

CONTROL OF RUNAWAY PRICES UP TO LABOR!

UAW Factions Vie Over Policy

By WALTER JASON

DETROIT - In spite of an apparent agreement on a wage-price policy by the majority of the International Executive Board of the UAW-CIO, the factional struggle in the top leadership has not abated, but is rather becoming more intensified.

Major developments within the labor movement here testify to this conclusion. Recently we reported on the shifts among the top leaders in the UAW-CIO on wage-price policy. Walter P. Reuther, UAW president, finally has won overwhelming support for his basic idea of fighting for wage increases without price increases. Simultaneously both Richard T. Leonard and R. J. Thomas, vicepresidents, have deserted their Stalinist supporters on the demand that wage negotiations be reopened at all major corporations.

Nevertheless, the anti-Reuther bloc functions together in an effort to wrest organizational control of the UAW away from Reuther. In this connection, George Addes, secretarytreasurer, bears the biggest responsibility for the unprincipled factionalism prevalent in the top leadership.

FINANCIAL PROBLEM

At the recent UAW Executive Board meeting the acute problem of financial retrenchment, or more exactly, the elimination of "pork choppers" from the payroll was supposed to be settled. A special committee, including Reuther and Addes, came to virtual agreement and was supposed to make one report to the board. However, Addes suddenly came in with a separate report and made proposals which were aimed mainly at weakening the international union

His refusal to break completely with

the Stalinists pours kerosene on the

factional fires within the union.

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By DAVID COOLIDGE

"The Price Decontrol Board has failed in its responsibility to the American people," says Philip Murray in a public statement. Murray continues with the statement that "the CIO deplores this action of the Decontrol Board for its failure to keep faith with the American workers." Murray attempts to chaistise the Decontrol Board for "failure to re-establish price control on milk and dairy products, flour and bread." The CIO president finds that "prices of fifty per cent of the daily purchases of foodstuffs are still left free to rise."

The big meat packers are also wailing about the Price Decontrol Board. Big packers, who refused to deliver supplies to the retailers until the ceilings were removed, are now pounding the Decontrol Board because this three-man price board of big business men has decreed that meat ceilings will be renewed.

The packers are preparing to enter the field of black market operations again. The American Meat Institute has announced that the renewal ceilings "will stimulate black market trading." The packers know what they are talking about. They know where the meat is and who owns, slaughters and distributes most of the meat in this country. The American Meat Institute knows precisely what it is talking about when it says the re-establishment of price ceilings will stimulate black market operations.

"Peacemakers" Beat War Drums

Yugoslavia, Dardanelles, Greece, Poland and China Are Focal Points of Conflict

By HENRY JUDD

Last week's dispute between Yugoslavia and America over the shooting down of American pilots and alleged

violation of frontiers has subsided from the heights of war - mongering propaganda (Daily News [. proposal to drop atomic bombs on Yugoslavia) to the level of

diplomatic talks and discussions. But no sooner had this dispute subsided than a whole series of others, all issuing from the great struggle now on between America and Russia, were launched on their way, to feed the

flames of future war. There was a major struggle shaping up over future control of the strategic Dardanelles. Turkey, friendly to the Anglo-American allies, is now Russia proposes that this guardianship be shaped by Turkey, Russia and

and Britain have announced their absolute opposition to this.

There was another struggle coming up over the approaching September elections in Poland, a country dominated by Russian imperialism and sorely squeezed between Russian and Allied pressure.

There was the dispute over Greece, threatening once more to disrupt the already weary delegates at the impotent Paris Peace Conference, and underscoring the sharpness of the clash between England and Russia over the Near East and the Mediter-

There was the expanding civil war in China, between the Americanbacked Chungking government and the Russian-backed Hunan Stalinist

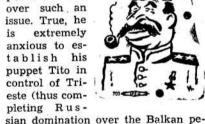
YUGOSLAVIA DISPUTE

Against this background of worldwide clashes between America and Russia, the clash over Yugoslavia takes on its proper proportion. It was guardian of the Straits, but Stalin's a test, an experiment carried out at a distance and by indirect means, through which imperialist-dictator Russia's Balkan satellites. America Stalin hoped to probe his Anglo-

see their reactions. Would they yield? Would they retreat? Would they with force?

American imperialism, in the form of a diplomatic "ultimatum," gave its partial answer. It was that of a great imperialist power not ready or willing, at the moment, to precipitate a premature military clash and go to war. The so-called ultimatum, despite its violent writing up in the press, did nothing more than threaten to haul Marshal Tito before the United Nations.

But neither, of course, was Stalin prepared for war over such an issue. True, he is extremely anxious to establish his puppet Tito in control of Trieste (thus completing Rus-



American rivals in a sore spot, and ninsula and the Adriatic), but not at the cost of a premature world conflict-Russia is not prepared today bluff, or would they react sharply for war. In this sinistre game, Marand match threat with threat, force shal Tito, who apes his master Stalin even to the degree of wearing a replica of the uniform of the Kremlin dictator, was only a willing tool in the hands of the latter. He too, of course, wants Trieste and Venezia Giula for his country's expansion policy, but when Stalin gave the word to retreat and yield on the American "ultimatum," Tito responded ás a lackey always does. Now he will escort the bodies of the flyers he shot down last week!

Russia versus America; America versus Russia-one imperialist giant against another imperialist giant. This is the underlying story of the Paris Peace Conference, the Yugoslavian crisis, the Chinese civil war, and of other crises and disputes that will inevitably take place.

WILL THERE BE WAR?

Will there be war now? Within the immediate future? There is little likelihood of this. Instead, in a never-

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OPA's Record Day by Day ...

Another meat shortage, fabricated by the big packers, is in the offing. The WHOLESALE price of butter has jumped five cents since the Decontrol Board exempted dairy products from ceiling controls. A new rise in the price of milk is threatened; it has already gone up two cents a quart since June 30, on top of a previous rise of one cent. Chain stores were busy making upward "adjustments" in prices.

Incone day, August 26, the OPA REMOVED ceilings on: canned and frozen soups and broths, pepper and other spices, meat and fish sauces, plum pudding, malted milk tablets, canned sauerkraut and pork, sugar cane fibre.

The same day it PERMITTED price increases on: canned Maine sardines-two to four cents a can; beer in barrels-twenty-nine cents; beer in case lots-five cents.

That is the work of a single day. Here is A PARTIAL record of the increase in the cost of living sin Bill on July 25. It is taken from a filler record compiled by the news-

JULY 26-OPA ordered increases on a number of commodities of which a FEW are: rubber heels in shoe repair shops-five cents a pair; work gloves-one to six cents a pair; about 30 per cent of all footwear permitted an eight per cent jump; coal and other solid fuels up six to eight cents a ton; 19 building materials, all kinds of common tools, kitchenware, etc., etc., allowed various increases. Decontrols ordered on thousands of items.

THE THINGS YOU EAT AND WEAR

JULY 27-Decontrols ordered on meats, fats, oils, poultry, eggs, dairy products, grains and tobaccos. Price increases granted on a variety of manufactured items. JULY 28-Ceiling prices raised 11 per cent on men's shirts, shorts,

pajamas. Other clothing increases granted. AUGUST 2-Temporary increase of 1 cent in a two-pound loaf of bread granted; 2 cents for an eight-ounce package of macaroni and

1 cent for a small package of noodles; 1 to 3 cents for most type's of breakfast food; 1 to 2 cents a package for corn meal and hominy grits; \$1.11 to \$1.24 a hundred pounds of flour. AUGUST 3-National Housing Administration changed rent reg-

ulations for new buildings to permit higher rents up to \$80 per month. AUGUST 5-Sixteen per cent increase in corded yarn textiles AUGUST 9-Bureau of Labor Statistics estimated 13.8 per cent

increase in food prices between June 15 and July 15. AUGUST 14-OPA OKed coffee rise of from 10 to 13 cents a

pound; 5 to 7 per cent for clothing made from higher grade cotton. AUGUST 15-OPA allowed 3 per cent increase on radios; 4 per cent on small electrical appliances; various household items effected by new price increases: stoves, dishes, clocks, etc., etc.

AUGUST 16-Beer granted raise of 1 cent a glass, 2 cents on a quart bottle.

AUGUST 18-Ceilings removed on all dried fruits, except apples.

PREPARING A SHORTAGE IN MEAT

AUGUST 20-Ceilings restored on meats and oils; grains and dairy products remain free to go up.

AUGUST 21-OPA set September 9 for new meat ceilings to go into effect. Cattlemen rushed undersized animals to market, to take advantage of current high prices. Flour got another boost of 7 cents

AUGUST 22-Orange producers received gift of price increases which will mean half-cent more a pound; coal increases averaged 30 cents a ton on anthracite, 18 cents on bituminous, altogether a jump of 1.30 on anthracite and 68 cents on bituminous since July 1, Retail radio replacement tubes up 20 per cent. And OPA announced that the September 9 ceiling on lamb will average 5 cents over previous ceilings.

AUGUST 23-Shortenings and margarine got OPA increase of 1 cent a pound; tablecloths, napkins and bedspreads up 20 per cent; some work clothing up 10 per cent; cotton hosiery up 5 per cent; tires for passenger cars up 21/2 per cent.

That's PART of the story up to August 23. The story will be the same on the following days as well.

OUR CONCLUSION: OPA won't hold prices in check. It's up to the people, ABOVE ALL TO LABOR, to plan such action as will result in real price controls. OUR PROGRAM: POPULAR PRICE CONTROL COMMITTEES; THE GM PROGRAM - WAGE IN-CREASES WITHOUT PRICE INCREASES; AN FSCALATOR CLAUSE IN EVERY UNION CONTRACT.

The packers, however, are very patriotic and honorable gentlemen. The "legitimate meat industry will do everything it can to make restored price controls work." Every working man and working woman can be assured that the packers will do just as they say. They will attempt to make controls work now just as they did before; that is by releasing millions of pounds of meat to what is known as the "black market."

TAKE HOME PAY DOWN

What is important and significant here is that the president of the CIO and the Big Packers both call on the government, the

same government in Washington, for relief. Both groups call on a Decontrol Board comosed of two bankers and a manufacturer for aid. Murray asks these two bankers and a manufacturer to do

something for the working class and the people. The Big Packers ask these two bankers and a manufacturer to do something for capitalist industry and the capitalist ruling class. And Murray thinks that this Decontrol Board will hear his voice above the loud shouts of the packers.

Murray also finds that the workers have really had a reduction in takehome pay amounting to approximately 81/2 per cent from April, 1945 to June, 1946. Real income for the workers is now 18 per cent below the April 1945 level. Take home pay in certain key industries including automobile, steel and electrical industries has declined 13 per cent from April, 1945 to June, 1946. If the increase in the cost of living is included, says the CIO. "the over-all decline in real income as a result of reduced hours and increased prices is 22.2 per cent."

Murray says finally that "when American workers are squeezed between rising prices and declining take-home pay, something must be done to protect their living stand-

Every worker will agree with this. But what does Murray propose for labor and the masses? What is his program? What action does he recommend? Murray has no program for labor and the masses that will have any effect on the policies of the employers or the decisions of the government Decontrol Board made up of two bankers and a manufacturer. Murray has no program, but the big food producers do have a program. This is particularly true of the big packers. They intend to return to their practice of storing the meat in their refrigerators and withholding it from the market. They plan to resume their practice of defying their government and nodding while millions of pounds of their meat passes to the consumer through black market operations.

The big capitalist manufacturers, producers and processers have a program. They have a Decontrol Board and a government to aid them in putting their program through. Murray and the other labor leaders have no

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Will There Be a New War? AN EDITORIAL

Marshal Tito of Yugoslavia has had his army shoot down some American planes and airmen. The United States government sends a stiff ultimatum, and the whole press screams that this nation is horrified, that Yugoslavia is wantonly provoking the United States, and that Yugoslavia is only a tool of Marshal Stalin. The journalists and the politicians strive to impress the public with the idea that a peaceful long-suffering U.S. is being provoked and forced to stern reprisals by a war-like foreign nation (or nations).

This is a fairy tale to fool children and the workers should loudly declare that they will have

LABOR ACTION regrets the death of young American soldiers, who, after all, are only carrying out the commands of their officers. And LA-BOR ACTION hasn't the slightest doubt that Marshal Tito works in the very closest collaboration with Marshal Stalin. In fact, without the support of Stalinist Russia, Tito would not be able to hold his position in Yugoslavia, far less make so much noise on the international scene. All this is true.

A STRUGGLE FOR WORLD DOMINATION

But it is equally true that the United States Government is carrying on a fierce struggle with Russia for world domination. Byrnes and Molotov bark at each other in Paris. They cannot make peace because they are struggling to secure posi- of these "incidents" until long after they have

tions for World War III. Britain, America's satel- occurred, sometimes only when the people make lite, fights' Russia for oil in Iran. Truman carries on an intrigue with Iban Saud in the Middle East for oil. Trieste is the Adriatic port of South-Eastern Europe. Stalin urges Tito to claim it. Byrnes says no.

Stalin wants to exploit all Eastern Europe. Byrnes wants to keep it open and proposes that the Danube be a free water-way. Stalin wants to control the Dardanelles. Naturally, Byrnes backs Turkey. They are at daggers drawn over the future of Germany. They are at daggers drawn over the future of China. If Stalin appears to be pushing harder in Eastern Europe it is because his armies captured these countries, and he knows that there is no army in Europe today able to push him out. Britain has parked herself in Greece. The U.S. is busy building up Chiang

So the bloody game goes on, the two imperialist powers fighting it out without shame and without mercy on the unfortunate peoples and smaller or weaker nations.

WE MUST NOT BE FOOLED!

Were the U.S. planes in Yugoslavia spying? Did the U. S. provoke Tito in order to find out how far Stalin and Tito are prepared to go? Did Tito do the same? It is difficult to say exactly what happened. One often does not know the full truth

a revolution and open up the secret correspon-But TODAY we know that Russia and the

U. S. are both aggressors, each striking at the other where it can, how it can, and when it can. Each of course tries to represent itself as "peaceful" and seeks to lay the blame upon the other. That is to fool the masses. The workers should answer loudly "We are not fooled. We know both of you."

This would not only be a useful warning to U. S. imperialism. If the American workers shouted loud enough the news would penetrate to the European workers, Russian workers included, they would gain an impetus to do some shouting on their own accord.

No. War will not come today. It may take several years. But the preparations for this next war are already in progress. We must therefore take our stand against war, fight it now before it looses its atomic and radar directed death on us. The workers were fooled into World War I by talk about aggression. They were fooled into World War II by talk about aggression. One of the ways to prevent World War III is by vigorous refusal to accept any talk about aggression and demand that both Russia and the United States withdraw their troops from Europe and Asia and leave the peoples to settle their own affairs in the way that suits them best,

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Factions Dispute in UAW - -

(Continued from page 1) administration under Reuther's con-

An illustration of the reckless character of Addes' proposal was the virtual elimination of the vital veterans department. The board by a small margin voted to reduce the vets department by one person. This, in spite of a convention mandate to the International Executive Board to set up a functioning department. The reason for the elimination of the vets department is, of course, the fact that Emil Mazey, the well known militant, is director of it, and the department was making a splendid record of achievement.

Another example: At the March convention of the UAW, a special board to investigate R. J. Thomas' charges of "intimidation of delegates, racketeering, etc.," was set up. It refused to make a written report to the board, it admitted that the only intimidation it had uncovered was one delegate who swore he was threatened if he didn't vote for Thomas! The investigators tried to smear Reuther with Dubinsky, without any proof. In a word, they didn't accomplish their mission. Nevertheless, the special board was continued at a big expense to the international union for another three months. Yet Addes talks about economy.

WAYNE COUNTY CONTROL

Besides these developments in the UAW board, there looms the bitter fight at the coming Wayne County CIO convention to be held in two weeks. This has taken on the character of the UAW-CIO convention and the Michigan State CIO convention. Both the Reuther forces and the coalition against Reuther are making every possible effort to win control of the Wayne County CIO Council that is to be set up by the special convention. At the present time, the Reuther forces control the Wayne County PAC and the Stalinist bloc controls the County Council. They are supposed to be merged into one body, to be the authoritative body of the

CIO in the Detroit area. To round out the picture of the of Reuther and his followers are developments in the UAW, we must more often being attacked as social-

Philip Murray, CIO president, ordered the Steel Workers Union here

to disregard the NMU picket lines in the Great Lakes Strike. The Steel Workers Union officials, who up to this time had worked with the Stalinists, followed Murray's orders. This growing antagonism between Murray and the Stalinists might be reflected in the Wayne County CIO conven-

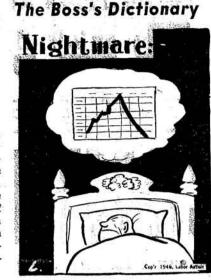
Some people took seriously the story that appeared only in the New York Times about R. J. Thomas being ready to be drafted for president to replace Reuther, following Thomas' ill-timed blast at Reuther a few days before the UAW-CIO board met. Actually this story was cooked up by the New York Times correspondent, Walter Ruch, simply for copy. In an informal conversation with reporters, Thomas was readily provoked into shooting his mouth off. His real feelings, bitter personal resentment over losing out as president, came out. No other reporters paid any attention to Thomas' ravings. It would be news if he didn't rave. However, the Times took Ruch's story seriously, and

Another significant event. Although Richard T. Leonard at present is still in the coalition against Reuther, his position is becoming impossible because he is now facing the danger of the Stalinists taking over fully in the Ford locals, and opposing all his policies. Ford Local 600, the biggest local in the world, is dominated by the Stalinists and they have been making things very uncomfortable for Leonard. Leonard's reaction shows signs increasingly of making him the genuine right winger of the UAW-CIO.

All these things fit together in a general pattern which indicate that the pressing inflationary crisis is bringing into being three major tendencies within the UAW, irrespective of the present line-ups, and unprincipled maneuvers. The right-wing of the UAW is coalescing under Leonard. A broad socially minded tendency is emerging under the domination

ists. This is under severe attack from the Stalinists and from the reactionaries in the locals. Finally, there remains the Stalinist faction as the

third tendency within the UAW-CIO. The important fact about all these developments is that the hard facts of life are preventing the UAW from becoming just another union, in which a status quo philosophy suffices. The situation is forcing a clarification of political lines.



Vote in Republican Primary Spotlights Situation in Harlem

The completely unexpected defeat the Republican primary last week spotlights once again the political trend in the largest center of Negro population in America-Harlem. How could a popular idol who, two years ago, swept the Democratic and Republican primaries and received the ALP designation unopposed, lose the confidence of a bloc of his most faithful supporters in so short a time?

It must not be forgotten that Powell projects himself first as a Baptist minister. He has always felt that his solid base among conservative Negro middle class churchgoers made his position unassailable. That accounts for his public flouting of the demands of both the Democratic and Republican machines at times. It explains his inconstant courtship of the Communist Party and its respectable exterior, the ALP. Powell seeks to use all of these groups and their platforms, simultaneously or in succession, to further his position. By establishing a following independent of his political coloration, he risks little by his callous opportunism. But his followers are deserting him.

A newcomer to New York politics, Grant Reynolds, attacked Powell in the very citadel of his power and defeated him. The true explanation for this overturn will not be found

in examining surface phenomena. The real cause for the repudiation of of Congressman Adam C. Powell in Powell lies in the economic and social trends among the urban Negro population in the post war era. Further articles in this series will discuss the immediate causes for the Congressman's setback. We shall first be concerned with the deeper tendencies in Harlem life which afford a key to the community's acting and

CONDITIONS IN HARLEM

"The Real Estate Reporter" for October 1945 states that there are 451,000 Negroes living in the area bounded by 110th Street on the south and 162nd Street on the north, by Broadway on the west and the East River on the east. This is a far higher figure than is given by the federal census. But the Real Estate Board of New York City is interested in accuracy, where accuracy is essential to financial success. Undoubtedly, the figure in that overcrowded section is markedly higher now, with the return of thousands of war veterans and the steady migration from the south. Where New Yorkers generally are engaged in a desperate struggle to find housing, it requires little imagination to picture the dreadful competition for living space in the black ghetto.

