

# LABOR ACTION

OCTOBER 14, 1946

A Paper in the Interests of Labor

FIVE CENTS

## Meat Crisis Calls For Drastic Action, Says E. R. McKinney

(Address by Ernest Rice McKinney, national secretary of the Workers Party, and its candidate for Congress in the 22nd Congressional District of New York, over Station WLIB on Saturday, October 5, at 1 p.m.)

We live in a strange country. Thousands of head of cattle graze on the cattle ranches.

There are tons and tons of meat available on the hoof. But the ranchers won't sell it.

The multi-million dollar meat packing companies won't slaughter it.

Only the very rich can afford to buy it on the black market. And you and I can't get any of it.

This situation has not prevailed for two days; it has prevailed now for more than two weeks.

What has the government in Washington done to see that you and I get some meat? Have they seized the million dollar meat packing plants? No. They have not even THREATENED to do so. The packers do not want any government control.

They want you and me to pay black market prices for their meat. And by doing nothing, the government is permitting the meat packers to smash OPA control of meat. You and I know how weak and ineffectual this control has been lately. But the corporations don't even want this little bit of control. They want to charge prices as they please.

I live in a part of the Borough of Manhattan called Harlem. Most of the people living in Harlem are Negroes. Negroes are among the poorest people in New York City. When jobs are scarce, Negroes are among the last to get jobs. When meat is scarce, Negroes are among the last to get meat.

I am running for Congress from the 22nd Congressional District, namely, from Harlem. The people of Harlem have had a representative in Congress for the past two years. He is a Democratic Party congressman. You and I would think that he, in particular, would want to do something drastic about the meat situation. You would think that he would propose nationalization of the meat industry.

If you thought these things you would be wrong. Neither he nor the Democratic Party is willing to take any drastic steps to solve the meat shortage. None of the capitalist politicians, Democrat or Republican are willing to take any drastic measures against the meat shortage.

But the Workers Party does propose such drastic action. The Workers Party proposes nationalization of the meat industry under workers' control. The Workers Party proposes housewives' committees and trade union committees to police prices.

The Workers Party proposes that the people do not depend on Democratic and Republican politicians to solve the meat shortage.

The Workers Party proposes that the people form a genuine Labor Party independent of the Democratic and Republican politicians.

We cannot in this short talk give you our complete program. We will gladly send you a copy of our election platform if you send your name and address to the Workers Party, 114 West 14th Street, New York 11, N. Y.

A vote for the Workers Party candidates, Max Shachtman in the 15th Congressional District, Brooklyn, and Ernest Rice McKinney in the 22nd Congressional District, Manhattan will show that you too want action, not words.

# MEAT WAREHOUSES BULGE, PACKERS CREATE FAMINE!

## One Way to Handle Prices!



By JERRY TODD

CHICAGO, Oct. 6.—You can't buy a pound of decent meat in any meat market in this city today. But the Chicago warehouses, many of them owned by the packing trust, are bursting with meat. Forty-five million pounds at a minimum, according to a survey published two days ago by Marshall Field's Chicago Sun.

Earlier in the week a Sun reporter discovered 18,000,000 pounds of fresh meat in "blind storage" in just eight of the city's larger warehouses. Further disclosures revealed the larger figure. Since disclosures of stocks by warehouses are not compulsory, "it was considered probable that the amount of meat held off the market might be greater than the estimate of 45,000,000 pounds," stated the Sun, adding that "in every case wherein cold storage houses divulged figures, it was found that the meat actually on hand in cold rooms exceeded by thousands of pounds the amounts estimated by the Sun."

## Answer Is In Workers' Control of Meat Plants!

The article that appears alongside this box reports the meat situation in Chicago. It reports a situation typical of the entire country. Investigations, for example, have disclosed 6,000,000 pounds of meat in a single Boston warehouse and millions of pounds of meat in New York.

The vital problem of food shortages and spiraling prices presents itself, in effect, as a battle between the people of the United States, and the profiteers who act in connivance with their agents in government. Therefore LABOR ACTION and the Workers' Party say:

- Nationalize the meat industry under workers control!
- Requisition the meat!
- Organize committees of union representatives and housewives to check on meat supplies and prices!
- Back the demands of the packinghouse workers!
- Demand wage increases WITH-OUT price increases!
- Open the Books of the Corporations!
- Organize a GENUINE Labor Party! Unite political action with economic action!

### PACKERS' CAUGHT LYING

Publication of the fact that huge stocks of fresh meat are being held off the market by the rapacious meat trust has aroused to fury a meat-starved populace.

The packers issued public excuses, only to have those excuses immediately exposed as lies.

For instance, the Sun listed the North American Cold Storage Co. as having 100,000 pounds of meat in cold storage. The company, through an official, first confessed it had approximately 17,000,000 pounds there, then announced it had only 128,000 pounds, and that none of it was concealed by being packed in egg crates. Yet meat in egg crates was seen twice this week at North American.

Armour's Ashland Cold Storage & Warehouse Co. was found to contain not less than 12,000,000 pounds of meat. In an attempt to take the heat off itself, Armour's issued a statement alleging that part of the meat was government-owned. Yet a survey shows that there is no meat in Chicago stored for the Navy, which also purchases for the Navy, Coast Guard and military hospitals; and that no meat in the Ashland warehouse belongs to UNRRA, the Commodity Credit Corporation, the War Shipping Administration or the Department of Agriculture, the only federal agencies which might have meat holdings.

(Continued on page 8)

## 2 Negroes Sentenced To Legal Lynching

By EVA EVANS

The Southern system of White supremacy and "lynch" justice has its victims, regardless of the circumstances and the evidence presented in its frame-up trials. Thus, an all-white jury, including members of the KKK, has found two Negroes guilty of attempted murder in the first degree for the Columbia, Tennessee, disorders last February 25, when two Negroes were killed defending themselves against white policemen, four of whom were wounded.

Those convicted on this charge were Robert Gentry, 24 years old, and John McKivens, 26. The jury recommended sentences against them of "not more than 21 years in the penitentiary."

All 23 others of the accused were acquitted, clearly because of a lack of evidence so total in nature that

stantial correctness of this charge by the defense. Yet it found two men guilty. Why? The reason is that these two men were the only men whose names were linked or connected in any way whatever with the actual incidents of the shooting. A Negro girl witness, testifying for the state, had maintained that she heard them say they had shot a policeman.

Later, under cross-examination, she not only repudiated this statement—saying she didn't know what they had said—but also testified that her testimony had been obtained under threat of arrest and other measures of intimidation. Yet it was on the testimony of this woman exclusively that these two men face the possibility of long prison terms! The Southern system demands its pound of flesh, regardless of truth and justice.

Defense attorneys for the NAACP announced their intention to file an appeal on behalf of Gentry and McKivens. It seems likely that the appeal must be granted and the case tried by a higher court, or eventually go to the Supreme Court. On the basis of the evidence and testimony presented, the state has little chance of maintaining its conviction of these two innocent men. The Columbia, Tennessee, affair seems to be one of the flimsiest and most flagrant "lynch" cases ever organized by Southern reactionaries.

### TWO MUST BE FREED!

A victory has not been won in Columbia, Tennessee, with the freeing of 23 men so long as the remaining two stand condemned by an all-white lynch jury. It is not simply a question of these two innocents, but of striking an important blow at the whole system behind such a trial.

As Vincent Sheean summarized it (Herald Tribune, September 29), "So far as I can tell by looking at the record and by listening to the case, there has never been any reason given why these twenty-five men were selected to be prosecuted. They would appear to be, quite simply, hostages for the whole Negro community, on the well known Nazi principle, happily not yet admitted in American criminal practice as a whole, of collective responsibility." Twenty-three men have escaped the vengeance of Southern "justice"; two remain yet to be rescued.

An article by E. R. McKinney on the Tennessee trial appears on page 6 of this issue.

even this "hanging jury" felt unable to do anything but let them go. The prosecution, headed by a notorious Negro baiter named Bumpus, were reported stunned by this acquittal of 23 out of 25. Mr. Bumpus, in his summation to the jury, had demanded a verdict of guilty for all the defendants and had violently tiraded against "carpetbaggers, rabble-rousers and traitors" whom he claimed were crucifying American ideals!

Bumpus' summary was denounced by defense attorney Maurice Weaver, representative of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, as an attempt "to pick up where a white mob left off last February and make this a legal lynching."

As Mr. Weaver said in his summary, "The Attorney General has not produced one shred of evidence which proves these men pulled the triggers of the guns which wounded the policemen, yet day after day the state has ruthlessly and relentlessly pressed down on the heads of these defendants."

By releasing 23 of the 25 accused, the jury in effect admitted the sub-

## Chicago Hearing Discusses Meat Shortage

WP Spokesman Tells Audience Nationalization of Industry Under Workers' Control Is Fundamental Answer

CHICAGO, Oct. 6.—Four hundred workers and housewives crowded into the City Council chambers last Tuesday night to hear a panel of four speakers discuss the meat shortage crisis. Sponsored by the Stalinist-controlled Committee for Price and Rent Control, the meeting shortly developed into a "town-hall" discussion, based upon the facts and figures presented by the speakers, chief among whom in the eyes of the audience was Ralph Helstein, president of the United Packinghouse Workers Union, CIO. In the discussion, Robert Ferguson, Chicago Workers Party organizer, presented the WP's position and was warmly applauded.

