes of the future. Among them are:

- (1) The open struggle between Russia and America in Austria over the issue of nationalization.
- (2) The merger of the British and American zones of Germany, already in process and aimed at creating a solid Allied Germany to confront the solid Russian Germany.
- (3) Russia's threatening notes and moves against Turkey and her reported demand for reopening the

question of control of the Dardanelles.

(4) The vast strategic shift in British imperialist line-ups in the Mediterranean, involving the entire Palestinian and Near Eastern areas.

The rubber-stamping conference continues, with much sound and fury and less "peace" than ever. But the real game goes on outside the conference chambers, where action and the shifting of forces takes place.

Memphis AVC Admits Negroes

From the August 5 column of Thomas L. Stokes, discussing the conflicts in the Tennessee elections:

"A most significant thing happened here in Memphis on the night of the election. The local chapter of the American Veterans Committee voted to admit Negroes, to have one single, mixed chapter instead of segregation. That was a revolutionary departure by young southern white men who fought in this war."

SP Commits Shameful Election Drive Act

By ABE VICTOR

A New York State election law may prevent two of the following three working class parties from getting on the state ballot: the Workers Party, Socialist Party and the Socialist Workers Party. The law provides that on a New York State ballot no party may duplicate in its title a word that appears on the name of another party. The Socialist Party and the Socialist Workers Party cannot both use the word "Socialist." The Workers Party and the Socialist Workers Party cannot both use the name "Workers." One or two of the three parties, therefore, may be forced off the ballot by the rules of the Democratic and Republican capitalist politicians.

Such an action would be a crime committed against the workers of New York State, and especially against the fifty thousand workers and farmers who have signed the nominating petitions of all three parties. These workers would be deprived of their democratic right to choose which of the three party programs they prefer.

SP DISGRACES ITSELF

So far the Socialist Workers Party has not yet made its voice heard on this issue. But, unfortunately, the Socialist Party has. Under the signature of Norman Thomas, it has begun a most scurrilous and disgraceful campaign aimed at the Socialist Workers Party. Norman Thomas sent out a letter dated August 6, 1946, to the members of the Socialist Party, one copy of which was turned over to LABOR ACTION by a friend of the Workers Party.

In this letter Norman Thomas charges the Socialist Workers Party with trying to "steal" the name "Socialist." Such a charge is a deliberate and shameful lie unbecoming the leader of any working class party. The Workers Party and the Socialist Workers Party, which follow the principles of revolutionary socialism enunciated by Marx and Engels, have in our opinion, a greater right to use the word Socialist. But that is neither here nor there, and we certainly do not care to discuss it. Norman Thomas is engaged in uniting his party with the anything-but-socialist Social Democratic Federation.

The opponent party "obviously hopes to inherit our prestige," says Norman Thomas. But if prestige is counted in this case by votes, then the Socialist Party has been steadily losing prestige since 1930.

The opponent party obviously hopes to inherit "the honorable tradition that it did nothing to build, the tradition with which it has little in common," says Norman Thomas. Is this the tradition which permits the SP from proposing joint action and protest against a state law which prevents Socialist parties from getting on the ballot? If so, it is a tradition which Norman Thomas is free to keep.

MORE SHAMEFUL

But there is an even more disgusting paragraph in the Norman Thomas letter:

"The Nazis once stole the name Socialist for use in their nefarious propaganda—and there is no doubt that the emotional attachment of many honest workers to the name Socialist helped the Nazis to create confusion favoring their unprincipled seizure of power."

But is the reactionary fascist party of Germany to be compared to a working class party? Isn't this kind of comparison like the Stalinist slanders which eased the path for Hitler?

Norman Thomas knows the answers to these questions. And Norman Thomas knows that the only solution to this problem is a united attack against the State election law, and a joint conference of all working class parties before petitioning begins.

We regret that the Socialist Workers Party has not done what was required of it. Readers of LABOR ACTION will recall the proposal for joint action in the elections which the Workers Party addressed to the Socialist Workers Party. The proposal was turned down. Both our letter to the SWP and the reply were printed in the July 15, 1946 issue of LABOR ACTION.

Tap Contracts for Graft - -

(Continued from page 1)

tives plainly are nothing more than to gain political capital for themselves.

HOW THE SYSTEM WORKS

But anyway, here is the Mead investigation, and it shows—for the thousandth time—just what makes the profit system tick. The Garsson case, having highlighted the connection between upstart capitalist profiteers, their agent an ex-convict, Benjamin F. Fields, the Honorable Senator Andrew J. May, and high officials of the Army, is now to be turned over to the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Representative John M. Coffee claimed that the \$2,500 given him four months after the 1940 campaign by Elynd Anderson, a Tacoma contractor, was a "campaign contribution." But Anderson said it was for services rendered by the congressman in procuring a \$936,000 building contract. This is just a drop in the vast ocean of wartime graft. But it served to expose the wheels of justice in operation.