Meanwhile the Mayor makes a gesture about restoring sanitary conditions by hailing a few landlords into court for violation of health and building laws. Actually the campaign fizzled out in a few weeks and Harlemites cynically shrugged their shoulders at the spectacle of the city administration covering its eye-

Housing is not the only problem of New York Negroes. Unemployment again raises its head. As the lowest stratum of the population, the future concerns of the general population. Eighteen per cent of all job the placements in industrial employtic employment are Negroes. At first State Commission Against Discrimination in employment is actually beaverage between 60 and 80 cents per hour. White workers are shopping around for better jobs and are turnally, multiplied by ghetto rents, the ordinary Negro family has the greatest difficulty in making ends meet.

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

The Democratic Party and the Republican Party are fighting it out in Harlem and through their candidates (both Negroes) have given notable examples of their uselessness to the masses of the people.

State Commissioner of Correction Grant Reynolds, Republican, has been attacking his rival, Congressman Adam Powell. The Amsterdam News, a Republican Harlem paper, has printed a full account of this attack. It is a monument of cheap politics and name calling. It is worthwhile repeating some of it because it tells a political story-an old story-the bankruptcy of Republican politics, both in regard to the nation and to Negroes in particular.

REYNOLDS LINE IS SMALL POTATOES

Commissioner Reynolds accuses Powell of getting \$500 for a speech. Rev. Powell has an agent who books him for speaking tours and the Congressman makes a

The Congressman does not attend to his duties in Congress. And now that the Congressman is a father he will be so busy attending to his baby that he will have still less time for his congressional duties. Therefore, vote for Grant Reynolds. Presumably he has no babies or only big ones.

The Harlem people should laugh the Republican Party and Commissioner Reynolds out of court. The Republican Party has no policy. All their Presidential candidate can say is that he will do what the Democrats are doing and do it better.

That was Willkie's campaign line. That was Dewey's campaign line. Commissioner Reynolds has nothing to say and for that reason is compelled to fall back on personal abuse of his rival.

WHAT IS POWELL'S RECORD?

No, we, the Workers Party, who are running E. R. McKinney for Congress in Powell's district, have some political questions to ask of Congressman Powell. The People's Voice speaks authoritatively for the Congressman. He is its editor-in-chief, although for the time being he is on leave of absence as a Congressman. What does the Voice say in his favor?

The issue of August 17 prints a list of jobs that were gotten for Negroes by Congressman Powell. Thus we are told that Thomasina Johnson got a job at \$7,500 a year in the Department of Labor. At the other end of the list one Corliss Crocker got a job in the House Office Building at \$2,000 a year. Then follow others whose pay presumably is less than \$2,000. Adelaide Holloway has got a job in the Bureau of Engraving, and Carrie Hill in the War Department has been promoted -yes, sir, "promoted to inspector of women's gar-

Are the people of Harlem going to accept this as a testimony to Congressman Powell's good political record? Not for one moment do we wish to sneer at any

Negro getting a good job? Negroes are shamefully excluded from the better-paid jobs in the U.S. Part of the Negro struggle for equality is the right to have any job for which he is fitted. It is a democratic right, But a Democratic Party politician can get jobs for his constituents when you have a Democratic administration. By the same logic Harlem should vote for Republican candidates for the state legislature. They can and do appoint Negroes to jobs. Did Congressman Powell get a job at \$7,500 for Thomasina Johnson? But Governor Dewey appointed Mr. Rivers to a judgeship worth \$15,000 a year. So Governor Dewey by this reasoning is worth twice as much as Congressman Powell. Did Congressman Powell get 100 jobs for Negroes? Then Governor Dewey can claim that he got 200 or 300 for that matter. Didn't he appoint Lester Granger as one of the commissioners to enforce the Ives-Quinn Bill? The salary was \$10,000 a year.

In fact, Dewey made these and other appointments precisely to fool Negroes and distract them from his reactionary politics. He has not lifted a finger to stop police brutality in New York. He whitewashed the police murder at Freeport, Long Island. O'Dwyer is a Democrat. Harlem is burning up with anger at the brutality of Mayor O'Dwyer's police. Yet both Democrats and Republicans can point to a few jobs given to

THERE ARE ALL KINDS OF JOBS

This is characteristic of both parties. More than that. It is characteristic of reactionary political régimes which are defrauding the people. The British Government is an absolute master at it. Whenever people in the colonies demand political rights, the British Government appoints some local man to a big job and tries thereby to pacify the political aspirations of the people. The American Government is doing the same. It appointed Judge Hastie, a Negro, as Governor of the Virgin Islands. But that does not mean one ounce of greater freedom for the people of the Virgin Islands.

Negroes have rights to all jobs. But both parties have been using jobs for a few Negroes as substitutes for the democratic rights of the majority.

Now there are other kinds of jobs besides judgeships and jobs in the Labor Department. There are jobs for thousands of workers in industry. Those are the jobs we are interested in chiefly, for those are the jobs the masses need. And what did Congressman Powell's party do about these jobs? Zero. The Democrats and Republicans between them conspired to kill the Permanent FEPC Bill in Congress.

The Workers Party supports no representative of these parties. Both capitalist parties give out a few jobs for white-collar workers in order the more surely to distract the people from their failure to insure full democratic rights to the masses.

But didn't the Congressman bring in bills to cure these evils? Next week we shall examine this.

Says Return to AFL Is Wrong

there was an article in all the Philadelphia papers about the United Furniture Workers, CIO, becoming a captive of the Stalinists. George Bucher, member of the organizing staff of the UFW in this area, stated publicly that the Stalinists had gained dently prepared to wash dirty linen such control of this organization that in the capitalist press, and give the the national president was resigning in protest, and that he and a local group were calling on President Philip Murray to grant them a new national charter so that they might escape this control.

In a few days the papers again carried a story quoting Bucher that the Philadelphia Local of UFW, along with several others, was seceding from the CIO and going back to the AFL because Murray did not come to their rescue.

Shortly after this, there appeared again in the capitalist press an article to the effect that Harry Block and Jim Carey were meeting in Pittsburgh with a group representing ten of the largest locals in the United Electrical and Radio Workers Union, CIO, in an attempt to oust the Stalinists from control of this international. The news releases pointed out that various CIO leaders were getting together to stamp out this menace to the American labor movement, among them John Green, the president of the International Union of Marine and Shipyard Workers of America.

Today, the Philadelphia Record carries a lengthy editorial on this subject, heaping high praise on Harry mind the fact that no matter how Block and Jim Carey for their action, calling on the rank and file of program sound today, they were the organized labor to back up this fight, at the same time criticizing crippling no strike pledge and the Murray for his apathy and calling him a mugwump.

The fight is on. But just as Frankenstein created and then lost control of his monster only to see it destroy profits. the ones he loved, so these men, by

working in close harmony with the and especially on the basis that they PHILADELPHIA — Several days ago Stalinists for the past few years, have permitted the monster to get out of hand. Now that they can no longer control it, they are ready to go to extremes, and perhaps do incalculable damage to the entire labor movement through red-baiting. They are evienemies of organized labor another club with which to beat our brains

John Green is now crying for the heart of these same Stalinists whose boots he licked only two short years ago at the Convention in Atlantic City in order to insure his re-election.

During the war years men like Carey, Green and Bucher not only supported the suicidal policies of the Stalinists, but helped place them in key positions throughout the labor movement.

No one knows better than the rank and file of the CIO what the Stalinist inspired program during the war years did for the workers. Our grievances were never settled, our wages fell far below the cost of living. Democracy was fettered within our unions, and when we cried out for our rights we were branded as unpatriotic and selfish.

To the rank and file of the CIO who read this, I would like to point out that the way to fight the Stalinists is right on the floor of the Local. Not simply for what they represent politically, but on the basis of *their past record and their program.

It is necessary that we bear in good they may try to make their ones who vociferously upheld the various governmental agencies that kept us lashed to the mast while industry was permitted to exploit us shamelessly and pile up unheard of

To fight them on any other basis,

are "red" will only boomerang on the rank and file, for whenever a militant, progressive unionist raises his or her voice against the will of the union officialdom he will be branded as a Red also.

Above all beware of anyone who proposes to lead us back to the AFL. He is either a fool or a knave, and quite possibly both.

Westinghouse Gets Strike Losses Back From Government

By FRANK HAYES

PHILADELPHIA - Ninety - nine per cent of the strike loss of the Westinghouse Electric Corporation will be made up by the United States government. The loss of \$42,920,650 incurred by the corporation during the recent seventeen - week strike will only cost Westinghouse \$341,605, according to its president, Gwilym Price. "We are reporting," he said, "this carry-back as a credit in accordance with the tax laws in effect."

The tax laws referred to are sections of the Internal Revenue Bill of 1942 and 1945, which established these excess profit tax refunds to corporations failing to make the profits to which they have been accustomed.

The government, however, has net been so generous to the Westinghouse employees. For example, in Pennsylvania the strikers were denied unemployment compensation during a four-week penalty period. The compensation checks when received barely met the food costs of a childless couple. During the strike period the government also aided the corporation by court orders, picketing bans and even police and militia interven-

The final and most devastating By GERRY McDERMOTT blow dealt the Westinghouse employees by the government is the price rises which have been permitted since the strike termination. These have all but wiped out the "181/2-cent general increase."

The UE-CIO News reports that its leaders are backing Philip Murray's proposal to Congress that the excess profit tax refund provisions be repealed. In effect the UE leaders are saying "We are with you Phil when you ask Congress to bite the hand that feeds it." This half-hearted cry over spilt milk will hardly be mistaken for a battle cry to lead the Westinghouse employees in the independent, militant, political and eco-

anxieties of Negroes foreshadow the applicants in New York City are Negroes. Forty to fifty per cent of ment are Negroes at the present time. Sixty to sixty-three per cent of the placements in household and domesglance this would seem a remarkably healthy condition. Can it be that the coming a factor in giving Negroes an equitable share of jobs? A little closer examination reveals that the old system is still at work. The bulk of the jobs which the USES offers ing down these low-paying offers. With the high cost of living gener-

How then, are we to explain a swing from the so-called "radical" candidate, Adam C. Powell, backed by the Communist Party and the ALP to an admittedly conservative rival, Grant Reynolds, in the Republican primary? The explanation given by the daily press that Powell's defeat was merely a general trend due to post war prosperity cannot endure close examination. The answer is far more complex, and we propose to examine it in coming issues of LA-BOR ACTION.

Come to Think of It_

An "Ism" Is a Set of Ideas

By HAL DRAPER

Let's talk about "isms"-as they say when they make speeches about being against all "isms" except

For example, the commander of the Military Order of the Purple Heart dusted that one off a couple of weeks ago in an oration to his group, and he even made the papers with it. It's kind of old-fashioned but I guess the poor fellow couldn't think of anything else to say that might be of interest to disabled veterans.

Now being against all "isms" takes in quite a lot of territory and I wouldn't swear that the commander, for one, went over the whole field before coming out flatfooted on the subject. Did he, for instance, look into the problem of antidisestablishmentarianism, to take one end of the alphabet, and did he make an exhaustive study of Zoroastrianism at the other end?

And I wonder whether he's 100 per cent against botulism, cretinism, dadaism, embolism, Fenianism, gymnosophism, hyperthyroidism, and so on, and especially xanthochroidism which the late Adolf Hitler went for in a big way.

"ISM" IS SET OF IDEAS

If, you tell me what the commander really had in mind was just things like socialism, communism, trade unionism and radicalism, then all I can say is: Why didn't he SAY so? Somebody's liable to think he's agin' CAPITALISM too and then how long would he last?

Which brings me to a point. That wheeze about being against all "isms" maybe

doesn't make sense but it has a powerful appeal in some sections. Lots of people are suspicious of any "ism." No use telling them they don't know anything about it because THAT is just the reason they're suspicious, sight unseen. There's something else involved. An "ism" is a set of ideas. In fact, it's a theory.

There's where you rub some people the wrong way.

They like to think they're against "theorizing." Paperhead Pete tells me, for example: "The trouble with you socialists is that you're always spouting the-

ories. Why don't you come down to earth and stick to practical facts?"

Paperhead Pete thinks he's such a practical fellow. If you've got to lick the foreman's boots to get a raise, then that's a practical fact, so why theorize about class organization and class struggle and nonsense like that? He also says: "Maybe Socialism is all right in theory Now there are theories and theories and also facts

and facts. What book, Mr. Throckmorton, has more raw facts in it than any volume its size? That's easy, Professor I. Q., it's the telephone book. Very practical stuff But it gets you only a certain distance. You pick out

your party, call him and get a wrong number. So you smash the receiver and say, "That operator must be dreaming about her boy-friend."

THAT, friend, is a theory. If you want to check it you can make a scientific investigation, gather the facts and maybe come out with the conclusion that most wrong numbers are due to physical exhaustion. That would still be a theory but it would be one that is based

You can take this theory and put it to work. You say: Give the girls a six-hour day, regular rest periods. adequate vacations and pleasant homes-and see what happens to the ratio of wrong numbers. If it works the theory was all right. If it doesn't your theory was

IDEAS BASED ON FACTS

There's no such thing as an idea that's "all right in theory but it won't work.'

Any theory that's worth its salt is NOT just dreamed up out of thin air. It's a general truth which has been gained from many practical experiences and facts. That's where the theories of Socialism come from. Even Pete would like to know sometimes why indus-

try can't seem to go full blast in peacetime just as it did when mass murder was still going on. But he isn't going to lick the answer out of the foreman's boot, in his hard-headed practical way.

Maybe its got something to do with a theory about what's wrong with our profit system.... But it's dangerous to start thinking like that, because the commander who's against all "isms" except capitalism is not going to like you.

Great Lakes Seaman Win Strike Gains

CLEVELAND, Aug. 25 - Militant strike action in the face of scabbing. police attacks and government opposition has cracked the 56-hour week for Great Lakes seamen and won a partial victory for NMU strikers.

As this is written, Standard Oil and Bethlehem have agreed to reduce hours at sea to 48, in port to 44, and during fit-out and lay-over to 40. Overtime pay increases were won, together with a closed shop agreement. This pattern of settlement is expected to be followed with other shipping lines which are still struck.

The victory is only partial, however. While the strike was 100 per cent effective on ships organized by the NMU, the majority of lake boats

are unorganized and the status of striking seamen on unorganized ships is still not settled. However, now that the 56-hour week and the solid front of the shippers have been cracked, it is only a matter of time before all lake ships are organized and the improvements won by NMU seamen are made universal on the lakes.

The resistance of the monopolist ship operators has been and continues to be vicious. Scabs have been herded onto some struck ships. In Duluth, cops used tear gas and clubs to break a picket line, injuring twenty pickets. Similar violence has taken place in other ports.

The government has been, as usual, active on behalf of the capitalists who control it. Only the threat of a

Employment Service in several cities stopped the government agency from recruiting scabs.

CIO President Philip Murray has seriously crippled the fight of CIO seamen and played into the hands of monopoly with his policy of "no strikes, increase production." On the basis of his order to "obey your contract," he has asked, through subordinate officials, that workers of the steel and shipyard unions cross picket lines to unload ships.

The rank and file steel workers and longshoremen are not so stupid, however, and have honored picket lines

in almost all instances. Support of the UAW has continued to be solid. The Canadian Seamen's

picket line around the United States Union and the AFL seamen habe cooperated completely. CIO Councils in lake ports have given support, and locals of CIO, AFL and independent unions have honored picket lines from one end of the lakes to the other.

The solidarity of the rank and file

of labor in the lakes region is an instructive lesson to some of labor's short-sighted "leaders" who keep trying to "be reasonable" with the bosses and appease the "public opinion" manufactured synthetically by the capitalist press. The rank and file in all unions must fight within their own organizations to insure and increase the solidarity shown in the lakes strike. Then strikers won't have to accept partial victories,

"Peacemakers"-

ending, constantly broadening and deepening "war of nerves," these two power-giants will dispute over every political, territorial and diplomatic issue that arises in the future.

Both powers are engaging in vast strategic maneuvers, consolidating territories already occupied or under their influence, strengthening ties and bonds with their respective puppets and agents, shifting forces and building up reserves, etc. As things stand at present, this period of pre-war preparation—that is, preparation for the Third World War-may last a now being prepared, this is the backlong time. Nobody can predict when ground of the clash with Yugoslavia. nomic struggle for real gains:

the actual and inevitable explosion will come, but it is already clear to most of us that come it will UNLESS

movement proves able and powerful enough to call a halt to the war plans of the two leading imperialist powers. The world of imperialism cannot prevent war, as the current Paris Peace Conference clearly attests to. The world of Russian and American imperialism can only clear the way for a conflict in which these two monsters attempt to destroy the other and become the top, total Master of the entire world. This is the conflict

Unless what? Unless the workers'

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 \$5000 annual minimum per family.

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

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

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

2. For the withdrawal of all armies of occupation. Bring the American troops home. For an end to conscription.

X. For an Independent Labor Party and a Workers Govern-

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

FOR A SOCIALIST AMERICA AND PLENTY FOR ALL!

The Economics of Filipino "Freedom"

Readers of the big business dailies are stuffed to the gills with stories about the "iron curtain" in Europe which Russia erects to keep the eastern half of Europe secluded from foreign penetration, so that she can exploit it as her own private preserve. This is Russian imperialism at work.

We are also surfeited with stories of Britain's "hands off" policy with respect to her colonies, which are boiling over with mass revolts in half a dozen places today. Thus, ample evidence is provided of British im-

And what does the biggest world power, the United States, do in the midst of the sanguine suppression of the European people and the colonial slaves by its rivals? Why, in addition to its diplomacy in Europe, it shows its own "non-imperialist" generosity by giving "freedom" on the anniversary of its own independence, July 4, 1946, to its former colony, the Philippine Islands.

You will have to search hard to find a greater hoax perpetrated in the name of freedom and independence. This hoax isn't being swallowed by the working population of Luzon in the Philippines, which is bearing the brunt of "independence" and for not unstrange reasons finds it necessary to organize in guerrilla bands to fight against the "freedom" so recently tendered them. But the hoax has been put across more or less successfully in the United States, because the government and press of this country have an "iron curtain" every bit as effective as that of the Russians, drawn through the center of the Pacific Ocean!

While the Philippines are now nominally free politically, i.e., they are formally independent, economically they remain chained to the United States. A brief examination of the history of U.S. exploitation of the Philippines and the nature of the recently granted independence will show how farcical is this political freedom based upon economic en-

THE EARLY HISTORY

In 1898, as a result of the Spanish-American War, the U.S. acquired the Philippines from Spain. But the Filipinos had fought bravely throughout Spanish rule for their independence and had already declared a republic. It took three years of jungle warfare for the U.S. to crush the republic. After many promises, and retractions of promises, of independence, July 4, 1946, was finally set as the date for the actual grant.

In the almost fifty years of American exploitation of the islands, she succeeded in maintaining the old type of Spanish land grants with survivals of feudalistic practices. There was

practically no development of internal economy, since production was geared to mesh with the export needs of the United States. In 1941, our investments in the Philippines were estimated at over \$258 million. In 1946, Paul V. McNutt, High Commissioner of the Philippines, stated: "Ninety-five per cent of ... export trade was with the United States."