The first speaker, the chief enforcement official of OPA in Chicago, gave a defense of his bureaucratic administration nationally by attributing the meat crisis today to the "tragic mistake" made by Congress in June when OPA ended temporarily. He very carefully insisted that this was a "mistake" and not a conspiracy between Congress and the meat packing industry, as has been charged by the Packinghouse Union.

### OPA OFFICIAL RAMBLES

Larded with statistics on meat production for many years, his speech was listlessly received by the workers and housewives, who were not interested in apologies. He indicated clearly, however, that all his experience has proved to him that the black marketeers, about which the public is so wrought up, are the regular retail dealers, and not some hole-in-the-wall operators in a dark alley.

In other words, the whole retailing system of capitalist enterprise, with its exorbitant price chiseling, constitutes the basis of the real black market. He did not attack the big packers.

Speaking allegedly as a "farmers' representative," Mr. Williams demonstrated that from his contacts with the farmers he understood and sympathized with their holding cattle off the market when they saw the government obviously was not interested in holding the price ceilings. He attacked the meat processors as the big boys who were making all the profits today.

Brother Helstein of the UPWA stated the real issue to be the "fraud perpetrated by Congress on the people—a public relations job that it did in relation to the November elections." Today almost 50,000 members of his union are unemployed because of the shutdown of cattle coming from the ranges. He denounced the hoarding of meat in cold-storage supply by restaurants and hotels, and demanded a special session of Congress to re-institute real price control, since the responsibility for a solution of the problem lies with the administration.

After several more speeches, Democratic Congressional Representative Martin Gorski, who hails from a packinghouse workers' neighborhood and has received support from their union politically, gave a rambling harangue in which he explained this and analyzed that very nimbly, without succeeding once in condemning anyone, least of all the meat trust. The meeting was growing restless as the floor was thrown open to discussion.

Thereupon ensued a lively discussion from members of the audience, with demands that President Helstein outline the program of his union to solve the crisis. This he did, with emphasis on the packinghouse workers' demand for nationalization of the industry.

When resolutions were presented, Herbert March, Stalinist regional di-

rector of the UPWA, arose and denounced the meat trust for having utilized the government-seizure of the packing plants last spring to break the strike. He pointed out that the black market had continued in operation even under that government seizure, and expressed the thought that it would be different this time if the government nationalized the industry.

Robert Ferguson, Chicago organizer of the Workers Party, then took the floor, having been unable to obtain it during the general discussion, and presented an amendment to the nationalization resolution in the name of the Workers Party. The amend-

ment called for this nationalization of the industry to be operated under the control of the packing house workers, since it was obvious, from the speech by March that unless the workers controlled the industry, neither the workers nor the general public would benefit.

Ferguson spoke for reliance only on workers' committees of control, as the government has already demonstrated by its ineffective OPA and reactionary Congress, that it cannot be trusted to operate for the public welfare. He concluded with an appeal for popular price control committees of housewives in neighborhoods to back up the drive against the profit-

tees and to assist in obtaining government ownership of the meat industry under workers' control.

Ferguson's speech was interrupted with applause and when he sat down, March jumped to the floor to "quiet" the packinghouse workers by shouting, "We don't want to control the industry."

Moderator of the meeting, Mr. Miller of the National Citizens Political Action Committee (NCPAC), proceeded then to rule Ferguson's amendment out of order! The audience then voted for the nationalization resolution, WITHOUT incorporating the necessary amendment which would give it real substance.

## Attack Black Market in Newark

NEWARK, Oct. 8.—During the past four weeks, unable to get any meat except at black market prices, local butchers have adopted trade union tactics and organized flying picket squads.

The New Jersey Independent Retail Butchers' Association and the Federation of Kosher Butchers have closed down all shops selling meat, since none can now be obtained except at over-ceiling prices.

The price chisellers, forgetting that the black market is not "legal," have called the police to dispel the pickets. However, they were soon convinced to close down.

### SEARCH WHOLESALERS

The anti-black market patrols widened their search by including wholesale meat centers.

One McCarter Highway slaughterer claimed to be selling at ceiling prices. To prove it he broke his heart and

sold two steers, totaling 1,200 pounds of beef to the pickets. The meat was allocated to the City Hospital.

So far, the police have only "urged" the butchers to break up into smaller groups. Joseph Vian, president of the Independent Retail Butchers' Association, said the self-policing of butcher shops was successful to date.

The independent butchers are considering plans for co-operative buying and slaughtering of meat.

### WANT GOVERNMENT ACTION

The New Jersey OPA, apparently driven into some action, made several token arrests of price-violating butchers in Paterson.

Vian said the outlook for meat is bleak, but if black market sources are dried up, the government may be forced by the public howl to take action either by seizing meat off the ranges or by taking away all con-

trols. This latter represents the greatest weakness in the retail butchers' fight. Not an absence of controls, but REAL control is needed.

Meanwhile the legal black market in poultry has sent prices soaring to eighty cents per pound.

The butchers' organization has distributed postcards to be sent to Secretary of Agriculture Anderson, but so far they have made no move to strengthen their fight by getting the support and active co-operation of the trade unions.

NEW YORK VOTERS: All friends and sympathizers of the Workers Party are requested to be sure to register between the days of October 7 and October 12.

## The Nuremberg Verdict

Turn to Page 3 of this issue of LABOR ACTION for a special series of articles on the meaning of the Nuremberg verdicts. An editorial on the Nuremberg Court appears on Page 4.



NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

# Cleveland CIO Averts Split

By GERRY McDERMOTT

CLEVELAND, Oct. 7.—Cleveland's CIO movement has only recently and temporarily recovered from a deep and wide open split that divided the CIO here into two hostile camps. This dangerous division took place when a large part of the CIO locals withdrew from the Cleveland Industrial Union Council to form a separate body. It was a direct result of the struggle for control now going on throughout the nationwide CIO between the "Murray forces" and the Stalinist forces within the movement.

The danger of this recent split is of immediate concern to the rank and file of Cleveland CIO labor, but the situation here is a warning to all CIO members. Similar dangers are present throughout the CIO as the American Stalinists seek to use it as a weapon in the struggle between American imperialism and Stalinist imperialism. In the Wayne County (Detroit) CIO Council, at the recent conventions of the Electrical workers, Mine Mill and Smelter workers, and Ship workers, this struggle has already shown itself to be one of the most pressing problems for the coming period.

### BITTER FIGHT

Here, the fight has been even more bitter than elsewhere. Until recently, locals of Steel, Utilities, Clothing, Textile, Newspaper, and some auto unions have withdrawn from the central CIO body in protest against the tactics of the Stalinist majority in control of the council. These locals were planning to set up a separate council. Needless to say, the capitalist press has had a merry time reporting the split and the charges and counter-charges on the front page of edition after edition.

The Stalinist majority in control of the council before the split had voted through resolution after resolution in the interest of the Kremlin dictators. They have sent delegates to conventions of every kind of Stalinist front organization. They endorsed Stalinist candidates in the municipal elections, reluctantly backing down only after great pressure.

Finally, when the Stalinists moved to install a party-liner as editor of the official CIO paper, the rest of the council walked out.

**REACH COMPROMISE**  
Faced with the scandal of two warring CIO Councils in Cleveland, Allan Haywood, CIO Director of Organization, rushed to the scene representing President Murray. The Stalinists also, for their own reasons, wished to avoid a split, so a compromise was reached as Haywood conferred with leaders of the two factions.

Under the Haywood solution, a "Murray" man from out-of-town, George DeNucci, Regional Director of the Ohio CIO, was appointed administrator over the council. The Stalinists agreed not to deal in "international matters" or to affiliate the council with other organizations unless the National CIO approved. In return, the opposition locals agreed to return to the council. The administrator will have a strong hand.

Actually, this temporary solution solves absolutely nothing, so far as the rank and file of the Cleveland CIO is concerned. The fight has only been postponed. The real key to the danger in the situation lies in the nature of the Murray opposition. In Cleveland, there is no comparatively progressive force, such as the Reuther caucus in Detroit or the Bass caucus in Akron. Therefore, the organized opposition to the Cleveland Stalinist machine comes largely from red-baiters, conservatives, and old-line bureaucrats.

**MILITANT PROGRAM NEEDED**  
Thus, the Murray-Haywood-DeNucci answer to the bad politics of the Stalinists is "Confine yourself to trade union matters, no politics at all!" This, precisely at the time when the greatest need of organized labor is independent political action. The only program offered by the Murray men here is a program of red-baiting, propping up the two capitalist parties, and "observing contracts" in the face of ever higher prices, speed-ups, and new attacks

on working conditions and the union in the shops.

The Cleveland rank and file dare not stand aside longer while conservatives on the one hand and totalitarians on the other fight for control. The battle itself will wreak havoc, and no matter which side wins, labor as a whole will lose. The workers on the assembly line and at the bench, the men and women who man the picket lines, must gain control of their own movement.

In order to do so, they must have a program to rally to. The GM Strike Program of open the books and wage increases without price increases is the logical choice. Until a caucus, based on the rank and file, is organized here to fight for the GM program, independent political action, and a militant approach to day to day shop problems, the Stalinists and conservatives will continue to tear the CIO apart and endanger labor's organization.

# Pittsburgh Trolley, Bus Drivers Honor Power Strikers' Picket Line

Special to Labor Action

**PITTSBURGH, Oct. 7**—A new threat to the success of the Duquesne power strike is seen in the activities of a minority group of the independent power union which has set up a new organization, the Utility Workers Union, and petitioned for admission into District 50 of the United Mine Workers, AFL. The members of this group are variously estimated at between 300 and 700.