Though the Mead committee began to stir the cesspool of corruption with a very small stick, the stench has made larger operations necessary. So Senator Mead has indicated that his investigation may expand to the automotive, aircraft, aluminum and shipbuilding industries. Counsel for the Mead committee told reporters that

the mystery of the defective 4.2 inch chemical mortar shell which killed and wounded hundreds of American boys, will be investigated. Though the Garssons manufactured this type of shell, they were not the only manufacturers.

The investigation is supposed to embrace also the switching of contracts from cost-plus to lump sum, which cost the government plenty. And the Maritime Commission is due for probing.

RAILROAD GRAFT

At the instigation of Senator Taylor of Idaho, the railroads have been brought into the picture. Mr. Taylor charges that railroad officials, getting Army and Navy posts for the duration, were in a position to sanction profiteering rates on army freight, and that a War Department committee responsible for rate fixing was dominated by railroad representatives who later got promotions when they returned to civilian life.

He further claims that the American Association of Railroads adopted a secret resolution which forbade individual members to give rate reductions to the government unless they were made in concert with other carriers and with the permission of the railroad combination.

From the Department of Justice comes the accusation that Andrew J. Higgins, large war contractor supplying land craft and PT boats to the Navy and to the Allied nations, is guilty of fraud in "making and causing to be made and presenting for payment and approval false claims against the United States government, knowing such claims to be false, fictitious and fraudulent"; in "concealing and covering up by trick, scheme

NEXT WEEK...

LABOR ACTION will feature two exclusive reports about significant events in international politics:

- 1) A first-hand report from Bolivia, giving a detailed report on the recent "revolution" in that country.
- 2) An article on recent developments in Poland, full of vital information about the Stalinist-controlled government of that country.

and device material facts"; in "making false bills, receipts, vouchers, rolls, accounts, claims, certificates and affidavits, knowing the same to be fraudulent statements."

From another quarter, the anti-New Dealers, comes pressure for the investigation of New Deal businessman Henry J. Kaiser, who has countered with a demand for the committee to take a look at Bethlehem Steel and other giants of industry. Here, of course, is where the big money went, and it remains to be seen how far the investigators will go in exposing the pillars of capitalist society.

A socialist knows that wars turn upstart capitalists into millionaires, millionaires into billionaires—and millions of living people into horrible corpses, cities and countries into rubble and waste land. He needs no Mead committee to tell him that.

Seattle Audiences Hear Workers Party Speaker

SEATTLE, Wash.—Albert Goldman, Workers Party leader, hammered home to an audience of over fifty WP friends and sympathizers in the Roosevelt Hotel here on Sunday, August 4th, the point that the struggle for socialism can be waged successfully only by a revolutionary party flexible and resourceful enough to respond to changing situations as they develop in the unfolding crisis of capitalism.

In discussing the "Prospects for American Workers" in the same place on the following evening, Goldman warned his listeners there is ahead of them only the choice between some form of fascism and control of economy by democratic socialism.

The speaker explained that he had recently left the Socialist Workers Party because he found that organization dominated by a bureaucratic leadership which will not tolerate opposition to its established policies from the rank and file. He made it clear, however, that he left the SWP only after he and a group of other comrades had exhausted all efforts to bring about unity between the two organizations.

Contrasting the internal life of the Workers Party with that of the SWP, he said the recent convention held in New York City of the former organization revealed the freedom enjoyed by the rank-and-file members to think independently, discuss thoroughly every issue, change their minds and champion policies that may be in direct opposition to the positions held

by the party's top leadership. Giving examples of leadership worship in the SWP, Goldman stated that this process will, if not checked, plunge this organization into a process of rapid degeneration.

Just when World War III will come, I cannot predict exactly, Goldman told the approximately 75 persons attending another lecture the next day. But it will come, he said. And its basic causes will be the same as those that touched off the first two world conflicts—rivalries of imperialist powers.

Touching on the investigation of war profits in congress, the speaker declared that the really big swindles will never be uncovered because they were conducted within the "legal" framework. Goldman called the attention of his listeners to the fact that while Capitalism was able to operate at high gear during the war, the contradiction between ability of the system to produce plenty and the high prices, scarcity of goods and the necessity for labor to strike for higher pay became apparent the moment hostilities ceased.

A collection taken up at the end of the address produced \$47 which will be placed in the fund the Seattle Branch of the Workers Party is building to finance a permanent headquarters. Many persons, previously unacquainted with the activities of the WP, expressed a desire to attend future public gatherings of the branch and purchased literature placed on sale.

See Kelly on Jim-Crow; Get Brush-Off

By M. YOUNG

CHICAGO.—Some 100 delegates of the Conference to Combat Terrorism Against Minorities got the well known brush-off from Mayor Edward Kelly after growing pressure had forced the Mayor to grant the group an hour-long interview.

The Conference, which was organized last month to combat the rising wave of terrorism against Negroes who attempt to find housing outside the black belt, is composed of delegates from the NAACP, CIO Industrial Council, Workers Party and Socialist Youth League, AVC, ACLU, SWP and other organizations.