"The net result," according to Be nard Seeman in the American Mercury, August, 1946, "was a social system wherein the bulk of the population were virtual peons, largely illiterate, ill-fed, ill-housed and with few political rights. These people, mainly tenants or sharecroppers on the large semi-feudal estates, were constantly in debt to their landlords, a debt which kept mounting because of usurious interest rates. Their living quarters were generally one-room shacks with only the most primitive toilet facilities. The average peasant wage came to about fifteen cents a

THE CROWNING ACHIEVEMENT

The income of a Filipino family of four averages \$75 a year, about \$20 of which goes for taxes. As for the accomplishment of our "civilizing" mission, the traditional "white man's burden," this is how we fulfilled it: By 1939, almost two-thirds of the people over twenty had received no schooling at all, while two-fifths of the remainder had completed only the fourth grade. There does exist a tiny upper class

of landowners, business men and export-import agents in the islands known as compradores. The opposition to independence came from this class, mostly Spanish and American. They feared economic independence. for they might be forced to revolutionize their industry, produce for the home market instead of export and risk competition in the world market without the favorable tariff relations they enjoyed with the U.S. In addition, American business men with financial or sugar interests in the Philippines opposed independence. The basis of colonial profits in the islands lay in trade agreements, whereby the United States set dutyfree quotas on the major importssugar, hemp, copra, etc. This system guaranteed the compradores a profitable market.

Fear of freedom and dependence upon the export trade led the native compradore class to collaborate with the Japanese, knowing that export would be the main basis of their relationship. The new President, Roxas, a representative of this class, was a thorough-going collaborator, although on his recent visit of welcome here this fact was little mentioned in the press. How would this news look next

to the reports of the Nuremberg trials (Continued on page 5)

ragazine decito

September 2, 1946 A Paper in the Interests of Labor

Government, Real Estate Interests Combine to Sharpen Housing Crisis

By WALTER WEISS

(This article is excerpted from a forthcoming pamphlet on the nationwide housing crisis by Walter Weiss, to be published by the Workers Party.)

ILLIONS of veterans, expecting to return to a better America, can't even find a place of their own to live in. You have read many human interest stories on the subject. There is no need to repeat them here.

The question is: What should be done about the situation? Fortune, the super-slick magazine of big business, has asked the American people that 'very' question and has printed the results in its April, 1946, issue.

MAJORITY WANT GOVERNMENT BUILDING

Do you think, asked Fortune, that the government should start building homes on a large scale for sale or rent to the

Forty-eight per cent answered yes, 42 per cent answered

That means: over half of those WITH OPINIONS, 53 per cent, wanted this government to build homes. In the United States the stronghold of capitalism, of free-enterprise, this is what the people think.

There is more to the story: Of the younger people questioned, 56 per cent favored the idea; of the veterans, 60 per cent; of the people living in large cities, 60 per cent; of the poor people, no matter where they live, 631/2 per cent, nearly two out of every three.

Are the people on the right track in expressing this opinion? Are they right in not trusting private industry to do the

We of the Workers Party say that they are right. Will government as it is now constituted in this countryand we include national, state and city government-do the job? Will it respond to the wishes of the people?

We say it will not! And we shall see what the people must do to get what they want.

REAL ESTATE INTERESTS PLAN SCARCITY

ments during the next depression.

Nathan Strauss, author of Seven Myths of Housing, charged in the Nation magazine this year that "...the housing shortage had been deliberately planned by reactionary real estate interests.... There is ample evidence that the real estate interests have consistently opposed all new housing which could offer competition with their ancient and unsanitary slums."

And, above all, of course, they oppose low-rent government

housing projects, which threaten the most direct competition. To the real estate men the problem of scarcity is simple: Build a couple of million homes for high-income groups; let a couple of million older units "filter down" to lower income groups; and-raise rents generally. Then many people clamoring for houses will be unable to pay and will have to be satisfied with doubling-up. Better to have that than empty apart-

Great established interests use their vast economic and political power to maintain the value of their property. But how about the home builders, the construction interests? Why don't they drive for a huge building program?

There isn't a MARKET for millions of homes, not for homes at the price that they build. Under the capitalist system a market means not only that the people need things but that they must be able to pay prices which will bring a PROFIT to the

Although big-time capital gobbled up millions of old houses rough foreclosures during various depressions, it has not been interested in building new homes. The market wasn't good enough. The workers and lower middle class didn't have big enough incomes. Nor steady enough incomes (remember the depression years). Even in a "good" year, the war year of 1942, luxury housing and non-essential building.

OPA reported that one-half of all American families had incomes under \$2,000 a year, \$38 a week. Mr. Strauss, who was also head of the United States Housing Authority, has stated that three-quarters of all new private housing can be afforded only by the upper third (in income) of the population. If anything, this estimate is too optimistic.

FAMILIES GET LITTLE FOR HOUSING DOLLAR

Big capital turned to richer and more certain fields of profit, Home-building was left mainly to small-timers, following oldfashioned methods, unable to apply the lessons of mass pro-

"American families get less for their housing dollar than any other dollar they spend on capitalist-produced commodities," says Miriam Gould in The New International of March, 1946.

The home building industry has been based on these three principles: Build expensive houses on which profits are high; extend operations in boom periods, when prices and profits are soaring. Then run. It is a hit-and-run industry, a speculator's

In brief review, the capitalists, with their system of free enterprise, have achieved the following in housing:

1. A profitable scarcity that has always existed, becoming at certain times, as now, so bad as to be an "emergency."

2. Forty billion dollars of slums, which, in spite of their age and unbelievable conditions, are very valuable to their

3. A system, undemocratic, but lucrative, of discrimination against Negroes and other minorities.

4. A whole network of monopolistic practices.

5. Wages far too low and prices far too high to allow new housing to any but the top 15 or 30 per cent of the population. 6. A speculative and backward construction industry in the

most technically advanced country of the world. 7. A city environment so remote from comfortable and healthful living that most of its victims are strongly aware of

8. Finally, a confession that capitalist free enterprise cannot handle the problem and an appeal for so many kinds of governmental assistance that, to quote one writer, it becomes "self-hynosis" to talk of "private" enterprise.

HOUSING FIT ONLY FOR JUNK PILE

The census of 1940 showed the following almost unbelievable situation for the richest nation in the world:

Of an approximate total of 37 million dwelling units—in cities, in towns and on farms-just about half (49.2 per cent) either were (1) in such condition that the idea of repair was hopeless, or (2) had no private bath, or (3) had both these

Let us describe the situation in a slightly different way: Seven million family units needed major repairs (that is, were absolutely hopeless).

Seventeen million had no private bath.

Fourteen million had no flush toilet. -Some units, of course, were lacking in just one of these respects, some in two or all three.

That was in 1940. FORTUNE magazine states that at the present time there is probably a total of about 41 million units in this country, ten million of them so bad that they should be torn down at once.

One-fourth of all our housing fit only for the junk pile!

Finally, we turn our attention to the national government. to which most veterans and other citizens look for a solution of really serious problems.

In the beginning the Truman administration acted as if no housing problem existed. Building materials were released last fall from wartime controls and immediately began to flow into

Index (BLS)

Next, to show that he understood the importance of housing, the President, with great fanfare, brought Wilson Wyatt to Washington with the snappy title of "housing expeditor." Mr. Wyatt filled the air with resounding announcements. He drew up a veteran's emergency housing plan, which Congress passed into law, after weakening it a little. He proclaimed that it was his aim to get 1,200,000 homes started in 1946, another 1,500,000 in 1947.

Page 3

WYATT PROGRAM OFFERS LITTLE

Best of all, Wyatt announced that he hoped for homes to sell below \$6,000 and to rent below \$50. Since an Army survey of veterans showed that only 11 per cent of the veterans felt they could pay \$50 or over, while one-third felt they could pay less than \$30, the Wyatt plan was good news only by comparison with the super-expensive houses which had been turned out previously.

What has been the result of the Wyatt program? An official report to the President states that by June 1, homes were being produced at a great rate. In spite of a late start, 405,000 units, 34 per cent of the total goal for 1946, were under way, although the prefabricated part of the program was far behind schedule. When they will be completed is another matter.

Prices? The PRESENT goal is to have half the houses sell under \$7,500, not \$6,000, and to rent under \$60, not \$50.

The price goal had gone up even before the OPA was put out of business temporarily by Congress.

Mr. Wyatt's drive for low-priced housing has been pretty much like that famous drive which Chester Bowles conducted for low-cost clothing. Big programs, big publicity! Result: prices keen going up, quality keeps going down. More talk, more publicity! All that Bowles and Wyatt have ever REALLY tried to do has been to keep inflation gradual. Business and Congress have wanted to go the whole hog all at once.

The blunt truth is that the Wyatt program and propaganda have served to cover up the fact that

THE GOVERNMENT ITSELF IS ENCOURAGING A REPETITION OF THE SITUATION WHICH OCCURRED AFTER WORLD WAR I:

Not enough housing altogether; not nearly enough.

Frenzied building for the higher-income brackets.

A serious inflation to be followed by a big collapse. WORKERS PARTY PROGRAM ON HOUSING

Here are some proposals on the housing crisis which appears in the program of the Workers Party. Its "drastic" nature is merely the reflection of the seriousness of the problem for the people as a whole.

1. Open all the boarded-up mansions of the rich!

2. Requisition all the hotels necessary and make them available at low rentals to veterans and to other families who are doubled up or are housed in unsafe and unsanitary dwellings. 3. Put a stop to all evictions. 4. No discrimination in housing because of race, religion

or national origin.

5. Complete 4,000,000 low-cost units within a year.

6. For at least 26 million new homes within five years as part of \$250 billion program to provide decent housing at reasonable prices for all and the necessary schools, hospitals, parks and other facilities needed to give us well-planned communities. Can it be done? The government showed during the war

that it can be done. But the government which spent billions to plan for war, for destruction, shows also that it cannot plan and spend for peace, for construction.

What the people need to realize this program is a party of or party, independent of capitalist interests, and a government of their own, a workers' government, a government of all who toil and sweat in order to live, but the product of whose labor becomes the profits of the rich. Only such a government can plan, spend and build for peace!

—An Analysis of Statistics

January, 1939

How Rising Costs Wipe Out Wage Raises

By HENRY JUDD

The Bureau of Labor Statistics, a branch of the government's Labor Department, maintains what it calls a Consumers' Price Index. This index is based upon the prices of twenty-eight (28) basic commodities -the various staples, and necessities people in the United States live on from day to day. It reflects price changes as they take place in both wholesale and retail (primary) markets, and is one of the sources for the what's-what on prices.

This Consumers' Price Index of the Labor Department is a system of comparison, based upon 100 for the price averages of these twenty-eight basic commodities over the four-year period of 1935 to 1939. Or, in other

100 equals average price rate from 1935 to 1939

How does this Consumers' Price Index stand today, in August 1946? This will give us an idea of how prices have gone up in post-war America and prices, as we know, mean the cost of living, our living standards.

Here's the dope on prices-again using the governmental Bureau of Labor Statistics.

In July, 1945-shortly after the abolition of OPA and before its reestablishment in its present impotent form—the index stood at 129.4. That is, according to the government, there had been a price increase of 29.4 per cent (over the 100 average of 1935-1939) since the war began in

By July 15, 1945—this same price index had gone up to 140-an increase of 40 per cent (!) over the in- 20 per cent since the OPA went out dex of 1939.

And finally, to top it off, the index stood at 141.8 on August 1 of this year-its all time high, but still going higher. Thus, again according to official government sources, the cost of living has risen almost 42 per cent in the last seven years.

WAGES AND PRICES* Or, Living Standards of Post-War America Weekly Living Costs

January, 1941	102.0
January, 1944 (wartime peak) \$54.29	122.0
POST-WAR AMERICA	
July, 1945 \$45.12	129.4
December, 1945 \$41.21	
February, 1946\$40.55	
March, 1946\$42.14	130.9
July, 1946\$43.00	140.0
August, 1946?	141.8

Average Weekly Wage for Factory Workerst

*Sources: Monthly Labor Review, Bureau of Labor Statistics, CIO and AFL Economic Reports.

†The average income of all wage earners would bring these figures down considerably.

The same source of information to 15 per cent rise in cotton goods, (Bureau of Labor Statistics) likewise indicates the following cost of living increases over recent years. They are worth reporting:

95.2 to 141.7 on the index scale. An 84 per cent rise in the cost of cotton clothing, a 48 per cent rise in that of woolen clothing, and a 45 per cent rise in silk and rayon articlesa general clothing increase from 106.5 to 154.3 on the index scale, covering the same period from 1939 to

A 50 per cent rise in the price of

food from 1939 to April, 1946-from

April, 1946. A general cost-of-living rise of of existence on June 30, 1946. OPA, as everyone knows, is in its new form, nothing but an institution of the government for "legalizing" price increases for manufacturers (coffee, last week, 10 to 13 cents more per pound; canned fruit, last week, 1 to 7 cents more per can; 10

LABOR AND GOV'T STATISTICS

Both the CIO and AFL have challenged the above statistics, furnished by the government, as being on the conservative side. This index, says the labor movement, does not take into account such factors as the lowered quality of goods, the scarcity of low-priced goods, compulsory changes in living habits due to housing shortages and the necessity to eat out, etc. Nor does it measure any changes in total family income costs. The Bureau of Labor Statistics has admitted these criticisms. We give an illustration of the difference in approach of labor economists and government economists in measuring living costs. Obviously, the labor men have the more accurate figures since they are more real, and based upon effects upon workers-that is, the masses of American people.

(AFL-CIO) as compared with the government, the following changes occurred in living costs from January, 1941 to January, 1944.

			010-			
				AFL	Gov't	
				Esti-	Esti-	
Commodit	y			mate	mate	
				%	%	
Food cost	inci	reased	by:	74.2	40.2	
Clothing	"	"	by:	72.2	33.7	
Rent	"	"	by:	15.0	3.0	
Fuel	"	"	by:	8.6	8.6	
Furnishin	igs	**	by:	62.0	27.8	
Miscekan	eous	"	by:	15.9	15.9	
Average .	Incr	ease o	f:	43.5	23.4	
[Doub	le es	stimat	e of	gover	nment/]	

WHAT ABOUT WAGES?

But what about wages? Haven't they, too, gone up? The chart above indicates a wage average of \$23.19 in January, 1939, mounting upwards to \$43.00 in July, 1946. That represents an increase of 85 per cent for industrial wages, over the past six and a half years-truly a magnificent advance!

LABOR ACTION would be the last to deny this general wage increase for large numbers of factory workers, primarily due to the organizing activity and strength of the unions. Even if we discount about half of this 85 per cent wage increase (because of the corresponding 40 per cent price increase, according to the government, over the same period), we still have a substantial increase in real wages for living standards. Even if we discount more than half of this wage increase (because of the weighted conservatism of government statistics), we still have a substantial increase in real wages since 1939-a phenomena not known in any other major country and testifying to the strength and determination of the American labor movement.

This is only one side of the picture. Whereas the rise in the cost of living applies to all workers, the peo-

According to both organizations ple as a whole, the available figures refer to only one section of the working class, the organized workers. To get a complete picture of the situation, it must be remembered that two-thirds of all wage earners received less than \$3,000 per year; that one-third of the nation live un-

der sub-standard conditions! But, despite all this, look at the story in Post-war America! Wages are today frozen, by government fiat and labor leadership conservatism. But prices (living costs) steadily mount and mount. And weekly wage averages, for many reasons, have sunk steadily-out of the \$50 weekly average, into the lower \$40 bracket. In a word, the living standards of the American worker are under sharp attack and are being driven downwards. That is the partial story of our statistics. That is the false promise held out in post-war America-a promise redeemable only through the militant action of the labor movement in its self-defense and protection. On the price front, for lowering of cost of living; on the wage front, for raising the standard

(Statistics prepared by Gertrude Blackwell)

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ALBERT GATES

EMANUEL GARRETT, Editor

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HENRY JUDD

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Editorials

A Stalinist Talks on War

can Stalinist Party and apologist-in-chief and secret police. for Russian policy in this country, has to be said and said bluntly in the interests of Stalinist policy, Mr. Foster is the man to do it in a piledriving manner.

And Russian-stooge Foster has done the job again. Last week he spoke in San Francisco on the Paris Peace Conference and the general world situation. He advocated a program for world "peace"-or more accurately described as a "piece" of the world for Russia.

According to press reports, Mr. Foster advocated: (1) The withdrawal of American marines and troops from China; (2) The withdrawal of French troops from Indo-China; (3) The withdrawal of British and Dutch troops from Indonesia.

But Foster had a fourth point in his program: That Russia be left free in its dealings with Turkey. That is, leave Turkey to be carved up in a nice, peaceful and

William Z. Foster, head of the Ameri- undisturbed manner by Stalin's armies

Foster's program is an illustration of never been noted for his intelligence or what we mean when we refer to the Amersubtlety in politics. When something has ican Stalinist Party as a brazen stooge, a quisling, a cover-up force for Russian imperialism. Foster does not demand that Russia withdraw her troops from Korea, Germany, Austria, Bulgaria, Rumania, Poland and other Stalin-occupied nations. All he asks is that Russia's rivals withdraw their troops from occupied and co-

> The Workers Party and LABOR AC-TION, as every reader knows, is for the withdrawal of ALL foreign armies from ALL occupied and colonial countries. We are for the complete national independence of all countries. And this whether it involves U. S., British, Dutch, French or Russian imperialism. The Stalinists of the world, as in the United States, are opposed to only one imperialism—that of the democratic capitalist countries—but it is an unquestioning supporter of Russian im-

The Problem of Indian Freedom

India.

India, has now accepted joint administra- land system. tive, political and military rule, together newly created Congress government.

Under the British aegis, the conserva- within the framework of capitalism and tive Congress Party of India, headed by imperialism. The betrayal, in action, of the Gandhi and Nehru, has formed an Indian Congress movement will be clear and government. The Congress Party has a sharp. It cannot resolve the tragic Hinduclear-cut majority in this government- Moslem communal problem, except at the supposedly a provisional régime until a expense of Moslem suppression, thus feedpermanent government is created by a ing the mill of fanatic Mohammed Ali Jin-Constituent Assembly. The Congress, nah, head of the Moslem League; it cannot therefore, has taken full political respon- resolve the food and famine crisis, since it sibility for what henceforth happens in will not touch British interests in India. nor put a halt to the milking of the coun-This step marks the fulfillment of a try by the British; it cannot solve the curlong ambition on the part of Gandhi and rent labor unrest and mounting strike his Congress, and their ultimate betrayal wave, except by favoring the Indian and of India's nationalist movement and its English capitalists over the workers; it independence struggle. The Congress Par- cannot solve the cry of the peasants for ty, more than ever the organized political land and an end to landlordism, since it movement of the Hindu capitalist class of favors retention of the capitalist-feudal

This government will prove bankrupt with British imperialism, over the 386,- and impotent from the start. Pandit Neh-000,000 people of India. Not freedom, but ru, the sickly Kerensky of India, has partnership; not independence, but joint formed his alliance with Lord Wavell, the exploitation—such is the meaning of the Viceroy. But the Viceroy holds veto power over his Kerensky puppet. British imperi-The problems confronting Nehru and alism and Indian capitalism are in an unhis fellow-ministers are insurmountable easy alliance against India and its people.