Raymond A. Wilwohl, newly installed president of this union, stated that his union would "put an end to this unrest and labor strife that has plagued the people of this district." Curtis T. Ray, the union's new business agent, resigned from his position on Mueller's ten-man strike committee and 52-man general policy committee on September 13 to join Wilwohl in signing the petition. Ray, who is also tax collector of Eden Park, has been accused by members of the independent power union of being afraid to "mix strikes and politics."

Although John L. Lewis has welcomed the newly-formed union, the NLRB has yet to decide on their admission.

The rank and file members of the AFL have refused again to play at strike-breaking. The trolley men and bus operators decided once more not to cross the picket lines around their cars.

Today Mueller came forth with a new proposal for the company's consideration. He refuses to comment on its terms until the company makes its move, and the company has not recognized the proposal. The mass meeting of Pittsburgh citizens on Sunday resulted in a group being organized to participate in the strike, with hints toward government seizure.

**PITTSBURGH, Oct. 3**—As this is written, 3,500 members of the Independent Association of the Duquesne

### BULGARIAN OFFICIAL ACKNOWLEDGES RECEIPT OF PROTEST CABLE

We have received the letter printed below in reply to a cable of protest signed by various individuals active in the labor and civil liberties movement and addressed to the Bulgarian government. The cable protested the arrest of Dr. Dimitar Gatchev of Plovdiv, official of the Bulgarian League for the Rights of Man and well-known leader of the Bulgarian Trotskyists. We have yet to hear that the Bulgarian Foreign Office has considered the protest. Dr. Gatchev is, to our knowledge, still under arrest. His safety rests on forcing action from the Bulgarian government through continued protests.

Sept. 9, 1946.  
Emanuel Garrett  
Editor, Labor Action  
New York City, N. Y.

Dear Sir:  
I acknowledge receipt of your telegram dated August 6 with which you protest the arrest of Dr. Dimitar Gatchev. I wish herewith to inform you that I have forwarded your protest to the Bulgarian Foreign Office for consideration, and as soon as I have information from my government on the fate of Dr. Gatchev, I will communicate with you again.

Your very truly,  
B. ATHANASSOV,  
Secretary to the Bulgarian Political Mission  
2841 McGill Terrace N.W.  
Washington, D. C.

## The Boss's Dictionary Dictatorship:



# TAPPING THE WALL STREET WIRE

By JACK RANGER

First, for our account of the extent to which the Big Business controlled OPA picked our pockets during the week, from September 26 to September 30:

- Window shades—Ceiling price up 11 per cent at retail.
- Standard work shirts—Up 10 per cent, from \$1.43 to \$1.58 at retail.
- Cocoa—Ceilings on cocoa and chocolate products up 27 per cent.
- Paints—Ceiling prices on eight categories up 2-6 per cent.
- Fabrics—Price "relief" granted producers of fabrics made from wool or rayon mixed with cotton.
- Woodworking machinery—Up another six per cent.
- Sand-lime brick—Manufacturers allowed \$5 a 1,000 premium for production in excess of quotas.
- Oleomargarine, cooking and salad oils, mayonnaise, salad dressing and shortening—Up two and a half cents a pound.
- Oranges—Up 12 cents a 75-pound container of California oranges; up six cents a 90-pound crate of Florida oranges.
- Coated fabrics—Up 17.5 per cent.
- Soybean adhesives—27 cents to 70 cents per hundred-weight increase.
- Rubber items used in manufacturing—Up 15-17 per cent.

In addition, OPA removed from price control the following commodities: Honey; specified frozen fruits; aluminum furniture; chewing gum; prepared flour mixes; some insecticides.

The nation's railroads, which enjoyed their most profitable years in history during the war, continue to holler for higher rates and state they are losing money. Recently, the ICC authorized the Seaboard Air Line and the Atlantic Coast Line railroads to operate lines in western Florida to serve a new plant being constructed by the Victor Chemical Workers, designed to manufacture yellow phosphorus from ore. The two railroads estimate they will divide a yearly profit of \$133,454 on gross revenues of \$361,882 for the one operation. . . . Class I railroads had an estimated net income after interest and rentals of \$35,000,000 in July, the carriers have reported to the Association of American Railroads.

### FARM NOTES

The U. S. Department of Agriculture is already reading plans for a scarcity program to keep farm prices up. The Department plans to extend a system of crop "guides" over major farm commodities, telling the farmer in advance how much of each important crop is needed, and how much of that total his own soil shall produce. There is a system of indirect penalties for those not cooperating.

The Department, as a start, is "planning" for 16 per cent fewer potatoes next year. . . . Farm machinery production in August totaled \$66.7 million, a 13 per cent gain over July, and the highest monthly output in history. The new peak was achieved despite work stoppages at Allis-Chalmers and Case plants. . . . International Harvester will have in production next summer a new cotton picker which will do the work of 30 to 60 cotton pickers. . . . The American Military Government in Japan has announced a two-year plan to achieve an agrarian reform calculated to abolish absentee landlordism—requisition 70 per cent of Japan's rented farmland, reimburse the landlords in government bonds, and re-sell the land on 30-year terms, to Japanese peasants.

# Layoffs Highlight UAW Meet

By WALTER JASON

**DETROIT, Oct. 6**—Beginning of the layoffs of over 25,000 Chrysler and Briggs workers here this week was neatly timed by the corporations as a threat to the UAW-CIO which begins negotiations with Chrysler on October 20 for a cost-of-living bonus.

The drastic curtailment in employment and production at these plants reflects the growing uncertainty of the auto industry production schedules.

Shortages in steel, copper and lead have made auto production at Chrysler very spotty in recent weeks. The so-called "wildcat" strike wave that hit Detroit a week ago was provoked by Briggs corporation as a means of cutting into the financial reserves, if any, of the auto workers involved.

The short work week at Chrysler, Briggs and many other plants reflected the material shortages. Now they have become more acute.

### REUTHER PROPOSAL WREAK

In the face of this serious problem of the UAW-CIO, the only proposal made at present was by Walter P. Reuther, union president, and it was for a labor-management conference to be called by President Truman for the purpose "of heading off a depression and unemployment for the nation."

The first reaction to this proposal

in both union and company circles was that it fell flatter than the proverbial pancake. The fact that Reuther's proposal was inspired by Philip Murray, CIO president, who twice made a similar request of President Truman, didn't help it a bit.

Early in August Reuther tried to get such a conference in the auto industry alone, and the big companies simply ignored it or blasted the UAW-CIO for causing a "production lag."

What is different now is the fact that both Chrysler and Briggs spokesmen say that steel shortages are the main cause of production slowdown.

### SPEED-UP MORE INTENSE

In the current issue of Business Week magazine, a study of the steel problem emphasizes the point that the steel shortage would become more acute until the summer of 1947, when it would reach its peak, and the auto industry would have a difficult time getting its present quota for production uses.

Combined with the layoffs, the auto corporations—GM, Ford and Chrysler in particular—are demanding "new production standards"—that is, the right to intensify the speed-up on the assembly lines.

Within the ranks of the union, the restless mood of the secondary lead-

ership and the workers in the plants, has reached such proportions that the International Executive Board of the UAW-CIO is holding a special session on October 18 at Pittsburgh, to which Philip Murray has been invited. This is the reply of the leadership of the demand by nearly 40 union presidents in the Detroit area, that a special wage-policy conference of the UAW-CIO be called.

The grave problems confronting this IEB session are highlighted by the Chrysler layoffs.

### CORRECTION

Through a typographical error, profits for the St. Johns River Shipbuilding Corporation were listed as 3,500 per cent in Susan Green's article on profiteering in last week's LABOR ACTION. The figure, as it appeared in the original article, and based on the government's General Accounting Office estimate, is 350,000 per cent—that is, \$2,080,000 profit on a \$600 investment.

### REGISTER!

The Workers Party appeals to all people of Harlem who signed its independent nominating petition to be certain to register during the week of October 7 to October 12.

Light Company and Associated Companies are out on a strike which affects 817 square miles of the Pittsburgh area and 1½ million customers of the Duquesne Light Company.

The strike, which started when union members walked out of the three plants of the company, is extraordinary for several reasons. It was called in the face of an injunction against it, and although it has been fought by the company, the city government, and federal conciliators and been betrayed by its leaders and the local heads of CIO and AFL, the workers have stuck to their demands.

Moreover, their picket lines have been respected by other workers of the city even against the advice of their union leaders.

In fact, it is only the membership which has a clean record throughout the affair. Their first attempt at striking this year was fouled in February when Mueller, as head of a seven-man strike and negotiating committee, met with Mayor Lawrence, Federal Labor Conciliator Charles Kutz and Pennsylvania's Labor and Industry Secretary, W. B. Chestnut, and agreed to back down on the modest wage demands of the union and finally to postpone the strike altogether.

### PRESENT 32 DEMANDS

In June the workers presented their 32 demands to the officials of the Duquesne Light Company. These demands included a 20 per cent wage increase, a revised pension program, profit sharing for the employees and the public, a union shop, and a master contract. Once again their efforts were stalemated by the officialdom.

But in September the workers reacted against this injustice and once more threatened to strike if their demands were not granted. Immediately, city and company officials denounced the strike as jeopardizing the public weal and called an eleventh hour truce. The union was permitted to patiently state its demands—the company refused to negotiate.

As the hour for a genuine strike drew near, Army generators were rushed to Pittsburgh and 500 auxiliary policemen were drawn into the force from the Civilian Defense Corps.