H. W. McGee, chairman of the Conference and a member of the NAACP, opened the interview by presenting the Mayor with the list of atrocity incidents that have occurred in Chicago during the past two years—ranging from window-breaking to the recent double arson-bombing of the home of Mrs. Grace Hardy—all showing the recent increase in racial friction and anti-Negro sentiments in this city in recent months. He pointed out that no single conviction had been made and that the police were negligent, as is well known. HIS solution was that the police force be educated (nine years after the same police force shot the Little Steel workers in the back, they STILL need education, according to McGee). But the Police

Commissioner grew indignant at this point over the inference that his men "weren't as educated as anyone else!"

MAYOR'S "CONTRIBUTION"

This farce was interrupted by the Mayor, who stated that "after all there was another side to the question. To illustrate, he said that he himself had seen four Negro youths walking arms linked through the streets and pushing both black and white people off the sidewalk! So you see, there are two sides to the question! That is the Mayor of Chicago's answer to the plea that he take action against the organized attacks upon Negro citizens of his city! That is his answer to Mrs. Hardy, hospitalized with third degree burns, and to Dr. Eugene Cooper, forced to move from his newly-purchased home, and to Mrs. Virginia Dobbins, whose home was wrecked and fired several times in one week.

The Mayor's answer sounds much like a wink at such local "respectable" organizations as the Park Manor Improvement Association, which writes: "We firmly believe in racial restriction agreements.... How do you think the boys who have gone forth to fight in this World War would feel when they return... if they should find that their homes have been taken over by Negroes and their 'old neighborhood' converted into a blighted area while they were away

fighting. The fact that the white people of Park Manor have some rights which they intend to maintain does not mean that we have any feeling against the Negro. In fact, our people have nothing but the kindest feeling toward the law-abiding Negro and have the greatest sympathy with his desire to progress."

Of course, the Mayor assured the delegates that he was opposed to "restrictive covenants"; that the situation "really" wasn't as bad as in "other places like New York." But when a CIO delegate proposed that the Mayor call an educational conference in the heart of the "trouble" areas, consisting of school teachers, ministers and labor representatives, the Mayor immediately answered that such an interracial affair would "only lead to a fight... stir things up." The

best solution would be to "keep quiet about the whole business!"

Least the delegates leave entirely discontented, a promise was made that a special racial department would be created to investigate cases as they arise.

After that very instructive interview, the delegates must realize that they can depend only on themselves—that the Conference must set up its own Defense Committee and organization, and that all the organizations involved must go back to their own neighborhoods and initiate the formation of defense organizations, as proposed in the resolution put forth at the first meeting by the Workers Party delegates. This interview with the Mayor of Chicago should certainly help to drive that lesson home to the delegates.

PHILADELPHIA:
MAX SHACHTMAN
will speak at a
TROTSKY MEMORIAL MEETING
Friday, August 23, 8:00 p.m.
Grand Fraternity Hall,
1626 Arch St., Room 40
Ausp.: Philadelphia Workers Party

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Small Akron Group Forms ULP, Injures Labor Party Cause

By GEORGE WHITNEY

AKRON, August 5—A small adventurist group known as the Independent Labor League has formed "The United Labor Party" here in an attempt to answer the real need that exists for an independent labor party.

The organized labor movement has dissociated itself from this group, both in discussion and by the passage of resolutions. This indicates the validity to the statement that a small group, despite all its impatience, cannot substitute its own actions for those of the organized working class. By doing so the members of the ULP have succeeded only in completely isolating themselves in the Labor Movement. That is why we consider its actions irresponsible and sectarian.

Secondly it has been interesting to watch how this "party" by its presentation of a resolution calling for endorsement in the locals of the United Rubber Workers has opened the door to an attack by the right wing of the Akron labor movement on the whole idea of an independent labor party. A resolution to outlaw slates and lit-

erature such as they have distributed was offered in Local 5 at its last regular meeting and received an uncomfortable number of votes as a direct result of the preceding discussion on the "ULP."

Most important of all, it is interesting to see the publicity that this group has been given in the Akron Beacon Journal. The Beacon supports Fred Danner for congressman from the fourteenth district. The PAC has endorsed Walter Huber for re-election. Now the "ULP" enters its candidate, Harry Hurst, a worker at Goodrich. The Beacon by giving them more publicity than they have ever before given any left wing group sees an opportunity to smear the labor party idea by associating it with this little group.

All of these developments only further convince us that the genuine independent Labor Party must come from the organized working class itself, that is, from the progressives and militants in the labor movement acting through their own organizations, the unions.



HONOR THE MEMORY OF LEON TROTSKY

Six Years After Leon Trotsky's Assassination—

Speaker:

MAX SHACHTMAN

National Chairman, Workers Party

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Hear:
The Handlebar Harmony Boys
The Harassed Hummingbird
The Mexican Meadowlark
The Jenny Lind of Our Time
"Bertha the Sewing Machine Girl"
Opera

at
EDELWEISS BEER GARDEN
3857 N. Ashland Ave.
SATURDAY EVENING, AUG. 24
Admission \$1.25 (tax included)

Auspices: Workers Party