RLD POLITICS

Another Example of Reactionary Stalinism—This Time in Italy

Stalinism represents a degeneration from socialism. Its forms are infinite and deep-going; it is thoroughly reactionary in principle and counter-revolutionary in practice. Because it has emerged from the Russian Revolution and the historical movement of the working class, its actions are sometimes written about as "betrayals" of the principles of socialism. Yet the betrayals occurred long ago-in the destruction of the world socialist goal and the revolutionary achievements of the Revolution, and the physical annihilation of all the great leaders of the Russian Revolution. To speak today of the actions of the Stalinists as "betrayals" of the interests of the workers loses all sense. For, whatever Stalinism does, it is natural and normal to its system of ideas and practices as a nationalist counter-revolutionary force representing a new type societal development between capitalism and socialism.

Thus, the cry, "betrayal," which is periodically hurled at Stalinism by people who believe that Russia is "a degenerated workers' state." or that the Kremlin dictator and his organizations are part of the socialist and workers' movement, becomes utterly ludicrous. The very concept creates the idea that Stalinism is able to act progressively in the interests of socialist policy. It is a disarming concept capable of doing great harm to the working class and the movement for socialism.

The reactionary nature of Stalinism is manifested in large questions of principle and mass struggle, as it is in small questions. And not only in Russia, but in world events, in the economic, political and social struggles that take place in the various nations. For in those countries there are the international representatives of Stalinism, the Communist Parties, whose degeneration has paralleled their tutor's. These foreign detachments of Stalinism have one controlling arm: the Kremlin. By and large, and in general, their policies are born of the needs of Stalin's Russia; they have been faithful servants to this day.

AN ITALIAN EXAMPLE

Here is one of the latest wrinkles in this pattern: Since the overthrow of Mussolini in Italy and the collapse of the fascist régime, new parties and new movements have arisen under the impulse of the democratic urge of the masses. This takes immense social, economic and political form in the seizure of factories, the demand for genuine national independence, a Constituent Assembly, and for a series of "socialist" measures for the reorganization of the country in the interests of the people. The democratic desires in a country oppressed for twenty-five years by fascism inevitably extend beyond pure economic and political measures to their relatively less important by-products, but important never-

A case in point is the issue of the right of divorce. As a predominantly Catholic country and for a number f historical reasons, the right of divorce does not exist in Italy. Through the Lateran Treaty of 1929, the fascist state "followed the law of the church." This "law" may have allowed an annulment of marriage from time to time, but never a divorce. Thus, the reactionary position of the church and the fascist state served as an additional force to maintain the domestic enslavement

In recent months, one Augusto Francale, a Neapolitan lawyer, organized a league to write a divorce law for the new Italy. His proposal was met with powerful resistance by the church through sermons, editorials, posters and street demonstrations. The "Christian Family Defense Front" warned the people to "Beware of saboteurs of home and family-Down with divorce."

THE STALINIST MADAM SPEAKS

This issue of divorce is clearly a democratic one, and it would appear that as against the church all other forces of Italy would be allied. But not so. Time magazine reports that the church has found a new ally in the form of the Communist Party of Italy. It appears that Rita Montagnana, wife of the Stalinist boss, Palmiro Togliatti, joined the campaign of the Catholic hierarchy, which Time called "an effort to live down its (Communist Party) principles." (This should read: principles attributed to the Communist Party but which they have long ago surrendered). Time goes on to quote Stalinist Montagnana:

"The majority of women, particularly women of the people, are against divorce.... Why should we Communists (read: Stalinists)-who are for democracy (!) -endorse this aspiration of a minority?" (As if that would make the aspiration wrong.)

It would be an error to discuss this question from the narrow plane of divorce. What is involved is the "slave" status of women in capitalist society. The drudgery and meanness of poverty and exploitation fall with heavy force upon women. When the German fascists hurled the slogan for women: church, children, kitchen, they merely organized efficiently what is normally the place of women in society at large. The fight for socialist freedom is, therefore, in large part a fight for freeing women from the social enslavement of capitalism. It is not an accident that Lenin acclaimed as one of the main achievements of the Russian Revolution that it gave freedom to women, freedom from domestic slavery, the right to divorce, the right to equality with

THE VIEW OF SOCIALISM

In his discussions on the national question and the struggle for democracy and freedom as a struggle for socialism, Lenin once wrote against some of his own party comrades:

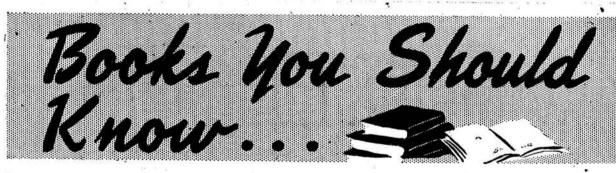
"We would remind the reader that this problem was first raised by Rosa Luxemburg (founder of the Polish Socialist Party and murdered by Prussian officers in collusion with counter-revolutionary. German Social-Democratic government officials in 1919) in the discussion on the national question. Rosa Luxemburg rightly expressed the view that while advocating autonomy within a state ... we Social-Democrats (Bolsheviks), as centralists, must insist that the most important questions of state, among which she included DIVORCE legislation, be decided by the central state authority, the central parliament. This question of divorce is a striking illustration of the fact that one cannot be a democrat and a socialist without immediately demanding full freedom of divorce, for the absence of such freedom is an additional burden on the oppressed sex, women—although it is not at all difficult to understand that the recognition of the RIGHT of women to leave their husbands is not an INVITATION to all wives

"Under capitalism it is usually the case, and not the exception, that the oppressed classes cannot 'exercise' their democratic rights. In most cases the right to divorce is not exercised under capitalism, because the oppressed sex is crushed economically; because, no matter how democratic the state may be, the woman remains a 'domestic slave' under capitalism, a slave of the bedroom, nursery and kitchen ... The right to divorce, like ALL democratic rights under capitalism without exception, is difficult to exercise, is conventional, restricted, formal and narrow. Nevertheless, no respectable Social-Democrat would consider anyone who repudiated this right a democrat, let alone a socialist. This is the whole point. 'Democracy' is nothing but the proclaiming and exercising of 'rights' that are very little and very conventionally exercised under capitalism. But unless these rights are proclaimed, unless a struggle for immediate rights is waged, unless the masses are educated in the spirit of such a struggle, socialism is IMPOSSIBLE." (Emphasis in original—A. G.) These quotations are cited for two reasons: 1. to

show what the genuine socialist position is on this question; 2. to point out that those who still think in the terms of Stalinism being a degenerated socialist movement, are entirely mistaken; that there is nothing in common between socialism and Stalinism. If the struggle for the right of divorce in Italy is not one of those "big" Political questions, it is sufficiently big to reveal the reactionary character of Stalinism. For Stalinism is not merely an aberration, but a system of thought and practice, expedient though it may be, that flows from the interests of Russia's new ruling class of bureaucrats. It reflects itself in this small affair in Italy as a tactic to increase the reactionary influence of the native Stalinists for the purpose of making Russian Stalinism dominant in the country.

The crowning touch to Madame Togliatti's sentiments is provided by an editorial note in Time magazine which points out that the countries without any divorce law whatever are: Spain, Portugal, Eire, most Latin American countries and ... South Carolina!

ALBERT GATES.



NOW OUT:

The September Issue of The New International

A Trotsky Memorial Issue

CONTAINING:

Trotsky's Heritage and the Workers Party By Ernest Erber

A Critical Review of "The New . By Irving Howe

Trotsky and the Communist Interna-The Church Question Under Fascism By Albert Gates By Leon Trotsky

In Addition to the Above, the September NEW INTERNATIONAL contains:

The March of American Literature By James T. Farrell Editorials on:

Poland Under Stalin

Revolutionary Policy in Poland The Paris Peace Conference

Notice to Readers, Subscribers and Agents of The New International:

By A. Rudzienski

The regular monthly appearance of THE NEW INTERNATIONAL, on time, is now guaranteed. The September issue, just published, promises to be a complete sell-out, so order your copies now.

BREAD AND WINE, by Ignazio Si- become so corrupted, so cynical and strives to be free, loyal, just, sincere, lone. Penguin Books. 25 cents, Reviewed by IRVING HOWE Ignazio Silone, the author of this

book, was at one time active in the underground Italian Communist movement. In the early thirties he wrote a splendid novel, Fontamara, which gave a vivid picture of the life of the peasants under Italian fascism and of their struggle against it. Shortly afterward Silone broke with the Stalinized Italian Communist Party, but remained a revolutionary. He continued to write stories, essays and novels, of which Bread and Wine is

Bread and Wine is a novel immersed in the atmosphere of defeat. Its hero, Pietro Spina, is a professional revolutionist of legendary stature who returns to Italy to do underground work shortly before Mussolini's invasion of Ethiopia. He comes as a convinced Marxist, but his experiences with the peasantry of his native area shake his convictions and stimulate him to develop new ideas.

Spina becomes convinced that propaganda is useless as a means to prepare the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship. People have been misled too long by words and slogans; they automatically distrust and disbelieve all phrases. It is useless, again, to point out the stupidities and lies of the official propaganda because nobody believes that either, least of all the government propagandists themselves. Under fascism, humanity has hopeless-Spina concludes-that it is useless to speak of programs or of a man can be." parties. One cannot organize a revolutionary party in a town where no one is certain his neighbor will not betray him for so much as cracking a joke about the head of the state.

These are the conclusions Spina comes to as a result of his life among the peasants. They are concerned merely with existence, with the cycle of rural life; they view the evils of government as natural and unavoidable plagues comparable to drought

Spina visits the underground workers' groups in Rome, but there too he finds no hore. These groups are isolated; their members go through the motions of conspiratorial work but they have lost their grasp on the essentials of life; they are victims of their helplessness.

What, then, is to be done? Spina concludes that it is necessary to show people once more how to live. One must show them that it is still possible to live decently and honestly; that friendship can be cultivated for its own sake.

Spina adopts as his guiding principle the ethical ideal of primitive Christianity, "a Christianity denuded of all religion and all church control." The task is not to propagandize or organize parties, but to live as revolutionary saints. "No word," writes Silone, "and no gesture can be more persuasive than the life and, if necessary, the death of a man who of the whole man.

disinterested. A man who shows what

These ideas are, of course, not in agreement with those which revolutionary Marxists hold. Saintliness, a quality which the debased society in which we live makes impossible for most men, cannot be a substitute for the united action of those who suffer most under capitalism and are in the best position to eradicate it, that is, the workers.

But it would be wrong to think of this book only in terms of the ideas its author develops. He writes with a wonderful sense for the concrete, a feeling for the patterns of human life which become defined in the experiences of Spina in his search for a new way of life. Silone also has at his command a rich and gentle humor which illuminates and makes even more poignant the tragedy of life under fascism.

Bread and Wine is a masterful work of art: it is a warm picture of the life of the Italian peasantry; it is a moving account of the inner struggles of the doubting revolutionary returned from exile; it is dramatic in action and brilliant in its internal clash of ideas. As with all great novels, whatever their explicitly formulated ideas, it is a deep and penetrating depiction of man's fate, his suffering and triumphs; and it is an affirmation of his ability to struggle against his enslavement and attain thereby the dignity and stature

James M. Fenwick

A Lesson in Politics

A GI dad and his four-year-old son talk over the state of the nation: SONNY: Daddy, who's General Omar N.

Bradley? DADDY: Why, he's head of the Veterans Ad-

ministration, son. SONNY: How did he happen to get that job? DADDY: He was said to be the soldiers' gen-

al-the friend of the veteran. SONNY: Is that why he was opposed to increasing disabled veterans' pensions by 20 per

DADDY: I don't understand where you pick up such cynical remarks. Have you been reading that LABOR ACTION again?

SONNY: But why was General Bradley opposed to increasing the pensions 20 per cent?

DADDY: He said it would be inflationary. SONNY: Did General Bradley say that the entire \$7,091,034,000 budget for the army next year was inflationary?

DADDY: If he did it wasn't above a whisper,

SONNY: Do officers ever whisper, daddy? DADDY: No, the closest they ever come to it

when they lower their voices to a yell. SONNY: Then why DIDN'T he say it was inflationary?

DADDY: Because the army budget as a' whole brings juicy profits to the capitalists. The pensions don't.

SONNY: But the capitalists didn't suffer in the war. It was the veterans who were killed and DADDY: That's right. But don't worry-the

capitalists take care of their faithful servants. or instance, suppose I had lost a leg in the war. The government would pay me around \$120 a SONNY: But you know you couldn't support

yourself, and mother and me, on that.

DADDY: That's right. But not all veterans re that badly paid.

SONNY: How do you mean?

DADDY: Well, take General Bradley. A grateful government pays him \$1000 a month. SONNY: But he HAS both legs!

DADDY: It's plain to see you're turning into young troublemaker. Now get back to your volume 1 of "Capital." Daddy wants to read about the Philadelphia policeman who is accused of robbing a dead man.

SONNY: What was the policeman's name-Andrew J. May?

DADDY: No, but I must admit it's a natural question for a person to ask. Now quiet, sondaddy's busy.

THINGS ARE TOUGH ALL OVER DEPARTMENT

TOKYO, Augt. 19-High ranking Army officers and civilians today are voicing bitter complaints over the conditions under which they and their dependents are forced to cross the Pacific to Japan.

... The actual facilities offered are sometimes worse than those of troop transports during the war.

. Aboard one ship—the Cape Cleare op erated by the Matson Line-five officers with the rank of colonel occupied one stateroom while four members of the ship's deck gang had exactly similar quarters across the passageway.

When the Army inquired the reason it was told that during the war all stateroom space was available to officers. Now, however, union regulations require that all deckhands be quartered on the main deck-the most desirable space—and not more than four in a cabin.

... Aboard another ship-the Cape Perpetua for which the American President Lines are the agent-officers were forced to clean their own cabins, draw their own linens, make their own beds and mop and sweep the recreation hall used jointly with enlisted men and the crew.

... The sailing of the ship from Seattle was held up for four days because the stewards refused to sign on until better beds were installed in their quarters. Once at sea, however, these same stewards, according to one officer, declined to make salads with which to vary the passengers' meals. An Army officer thereupon went into the galley and prepared salads himself.

... A sergeant major in charge of permanent enlisted personnel aboard one ship was so undisciplined that he had to be threatened with having charges preferred against him before he would address officers

... Officers were quartered on troop decks-something that rarely happened during the war and then probably in emergencies in combat areas. (New York Times, August 20, 1946.)

NEXT WEEK:

America: Boom or Crisis?

By Albert Gates

National Political Perspectives

By Emanuel Garrett

Operation Dixie By David Coolidge

The Future of Capitalism

By J. R. Johnson

A Southern "Liberal's" Dressed Up Bilboism

By ERNEST RICE MCKINNEY

At the request of Marshall Field's New York daily "PM" two white southerners have written their replies to a question put to them: what is the cause of racial conflicts in the South. "PM" states for itself that the arguments of the two disputants are presented "because it believes the important problem of racial conflicts needs to be thoroughly discussed and all viewpoints stated." The two debaters are James N. Alsop, editor of the Greenwood, Miss., Morning Star and Dr. Clark H. Foreman, president of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

The Morning Star is said to be a "liberal" paper and Mr. Alsop is said to be a Southern "liberal." Dr. Foreman is also labelled "a liberal and a Southerner." After reading what each has to say one can only conclude that being a "liberal," especially the Southern variety, is like being a Christian: there are all kinds, all varieties and all degrees.

The immediate and specific event behind the debate was the killing of a Negro in Mississippi by a mob and the roving of this mob through Mis-

(Continued from page 3)

and the execution of European quis-

lings? The "iron curtain" had to be

SAFEGUARDING U. S. INTERESTS

a billion dollars in war losses, which

Roosevelt had promised to compen-

sate. Instead, little over half that

amount was proffered. The major

part of this sum went to business

interests which collaborated with

Japan and not to the little people

who actually fought the invader in

guerrilla bands. But before higher

than \$500 claims can be paid out of

this fund, the United States demand-

ed ratification of the Trade Act.

which, in fact, nullifies the Inde-

pendence Act. The Trade Act pro-

vides for an eight-year extension of

duty-free trade, establishment of

quotas on Philippine exports to the

U. S. and the postponement of duties

on American goods to the year 1974!

It gives the Spanish and American

"compradore" producers a virtual

Philippine tariffs with American tar-

iffs, preventing the former from be-

An act which buttresses this Trade

Act is the Property Bill, which gives

"any agency or instrumentality of the

United States government" the right

to retain any Philippine property

which it has or might acquire-for an

ing lower than the latter.

indefinite period of time!

The Philippines suffered more than

drawn, you see.

The Economics of

Filipino "Freedom" - -

monopoly on trade. It also ties in policy any less imperialist if by im-

supremacy" and Southern determination to protect "white woman-

ALSOP'S EVASIONS

The "liberal" Mr. Alsop begins his argument and discussion with the traditional plaint about the attitude of the "decent people of this section." They do not "condone" lynching and mob violence. "Southerners are very little different from people of other sections. Only a small percentage participate in crimes of any kind." Mr. Alsop may not know it but this is an evasion of the real issue, the main point in connection with mob violence against

Mob violence against Negroes in the South or in the North is not just a "crime of any kind." It is not something like burglary or racketeering or wife-beating. Lynching and mob violence against Negroes are not offenses committed by individuals but by organized groups acting on the foundation of political, economic and social notions, prevalent nationally in the U.S. and accentuated in certain communities. sissippi swamps for other Negro such as the South. Lynching and

icy akin to the British against which

the State Department has had occa-

sion to protest. In the meantime, the

U. S. maintains 115,000 American

and native troops on the Islands. The

dictatorial measures invoked by the

newly elected collaborationist Presi-

dent have provoked a revolt for land

reform by the guerrilla forces in

Central Luzon. But against them

stands a large armed force ready to

resist any movement which seeks to

upset the present economic strangle-

hold which American and native cap-

italists, merchants and landlords hold

on the country. This is but a glimpse

behind the "iron curtain" after the

grant of independence to the Philip-

less imperialistic than her rival pow-

ers? American wealth, resources and

strength, make it possible for her to

lay greater emphasis on the dollar

rather than the sword. U. S. imperial-

and control to military assault. But

that does not make American foreign

perialism we understand not only

seizure of foreign lands by force, but

also economic domination and ex-

ploitation of other peoples. Even so,

history has provided ample proof

that where U.S. capitalism is unable

to achieve its economic aims by the

"peaceful" means of economic pene-

tration, it is quite prepared to employ

force, to use its armed services. It did

prefers economic penetration

What makes American policy SEEM

nomena in the South. In the South, mob violence is a custom of the country, a community enterprise. Mob violence against Negroes has the persistent support of the community. Alsop admits this when he says that .. the type of people who lynch also would kill informers." This means that the lynchers are the ruling force in the community and that they really have the support of the community. This could not be said of burglars or wife-beaters, for in-

Alsop himself really supports the mob. He may not know it, since he is a liberal, but all the support the mob needs is contained in Alsop's article. Both white people and Negroes in the South are filled with "fear" and "unrest." He talks about Negroes "violating a taboo" and becoming the victims of "whites" who fear something "they can't describe." He finds that the Negro "is becoming more sullen by the day." The Negro hears about his 'rights," "not understanding what they mean but feeling somehow that he is being cheated." When one reads this kind of trash by a man known as a Southern "liberal" it is difficult to separate Alsop from Bilbo and Eastland. Alsop puts rights for the Negro in quotation marks. Is it really unclear to him, for instance, what the Workers Party is talking about when it says that Negroes should have social, political and economic equality? What does Alsop think about the Negro "being cheated?" Does he hold that the Negro's feeling in this matter has no basis in fact? And what does he mean by the really vicious expression about the Negro "growing more sullen ...?" When the slaves grew sullen they were given a beating by the overseer. What does Alsop recommend for the increasingly "sullen" Mississippi Negroes?