### BREAK INJUNCTION

Mayor David A. Lawrence, who was responsible for the passage of Pennsylvania's anti-injunction law and who was put in office by labor votes, found himself in an embarrassing position. The union meant business in spite of the fact that it was a small unaffiliated outfit. In feverish haste, he secured an injunction against the strike from Commissioner Florence Alpern and a three-judge court. Once he had made the decision to stab labor in the back, he found it easy to get a restraint of their rights from the legal servants of capitalism.

But in spite of the injunction, the workers voted to strike by an overwhelming majority and the walk-out began on September 23. The union members left the operation of the plants to handfuls of supervisory employees who have become artists at scabbing, posing as public martyrs. George Mueller, president of the

IADLC and head of the four-man negotiating and the ten-man strike committees, was arrested. The arrest of the whole strike committee was to follow, the mayor threatened.

But with the CIO and AFL threatening strike action against the injunction, the injunction was dissolved on September 26, and Mueller was released with the understanding that the strike would be called off. At a meeting of the membership in Carnegie Music Hall, he made his plea for peace, and it was rejected by a vote of 1,292 to 339.

As the situation tightened, Pittsburgh was honored by the arrival of Leo Crowley, Philadelphia's own Sam Insul, head of the trust controlling the Duquesne Light Company. He came to answer the mayor's plea in person, and soon after him came William Margolis and Lucien Rye, Federal Labor Conciliators. (Rye was instrumental in the February strike fizzle.)

Meantime trolley men of the Amalgamated Association of Street Railway Employees (AFL, Div. 85) and motormen of the Amalgamated Association of Street Electric Railway and Motor Coach Employees (AFL, Div. 1327) respected the picket lines of the IADLC. When John T. Morgan, business agent of Division 85, spoke to a meeting of the membership in the Aragon ballroom, his advice to disregard the power union pickets was protested loudly and unanimously voted down by voice.

Once again, on September 28, the members of the power union met in Carnegie Hall to consider the company's latest "arbitration." It was rejected by a vote of 1,170 to 553. Now Lawrence keeps urging organized labor (CIO-AFL) to bring pressure on the unaffiliated IADLC. Edgar L. Warren, chief of the Conciliators Service, requests that both sides remain in continuous negotiation sessions. Meanwhile Pittsburgh is operating on one-third of her usual supply of electricity, with several business houses closed, and 500,000 people out of work.

### VITAL LESSON

There are instructive lessons to be learned from this strike. An injunction was issued against it on the grounds that it was a strike against the public. It is obvious, however, that though electricity is a public utility, and therefore sacred, it is also an important part of the private enterprise system. It is as notorious a profit-making public utility as exists.

If the employees of the Duquesne Light Company had been restrained from exercising their legal right of collective bargaining by an injunction which defined their trade as necessary to public welfare, how long would it take for other trades to be legally included in that definition?

If this injunction had been sustained, it would have been one of the most significant legal decisions since Dred Scott. The workers of the Duquesne Light Company realized this when they continued their strike action in spite of the injunction. It was this aspect which gave their strike a political as well as economic character. The injunction also serves to consolidate the workers of the Pittsburgh area.

# LABOR ACTION SCHOOL AND

<p><b>TUESDAY</b> Trade Unionism in Action 7:30-8:45 P. M. Begins Nov. 12 OSCAR WILLIAMS, Instructor</p> <p><b>Marx's Capital</b> Volume II 7:30-8:45 P. M. Begins Nov. 12 F. FORREST, Instructor</p> <p><b>Socialist Perspectives for Post-War Europe</b> 9:00-10:15 P. M. Begins Nov. 12 MAX SHACHTMAN, Instructor</p>	<p><b>FRIDAY</b> Program of the Workers Party 7:30-8:45 P. M. Begins Nov. 15 MARY BELL, Instructor</p> <p><b>Contemporary Problems of Marxism</b> 7:30-8:45 P. M. Begins Nov. 15 ERNEST ERBER, Instructor</p> <p><b>Development of the Socialist Movement</b> <b>Part I: The Struggle for Scientific Socialism</b> 9:00-10:15 P. M. Begins Nov. 15 EMANUEL GARRETT, Instructor</p>
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Dec. 8—CLEMMENT GREENBERG Editor of "Commentary" On "The Decline of Art" Art Critic of "The Nation"  
Dec. 15—NATHAN GOULD National Organizer, Workers Party On "Trend to Militarization in the U. S."  
Jan. 5—PROF. C. WRIGHT MILLS Dir. Labor Research Div., Bur. of Applied Social Research, Columbia University On "The New Middle Class"  
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"Does Stalinism Flow From Bolshevism?"  
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"NO!"  
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## Molotov: Hitler's Accomplice

(Excerpts from Molotov's report to the Supreme Soviet, October 31, 1939)

"Instead of enmity that was fostered in every way by certain European powers, we now have a rapprochement and the establishment of friendly relations between the USSR and Germany."



"Second, mention must be made of such a defeat of Poland in war and the collapse of the Polish State. The ruling circles of Poland boasted quite a lot about the 'stability' of their state and the 'might' of their army. However, one swift blow to Poland, first by the German Army and then by the Red Army, and nothing was left of this ugly offspring of the Versailles treaty which had existed by oppressing non-Polish nationalities."

"Today, as far as the European great powers are concerned, Germany is in the position of a State that is striving for the earliest termination of the war and for peace, while Britain and France, which but yesterday were declaiming against aggression, are in favor of continuing the war and are opposed to the conclusion of peace. The roles, as you see, are changing."

"It amounts to this, that the British, and with them the French supporters of the war, have declared something in the nature of an 'ideological' war on Germany, reminiscent of the religious war of olden times. ... Is it back to the Middle Ages, to the days of religious wars, superstition and cultural deterioration that the ruling classes of Britain and France want to drag us?"

"But there is absolutely no justification for a war of this kind. One may accept or reject the ideology of Hitlerism as well as any other ideological system: that is a matter of political views."

"As I have said, our relations with Germany have radically improved. Here development has proceeded along the line of strengthening our friendly relations, extending our practical cooperation and rendering Germany political support in her efforts for peace."

"We have always held that a strong Germany is an indispensable condition for a durable peace in Europe."

## Stalin Gave Hitler Green Light To Start the Second World War

By ERNEST ERBER

The spectacle of a Russian judge sitting on the Tribunal at Nuremberg and joining in the condemnation of the Nazis for "planning and waging a war of aggression" establishes a new low in hypocrisy.

Not that the Kremlin gang is the only government that should have sat in the prisoners' dock instead of the judges' bench. All the warring imperialist governments belonged in the dock. None have the right to sit in judgment upon others. But the case of the Russians is especially reprehensible because even a short memory cannot have forgotten that they directly participated, cheek by jowl, with Hitler in "planning and waging" the war upon Poland which raised the curtain on World War II.

Who can have forgotten that it was the Hitler-Stalin pact of August 1939 which gave the Nazi régime the green light for war? Who can have forgotten that the invasion of Poland by Hitler's armies was undertaken through agreement with Stalin? Who can have forgotten that Stalin joined in the assault upon Poland and dealt the death blow to Polish resistance? Who can have forgotten that the two "victors" met over the mortally wounded body of Poland to divide the booty? Who can have forgotten that Stalin said his friendship with Hitler was "cemented by blood" as a result of their joint Polish campaign? Who can have forgotten that the Stalinist and Hitlerite press united in accusing England and France of having fomented the war?

Who can have forgotten? Millions have already forgotten.

### POWER OF PROPAGANDA

The overwhelming power of propaganda has all but eradicated from the public mind the outline of events of the Hitler-Stalin pact period. The propaganda's success was in large measure due to the efforts of the Allied propagandists to wipe out the memory of the Hitler-Stalin pact after Russia became their ally. It was, however, the cynical role of Russia itself after Hitler double-crossed Stalin, in posing as the fiercest and most consistent anti-Nazi power of them all that made the Hitler-Stalin pact seem unreal. After Ilya Ehrenburg's venomous hate campaign against the German people, after the Russian war-cry of "kill more Germans," the memory of the Hitler-Stalin pact seemed like some vague recollection of something that may have been merely a bad dream. Stalin as a friend of Hitler? It just doesn't seem possible.

The sheer gall of the Russian propaganda continued right through the

Nuremberg proceedings and was capped with their demagogic denunciation of the verdict for not imposing the death penalty on all the defendants. After having listened to the anti-German line of the Russians since June 1942, who can believe that he heard the same people say the following:

"It is fear of losing world supremacy that dictates to the ruling circles of Great Britain and France the policy of fomenting war with Germany."

In these terms Molotov described the "aggressors" in his report to the Supreme Soviet on October 31, 1939.

Molotov's report followed the signing of the second treaty between Russia and Germany. The first one

paved the way for their joint war on Poland. The second one decided the details of the division of Eastern and Northern Europe between them and planned for a joint "peace" offensive against England and France. Appended to the treaty was a propaganda statement signed by Molotov and Ribbentrop in the form of a protocol. We reproduce it in full elsewhere on this page. Its contents reveal that the bloc between Hitler and Stalin went beyond joint military and economic measures. They embarked upon a common political project. Their aim was to pin upon England and France the onus of being "war-mongers" and manipulate mass peace sentiment to

(Continued on page 6)

### WHO WOULD HAVE BEEN EMBARRASSED AT NUREMBERG?

"After the German Reich Government and the Government of the Soviet Russian Republic have definitely settled by the treaty signed today the question resulting from the disintegration of the Polish State, thus creating a safe foundation for lasting peace in Eastern Europe, they unanimously express the opinion that it would correspond to the true interests of all peoples to make an end to the war existing between Germany on the one hand and England and France on the other hand. Therefore, both governments, if necessary in conjunction with one of the befriended nations, will direct their joint efforts toward reaching this aim as soon as possible. But should the efforts of both governments fail, then the fact would be established that England and France are responsible for continuation of the war, and in case of continuation of the war, the governments of Germany and Soviet Russia will consult each other regarding the necessary measures."