DRESSED UP BILBOISM

Alsop talks about "a smart sounding person" telling Southern Negroes that their "rights" are not being granted. He says that to the Negro "it means just that." What does this liberal editor think it should mean to Negroes? Does he believe their rights are being granted? Does Alsop put rights in quotation marks because he believes that Negroes have one kind of rights and white people another kind?

And then this Southern liberal gets off a real piece of Bilbo rubbish. The Negro "has never been taught initiative or pride, so he cannot understand that privileges granted in the Constitution mean earning a place of respect through his own accomplishments." This is a brand new interpretation of the Constitution; it does not cover those who do not have accomplishments to their credit. In the South they first violate the Constitution in relation to the Negro; they provide him with the worst schools in the country; they terrorize him for centuries; Crow him and lynch him. After all this is completed, the "decent

victims of Mississippi justice, "white mob violence are chronic social phe- people" say to the Negro: "you cannot have Constitutional privileges because you have not won a place of respect by your 'own accomplishments." And this is Southern liberalism!

> "The better class Negro and the intelligent white are caught in a seething whirlpool" That is true. A seething whirlpool of stark and brazen reaction and something known as "liberalism" that is indistinguishable from reaction.

... a Southerner will not tolerate intrusion upon his race by a black person." What is the white Southerner's race? And who has really done the intruding? Did the black slave woman intrude the bedroom of the master or did he invade the cabin with his lascivious and lecherous designs? Where did the mulatto Negroes come from? Were they brought to this country from Africa? Does Alsop claim that they are the result of cohabitation between Negro men and Southern white wo-

... every boy and girl had grown up knowing that the Negroes had always acted better for a year or so after one was burned or shot." This I suppose is what Alsop, the Southern liberal, would call preventative

GOODRICH VOTES LABOR PARTY, **VET MOTIONS**

AKRON - At a special meeting in this city called for the purpose of considering resolutions for the forthcoming convention of the URW-CIO, Goodrich Local 5 adopted two resolutions on the Labor Party. The first was presented by the Stalinists and contained the well known Stalinist formulation "for a third party." The second called for the formation by the CIO of a genuine INDEPEN-DENT Labor Party, separate and apart from the Democrats, Republicans and the industrialist class.

The Stalinist resolution also carried the "guarantee" that any action to form the "third party" would be postponed until after the fall elections and would therefore not interfere with the PAC's plans for the fall election. George Bass, president of Local 5, said he supported the Stalinist resolution because of this

In addition, Local 5 adopted resolutions applying the escalator clause to unemployment compensation for vets, disability pensions and allotments for education and vocational training. Each of these resolutions demanded an immediate adjustment to compensate for the increase in the cost of living since the passage of the GI Bill of Rights and monthly adjustments commensurate with the monthly increase in the cost of living. A resolution calling for the adoption of a clause granting all veterans seniority for the time spent in the armed forces since 1940, irrespective of whether or not they had previously worked in the plant, was decisive-

sociology. The thing to do is to burn a Negro at the stake now and again. This would insure the safety of Southern white womanhood "for a year or so...." We ask: what's the difference between Alsop and Bilbo?

According to Alsop, the Southerner is determined that the "white race shall not be on equal terms with the Negro." We don't want to see the little people of the South, white or black, at the level of the Negroes today. We want to see them become the ruling class in conjunction with the white and black workers of the North. Then they can solve their own common problems and put the Alsops and the Bilbos where they belong.

Alsop recommends that dissatisfied Negroes move North leaving "those content to work as manual laborers in their present locations.' This is a proposal for the most militant Negroes to leave the South so that the lynchers may ply their trade in peace and without molestation. It means this, or it means asking the dissatisfied Negroes to go, leaving behind the "Uncle Toms" to do the work without any agitation about "rights." It is also a proposal from a "liberal" to be left alone and ' not be bothered with the question of "rights" for Negroes.

Alsop is not only a slanderer but he is also a first rate liar. He writes that the Southerner fears the Negro because the Negroes are dissatisfied, "demanding more pay than before while evidencing little interest in actually working." This is an old slander as aged as the pro-slavery arguments of Alsop's ancestors. Alsop knows that human beings in capitalist society work for wages. He knows that the wages of everybody in the South are miserably low. In his article he gives the reasons for this. But being a good Southern "liberal" he is satisfied to get off the old dirt about Negroes being lazy.

We said that Alsop is also a liar. He says: "the honest educated Southern Negro admits that his race as a whole is making little attempt to better itself." Alsop is both a liar and scoundrel: a dirty snikelling scoundrel. It's so easy for a Negro to better himself in the South with the mob at his heels. It's so convenient to better one's self in a Mississippi cotton field. One learns all that is necessary about bettering one's self in a Mississippi state-supported Negro school. One can always better one's self best while being burned at the stake. We would like to see Alsop after he had a few years of this type of opportunity for self-betterment.

Alsop closes his slimy article with the information that with the help of many liberal people working in the South "there is every chance that the health, educational and economic problems of the Negro will be relieved in the near future, if that is what they seek." The last phrase, "if that is what they seek" really says a lot about this Southern "liberal." He fears that Negroes will want more than improvement in the most elemental things They full Constitutional rights. They may want social, political and economic

rights a Southern "liberal" enjoys. This is too much for Alsop and Bilbo. "... only more lynchings and killings are in store for those who remain in the South and cannot live by the standards set by the whites." That is, the standards set by the Alsops and the Bilbos.

Alsop's piece is nothing more than an open declaration to the lynchers to go ahead with their lynching bees. It is open support to Bilbo, Eastland and Rankin. The Negroes will do well not to place any confidence in the liberals of the Alsop stripe.

Dr. Foreman's piece is of a different kind. In his piece he refutes every contention and position of Alsop. He does not say so but he too knows that Alsop is a slanderer and a liar. He says: "... we must rejoice that

equality. They may want all the so many Negroes are determined, even at the risk of their lives, to participate in our democracy." This, of course, is what worries Alsop. Far too many Negroes are ready to die for their freedom. This makes the Alsop type of "liberal" uncomfortable. They may be faced with the necessity for making a real choice: human equality including the Negroes, or Bilbo and the lynchers.

As the Negroes defend themselves more and more and as they receive aid more and more from the working class, the Alsops will be in a dilemma. Either they will place themselves at the side of the Negroes or they will take their rope and torch and run with the mob. At that time they will discover that they are not only lined up against the Negroes but the white toilers as well.

H. G. Wells and His Place in History

By BRITANNICUS

Many people know H. G. Wells not only from his literary reputation, but from The Outline of History. His death (and his life) was not without some significance for the socialist movement.

Wells belongs to a certain literary and political generation. He and Bernard Shaw are the most eminent of its representatives. What they did should be recorded and remembered.

HIS DEVELOPMENT

Between 1850 and 1890 European capitalism realized that it was in a serious crisis. It saved itself for many years by a fierce outburst of imperialist plunder. This of course ended in the two World Wars and the present steady preparation for a third.

Every social group felt the crisis. The workers of Europe organized the Second International in 1889. And the writers of the time responded no less vigorously. Some took a clear imperialist trend, glorifying empire. The chief of these was Rudyard Kipling. Another group turned their backs on society or did everything. possible to show their scorn and disgust and their determination to do just exactly what they pleased. One of these who still attracts attention was Oscar Wilde. Still another group opened up an attack on capitalism in their novels and plays. Chief of the novelists was H. G. Wells, Bernard, Shaw was the dramatist.

Wells' development is also significant. His best period was up to 1914. To this day his novel, Tono-Bungay, should be read by all workers who would like to get a picture of England before the rise of the Labor Party. Wells also had a gift for scientific romances and in one of his books, with startling foresight, he foretold

But like all sensitive men of our called "The Age of Confusion."

age, the decline of capitalist society haunted him. He preoccupied himself with the ills of capitalism and how to solve them. He was a socialist for a time but left the movement. He wrote The Outline of History to help educate the masses. It was not a good book but it covered a lot of ground and was popularly written. He wrote another book called The Wealth. Work and Happiness of Mankind. He wrote The Outline of Sci-

In the end his novels became thinly disguised political tracts. But in all this incessant writing Wells had nothing of real value to say. He did not believe in the destiny of labor to rule society. He repudiated revolution. But if he had nothing positive to say, he exemplified the general unrest and dissatisfaction with the existing order.

A MUDDLED MAN

In his last years he seemed to have a renewed burst of energy in his attacks on reaction. He wrote an allout attack on the Catholic Church. He denounced the British monarchy and accused it of connections with the British fascist movement. He supported the appeal of the Fourth International to the Nuremburg Court, demanding that Hess be publicly examined as to his alleged conspiracies with Trotsky.

Politically Wells was a very muddled man. He was a great believer in the powers of science to organize the world. In the pursuit of this idea he came close to technocracy and sometimes in his wanderings for a solution, came perilously close to fascism. But with actual fascist movements, of course, he had no connection and he will be remembered not only for his literary skill but for his life-long refusal to accept modern capitalism

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

TROTSKYIST UNITY AND THE NATURE OF THE PARTY - IV

STALINIST GERMS IN THE SWP

The dishonest opposition to unity, though the most important, was not the only thing that convinced the Minority that the leadership of the SWP was turning away from a Leninist-Trotskyist conception of a revolutionary party and toward a Zinovievist conception. It was Zinoviev who introduced the idea of a monolithic party. Stalin developed that idea. In the days when Cannon was a member of the Communist Party, Cannon was an ardent defender of the monolithic party. He is far more careful now; he does not say that he wants a monolithic party as he did in his early days, but actually he is working to create just such a party. Some of his followers substitute the word "homogeneous" for that of "monolithic."

Cannon was fond of saying privately that he is not a Trotskyist but a Leninist on the organization question. It was after Trotsky's death that he said it openly. It is, of course, perfectly true that Trotsky had a disagreement with Lenin on the organizational question but that disagreement disappeared completely after Trotsky's group united with the Bolsheviks. For Cannon to say that he is a Leninist and not a Trotskyist on the organization question means in effect to say that he rejects the whole struggle of Trotsky against Zinoviev and Stalin on that question.

A few incidents that occurred in the last two years indicate the trend toward a monolithic party. When in THE FOURTH INTETNATIONAL there appeared an article by Joseph Hansen, in which Cannon was portrayed as the Lenin of America, there was vociferous objection from some of the party members. Even some of the leaders of the Cannon faction objected to the article, but only in private; publicly they defended it. Cannon wrote a letter from Sandstone in which he stated that those who criticize Hansen's article do not understand the art of leadership.

Dwight Macdonald, writing for his POLITICS, utilized Hansen's article in an attempt to prove that leader-worship is part of the Bolshevik concept of organization. I replied to Macdonald and in the reply mildly criticized Hansen. The reply was refused publication in the F. I.

James T. Farrell sent a letter to the F. I. in which he criticized Hansen's article and a scurrilous review of Shachtman's introduction to THE NEW COURSE. The letter was refused publication and my request on that score was in vain. Cannon advised Farrell to stick to literature and let experienced people take care of politics, the same answer that Browder gave Farrell when he protested against the Moscow Trials.

Four members of the SWP were censured for organizing a discussion on the Russian question with some members of the WP. This was done at the initiative of the Political Committee at a time when tremendous political problems confronted the revolutionary movement. The censure was intended to prevent the SWP members from discussing political questions and even from talking with WP members. To justify this nonsense Cannon wrote that the party has a right to control not only the political but the personal lives of the

One of the most disgusting spectacles staged by the SWP leaders was to instruct the Control Commission to investigate the "disloyalty" of the Minority. The Minority openly declared its intention to fraternize politically with the WP. It organized socials and classes, inviting the members of the WP to participate. I spoke at meetings of the WP members. These were political acts on our part. The Cannonites transformed a political question into one of "disloyalty."

All these incidents can be aptly described as Stalinist germs. They indicate an attitude which is common only among the Stalinists and is completely alien to Bolshevism. Were these isolated incidents to be explained on the basis of habits acquired through participation in the Stalinist movement or did they indicate a trend in the direction of building a monolithic party? For us unity was the test. The rejection of unity together with the dishonest discussion connected with that rejection convinced us that the leadership of the SWP was consciously on the road of building a monolithic party. The formal adherence to democratic centralism was meaningless in view of the actual policies followed on all of the organizational questions that became controversial issues.

It is not only in the organizational field that signs of de-

generation are visible in the SWP; on the intellectual arena the level of the party has taken a sharp descent since the death of Trotsky. The sole consideration of the leaders of the party is to see to it that not one iota of the program left by Trotsky is changed. The fiercest resistance meets any attempt to introduce a new idea.

INTELLECTUAL DEGENERATION

We have a "finished program," wrote one of the theoreticians, E. R. Frank, not meaning thereby a fully rounded program, as Trotsky meant when he spoke of Lenin's finished program, but something that is final and unchangeable. We have an "unchanging program" warned J. P. Cannon.

Two instances illustrate the point. At the October 1943 plenary meeting of the National Committee the official resolution was a compilation of generalities about the coming proletarian revolution in Europe. Not one word was written about the necessity of democratic demands as a means to set the masses in the struggle against the existing regimes and the Socialist and Stalinist parties. Comrade Felix Morrow introduced some amendments dealing with the necessity of such demands. That was labeled a petty-bourgeois deviation. Cannon intervened and offered as his contribution a verbatim section of the Transitional program.

When Walter Reuther during the strike against General Motors raised the slogan of a wage raise without a price rise, the leading theoretician of the SWP, Warde, objected because it was not included in the Transitional program.

At the last meeting of the National Committee which I attended, I said that we must indeed be grateful to Stalin that he did not murder Trotsky before 1940. For had he killed Trotsky in 1937, the Cannonites would have had no transitional program to swear by and they would still be opposing a Labor Party. Had Stalin assassinated Trotsky in 1930 anyone who dared raise the idea that a new party and a new international should be created would have been designated by the Cannonites as a petty-bourgeois oppositionist. Every idea introduced by Trotsky, if offered by someone else, would have been held up to scorn as petty-bourgeois revision-

Trotsky's ideas are considered as sacred revelation, dogmas to be repeated at every occasion. He who most of all insisted that Marxism is not a dogma but a guide to action, who showed over and over again that he was not bound by any formula and considered the study of reality, of actual events, far more important than a quotation from the masters, has been succeeded by people who "prove" everything

I must relate an incident which shows how little respect the SWP leaders have for ideas and how, for them, organizational maneuvers take precedence over ideas. The resolution adopted by the International Conference states that it is the duty of the various sections of the International to "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 stateization 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."

We shall not discuss the idea presented, which can be a product only of political idiocy or of complete aloofness from reality. It seems that a majority of Cannon's caucus was opposed to this nonsense, but all of them voted for the resolution, the heart of which is this idea about tolerating the Stalinist army. I say "the heart of the resolution" because everything else was practically a repetition of previous reso-

The members of the National Committee who were opposed to that section of the resolution voted for the resolution without objecting to the section because they were told that to raise the question would give the Minority some advantage. When Felix Morrow made that charge no objection was voiced, and this was tantamount to admission that he was

Can such people be called Bolsheviks interested in a correct political line? No, they are Cannonite cliquists to whom prestige is more important than political ideas.

(To be continued)

THE REFERENDUM IN POLAND

July 28, 1946.

The Warsaw correspondent of the London Sunday Times, Serek Delby, writes: "The referendum in Poland proved to the leaders of the peasant party of Mikolajczyk the danger of traps which await them in the next elections. The political situation in Poland is unquiet and the attitude of the 'men of the forest' (armed groups) is growing. The most prudent people are opposed to methods of violence, adducing that the greatest flow of blood will provoke only the armed intervention of Russia." (Sunday Times.)

This same organ writes that Mikolajczyk affirms that 60 per cent of the votes were in has favor, proving this affirmation with documents supplied by representatives in the electoral commissions, by members of the Christian Party of Work and even by the Socialists. Mikolajczyk continues to re-assemble the proofs of falsification and abuses in the referendum. The general commissar of the referendum, Barcikowski, (puppet of the government-A. R.) denies the whole declaration and throws back accusations.

FACTS AND FIGURES

The correspondent of the Associated Press writes that "The success of the government in Warsaw is equalled by the success of the opposition in Cracow," where 70 per cent of the voters supported Mikolajczyk. This same correspondent writes that in Wojewodztwo (department), Bialystok (on the Curzon line) 90 per cent of the voters voted "No" (against the government) to the first question, throwing into the urns ballots with the slogan: "Return to us Vilna and Lvov."

The "Dziennik Polski" (Polish daily) of London says that, aside from Cracow and Bialystok, the government has been defeated in Posnan, where according to the Warsaw radio itself 610,000 voted "Yes" and 715,000 voted "No" to the first question. According to accounts from the circles of the PSL (Mikolajczyk's party), even in the industrial districts of Pabianice and Piotrkov, in 27 commissions 107,000 persons voted "No" and only 23,000 "Yes." According to the correspondent of the AP in Lodz (Polish Manchester), the security police carried off 31 urns of votes, without counting them. In Warsaw thousands of forms with "No" votes were found thrown away.

"Dziennik Polsi" of July 8, 1946, and PAT (Polish Telegraph agency) report that at the time of the plebiscite they counted 250 assaults against 65 electoral sites. 70 agents of security and of the PPR (Stalinist party) and 37 members of the electoral colleges; 14 persons losing their lives. In Starachowice, near Warsaw, a group of 60 persons attacked the site of the plebiscite, carrying away the urn. In these fights and attacks 300 of the attackers were wounded, and 67 attackers and 60 "security" agents were killed. According to an official communication of the PSL, 14 members of the peasant party were assassinated in the department of

THE POLITICS AND THE VOTE

The official Warsaw government circles affirm that 80 per cent answered "Yes" to the first question and 20 per cent "No" in favor of Mikolajczyk. Mikolajczyk himself claims that the situation is the reverse.

"Polska Zbrojna" (Armed Poland) accused the inhabitants of Cracow of being "Hitlerites," threatening them with reprisals. This accusation ought also be directed against the inhabitants of Posnan, Bialystok, Pabianice, Piotrkov and the most industrial city, Lodz. Actually, Cracow has important industry and is the cradle of the socialist movement. Posnan also has important industry, and the writer knows well the class sentiments of the workers of Posnan. Bialystok, Pabianice, etc., are very industrial cities. In reality, Warsaw is now a city of bureaucracy and public officials.

From the facts and figures cited, the falsification of . the plebiscite by the government seems indubitable to us, because the acceptance of an open majority of the opposition would bring Stalinist politics in Poland to a catastrophe without precedent. Poland is for Russia more important than Austria or Hungary, it is a key position, where Stalinist imperialism cannot defeat.

Nevertheless, this defeat shows behind the Stalinist fraud. The "New York Times" of July 3 comments: "The truth seen even by the most partisan on the left says that the voting—even without major violence constitutes a farce and a fraud" (emphasis-A. R.)

'The electors have been terrorized by the police: the PSL (peasant party), which represents the majority of the people, has been in reality suspended, castigated and tortured with arrests, to the end that the government supporters controlled the majority of the local electors. The government cannot lose, except in the case that the number of votes against the government were so great, that even the abuse would be impossible to conceal.

"In the fullest sense of the word the government lost the fight, even without taking into account the result of the vote. For it lost the confidence of the Polish people and of world public opinion." (NY Times-translated from Polish to Spanish-A. R.) [Translated from Spanish to English-tr.]