Von Ribbentrop  
Molotov

Moscow, September 28, 1939

### The Refusal of Natalia Trotsky's Request

## Nuremberg Showed Moscow Trials Were Frameups

By ALBERT GATES

Leaving aside for the moment the main purpose of the Nuremberg Trial, it did accomplish one historic act. In a negative way, it proved that the Moscow Trials against the Old Bolsheviks were calculated frame-ups by Stalin against the leaders of the Russian Revolution.

The negative proof was provided in the refusal of the Nuremberg Court to entertain the petition of committees in the United States and England, composed of trade unionists, writers and public men, including a petition from Natalia Sedov, widow of Leon Trotsky and mother of Leon Sedov, to investigate the charges of the Moscow Trials that Trotsky and his son, Sedov, had conspired with the German and Japanese governments to wage war on Russia. This was a real opportunity for the Allied powers, particularly Russia, to strengthen their case against the Nazis, if there was only a grain of truth in the charges of the Moscow Trials. That there was not even a grain of truth in the trials is apparent from the Nuremberg Trial, as well as the trials held in Japan, where the defendants and the charges of the Moscow Trials have not been mentioned once in any way whatever.

### WORLD DOUBTED VERDICT OF MOSCOW TRIALS

The main charge of the Moscow Trials, you must remember, was that Leon Trotsky had conspired with Germany and Japan to invade Russia, overthrow the Stalin régime, seize power with the aid of his alleged group in Russia (Zinoviev, Kamenev, Radek, Piatakov, etc.) and then grant territorial and business concessions to the fascist and military dictatorships of the respective Axis countries. To accomplish this aim, Trotsky was charged with ordering his alleged group to engage in sabotage, and terrorist acts against the régime and its functionaries. Trotsky was also charged with having met the Nazi leader Hess secretly as well as representatives of the German General Staff. These meetings, it was further alleged, helped prepare the war

against Russia and worked out the details of the master plan.

On the basis of these charges, Stalin's secret police prepared a series of trumped-up charges and pre-arranged trials in which the outstanding leaders of the Russian Revolution, Lenin's principal associates and the founders of the workers' state were judicially murdered by the dictator in the Kremlin.

The world received the Moscow Trials and the verdicts with grave doubts. The pre-arranged trials and the extorted confessions, the self-



abasement of the witnesses and their willingness to indulge in the lowest forms of self-incrimination and re-creation gave the whole spectacle a ludicrous though macabre appearance. The revolution was devouring its children, cried the opponents of the Russian Revolution. Here was the living proof that socialism was an inhuman system. For though there was nothing in common between Stalin's régime and socialism, the ruling class in Russia conspired against the best interests of the Revolution in the name of socialism.

### STALINISTS TRY TO JUSTIFY TRIALS

The trials brought into existence committees in many countries to investigate the charges of the Moscow hangmen. The most famous was the Preliminary Commission of Inquiry which held hearings in Mexico to obtain direct evidence from Trotsky

on the charges made against him. Socialists, radicals and liberals entered this movement for various reasons. The radicals and liberals to guarantee a measure of justice to the defendants; the socialists to preserve the theory, practice, morals and traditions of the socialist movement. Thus, long before Nuremberg, the Preliminary Commission had determined that the Moscow Trials were a frame-up.

In preparation of the movements that inevitably came into existence to doubt and challenge the brutal murder of Lenin's associates, Moscow unleashed its own legions of hired liars and propagandists in all countries to defend the trials and endorse the verdicts of the secret police trials. During the days of the Hitler-Stalin Pact these agents of Moscow had tough sailing to square the Moscow Trials, which had charged the defendants with being German agents, and the new alliance between Russia and Germany. In those days, the pact was defended on the grounds that Germany under Hitler wanted peace; that it was Great Britain and France and the United States which were the imperialist war mongers. But when Hitler invaded Russia in violation of the pact and to the complete surprise of Stalin, the latter's agents throughout the world were saved their difficulties.

The new line was that the pact with Germany served to give Russia a breathing spell to prepare for war on the side of the Allies. And Germany's invasion of Russia seemed to prove the veracity of the Moscow Trials. Former Russian Ambassador Davies wrote a fairy tale called "Mission to Moscow" which was compounded of GPU lies fed to the gullible, conceited and ignorant diplomat. Hollywood turned out a movie from this book which helped to bolster up the lies of the Moscow Trials as seen by this duped Ambassador. But the Stalinists were unsatisfied with the results of this assistance from an official of the State Department.

They had two of their fellow-travelers and agents in the United States, Michael Sayers and Alfred Kahn, write another book called

"The Great Conspiracy," which set out to prove that the men who made the Russian Revolution were really foreign agents from the very beginning and that the Moscow Trials were wholly justified. This book, too, was inspired by the NKVD and re-produced all the official lies prepared in the Kremlin.

The new world situation which finds Russia and the Western Powers in a struggle for world power has once again brought into question the whole course of Stalinism and particularly the Moscow Trials. That is why the Stalinists are carrying out such a concentrated campaign to sell this new book written by their hired literary hacks.

### UNABLE TO PROVE CHARGES WITH ESTABLISHED FACTS

The doubts about the Moscow Trials are again spreading and the verdict of the commission headed by the venerable John Dewey that the Moscow Trials were a frame-up has gathered new force.

The Stalinist frame-up artists, for example, charged:

1. Trotsky met with Hess and reached an agreement with the German General Staff.
2. Trotsky communicated his agreement with the German fascists and Japanese militarists for war against Russia to Piatakov, who flew to Oslo from Berlin in a German airplane.
3. The conspiracy was furthered by a meeting of Trotsky's son, Leon Sedov, with one Holtzman on September 1, 1936, at the Hotel Bristol in Copenhagen.

There are literally hundreds of other such similar charges. None of them are corroborated. No details are given, such as: where did Trotsky meet Hess, and when? What name did Piatakov have on his passport when he went to Norway? Exactly where did he arrive and who manned the airport when he reached Oslo?

It is easy to understand why no proof was provided. These incidents were clumsily invented in the offices of the NKVD, and the Mexican hearings of the Preliminary Commission revealed the following uncontradicted facts:

1. The Moscow frame-up artists could not have Piatakov in Oslo earlier than "December of 1935" because it was too well known that he was in Moscow and in Berlin prior thereto, and as late as December 21 was in Berlin, according to all newspaper dispatches. But in December of 1935, the airport at Oslo is closed down because of inclement weather. No planes leave or arrive there. There is no record at the airport of the arrival of any plane from Berlin on the date given in the Moscow Trials and no evidence that any person resembling Piatakov was ever in Norway on or about the date given.

2. The meeting of Sedov and Holtzman in the Bristol Hotel was likewise an invention of the secret police and supported by "confession." Sedov was not in Copenhagen on the dates given and the Bristol Hotel had burned down in the year 1917.

3. Trotsky never met Hess in his life, nor any other representatives of the German government, or the German General Staff. But it was out of this kind of stuff the Moscow Trials were built. And it was on the basis of an acceptance of these lies that the gullible tourist in world politics, ex-Ambassador Davies, wrote his scurrilous book. But he was and remains at least unconscious of what he was doing. But the same cannot be said for the hired literary hacks, Sayers and Kahn. They are conscious Stalinist agents.

That is why we say that the Nuremberg Trial is a living answer to the frameups of the Moscow Trials. If the evidence of the Moscow frame-ups was real evidence, then it would

have been reintroduced into the Nuremberg hearings as additional proof of the Nazi conspiracy. The petition presented to the Nuremberg judges by the more than a hundred outstanding trade unionists, liberals, writers and teachers that Hess be questioned about his alleged meeting with Trotsky; that any other defendants be questioned on whether they or any of their representatives met with Trotsky or any representative purporting to speak for him or his son; whether any money was ever given by Germany, by the cabinet or the General Staff, to Trotsky or any of his representatives; whether Piatakov was given a passport by the German government to go to Oslo; and whether there were any documents implicating the Old Bolsheviks in any conspiracy against Russia.

But the Nuremberg judges saw fit not to pursue this line of questioning. That the Russian representatives did not avail themselves of this "opportunity" to prove their case, is understandable. To have pursued this line of questioning of the defendants would have borne out the truth of the charges that the Moscow Trials were a frame-up; that there was not a grain of truth in any of the charges contained in the indictment and the prosecution headed by the arch-conspirator Stalin and his agent, Vyshinsky. Vyshinsky was a prosecutor at Nuremberg. He could have, had he wanted to, easily continued where he left off in Moscow. But he did not; he was fearful of the results of such a line of questioning, fearful that it would disclose his role in the Moscow Trials as a Stalinist puppet engaged in murdering the leaders of the Russian Revolution whom he had opposed in 1917 and 1918.

Why then did not the prosecutors representing the Allied countries accept the proposals of the petitioners? For two reasons: 1. They could not embarrass their Russian allies in the prosecution, for undoubtedly the Russians objected to any kind of examination of the defendants relating to the "evidence" of the Moscow Trials. 2. The charges of the Moscow Trials were too palpably false and ludicrous to be rehearsed again.



### "DEAR JOE"

I beg you to accept my sincerest congratulations on your sixtieth birthday. I enclose with them my best wishes for your personal welfare as for a happy future for the peoples of the friendly Soviet Union.

Adolph Hitler  
Berlin, December 21, 1939

### "DEAR ADOLF"

Head of the German State, Mr. Adolf Hitler:  
I request you to accept my gratitude for your congratulations and my thanks for your good wishes to the peoples of the Soviet Union.

Joseph Stalin  
Moscow, December 24, 1939

### "Cemented by Blood"

Minister of Foreign Affairs of Germany, Mr. Joachim von Ribbentrop:  
I thank you, Mr. Minister, for your congratulations. The friendship of the peoples of Germany and the Soviet Union, cemented by blood, has every reason to be lasting and firm.

Joseph Stalin  
Moscow, December 24, 1939



A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

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EMANUEL GARRETT, Editor

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WORLD POLITICS

OFF LIMITS

By James M. Fenwick

The Negro Digest recently conducted a poll among Negroes on the question, "Should Negroes support compulsory army training?"

Table with 3 columns: Region, Yes, No, Undecided. Rows: North, West, South.

The almost total opposition to compulsory military training is very impressive. It is all the more indicative when contrasted with polls taken among the general population...

The figures are also interesting in showing the higher level of consciousness existing in northern Negroes in contrast to those of the South...

REASONS FOR NEGRO OPPOSITION

The reason for the opposition to military training is simple. It lies in the army policy of Jim Crow which during the war reached the absolute logical madness of Jim Crow blood plasma.

The end of the war did not mean the end of Jim Crow. It merely took other and additional forms. Recently, at a time when selective service pools were running low...

The reason for barring Negroes from the ETO is obvious. The Negro quickly learned in Europe that discrimination as practiced in the United States was virtually non-existent...

For that reason the army brass considers the South Pacific a better place for them. The caste lines with native colored populations have been sharply drawn there...

It is not difficult to see why Negroes do not take seriously the present airy chatter about democratizing the army.

WHY NEGROES ENLIST IN THE ARMY

If this is so, then why are Negroes attempting to join or rejoin the army in such large numbers? For it is a fact that the re-enlistment rate is proportionately higher than among whites...

Some, of course, hoped to get to Europe, where despite the insane discipline of the army and the infuriating Jim Crow, a Negro can more nearly hold up his head like a human being...

The main motive for joining is an economic one—as it is among an increasing number of white troops. With the new pay schedules which prevail, the dependency allotments, and the army food, a Negro and his dependents can very often live better than in civil life...

There are few worse indictments of the evils of life under capitalism than that a man should join the army to escape them.

You See? Just Like He Said!

"...I do not differentiate among soldiers. I do not say white soldiers and Negro soldiers... To my mind, I have had a task in this war that makes me look upon soldiers as soldiers."

Gen. Eisenhower, June 15, 1945.

"Simultaneous with an announcement by Selective Service officials that 155,000 men must be recruited by next March, the War Department declared it was closing the doors to Negro enlistments."

New Republic, August 5, 1946.

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The Recent Elections in Germany

The series of elections at municipal and county levels held in Germany has come to an end, and it is now possible to assess politically their results.

Occupation-saddled Germany is divided at present into four zones in each of which is stationed a different foreign army. In each of these zones the foreign occupying armies buttress different parties.

Now, once the elections were over and the votes counted, in each area the favored party won! Each occupying power somehow managed so to arrange, manipulate and prejudice the election that its puppet party won.

THE U. S. ZONE: Here the Christian Democrats won a plurality, nearly forty per cent. In Catholic Bavaria, they gained a clear majority.

THE BRITISH ZONE: Here the Stalinists receiving only one per cent of the total vote, trailed so badly that one needs to search for some explanation for their poor showing.

THE FRENCH ZONE: The predominantly Catholic population of this zone voted heavily in favor of the conservative parties. The Christian Socialists, corresponding to the Christian Democrats of other zones, scored a clear majority.

In the entire western area, the Stalinists polled only seven per cent of the total vote.

THE RUSSIAN ZONE: The biggest surprise was in this zone. Observers had expected that the Stalinist-

dominated SED (Socialist Unity Party) would sweep the field overwhelmingly. The SED did gain a total majority—the Russians gave them direct aid; but even this majority is misleading.

In the larger cities of the Russian zone, the Stalinists did surprisingly bad, despite Russian aid. In Leipzig, a large industrial town which in pre-Hitler days had always had a strong working class movement...

In another key industrial town, Dresden, the rightist parties gained a clear majority. In the cities of Eisenach, Erfurt, Gotha, Jena and Weimar, the Liberal Democrats ran first, with the SED second and the Christian Democrats third.

The results of these local elections are very revealing, even if not yet completely conclusive. There is every reason to believe that the behavior of the Russian occupying armies has thoroughly alienated large masses of the German people.

The elections are, however, not to be taken too much at face value precisely because of the fact that in each zone the favored party did win. What the result of a nation-wide, genuinely free election would be, it is difficult to predict—except for one thing: the Stalinists would not be nearly the power which their supporters, innocent and otherwise, have claimed.

International Socialist Notes

GREEK REVOLUTIONISTS

APPEAL AGAINST TERROR

A plea has been addressed to the workers of the world by the Central Committee of the International Communist Party of Greece (Trotskyists) for aid against the terrible terror loosed by the Greek government on the people of Greece.

"Our country," they write, "has been transformed into a horrible hell... Those houses that were spared by the war... are today being burned by the hordes of the monarchist government. Extraordinary courts-martial are functioning without pause.

"In unhealthy prisons, workers and poor peasants... are piled together in an unbreathable atmosphere... Those who are arrested, if they are not assassinated outright, are sub-

mitted to a torture which makes one shudder.

"The trade unions are practically dissolved, their offices forcibly occupied by police and provocateurs. Labor printshops are daily attacked by the savages. The labor newspapers are hit by the unbridled repressions of the state and fascist gangs."

"Workers brothers, in the name of international class solidarity, in the name of socialism, take up the defense of the workers of our country.

"Show that working class solidarity is not an empty word.

"Show that the working class is all-powerful.

"Long live the world working class!"

This is a plea that cannot go unheeded. It is necessary that we rouse a storm of protest. The Workers Party is planning a campaign in behalf of our terrorized Greek brothers, and further details on this will appear soon in LABOR ACTION.

ILP AGAIN WINS

MAXTON'S SEAT

James Carmichael, running for the Independent Labor Party, has won the Bridgeton seat in Parliament vacated by the death of ILP Leader James Maxton.

The name of the newly-elected general secretary of the French International Communist Party (Fourth International) unfortunately appeared garbled in last week's issue.

What furnishes an important source of the humor in this play is the sub-theme that the children of the man who ruthlessly creates the billionaire enterprises and who may inherit them are, because of a life of parasitic luxury, idiots, imbeciles and wastrels.

Here are the mechanics of modern society laid bare in a quite simple story which is nevertheless overwhelming in its implications.

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Editorials

Who Were the Nuremberg Judges?

We shed no tears over the Nuremberg verdicts. That a world is free of a few fascist scoundrels is all to the good. However, the Nuremberg trials and the verdicts have to be set down as a hypocritical farce.

The point is that at Nuremberg one gang of criminals was trying another gang of criminals. A PEOPLE'S COURT, such as will some day be convoked to sit in judgment on the whole lot of them, will assess the crimes against humanity committed by prosecutor as well as defendant.

Vishinsky, as Stalin's agent, sits in judgment on the Nazis who plundered Poland, though the Stalinist regime joined Hitler in this plunder, and subjugated millions upon millions, including the 190,000,000 people of Russia, to its tyranny.

The basic aggression is that waged by each imperialism against the welfare of the people of the world. Thinking people have long ago rejected the hypocritical division of imperialist states into aggressors and non-aggressors.

The Nuremberg prosecutors carefully avoided the crimes committed by THEIR governments in assisting the fascists to power. Where in the record is Churchill's stated admiration for fascism; where in the record is Molotov's statement that

"fascism is a matter of taste," and the picture showing him shaking the hand of Ribbentrop? Where in the record is the aid that the "democracies" gave to Hitler and Mussolini—financial, military, moral? Where in the record is the United States embargo on arms to Spanish loyalists fighting Franco fascism? Where the connivance of Britain with Franco?

The Nuremberg Court did NOT try fascism, the extreme of capitalist tyranny. It tried losers. Its great precedent was that conquerors have the right to try those they vanquish. That is why so many capitalist military men have demurred.

These men know full well what the judges seek to obscure—fascism is the ugly offspring of capitalism. They know, as do the judges, that all imperialist wars are wars of aggression, they know that wars are inevitable in the very nature of their capitalist system, and they consequently distrust a precedent which can be used to try them should they be losers in the next war.

A PEOPLE'S COURT will someday judge all the war-makers. It will judge Stalin, the murderer of revolutionists, as well as Hitler, the murderer of revolutionists. It will judge Britain's ruling class, murderer of Jews, as well as Hitler, murderer of Jews. It will judge the ruling class of the United States, lyncher of Negroes, as well as Hitler, lyncher of Greeks.

The Nuremberg Court, conceived by imperialist victors, could be nothing but a farce. It dared not even question the Nazi defendants in refutation of the charges made against revolutionists at the infamous Moscow Trials, for that would have offended one of the judging powers. We await the day when a PEOPLE'S COURT sits in judgment on ALL the tyrants of the world, "democratic" as well as totalitarian, explores the secret archives of the imperialists, exposes to view their connivance against the peoples of the world.