We agree with this conclusion, although the NY Times draws it in the interest of North American politics and we solely in the interest of the proletariat and peasantry of Poland. The Warsaw government lost the referendum in reality and had to concede an opposition of importance, not only in the rural areas, where the "security police" had an easy task against the peasantry-dispersed, weak, frightened and disorganized, without a press or instructions from its leadersbut also in important industrial centers, where the Polish proletariat, adhering in its majority before the war to the PPS, voted "No" en masse against the government; not feeling itself in any way partisan to a bicameral parliament. It voted in reality against the Stalinist dictatorship, against the Stalinist reaction, against Russian imperialism, Russian occupation and the colonial exploitation of the Polish people. Cracow, Posnan, Bialystok, Piotrkov, Pabianice, etc., were the traditional fortresses of the PPS (Socialist Party), the motor force of the anti-Nazi resistance in Poland and of the Warsaw insurrection of 1944.

The problematical majority of the government in Warsaw itself does not repair the mischief, because Warsaw has scarcely 500,000 inhabitants, entirely bureaucrats and functionaries, and is no longer the city of the glorious Polish proletariat. The strikes in Dombrowa (coal mine), Silesia and Pomerania show the opposition of the proletariat against the Stalinists. We do not know by what means this opposition would be organized by a communist opposition, which before the war had its nuclei in the great industrial centers, in Lodz, Dombrowa and Warsaw, and which supported the thesis on the resistance, according to published documents which have a revolutionary and not a reformist content. But we know for certain, that aside from the foreign arm of the PPS, directed from London, there exists an acknowledged left wing in the PPS which is opposed to the politics of Stalinism. For understandable reasons, we cannot cite the names of the

REVOLUTIONARY PROSPECTS

According to all these facts, the Polish proletariat must have played a quintessentially important role in the opposition of votes against the government of quislings, executioners and colonial overseers. Neither can we identify the PSL (party of Mikolajezyk) with rightwing reaction. The peasant of Poland, in his majority very poor, is different from the peasant of Germany, Czechoslovakia or France. It is a peasantry clearly democratic, at times revolutionary, allied to the proletariat, the salaried worker in the city, railroad worker, etc., through aid to its struggle and through a long political tradition of common struggle against csarism, against Polish reaction and against the Nazis. The Polish peasantry approaches the Russian left Social Revolutionaries, but undoubtedly has more experience and does not want to be the victim nor the "Turkish head" of the Stalinist counter-revolution. For this reason it is completely false-worse, it is a crime-to aid the Warsaw government against the worker and peasant opposition, identifying them with the right and with the old Polish reaction. The most important, the most dangerous reaction in Poland is the Stalinist counter-revolution, which constitutes the greatest and most dangerous enemy of the Polish and the world proletariat and veasantry.

For this reason the proletariat, the Polish working opie in general, expect on the part of their class brothers of America and Europe, not calumnys, vacillation or "advice" that they "understand" the Stalinist executioners, but comprehension, assistance and solidarity in their struggle for a socialist Poland and a socialist Europe.

(Translated by Mary Bell)

The Imperialist and Class Forces at Work:

An Analysis of China's "Civil War"

America's two top representatives in China, General Marshal, special Presidential emissary, and Dr. Stuart, newly appointed ambassador to Chiang Kai-shek's government, have announced the present impossibility of reaching any compromise between the contending forces of the Kuomintang government and the Chinese Hunan-Communist government. The situation deteriorates rapidly, as China moves toward nationwide civil war between the Chinese capitalist class, and the Chinese supporters of Stalinism and its aspirations to create a Stalinist, Russian-controlled

Behind Chiang stands America, with its flow of war materials and supplies into the hands of Dictator Chiang. Planes, newly built airfields, 25,000 Marines in North China, boats and naval craft for transporting Chinese government troops, loans and a continued flow of war munitionsthese are the substantial and growing contributions of American imperialism into the war coffers of Chiang Kai-shek. America wants China for its value as a market and a general arena for colonial exploitation. The United States will not withdraw from China, nor lessen its political and material support to the reactionary Chiang régime. At the same time, America's political leaders are not prepared to support a full-scale civil war, knowing full-well the dangers of such a struggle can be transformed into open war, on world scale, between America and Russia. For this, Truman, as well as Stalin, is not yet prepared. Thus, he still hopes and works for a compromise in China.

LABOR'S INTEREST

Behind Chou-En-lai and his Hunan-Stalinist government stands America's great world rival, Russia, Russia helps its Stalinist agents in China by material means, by turning over to them captured Japanese equipment, not to mention the looted areas of Manchuria, and the provinces bordering on Mongolia. Stalin is just as interested in advancing the cause of his agents in China as Truman is interested in the cause of his representatives. While the civil war between the two forces has been rapidly spreading, it must be understood that Stalin too is aware that its extension might lead to a premature war with America. It is therefore questionable how far he will permit his Hunan supporters to go. Despite sensational reports, the basis for a compromisedeal between Chiang Kai-shek and Chou En-lai undoubtedly still exists.

LABOR ACTION has previously made clear its position with respect to the alleged civil war in China. In pointing out that, despite their sharp differences in motivation and origins, BOTH camps are guided by the equally reactionary objective of securing power OVER the Chinese people in their own interests and that of their respective foreign masters, we have made it unambiguously clear that our cause, that of popular socialist democracy for China's people, lies with neither side in this struggle. From the viewpoint the Chinese workers and peasants, neither Nanking nor Hunan have anything hopeful or progressive to offer. Our position is that of oppo-

sition to both camps, and for the building of China's independent labor and revolutionary movement, directed toward national independence from American capital, Russian control, or any foreign influence.

The revival of the Chinese labor movement in the great cities of China (Canton, Shanghai, Hong Kong, etc.) is the first realistic step toward this regaining of freedom of action on the part of the Chinese nationalist and labor movement. It is the most hopeful sign in many long years of tragic Chinese history.

To say that both camps, the Chiang government and the Stalinist regime of the Mao Tse-Tung, are reactionary is not to say that they are the same thing. In order to properly understand the Chinese situation, it is necessary to understand where these two forces differ as well as where they meet. Where the native compradores, capitalists, landowners, merchants, bankers and speculators, rule through the Chiang government which seeks national unification for the purpose of national exploitation, the Stalinist regime rests on a foreign as well as national base. The peculiarities of Stalinism as an anti-capitalist force complicates the situation and only requires more careful analysis, but it does not negate its reactionary, anti-socialist, anti-working class character. It only emphasizes that when and if necessary, for the purposes of securing a mass base, Stalinism is capable of issuing and does issue "radical" slogans, and propose radical solutions, to the problems of the masses. Once it gains strength and achieves a measure of power, however, Stalinism proceeds to apply its "radical" neasures, that is to say, anti-capitalist, pro-Stalinist measures, at the expense of the workers and peasant masses who were beguiled into its sup-

Thus, it plays with the slogan of land reform in China. It institutes a measure of rationing, etc. But it has never pursued a revolutionary, socialist program in China. Whatever nationalization had long ago been initiated was on a restricted basis and as in Eastern Europe was a Stalinist, GPU nationalization, bureaucratically conceived and executed against the real interests of the Chinese peasants.

A POLITICAL EVASION

Such, in essence, is the position of LABOR ACTION and the Workers Party. What of our political opponents, the orthodox Trotskyists of the Socialist Workers Party, who invariably have the classic, properly orthodox answer to all political problems? How do they analyze this question in their press? We can only say that, as in virtually every other instance where a similar or new problem has arisen requiring fresh political analysis, they have ignored or evaded the issue. But this time, they have done so in a peculiarly cowardly and shameful fashion.

A lengthy article by Li Fu-jen on China, "China After the Second World War," has appeared in the July, 1946, issue of Fourth International, the theoretical publication of the Socialist Workers Party. Li Fu-jen is undoubtedly an authoritative writer about China, and knows his subject well. He gives us an excellent description of the revival of China's labor movement, the character of the Chiang regime, American and Russian intervention, the program of the Chinese Stalinists, etc. One can learn much valuable information from this article. But the reader cannot learn in a thousand Sundays just where its

author, or the party for whom he speaks, stands with respect to THE issue of the day, the existing and expanding civil war in China! Against both sides, as we are? Or, for support-with all the reservations and criticisms to be sure-to the Stalinist-Hunan movement? We are not given a hint on this. This evasion, we believe, represents a neck-and-neck race between downright political cowardice and ridiculousness.

THE ANSWER IS CLEAR

Yet why should Li Fu-jen hesitate? He is able to describe, in detail, the reactionary conduct of Stalinists in China. Where he fails is in his fundamental judgment of Stalinism not as a new imperialist force in the world based upon bureaucratic collectivist rule in Russia. He is caught up by the fatal theory which I will summarize. Thus he writes: "Stalin seeks to use the Chinese mass movement as a diplomatic pawn in his game of power politics, with the aim of 'neutralizing' American imperialism."

Yet, the outstanding fact is that Stalin does not merely "seek to use"; but is using the "Chinese mass movement." The Chinese Stalinists are not an independent force in China any more than the Stalinist parties in other countries. They are far less independent than Chiang who, after all, is a Chinese nationalist. Mai Tse-tung is a Russian agent, as is his military commander, General Chou. Their policies are decided first and foremost in Moscow. Does Li Fu-jen know this? Undoubtedly, as I shall point out. But being a victim of false theory and political judgment he cannot correctly assess the Chinese situation.

Furthermore, he describes in detail the political and social program of the Chinese Stalinists where they hold power, underscoring its general similarity to the peasant reform program of Chiang. A bloc with small landlords, rich peasants and merchants exists in the Stalinist areas; reforms in the form of lower rents and interest rates, less corruption and more order in the villages-this is the essence of Chinese Stalinism. .. Stalinists have no real political base in the urban centers." "... unable and unwilling to rally decisive masses for an all-out war against the reactionary régime of Chiang Kai-shek." "... guaranteeing and enforcing payment of the lowered rents to the parasitic landlords and the reduced interest to the village usurers."

In example after example, the writer shows us (a) the reactionary political content and empty social content of the Stalinist program, and (b) the subservience, dependence and subordination of Stalinist deeds to Russian policy. Then, why the hesitation about a political stand? Obviously, it is due to the SWP position on defense of Russia. Since that party's political practice subordinates everything to its critical defense of the so-called Workers' Fatherland, and since the best defense doesn't begin at home, the door must always be left ajar-even in the most clearcut and blatant examples of Russian imperialism-for a position of support and defense, where the interests of Russia clash with those of America, chief rival of the Workers' Fatherland. Will the evasion and hesitation of today be followed by support tomorrow, if Russian interests become more involved (that is, if Stalin intervenes more and more, to keep pace with Truman)? According to SWP policy, the answer must be yes. But demands for unambiguous answer from Li Fu-jen, and his fellow-SWP political leaders, are largely wasted

Bikini Atom Test Filmed as Spectacle; Navy Plays Down Threat to Mankind

By SUSAN GREEN

"That wasn't so terrible, was it?" This was the surprised comment heard here and there in the theater after the presentation of the newsreel of the second Bikini test explosion. People had expected something truly terrifying. What did they see?

From the screen had come first an ominous boom. Then the reel showed a great fountain of steam and water. gradually mushrooming out with astonishing grace—a truly beautiful spectacle. The only alarming feature was the noise. Flashing back and forth between the explosion area and the observation ship, the camera caught the Navy's finest watching through field glasses. Later came views of ships listing or sinking, with close-ups of the destruction on those still affoat. All was small potatoes compared to the scenes of awful war devastation we are used to seeing. Finally we saw the scientists nonchalantly testing for radio-activityalmost as if on a fishing trip.

NAVY FLIM-FLAM

To be sure the commentator informed the audience about the twomile height of that fountain of steam and water, and of the millions of tons of water displaced. But the picture is more to be believed than the words and "That wasn't so terrible, was it?" So now we can snuggle down contentedly to enjoy Ginger Rogers in "Heartbreak" or Mark Stevens in "The Dark Corner" or some other figment of Hollywood imagination having nothing at all to do with those terrible A-bombs, which aren't so terrible after all.

This entirely false impression is, of course, exactly the one that the Navy Department wanted to make on our minds. The admirals were out to "prove" that the atom bomb is only another weapon which the admirals can handle-with some necessary improvements in submarines and aircraft carriers. No mere atom bomb would be permitted to demonstrate that navies are obsolete. So the tests were arranged to "prove" their point. They did not represent the conditions of real war, especially in respect to placement of craft and in respect to number of bombs exploded. The re-

sulting propaganda is: "The A-bomb is not so terrible. Leave it to the admirals." A few scientists and journalists,

deeply worried at the threat of complete human extinction contained in the A-bomb, did not keep quiet about this Navy flim-flam. However, nearly all other agencies of capitalist publicity helped create the impression: "That wasn't so terrible, was it?" The newsreel, accidentally or otherwise, turns out to be more of the same minimizing of the deadliness of the fission bomb.

But those moviegoers who also read the papers a bit thoughtfully must have been jolted into some sense of reality by the Navy announcement on August 11 that it had perfected a pilotless plane for carrying bombs. This bomb-carrying projectile will enable the snuffing out of "the prescribed target with no help from human hands or brains."

With a bit of imagination one can see future warfare with all its real horror: Jet planes moving faster than sound, dropping not one but a series of perfected A-bombs on teeming cities. That's the prospect for World War III-not the test at Bikini!

BEWARE OF APATHY!

We must fight the complacency that is developing in the minds of people. The awfulness of the Nagasaki and Hiroshima bombings alerted the elementary feeling to preserve ourselves from such a fate. But since then, while making the A-bomb more destructive and its conveyance to a target more exact, the war makers have succeeded in lulling our sense of alarm. This is a prerequisite to World War III, now in preparation. Perhaps people unreasoningly believe that it can't happen here. But there is no immunity from atom bombing. New York, Washington, Pittsburgh and Chicago are as vulnerable as London, Paris, Moscow, While the American war makers are more open in advertising what they have by way of instruments of horrible destruction, the other major powers are not asleep. The projectiles recently bursting over Sweden,

emanating from Russia, give evi-

dence of tests by that nation, if such

evidence is needed. A Russian physicist attending the Bikini show told reporters that the Stalin government will also, before very long, be making tests of its atom, bomb.

Certainly Washington has no illusions about the danger of the A-bomb to the United States. For instance, the Army-Navy Munitions Board is busy planning a type of wormlike existence. This board is surveying natural caves and man-made caverns, such as mines, to find those adaptable for "vital industrial production and other military purposes" -even though it is known that such hide-outs give no protection from a direct atom bomb hit.

Again, Representative Trimble of

Arkansas introduced to the last Congress as amendment to the Constitution—not acted upon—to provide for a substitute President and Vice-President in case an A-bomb were to destroy Washington and with it the President, Vice-President, all members of the Cabinet, of Congress and of the Supreme Court. Mr. Trimble not only rightly considers the A-bomb as a very terrible physical menace. but he apparently thinks it would also destroy the need for democracy. For his amendment would empower the top officers of the Army, Navy and Air Force arbitrarily to choose "a civilian to act as interim President." This interim President would then call a meeting of all state governors to choose from among themselves a President and a Vice-Presi-

The serious point, of course, is that everybody in the know realizes that there is no immunity from the A-bomb.

Furthermore, everybody who is anybody has learned, as Hanson Baldwin summarized it in the New York Times after the Bikini show, that "the offense has gained a tremendous lead over the defense-one that the defense may never be able to overcome." This is another way of saying that the belligerent that perialism - to destroy them before dumps its load of A-bombs first will be the victor, because there will be very little left of the enemy after the first offensive.

That is why the world-wide intelligence services of all the nations are in the forefront.

feverishly snooping out each other's secrets. That is why work goes on in army and navy laboratories night and day. That is why scientists who should be serving mankind are giving their talents to create more fabulous means of annihilating manking.

WAR IN THE MAKING

What this extensive and intensive research is producing are atom bombs that will make Hiroshima look like a bad joke; pilotless planes to carry these bombs faster than sound; radio, radar and television to perfect precision bombing of targets. What the laboratories are concocting are biological weapons to make life impossible for those who might escape bombing and the effects of radiation -bombs to spread epidemics among people and deprive them of food by poisoning animals, crops and water.

This is the kind of war in the making. Let not the propaganda of the Navy nor the gracefully mushrooming fountain that the screen shows as the Bikini explosion, dim the real-What, then, is to prevent the de-

struction of civilization? What is to prevent the reversion of the remnants of the human species to a cavedwelling existence? In a word, what is to prevent World War III?

Not the United Nations, where the rival imperialist interests cannot possibly find a humane solution of the question of atomic energy. Not the so-called Peace Conference, where the wearisome verbal contests have been correctly called "an extension of war by political means." Not the handful of scientists who protest the use of atomic energy for war. Nor the few radical intellectuals who make similar protests.

Our doom is sealed if we say of the A-bomb: "That wasn't so terrible, was it?" and leave it to the admirals. The fight against World War III is the fight against capitalism and imthey destroy humanity. The choice must be made between socialism and annihilation. This is a job for the masses, with militant organized labor

Fourth International Notes PROTESTS MOUNT ON As against the Majority group and egrams from the center denouncing DEMAZIERE ATTACK the International Executive Com-

We have received new information from France relating to the brutal attack on Albert Demaziere, Central Committee member of the (Trotskyist) Parti Communiste Internationaliste by a gang of Stalinist hoodlums at a meeting in Nice on July 12. The incident has aroused the indignation of workers all over France. Letters are pouring into PCI headquarters from revolutionary, socialist and trade union workers. The following, from a militant in St. Nazaire, is an example: "Dear comrades.

"The CGT (French trade union federation) union local of the Bastien workshops learns with indignation of the unjustifiable attack at Nice upon Comrade Demaziere, who in 1942 was condemned to hard labor for life by the special court of Vichy. Our local energetically protests against these obvious acts of the Stalinists gangsters of the PCF (Communist Party of France) in the interest of the bosses.

For the local RIVALLAND."

FRENCH PARTY HOLDS PLENUM

The Central Committee of the French Trotskyist Party, PCI, met in full session recently in preparation for the coming national convention of the organization. Various resolutions came before the Plenum. and will come before the convention. LABOR ACTION hopes to be able to report on these discussions. The CC reaffirmed its previous decision on the referendum in France. Readers will recall that the Minority of the French Party succeeded in carrying a majority this spring on the question of how to vote in the referendum on the proposed constitution.

mittee of the Fourth International, the Minority advocated a "yes" vote on the grounds that sharp class lines which could be further developed had been drawn over the issue, particularly over the unicameral legislature-the working class on one side, the capitalist on the otherthough the constitution itself was a document upholding capitalism and French imperialism.

POSTAL STRIKERS OPPOSE STALINIST LEADERSHIP

Comrade Arpin sends us the following report on the postal strike which has since ended.

"The Frenchi workers, tired of getting only promises of a wage raise to meet the high cost of even the most essential foods, are beginning to take the road of action. The workers of the Postal, Telephone and Telegraphic services went out on strike on July 30. The Stalinist leadership of the national Postal Federation wanted the strike limited to a symbolic ten hours. In a large part of France, however, the strike con-

"Begun without adequate preparation by leaders whose only thought was to put a brake on the movement, with the order to 'warn the public in advance,' with leaflets that never arrived, the strike has passed up a marvelous opportunity: the Peace Conference, an excellent chance to force the three-party government to give in to the demands in short order. But the Stalinist leadership specifically exempted the conference

from the strike order. "Led by the sections Nord, Bordeaux and Marseilles, the entire south, vest and several other regions of France are still striking at this writing (August 1) despite tel-

'irresponsible elements' and demanding an end to the strike. Some parts of Paris have resumed the strike, as has Corsica. "The telegrams also claimed that

the union's delegation to the Ministry of the PTT had already succeeded in getting a 40 per cent increase. But the local federation of Nord sent its own delegation to the PTT. These militants in turn informed PTT workers all over the country by telegraph that the Stalinist claims were untrue, that the Ministry had merely announced a 25 per cent raise for the lowest categories.

"Given the approximately 80 per cent rise in prices in a year, this is clearly insufficient, especially for the PTT workers who receive less than most other government employees. Thus even the leadership has been forced to demand reclassification as well as an increase in family allotments and payment for overtime.

"The Corsican Federation has telegraphically demanded the continuation of the strike, and additionally demanded a temporary 25 per cent raise after reclassification, plus a 7000 franc monthly minimum maintained and protected by the sliding

Comrade Arpin adds: "To give you an idea of the situation. My neighbor, a PTT worker, skilled and with long seniority, and with a family of several children gets the maximum of 7000 francs a month. His July grocery and bakery bills alone total 6,600 francs. Is there any wonder at his disgust with the capitalist and Stalinist fakers who counsel

With the With the Workers Party

The Akron Branch of the Workers Party invites readers of LABOR ACTION to attend a class on FASCISM AND STALINISM—THEIR SEEDS IN AMERICA, Tuesday evenings at 8. Write to Box 221 for further informa-

BUFFALO

Open meetings on Sunday evenings. September 8 the topic will be THE TRANSITIONAL PROGRAM AND THE WORKERS PARTY. Herb Ferris will speak. Time: 8:30 p.m.

Open meeting, Tuesday, September 8:30 p.m. "Labor's Next Move Against Rising Prices" — Speaker, Ernest Erber, Nat'l Educational Director, WP. Refreshments will be served. Admission—35 cents. LABOR ACTION HALL, 639 Main St., 2nd

CHICAGO

LABOR ACTION, 1703 West Madison St., Room 3, Chicago 12. Telephone: CHesapeake 5798.

Office hours: 3-5:36 p.m. daily, except Sundays. Tuesday and Wednesday evenings.

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

DETROIT

Headquarters, 3773 Gratiot (at Mt. Elliott). Office hours: Tuesdays and Thursdays, 11 a.m. to 2:30 p.m.; Wed-Class in "Fight for Socialism" every Wednesday at 8 p.m.

LOS ANGELES

Office Telephone: RIchmond 7-3230. 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. LABOR ACTION FORUM ON

- SOCIALISM AND THE JEWISH PROBLEM · Where shall the Jews find a haven?
- · Why the British terror against the · How forge anti-imperialist unity
- between Jew and Arab in Palestine? Can Zionism solve the plight of the
- Jewish people?

 Why is Stalin supporting the Arab feudal leaders? SPEAKERS: Jack Brent, Ted Enright,

Hal Draper. SUNDAY EVENING, SEPTEMBER 8, at 8:00 o'clock. At Straus Audi-torium, Soto and Michigan (Boyle Heights)

NEWARK

LABOR ACTION HEADQUARTERS in Newark at 248 Market St.

Forum, Friday, September 6, at 8:30 p.m. Ernest Erber, author of "Plenty speaks on the Price and Housing Crisis. Admission: 10 cents. Auspices Newark Branch, Workers Party. At LABOR ACTION Hall.

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, 242 East 14th St., Room 39. EAST HARLEM-Meets every Thurs-

day at 8:00 p.m. Rand's Harlem Terrace, 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 ev-

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

Utica Ave., 2nd Floor. BROOKLYN - Sunday Evening Branch meets every Sunday at 8:00

p.m., 276 Fulton St., 2nd Floor.

READING

Ernest Erber, national educational director of the Workers Party, will address a public meeting on "The Fight for Price Control and Housing." Date, Tuesday, September 17. Time, 8:00 p.m. Place, Slovak Home, 214 South Sixth Street.

PHILADELPHIA

HEADQUARTERS, 1105 Walnut St. Branches meet Monday and Tuesday evenings at 8:00.
Socialist Youth League meets Fridays at 8:00 pm.
LABOR ACTION and the New In-

ternational are on sale at the news-stand 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.

SEATTLE

For information regarding the activities of the Seattle Branch, and for further information regarding LA-BOR ACTION and the WORKERS PARTY, write to B. Donaldson, c/o Eckhart News, 102 Washington St., Seattle, Washington.

Announcing a class on PRINCI-PLES OF SOCIALISM, based on Max Shachtman's new book, The Fight for Socialism, every Monday night at 8 p.m., at Independence Hall, 41st St. and University Way. Sessions will continue on every Monday through

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, cago, Detroit and Seattle.

NEW YORK: ELECTION CAMPAIGN DANCE Announced Last Week for September 7 at Caravan Hall

CANCELLED But ... HOLD ON-

Remember Our ELECTION DANCE Last Year? Well, Something Special, Something Better, is Being Planned

FRIDAY NIGHT, NOVEMBER 1

BIZARRE BAZAAR—The Best Time You Ever Dreamed of!

WATCH FOR FURTHER ANNOUNCEMENTS in the Workers Party Activities Column and in Special Ads

Control Runaway Prices --

(Continued from page 1) program for labor which even begins to take care of high prices and low

The Workers Party has a program on prices. That program was announced at the time of the GM strike last winter. The Workers Party called this program "the GM Program" We agreed with Reuther that wages could not be considered separate from prices, that there should be no price rises without wage increases. The Workers Party said at that time that the question of prices was one of prime importance to labor and the mass of people, that the day had passed when labor could be concerned only with fighting for a few cents an hour increase in wages and

pay no attention to what price was charged for the necessities of life.

The Workers Party took the position at that time that the demand for tieing wages to prices was a demand that had great social implications and revolutionary potentialities; that inherent in such a demand was the necessity for the independent political organization of the working class for the purpose of establishing workers' control of industry and a workers

Reuther, of course, did not extract any of these implications from his program. He did not even carry his program through as he announced it or as he understood it. He wobbled all over the country, from platform to platform and from board meeting

WP Speakers Stress Trotsky's Teachings

CHICAGO ...

By HARRIET FALLON

CHICAGO, Aug. 23 - A capacity crowd heard Ernest Erber and Albert Goldman tonight at a Trotsky memorial meeting held by the Chicago, branch of the Workers Party.

Comrade Goldman spoke as a close personal friend of Trotsky, expressing the conviction that had Trotsky lived to see World War II, his incomparable method of historical analysis might have led him to abandon his former position of unconditional defense of the Soviet Union. Comrade Goldman stressed that we are not interested in words or quotations, but in METHOD. It is Trotsky's METH-OD which the Workers Party, above all other revolutionary parties today. employs in its analysis of the political arena.

Comrade Erber spoke primarily on the issue of price control, emphasizing the need for increasing political education and recruitment to "the party. Erber pointed out the revolutionary implications of the slogan put forth by the GM workers, that is, higher wages without higher prices. This means that the workers are beginning to grasp the "simple trinity of economics - the relationship between wages, prices and profits."

Events such as the GM strike and the price control crisis, Erber contended, will lead more and more militant trade unionists to accept the transitional Marxist program put forth by the WP.

Erber's statements were well received by a number of trade unionists, non-party members, who attended the meeting. Literature was sold and a large number of the audience expressed interest in attending the Friday night classes on "The Fight for Socialism," currently being held by the Chicago branch.

PHILADELPHIA . . .

PHILADELPHIA-"When Leon Trotsky won a fight, the American working class won; when Trotsky lost a battle to the bureaucracy, the working men here also suffered a defeat. Trotsky's great message to the Amer-

ers in every country is to build their own movement and to build it as an independent movement in theory and practice."

dependence keynoted an address by Max Shachtman, national chairman of the Workers Party, at a Trotsky memorial meeting held August 23 under the auspices of the Philadelphia branch of the Workers Party, Eightyfive members and friends, including visitors from Baltimore and West Virginia organizations, attended the meeting. The enthusiasm of the audience was evidenced not only by participation in the discussion following the lecture but also in the substantial financial contributions totaling \$51 and in literature sales of

Comrade Shachtman in the course of his presentation analyzed the main international crises since 1900, showing that the successes of the workers have been the result of independent class action, and the failures have resulted from failing to take such action.

Particular emphasis was made of the nature of World War II and the wartime program of the Workers Party, which stressed the need of independent action by the workers. The current domestic and international situation are proof of the validity of the party's wartime analysis and program; they also prove the necessity of moving this youngest, largest and most militant group of organized workers, the American working class, toward independent politi-

The Trotsky memorial meeting was only the feature event of a week-end of party and youth activity which included a group dinner, sight-seeing tours for the visiting comrades, a party for the youth on Saturday evening and a picnic on Sunday at League Island Park, which was well attended by party members, youth members and friends.

Plans were also laid for another public meeting to be held on September 11 with Ernest Erber, national educational director of the Workers Party, speaking on the subject of

ican workers as well as to all work-

This concept of working class in-

to board meeting, finally capitulating to Murray. He has succeeded only in getting himself more and more hemmed in by the Addes-Thomas-Stalinist bloc.

Here is what the Workers Party Program calls for:

1. No Price Increases without Wage Increases.

2. The demand for an escalator clause in the renegotiaton of all wage contracts. The demand for an automatic increase in wages with the rise in the cost of living.

3. The organization of Popular Price Control Committees by the unions, to include other representative democratic organizations (consumers' organizations, tenants' organizations, housewives organizations, poor farmers, etc.). The only control which labor and the masses can rely on in the struggle against price inflation is popular price control committees. The Workers Party advocates the immediate formation of these popular price control committees. Such committees can take immediate action through demonstrations and picketing.

Price control and wages can be handled effectively only by the unions and the masses under the leadership of the organizations of the working class. Labor cannot depend on the Decontrol Board or any other government agency. The continued rise in prices demands that concrete actions be organized by the unions and that these actions be carried through by the unions and the masses of the common people. The unions know how to do these things. They have had long experience in the organization of strikes and demonstrations.

CARPENTERS WILL WORK ONLY ON VET HOUSING

CLEVELAND, Aug. 26 - The Cleveland Carpenters Union, AFL, today called all its workers off commercial construction jobs and announced that for the remainder of the housing crisis union carpenters would work only on veterans' housing.

The Carpenters Union, which won the right to decide exclusively where its members would work after a recent strike, has set up a Veterans Committee to pass on all requests for carpenters. The committee is composed of three veterans from the union and two members of veterans' organizations. No carpenters will be assigned to any job but veterans' hous-

"No bowling alleys, outdoor theaters, saloons, night clubs or promotional ventures need apply because they will not be given consideration during this emergency." Carl Schwarzer, president of the Carpenters District Council, stated.

This move exposes completely how inadequate have been the much discussed housing programs of national, state and local governments, all of which pay ten times as much attention to real estate interests, banks and business men as to homeless vet-

Organized labor in Cleveland, in one day, has proved its solidarity with the veterans and accomplished ten times as much as all the talk of capitalist politicians.

Congress has authorized the "pay-

ment" of approximately two and one-

half billion dollars to compensate for-

mer enlisted servicemen for unused

furlough time. The only catch is that

payment is to be in U. S. Bonds, non-

negotiable for five years, in order,

says the President, to ward off "in-

In uniform, enlisted men blamed

the Army for everything: the rotten

caste system, the differences in food,

quarters, clothing and rights between

officers and enlisted men which made

the GI a powerless slave in the war

The less obvious but central fact

was often overlooked. Namely, that

behind the Army and Navy stood

Congress, and behind Congress, the

real oppressor, monopoly capitalism.

furlough pay. No one spoke of the

danger of inflation then. It would

have been unbecoming the dignity

Only yesterday Congress knocked

most of the bottom out from under

the fight against inflation by wreck-

ing price control. President Truman

signed the bill which wrecked OPA;

he didn't reject THAT on the grounds

of inflation. But now a proposal to

distribute small droplets of purchas-

ing power to ex-GIs seems to him a

terrible concession to inflation. That's

the double standard by which capi-

talist politicians work. And that's the

lesson ex-GIs should keep in mind as

they get their bonds for terminal

of "officers and gentlemen."

During the war, officers were given

for "democracy."

Chicago Negro Home Is Bombed Again

CHICAGO, Aug. 19 - The need for committees to prepare an adequate defense of Negro homes, as advocated by the Workers Party, was further borne out here last week when the home of Mrs. W. G. Campbell, 4203 S. Wells Street, was bombed the second time by arson-terrorists who are trying to drive Negroes out of restrictive covenant territories bordering the South Side Negro ghetto.

As reported previously in LABOR ACTION. Mrs. Campbell's home was bombed on July 12 the first time. Since that time a growing movement, the Conference to Combat Terrorism Against Minorities, has met and sent a delegation of 75 to Mayor Kelley and his cops to protest police negligence and failure to protect Negro homes.

In a telegram to Kelley, President Henry W. McGee of the NAACP denounced this second bombing and pointed out: "In spite of the fact that a policeman was on duty at the time, no apprehension was made. This is the sixtieth attack on individual Ne-

groes or Negro homes in the last two years. I hope we don't have to wait until some Negro family is burned alive in one of these attacks before the atrocities stop."

The Conference to Combat Terrorism has now seen that Mayor Kelley, who stated to its spokesmen that he "agreed" with all they had to say, is either powerless or unwilling to enforce the protection of these Negro homes from vigilante-fascist scum and their gasoline bombs. This is not the first time that a home has been attacked right under the supposedly alert eyes of cops stationed to prevent such outrages.

This incident alone should open the eyes of many Negro and white workers that the policy of their leaders in the conference of reliance on the city officials and police is totally inadequate to stop such terrorism. It should spur forward the forces which recognize that defense committees to guard these homes must be organized



SUBSCRIPTION RENEWALS

We have been receiving a steady return on renewal subscriptions from those among our readers whose subs are expiring now, at the rate of several hundred per week. Most of these subs were gained during the 5,000 new reader subscription campaign, conducted by LABOR ACTION six months ago. These returns show to what extent these readers have become interested in, and steady readers of our paper. BUT THE RATE IS STILL FAR FROM HIGH ENOUGH! Expirations are given two weeks notice before being cut off, with ample opportunity to renew subscriptions.

But it is primarily up to our LABOR ACTION agents to get on the job about this. Many (Chicago, Detroit, Los Angeles agents, etc.) are already doing so, with visits to those readers whose subs are expiring. Often renewals are not sent in due to lack of time on the part of the reader. It is up to our LABOR ACTION agent to facilitate the getting of renewals. Local visiting is the only way we know of. Lists are sent out to all our agents.

Branches of the Workers Party and LABOR ACTION agents have in their possession forms to be filled out when placing advertisements of meetings, classes, etc. These forms describe what size ad is desired and other details. Please use them, otherwise we cannot run your ad. Prices are also clearly designated. Any branch that sends in ads without size, price, etc., indicated on it (and we're thinking right now of LOS ANGELES) will not have its ad printed. Instead, it will be included under the column head, With the Workers Party." Sorry, Los Angeles, but we cannot guess what you want....

BILLS, BILLS, BILLS

Bills for bundle orders of the eight-page LABOR ACTION are now in the mails. We are counting on a quick response from LABOR ACTION agents. Remember that credit is strictly limited to five (5) issues of the

FACTS ABOUT THE NEW EIGHT-PAGE LABOR ACTION

(1) Eight pages, at five cents per individual copy. (2) Bundle orders to our agents at three cents per copy, with additional

copies available for special distribution purposes at one cent per copy. (3) A six-month subscription—anywhere in the U. S.—for 50 cents.

(4) A year's subscription—anywhere in the U. S.—for \$1.00.

NEW SUBSCRIPTIONS Our record for new subscriptions and renewals increased considerably over last week, although still far short of our goal of 100 new subs per week. Here is the record for the week, with the Newark branch of the Workers

Party far in the lead, thanks to the driving energy of that human dynamo,

NEWARK ... Los Angeles Cleveland San Francisco . Detroit ... New York City ... West Virginia Boston .. Chicago Minnesota San Pedro Miscellaneous

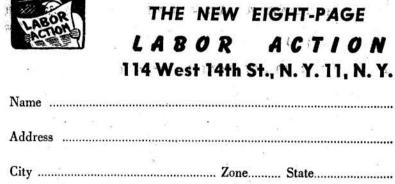
Total AGENTS SPEAK UP

From Chicago, agent Carl writes us that, "We will be doing a lot of this work (getting renewal subscriptions) as soon as our headquarters is up and ready. We have 250 subs expiring by September and we will have two successive Red Sundays in September for this work." And Carl has made a good start already by sending us half-a-dozen renewals. Also, "We are going out on street sales next week. It's an experiment and we are going to make sure that it gets the proper push."

From San Francisco, we get word about efforts being made to push newspaper sales on newsstands and at union headquarters. Every Wednesday night at the Longshoremen's Local, San Francisco; and weekly sales at headquarters of the Sailors' Union of the Pacific, also in San Francisco. The Frisco branch is having certain difficulties in getting started, but it is making a real effort to overcome them.

We can breathe easy again this week, because we've just heard from our ace of aces-Miriam Evans of Detroit. And Miriam is bursting with the following news-no wonder she couldn't write us last week, too busy! "I have some very good news for you. We sold 450 copies of the August 5 issue. We sold all 300 copies of those sent us special delivery at the parade yesterday. This was done by six of our comrades and we're very proud of their achievement...." And that's something to talk about. OK, Miriam, take 'em

I Want to Subscribe to



50 Cents for Six Months

\$1.00 for a Year

ROGER OTT, Los Angeles.

Readers of Labor Action Take the Gloor Where to Find so the WP could not participate at the new Soviet intelligentsia or elite answered that Russia was not com-Ex-GI Writes on all. A spokesman for the SWP attribas the beneficiary. munist but socialist and under the **Terminal Leave**

A Vacancy Dear Editor:

IVAN COLITZ, Chicago. **Factional Blindness**

Dear Editor: The would-be Fuehrer of American fascists, Gerald L. K. Smith, did not hold his scheduled meeting here in the Stevens Hotel last week because the appearance of pickets before the hotel caused the hotel's management to cancel the hall he reserved under fake auspices.

Weakens Protest

This talk about a housing shortage

is silly. All our Congressmen have to

do to find vacancies is "just use their

When the pickets followed Smith's small group of women fascists, led by the notorious Mrs. Elizabeth Dilling and her son to another hotel in the Loop, the management of that establishment likewise refused them permission to meet there. Apparently the memory of the reception Smith and his reactionary forces met here last February-when they were picketed by 1,000 people mobilized by veteran, labor and revolutionary socialist organizations, including the Workers Party-was too recent and vivid for the "good name" of these capitalist hotel managers to be placed

This time the picket line was extremely small, inasmuch as there was only several hours' advance notification that Smith was planning to meet. The Socialist Workers Party, which had this advance knowledge along with several other sources, did not that Smith was planning a meeting, growth of inequality in Russia, with he justified the above six points. He

uted this to "gross negligence" on

Nevertheless, the SWP did have

time to notify other organizations, including Stalinist - dominated unions, and decided to picket ONLY because these unions were supposed to participate, which they did not. It is extremely interesting to note the "blindness" and "negligence" of the SWP in not notifying the WP, which they knew would be glad to picket; and on the other hand to note the SWP eagerness to inform CP-controlled organizations, whose record for refusing to act jointly with Trotskyists against fascists is well known.

Continued factional blindness will never lead to the building of a real united front capable of stopping rate clubs.

R. F., Chicago.

A Letter on the Stalinist Intellectuals

Many of us who have been in the Trotskyist movement for about ten years have recently become aware of the change in the ideology of the Stalinist intellectual. Previously when we pointed out the growth of social inequality or the return of nationalism, or the change in attitude toward the family and religion, in the Soviet Union, they denied it. Today, however, things have changed under the impact of the overwhelming facts

learned about Russia. This came home very poignantly in a recent conversation I had with attempt to notify the Workers Party Professor Frederick Schuman of Co-

2. There has been a resurrection of

lumbia University. In the course of

fifteen minutes, he admitted the fol-1. There has been tremendous reactionary Russian nationalism extolling Peter the Great, Alexander

Nevsky, etc. 3. Co-education has been abolished. 4.. Tuition has been restored in Russan schools.