Minority Parties in New York

A grave and serious threat to the democratic rights of the people of New York State is posed by the action of Spencer Young, Democratic and American Labor Party candidate for Controller, in going to the courts to remove four minority parties from the state ballot.

This action is of a piece with the recent removal of Ernest Rice McKinney, Workers Party candidate for Congress in the 22nd Congressional District, from the ballot by the Board of Elections in a high-handed and patently undemocratic manner.

One of the incidental but by no means insignificant aspects of this situation is the fact that the man pressing this undemocratic action is a leading Democratic politician endorsed by the Stalinist-controlled American Labor Party.

It is essential that all trade unions, political groups and individuals raise their voices protecting this attempt to throttle the rights of the minority groups. We of LABOR ACTION and the Workers Party,

ourselves the victims of the drive to prevent radical and socialist voters from expressing their convictions, demand that the electoral rights of the four threatened parties be restored and that the candidates of the Workers Party be allowed to take their rightful places on the ballot.

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Reviewed by ABE VICTOR

George Bernard Shaw wrote "Major Barbara" more than forty years ago. In 1941, with minor changes, it appeared as a motion picture, probably as one of the best, the most exciting of that year.

Its theme is quite simple. Barbara Undershaft, an inspired Salvation Army worker, is also the daughter of a charming, clever but quite cold-blooded munitions magnate.

The play sparkles because of its remarkably clever dialogue and because its characters, whether clever

or stupid, rich or poverty-stricken, strong or weak in personality, are still intelligently and sympathetically drawn. Their weaknesses are not over-simplified. But one of the best attributes of the play is Shaw's constantly recurring and devastating comment upon bourgeois morality.

The basic idea contained in the

Books You Should Know...





The First of Two Articles on the Ku Klux Klan:

# The Native Fascists in Nightshirts

By JERRY TODD

Liberals of the United States, and the many union officials who are saturated with middle class idealism, are highly indignant these days because the Committee on Un-American Affairs of the House of Representatives has refused to investigate the Ku Klux Klan, which has again sprung up in many states.

On all sides—from Senators, from AFL central labor unions, from CIO leaders—one hears that the Klan is "un-American."

Yet there is no question but that in a way the House committee is on sound grounds in refusing to investigate the Klan. Webster's dictionary defines "un-American" as not characteristic of, or consistent with American customs, principles, etc.

BY THIS DEFINITION, the Klan passes muster as a 100 per cent American institution. For eighty years, it has been a factor in the life of the United States, appearing at times of particular social and economic tension.

The Ku Klux Klan is as American as the belief of many white, Protestant, native citizens that they constitute a privileged and ruling stratum of the population.

The Klan is as American as the belief of the southern cracker that there is nothing wrong about the odor of the old black mammy, but that the odor of the most refined, delicate, clean colored person is offensive if that colored person chances to meet one upon terms of equality.

## ONE PART OF AMERICA

The prejudices upon which the Klan rests are part of the American credo—that a Negro's vote may always be readily bought for a dollar; that nobody knows so well as the Southerner how to handle a colored person; that whenever a Negro is educated he refuses to work and becomes a criminal; that no atheist has read the Bible or pondered upon the stars; that all immigrants come to America in search of liberty, and that when they attempt to exercise it they should be immediately sent back; that people of Oriental blood always have very wily natures and that they glide about without making a sound; that all male Negroes secretly hanker after every white woman they see, etc., etc.

The Klan is as American as the use of brutality and violence by the employing class (who own everything and create nothing), against the class of workers (who possess nothing and create everything).

Yes, only a liberal, a man with "penetrating eyes," would deny that the Ku Klux Klan, with its anti-labor, anti-Negro bias, is part of the American tradition, though, of course, not all of it.

Wherever there is a class society, wherein one class exploits other classes, there you have a Ku Klux Klan, or its counterpart. It was so in the early slave-trading America. It is so today, wherever imperialism holds sway. So long as capitalism rules, the ruling minority will always seek, by terror and by prejudice, by legal and by extralegal means, to

divide the exploited, to set one group of slaves against the others, to keep alive and nurture the vilest and meanest superstitions.

## KLAN ORGANIZED IN 1865

The original Ku Klux Klan was organized in the South, as an aftermath of the Civil War, in 1865, by a group of young Confederate soldiers. They called their secret society by the Greek name, Kuklos, meaning the circle. Other secret societies, organized for the same purpose, to terrorize the Negroes and to oppose the reconstruction measures of the northern radical Republicans, were the Knights of the White Camelia (larger than the Klan), the White League, the Invisible Circle, the Pale Faces, etc.

But the anti-alien, anti-Catholic aspects of the Klan platform had their counterparts in other periods of American history—in the American Party (the so-called "Know Nothings") of the 1850's, and later, in the American Protective Association, organized in 1887.

The original Klan was modeled after the federal government. The entire South was the Invisible Empire, under a Grand Wizard; each state was a Realm under a Grand Dragon; several counties formed a Dominion under a Grand Titan; each county was a Province under a Grand Giant; the smallest division was a Den, also ruled by someone grand, a Grand Cyclops.

It is American to love mystery, fable, spooky—even witness the businessmen luncheon clubs and fraternal orders, even the rituals of many unions. The Klan with its mystery has ever attracted the ignorant and superstitious. In the post Civil War period the Klan at its height had 550,000 members, that is, nearly the entire adult male white population of the South. It effectively terrorized the Negro, forcing his retreat into political subservience to the white man. The North finally capitulated to the South, and the Klan dwindled after 1872, leaving in its stead a number of local organizations, like the White League of Louisiana.

## REVIVED AFTER FIRST WORLD WAR

After the First World War there arose a great social crisis, marked by vast strikes such as the steel strike of 1919, the railroad shopmen's strike, the packinghouse strike; by the demobilization of hundreds of thousands of veterans who had learned to defend themselves and to use arms; marked by the emigration northward of many thousand Negroes to better paying war-time jobs; and marked by the depression and unemployment of the early 1920's.

Of course the Klan revived. In 1915, heralded by a big mass meeting on Stone Mountain near Atlanta, Ga., similar to the recent publicized meeting held on that same mountain by the Klan, it revived. Big Business needed an extra-legal organization like the Klan. It bought and paid for it.

The new Klan professed various motives. In the South, it appealed to the fundamentalist beliefs in morals and religion, and whipped up the anti-Negro prejudices of the populace. In

the North it was more blatantly anti-labor, anti-Bolshevik, anti-alien.

It utilized mass meetings, cross burnings, anonymous threats, whipping, tarring and feathering, burning and murder to achieve its ends. From October, 1920, to October, 1921, one year, the New York WORLD tabulated the Klan's violent actions as follows: four killings, one mutilation, one branding with acid, forty-one floggings, twenty-seven tarings, five kidnappings, forty-three persons warned to leave town, fourteen communities threatened by posters, sixteen parades of masked men, etc.

## WHY THE KLAN DECLINED

There is an interesting article on the Klan in the Social Science Encyclopedia, written by M. S. Sandman. It is interesting because it exposes the lack of understanding and the distortion of truth by the author.

The author attributes the dying out of the post-war Klan to a series of articles which began in the N. Y. World in September, 1921, exposing the Klan as a money-making machine, and to a Congressional investigation of the Klan.

The liberal longs to believe that all that is required to stop an organization like the Klan is to "expose" it.

But the facts about the Klan give the lie to the author. The Klan was exposed in 1921. It didn't die. It continued to grow by leaps and bounds, and its membership by 1924 reached 6,000,000. It became a political factor in many states, electing a Senator in Texas, and wielding considerable political power in Arkansas, Connecticut, Indiana, Oklahoma, Alabama, Georgia and Oregon.

It died down in the late 1920's—not from exposure, not from liberal righteousness, but from a more potent medicine—relative prosperity.

When there is almost enough to go around for everybody, when all are eating and drinking and are being sheltered, and have jobs, the Klan can't prosper. Human nature changes a little, during the course of such periods (increasingly infrequent in our society).

This, incidentally, is why we socialists believe that in a socialist society that will provide an abundance for all, racial prejudice and many other prejudices and fountainheads of irrational behavior, will wither and disappear.

Came the depression of the 1930's and the Klan revived again. Many readers will remember the Klan murder of Frank Norman, organizer of the United Citrus Workers' Union, in Florida. More will recall the brutal Klan murder of Joseph Shoemaker, socialist, and the flogging of his associates, on November 30, 1935, in Tampa. You may recall other cowardly atrocities by the Klan against labor in the Northern states. You all remember the rise of similar organizations to the Klan in the 1930's—Father Coughlin, the Silver Shirts, etc. Only the artificial wartime prosperity caused them to relapse into a period of dormancy.

(The second half of this article will appear next week.—Ed.)

# A GPU Music Critic Censors Shostakovich

The cultural purge in Russia continues. The fierce dictatorial repressions based on fantastically ridiculous critical judgments have this time struck Dmitri Shostakovich, until now hailed by the Stalinists as a great composer. In the journal "Culture and Life," published by the Agitation and Propaganda Committee of Stalin's party (obviously the proper committee to evaluate music...) one I. Nestiev accuses Shostakovich's Ninth and latest symphony of lacking "warm ideological conviction."

The Stalinist critic—who was probably intended for a job as a GPU guard in a Russian forced labor camp but became a music critic instead—writes that Shostakovich's Ninth shows that the composer "has not overcome in himself the ironical skeptic." It suffers further, the GPU Music Guard writes—as if ironical skepticism weren't a serious enough fault—from "the cynical and evil grotesque, the tone of merciless joking and ridicule...the cold irony of stylization."