5. There has been a return of "discipline" in the army, i.e., inequality between soldiers and officers, restoration of titles. Zhumkov wears more medals than Goering did. Officers have their own orderlies and sepa-

6. The Atheist League has been abolished and the growth of religion

Then why do he and thousands of other Stalinist intellectuals still support Russia? The answer is their nonacceptance of our socialist premises! They don't believe in equality between the worker and the intellectual, between the soldier and the officer, between woman and man, between parent and child. They have a disdain for the cultural level of the masses and have their attention focused on "efficiency," "production,"

"military strength." In other words, they represent a different outlook than did we or even preaching morality to the owner of the previous Stalinist intellectuals who accepted our premises. This amazing conclusion came to light when I questioned Schuman on how

latter equality is not granted. I then asked him why there was then a tendency toward more and more inequality, since according to Marxist theory during the period of socialism, equality should increasingly pre-His answer was that Russian real-

ity has proved that in order to achieve communism it was necessary to go through a period of increasing inequality in the factory, in the home, in the schools; that for the efficiency of Russian industry to increase production it was necessary to pay fabulous salaries to the Russian Elite (the word was Schuman's); that in order to wage a war efficiently, it was necessary to have discipline and inequality in the army. In order to increase the manpower for national defense it was necessary to illegalize abortions, pay bonuses to prolific mothers, abolish co-education and institute religion.

When I insisted that the end-communism, i.e., freedom and equalitycan never be achieved if one increasingly practiced inequality and dictatorship and that it was not more efficient to reinstitute saluting and inequality in the army; that it was not more efficient to exploit the working class for the new ELITE, he flatly disagreed with me.

Yes, dear readers, I was arguing against a representative of the new élite and my chances of convincing him were almost as hopeless as a brothel. And what should be remembered is that many Stalinist students who heard him lecture, ate up every word he uttered.

IRVING BERG.

leave which will do them some good -five years from now.

"Law and Order" Protects Jim Crow Violence

Labor Strength Can Put an End to Lynch Law!

By J. R. JOHNSON

The Negroes in the South are defending themselves. That becomes ever more clear from the reports in the Negro press. One report about the latest large-scale violence in Mississippi is particularly illuminating. It will be remembered that after an altercation on the road, four white men drove up in a car to the house where the Negroes concerned were living. They were met with gun-fire. The white men retreated and the Negroes fled. They were then hunted down by a posse of 200 men, including police and bloodhounds.

It is now reported that the Negroes were led by ex-servicemen, that they had had arms hidden away, and that the action they undertook was to delay the attackers until the women had gotten safely away. The police have the arrested men in jail but are keeping very quiet about the case. Obviously there is much more to this episode than has yet appeared.

RIGHT OF DEFENSE

Any citizen with a spark of decent feeling will feel all his sympathy and support go out to these Negroes. Faced with the possibility of a desperate fate ,they took a desperate way out. If the circumstances are as they are reported, these men were perfectly justified in defending themselves in the way they saw fit.

More than ever today, with unknown terrors lurking at every step, Negroes are ready to defend themselves. It must be remembered that a lynching or an act of mob violence is not an isolated incident. It sharpens race relations for miles around. When they occur with the rapidity and brutality of recent weeks and over such widely spread areas, they breed an atmosphere of suspicion, tension and fear which take a long time to dispel.

Meanwhile Governor - Elect Talmadge excites the backward masses of the South by his incendiary remarks and proposals. Many observers trace the excitement in Mississippi to the violent election campaign of Senator Bilbo and his recent statement that he was a member of

LABOR ACTION is glad to see that the Negroes are resisting tyran-

discretion that their situation demands. But organized labor cannot offer them merely sympathy. The crux of the whole situation is the connivance and support of "law and order" with the lynchers and the

We repeat and we shall keep on repeating: If the federal government actively and spectacularly intervened against the lynchers in one case, it would bring a sharp change in the

But all the forces of "law and order" are opposed to any serious restraint upon the mobs. They are opposed to the vigorous and drastic action necessary, for political reasons. Northern capital has heavy invest-

ments in the South and is quite content that the barbarous social system should not be disturbed.

The local legislatures are strongholds of reaction and privilege based

ny with the courage and yet with the from top to bottom on corrupt and Truman, like Roosevelt, can always greedy little oligarchies. They have built up their system on racial segregation. If this is disturbed, whoever may come into power, it is certain that they will go out.

LABOR CAN STOP IT

Furthermore, the CIO drive represents the greatest threat ever launched at the corruption and special privilege of the Southern system. Lynching and mob violence are weapons against the spread of the organized labor movement, particularly among Negroes.

The whole Truman administration rests upon the maintenance of the present Southern system. For the federal government to attack it actively means to imperil its own position. The Southern senators blackmail the administration on the one hand for subsidies and patronage, and then combine with the Republicans to sabotage progressive legislation urged by the labor movement.

say that he proposed the legislation but was defeated by members of his own party. This exonerates him with labor and is perfectly satisfactory to big capital.

Thus from all sides powerful political and social forces stand aside or actively collaborate with the lynchers and mob violence. These are the social and mass methods by which the whole reactionary set-up is sustained in the South, and exercises its evil influence in Washington.

Organized labor must intervene. It must intervene in defense of the rights of Negro citizens. These rest upon, not government, but an active and vigilant labor movement. All violence against democracy is violence against the progress of labor.

But labor must intervene also in its own vital and immediate interest. It must see that if it is to the interest of big capital and its satellites to maintain the Negro in his present of labor to help the Negro out of it.

SAFEGUARD OUR LIBERTIES

It is a crying shame when a mob of backward Southerners, or a brutal sheriff hounds to death some inoffensive Negroes. These men are a disgrace to civilization and should be sternly corrected.

But the ones really responsible are those in whose hands rest the power, the law, and the organs of publicity and propaganda.

The only force they respect is the power of organized labor. And both by helping the Negroes and by merciless attacks upon the misusers of public power, organized labor can safeguard its own liberties and mobilize the great mass of the people against the hoodlums in the streets and those far more dangerous ones who sit in the state legislatures, the police stations and the governmental

Gold Mine Strike Broken by Police

Exclusive to LABOR ACTION

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa.—The four-day strike in the Rand gold mines in South Africa was entirely in the hands of the Stalinists and they smashed it. The strike was called by the 18 unions affiliated to the Council of Non-European Trade Unions. J. B. Marx, president of the African Mineworkers Union was arrested, and the offices of the Garment Workers Union were raided by the police, and all printing and duplicating machinery removed.

There are approximately 300,000 Africans (Negroes) working in the gold mines. Of these, some 50,000 struck. The strikers were beaten back to work by the police, suffering six deaths, 200 seriously wounded and about 700 requiring medical attention. These are OFFICIAL figures. In actuality, the casualties were far higher!

The Communist (Stalinist) Party led the workers, they tried to organize the remainder of the workers. The African Mineworkers Union has a paper membership of 60,000, of whom 1,500 are paid up.

In a desperate attempt to save face, the Stalinists called a general strike of municipal workers, timber workers, etc. Not one worker answered this call. This is not trade unionism, but irresponsible adventurism, cut to fit its cloth of Stalinist political requirements.

The mineworker's struck for ten shillings (\$2.00) a day and keep. At present they earn two shillings and five pence (half a dollar) and keep. The "keep" part of it means that they live in compounds and get very little food. The compound system is something we fight against as the mainstay of the "migratory labor" system here. The African works for nine months, and then goes home to his wife in the reserve for three months, thereby keeping him out of touch with the city working class, and continuing his debasement and exploitation as a "native."

From material sent to us by our South African correspondent we can add the following:

The brutal and reactionary role of the colonial police was startlingly illustrated by an incident which took place in a native compound.

When 6,000 natives refused to go on shift a strong force of local storm troopers lined up outside the compound while mine police went in, knocking on doors and telling the workers that they had half an hour in which to make up their minds whether they would go on shift. When the half hour had elapsed, the miners gave no indication that they were willing to work. Twenty-five constables armed with rifles and bayonets formed in the courtyard of the compound. Other European and native police armed with clubs were posted outside. Police escorted miners from their room to the shafts. According to a local newspaper account, after the "agitators had been dealt with." the rest followed suit. What kind of brutality falls under the head of being "dealt with" is left to the imagination.



GEN. SMUTS

The entire strike was characterized by numerous bloody encounters between the strikers and the police. Arrested in connection with the strike was Daniel J. Duplessis, secretary of the Communist Party of Transvaal. The Natives Representation Council, which on its creation ten years ago was hailed "as a step toward self-government" for the Negroes, persisted in a decision not to sit again, as a protest against "the Government's breach of faith toward the African people."

Lovedale College in Cape Province which provides for higher education for "selected" Negroes has been closed indefinitely after riotous scenes by students which the government has ordered investigated.

The terrible conditions of mine work in the colonies are only too well known. Nothwithstanding, General Smuts, Prime Minister and number one colonial overseer in South Africa, declared the strike was "not the result of legitimate grievances." To call the grievances merely legitimate is a wild understatement. The only "illegitimate" feature of this strike was the irresponsibility of the Stalinists, who did not prepare and organize the strike properly. The labor movement generally was in strong sympathy and solidarity with the exploited

This solidarity, properly directed and extended to a common, militant struggle against imperialism, will spell the downfall of the now descending British Empire.

Los Angeles WP Proposes Organized Protest on British Palestine Crimes

The letter we publish below was sent out on August 19th by the Los Angeles section of the Workers Party to 75 organizations-union, Jewish and veteran organizations, etc., in the Los Angeles area.

The terrible plight of the Jewish people in Europe and Palestine should be the concern of all progressive and labor forces everywhere.

One million and a half Jews in Europe are threatened with physical extermination, not any nger in Hitler's gas chambers but by the slower process of starvation, disease and economic disranchisement among hostile peoples. There is no haven for them to turn to. The United States, Russia and the whole world have closed their doors against any effective alleviation of their misery through immigration. Britain has locked the gates of Palestine and is enforcing its decree by guns, terror and concentration camps.

tisan or political beliefs concerning British im-

perialism or Zionism or the Arab leaders' aims, The important thing is that such action be taken or certainly any considerations of race or religion, it is the crying duty of everyone who has the interests of progress and the international conscience of labor in his heart to make known his protest on this crime against a whole people.

This can best be done, not individually, not even by each group acting alone, but in unity and cooperation.

We suggest, to all organizations to whom this letter is addressed, that common action be effected AT ONCE to hold in Los Angeles a mighty mass meeting which will deliver the protests of thousands against the British terror in Palestine, which is even now planning the execution of 18 fighters for Jewish haven in Palestine-which will condemn the callous brutality of the British government in helping to squeeze a people out of existence-which will raise its voice for the granting of refuge to the oppressed Jewish people not only in Palestine but also in the United States.

Other action can be considered in addition to, We believe that quite regardless of one's par- or instead of, the one suggested above. The important thing is that such action be taken NOW.

regardless of factional differences which may exist between groups on related questions for the sake of a united protest on the great crime itself. Our organization, for example, is not in political sympathy with the long-range aims or policies of the Zionist movement and we furthermore believe that only a socialist world can insure to the Jewish people and all other peoples the conditions for a peaceful and secure existence. But pros and cons on questions of this order, we fervently believe, cannot and must not stand in the way of a United Protest.

We urge your organization to take steps immediately to bring this about with no loss of time. I urge you to let me know whether you are in favor of participating in such action. We would like to see action initiated by a representative group of labor, progressive, Jewish and minority groups, and shall be very glad if we can be of any service in getting such coordination started.

I hope to hear from you immediately.

HAL DRAPER. Los Angeles Organizer, Workers Party.

An Issue Raised by UAW Price Program

Are National Buyers' Strikes Effective?

By BEN HALL

DETROIT-How effective are "buyers' strikes" in the fight to control prices? This question is of importance because the leaders of the CIO, including Walter Reuther of the UAW, have come to rely more and more upon this tactic until it has become the MAIN if not the only means proposed by them to keep prices down.

Reuther, like most of the other leaders of the labor movement, has spoken militantly and often brilliantly for a program of fighting for wage increases without price increases. This is fully possible, he pointed out, provided that we are willing to dip into the profits of the big manufacturers and bankers who have accumulated billions in the

course of the war and who will accumulate more billions in the postwar period. In this way, the millions of people who have to work for a living will be able not only to hold their own and to defend their existing wage standards but they will be able to INCREASE their real wages and secure an ever rising standard of living.

The chief defect in all Reuther's proclamations, however, has been this: he has never outlined an effective program of action to indicate HOW and BY WHOM prices can be controlled. Without such a program of action all talk of price control becomes ineffectual wishful thinking.

The leaders of the UAW, under the pressure of the rank and file, particularly at Ford and Chrysler,

TOWARD SOCIALIST KNOWLEDGE

We Offer These Bargain Combinations of Workers Party Publications

have slowly come to the conclusion that it is necessary to reopen contract negotiations in order to secure new wage increases to meet the rising costs of living. Of course, we must fight for such wage increases. In fact, the Workers Party proposes an even more effective demand. We propose that the labor movement fight for contractual provisions that would provide for a RISING SCALE OF WAGES. Let wages automatically rise every time that prices go

We must remember, however, that such proposals are mainly defensive. They are designed to MAINTAIN the purchasing power of wages in the face of rising prices. But as long as prices continue to go up, the workers are, in the words of Reu-

mill." The faster prices rise, the by putting pressure upon the govfaster the workers must run in order to stand in the same place.

But Reuther began with a program to RAISE the standard of liv-

How to control prices...that is the problem we must solve.

On June 16, shortly after Congress had killed the OPA and Truman had vetoed the bill which he said "legalized inflation;" hundreds of thousands of workers demonstrated at the call of the UAW demanding the restoration of price controls. By NANCY AUSTIN It was at that time that Reuther put forward the idea of buyers' strikes. We must, he said, refuse to buy all but the most essential needs of life, until Congress passes an OPA bill "with teeth in it." Notice: these buyers strikes were intended at that time as mass demonstrations of protest that were to compell CON-GRESS TO CONTROL PRICES. That is, their value was measured not so much in terms of how much these strikes themselves could control prices but in terms of the pressure that they would exert on a reluctant Congress which in the words of the labor leaders had "surrendered to the demands of the profi-

But Congress acted. And Truman signed a new OPA bill. But instead of a price control bill "with teeth in it" we got an emasculated version of the OPA which in its best days never grew any "teeth." A "decontrol board" was set up with the power to lift the ceilings off various commodities.

MUST GO BEYOND BUYERS STRIKES

"Continue the buyers' strikes" said the CIO leaders. But now there was a new emphasis...the buyers strikes were to demonstrate the continued insistence of the people for price control and to put pressure on the decontrol-board to maintain price controls. Again...the main objective of the buyers strikes was to get action from the government, this time through the decontrol board.

But the decontrol board has begun its activities. More and more controls are lifted. Where controls remain, price ceilings are lifted. Prices continue to rise. No hope is in sight that existing agencies will ever bring prices back to where they were before OPA was originally scuttled ... aside from all considerations of bringing prices down to where they really belong.

ther, caught on an "economic tread- not so much what they can achieve ernment but this: How effective are buyers strikes themselves in control-

When we examine this question ing of the workers; and such a pro- we find that a real program of acgram must have as one of its main tion for price control must go far pillars an effective program for beyond that tactic of "buyers-

(To be continued)

Trounce Smith in Minneapolis

MINNEAPOLIS, Aug. 21-Gerald L. K. Smith planned a meeting in this city, but didn't get to hold it. When his followers began to arrive at the Republican Club, they found hundreds of pickets had gotten there first. They couldn't go in because the door was locked. As anti-Smith demonstrators gathered, the Smith followers attempted to force the pickets out into the street by threatening and shoving. They neither succeeded in this nor in getting into the hall.

But they had prepared themselves and had already hired the ball room at the Leamington Hotel. They left the original place in small groups, attempting to dodge the pickets and to keep their second meeting place a secret. However, when the place was discovered, about a third of the pickets (100) were sent to the hotel and formed two lines, one at each entrance. The fascists had been waiting for this opportunity to get rough and just as they attacked the pickets, the rest of the demonstrators came up to the hotel. The pickets were fighting mad, and without a word the whole group rushed into the hotel lobby, banners and all, chanting, "Throw Smith out, throw Smith out."

As the first workers rushed into the meeting they were met with flying chairs and fists. For perhaps three minutes the fight was on, after which most of Smith's 150 guests got out. About 50 remained in a corner of the room. Walter Frank of the Minneapolis Building Trades Council then took the floor and told the pickets to take seats and wait until the hotel management ordered the Smith meeting out. This didn't take long and when the demonstrators were satisfied that the meeting would not be held, they went to the Mayor's reception room for a victory meeting

SING "SOLIDARITY FOREVER"

Here W. Frank spoke at length on Where do the buyers strikes fit in the necessity of open battle against now? What we must weigh now is the fascist agents of capitalism and

called for the formation of an independent farmer and labor party. The crowd of five hundred filled the room with applause and shouts of "Hurrah." M. Siegel of the United Packinghouse Workers, CIO, spoke, and other representatives of organized labor in Minneapolis and St. Paul took the floor to congratulate the pickets on the success of the demonstration. The meeting ended with the singing of "Solidarity For-

Where were the cops? They were there, and following their orders. But this time their orders were obviously to keep hands off. Even when the crowd got so large that it upset traffic in the street, there wasn't one word from a cop. During the fighting at the hotel, about ten plain clothes men got pretty rough with one of the pickets but they quit soon enough when they saw they weren't getting any support from, other cops. The reason for this extraordinary behavior is that the Mayor of Minneapolis was put into office by the labor movement and he is seeking for its continued support.

His council on human relations was in on the first discussions of the Smith meetings, but withdrew, along with the Roundtable of Christians and Jews, the Urban League and the Minnesota Jewish Council, when the majority of those taking part voted in favor of direct action, that is, a picket line.

Those who participated in the picket line were mainly from trade unions: the Building Trades Council, AFL; the CIO (PAC); Local 1140, UE-CIO; United Packinghouse Workers and the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen. Other organizations represented were the Socialist Workers Party, AYD, AVC, NAACP, Workers Defense League and the Minneapolis Action Committee. The Minneapolis Action Committee was a neighborhood committee formed at the last minute when the Minnesota Jewish Council withdrew its support. A group of people from a Jewish

neighborhood got together spontaneously and formed this committee.

It was the only group other than the SWP that issued a leaflet. The Joint Action Committee was supposed to have issued a leaflet, but the CP at the last moment sabotaged it by announcing that they would not have their name on any leaflet with Trotskyists. What the CP attempted to do was to force the SWP into having a small picket line of their own and then having it broken completely. The Stalinists even supported the groups that wanted to give Smith the "silent treatment." Seeing that they were out-voted, they changed their minds. In the same way, they changed their minds about being on the picket line when they saw that the workers were really serious in their determination to stop Smith.

The successful picket line, predominantly composed of workers, Gentile and Jewish, white and Negro, was undoubtedly due to the fact that the workers understood that Smith and the class which he represents are their deadliest enemy. Further, the hard work of the Trotskyists in stopping the middle class groups and the Stalinists from discouraging direct action was very important. It was successful also because labor was here able to compel the police to play a passive role.

We shall soon see what effect the action in Minneapolis will have on the workers of the cities in which Smith will speak next. It should certainly add to their confidence and show them that the fascists can be stopped only by ACTION.

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