The reader, even if not a musical specialist, will readily see that from the grievous error of ironical skepticism to the unforgivable crime of the cold irony of stylization—well, all that is left for a composer faced with such irrefutable charges is to plead for mercy.

Consider further that Shostakovich has been warned before. In 1936 the GPU Music Guards informed him that his ballet, "Limpid Stream," was (as Pravda put it) "unwholesome and cheap." What is more, Stalin couldn't

whistle its main tunes, and there is clearly no point in permitting music which Stalin can't whistle. On that occasion, Dmitri showed the proper contrition—he confessed, so to speak—and wrote a few booming symphonies which Stalin could whistle. And all the little Stalinists could whistle them, too, from the Kremlin right down to 13th Street and the Freiheit Choir. Now, however, what will they whistle?

It's pretty tough to be a Stalinist these days: you don't even know what to whistle.

But—let us not forget Shostakovich. Will he adapt himself again? In the past he has shown a remarkable flexibility. When the Stalinists entered their ultra-left "third period" in the early 1930's, he wrote the May Day and October Symphonies, the very names of which suggest, their themes of struggle. After the Popular Front, both symphonies were withdrawn: themes of struggle smacked of Trotskyism! And when Stalin shook hands with von Ribbentrop and Molotov discovered that fascism was a matter of taste, Shostakovich who knew on which side of the party line his bread was buttered, composed his Fifth Symphony which—such a delicate touch!—contained large chunks of Strauss and Mahler, both of "Germanic" composers.

So you see Dmitri has known how to adapt himself before. Yet the charges have never before been so serious. After all, ironical skepticism in a symphony is nothing to pass off so lightly.—I. H.

# Wm. Dunne Expelled By Stalinist Party

William F. Dunne is the most recent prominent Communist Party member to be expelled in the current drive of the Foster-Dennis leadership to whip the membership into line behind the new policies of American Stalinism. Of the latest group of people so expelled, McKenney, Minton, Smith and Dunne, the latter is by far the most important. Not so much for what he counted in the Stalinist Party of today, but for his past.

Dunne came out of Montana as a leader in a state dominated by the copper interests. He brought with him to the young and militant Communist Party of twenty-five years ago the spirit of native American working class struggle and rose quickly in the leadership of the organization. At one time he was co-editor of the Daily Worker; at all times he was one of its leading trade union functionaries. The protracted factionalism of the Twenties and the subsequent Stalinization of the party had a corrupting influence on this man. Charged with personal weaknesses fatal to a working class leader, Dunne was removed from leadership of even a Stalinist party which is notoriously corrupt politically.

For some years Dunne was completely out of Stalinist political life but he was maintained by the party, as they say, in the hope that he would rehabilitate himself and be of service to them. But apparently Dunne was never able to rehabilitate himself, even in the cause of Stalinism. The party was never able to make the use of him it desired in championing its anti-working class politics and practices. But this was not due to any serious political reasons. Dunne never really understood the nature of the struggle of Trotsky against Stalinist degeneration in the early days of the struggle. He finally found his way to support Stalin. But before that he once wrote back gleefully from Moscow in 1926 that "Trotsky was back with a vengeance." Perhaps the Stalinists have never forgotten this and have inscribed it in his dossier.

But now, in the concrete situation arising out of the struggle against Browderism, which is only more blatant Fosterism—or, rather, the continuation of Stalinist policy in America with new emphases growing out of the new world political relations—Dunne was caught up with as an "opponent" to party policies from the "left."

Still trying to mobilize the party behind the swift and sudden removal of the "beloved leader, Browder," Foster finds it necessary to carry on the fight against what he calls the "left" in the party, those who advocate what they think is a class struggle policy. Since it is a totalitarian party, the CP finds it necessary to denounce its new victims for having advanced the "petty bourgeois, anarchistic slogan of 'freedom of criticism' to facilitate their propaganda of views hostile to the party." And the party must carry on the fight against "both Browder revisions and 'left' sectarianism (which challenge the basic strategy and tactical line which our party has worked out...")

It is the same old story: Against the so-called right and the so-called left in what is actually a struggle inside of a movement which is as a whole anti-working class and counter-revolutionary. Even the criticisms of the Dunes, Smiths and McKenneys flow from basic Stalinist premises. Most if not all of these people have lived too long with Stalinism, have too long endorsed its crimes against the working class to be of any service to socialism. They are in essence Stalinist hacks, who stepped out of line and were, therefore, the victims of procedures characteristic of this movement.

We can only repeat what we wrote in our editorial of two weeks ago: "Thus, the American Communist Party pursues an imperialist policy, completely subordinated to Moscow, and cannot tolerate the slightest differences of opinion within its ranks. The effort made to paint William Z. Foster with a leftist brush fails completely. It is obvious that the switch to him was made because Browder was so compromised that the present policies could not have been inaugurated under his auspices.

"The McKenney, Minton and Smith expulsions, however, reveal that underneath the heavy bureaucratic crust that covers the Stalinist Party, dissatisfaction takes place even to the point of struggle against the leadership and its policies. There are thousands of militant workers in that party who can and must be won away from its counter-revolutionary, anti-working class environment."—Carl Davis.

## Answering Questions Often Put Before Us:

# The Prospects for a Small Revolutionary Party

By ERNEST ERBER

(The following article is a continuation of a series by Ernest Erber explaining the aims of the Workers Party to new readers of LABOR ACTION. The series was interrupted after the first two articles appeared in our issues of August 5 and 12 as a result of Erber's absence on a national speaking tour.—Editors.)

In our last article ("Who Is Behind the Workers Party?") we stated that only a party composed of workers who were prepared to sacrifice their time and efforts for the ideas they believed in would remain true to its working class aims. We said we were positive that the workers were capable of the idealism necessary for such self-sacrificing devotion because they have continually given evidence of it in strike struggles which involved more than an immediate dollar and cents gain for them. In this sense, idealism is but another term for class consciousness. The latter, we pointed out, was based upon understanding. The most class conscious, we said, were those who achieved an understanding that went beyond solidarity in the trade union struggle and succeeded in comprehending the "long-range, historic goal of the working class in reorganizing society upon a Socialist basis." It was from among these, we added, that the members of the Workers Party came.

At this point the skeptic among the new readers said:

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

The last thing that the Workers Party seeks to do is to conceal the fact that its numbers are small. It has no need to engage in wild exaggerations of its size, as so many small parties do, because it does not regard its present size to be the decisive factor in its ability to achieve its goal. If the achievement of Socialism depended upon the strength of the party today then the question of whether the Workers Party had five hundred or a thousand or five thousand members would surely make no difference, for one figure would be as inadequate as the other.

## HISTORICAL REASONS

Our party will begin to "get somewhere" only when historical development has prepared the ground for it. In this premise we stand upon one of the basic tenets of Scientific Socialism or Marxism. Karl Marx laid it down nearly a hundred years ago when he wrote:

"Man makes his own history, but he does not make it out of the whole cloth; he does not make it out of conditions chosen by himself, but out of such as he finds close at hand. (The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte.)"

What Marx taught was that men could change the conditions under

which they live but only in accordance with the basic course of historical development. They could not arbitrarily run against the current of historical development nor would they run ahead of it. This current of historical development is based, in the fundamental sense, upon economic development. However, the latter gives rise to a whole series of complicated and contradictory political, cultural, psychological and sociological factors which often combine in such a way as to play a tremendously important role. Though their role is never decisive in that it never reverses the basic current of historical development, it is yet often important enough to vastly speed up or slow down social change.

Let us give some examples of what we mean. Had one set out to organize trade unions in this country during the late 1700's, one's most brilliant efforts would have been doomed to failure. Even had an organizing committee been formed with such writers as Thomas Jefferson and Benjamin Franklin, such agitators as Tom Paine and Patrick Henry, and such organizers as Sam Adams, its converts would still have been only a handful. Yet in the late

1800's far less talented speakers, writers and organizers enrolled millions of workers in the Knights of Labor and, later, the American Federation of Labor. We need not explain much to show what had happened in the hundred year period between the two dates. The development of industry, the growth of a class of industrial workers, the sharpening battles between labor and capital all plowed the soil for the rise of the mass trade union movement.

## FORERUNNERS OF TODAY

Let us carry this example further. From the earliest years of the American Federation of Labor outstanding leaders of labor have advocated organizations along industrial lines. Men like Eugene Debs and Bill Haywood stumped the country for years on behalf of this idea. A number of the important unions of the AFL were committed to it. Yet some forty years passed before it was realized in 1935 with the formation of the CIO. In this case the lapse cannot be explained by economic development alone. The mass production industries which became the backbone of the CIO were already fully devel-

oped by the end of the First World War. A whole series of other factors related with the development of the American working class and the labor movement in this country, many of them conjunctural and "accidental," combined to delay the appearance of the CIO.

In one sense, one can say that the history of the American working class as an organized movement on the economic field only began twelve years ago with the appearance of the CIO. The difference between three million organized workers at the high-point of the AFL at the end of World War I and fifteen million organized workers today is not a mere quantitative difference. Before the CIO was formed only a thin upper-layer of skilled workers were organized. Today the working class as such is organized. Those workers still unorganized today, except for the South, are relatively unimportant. If one dates the appearance of the first nation-wide labor organization back to the 1860's when the National Labor Union was organized, one can say it took American workers fully seventy years to achieve anything near total economic organization.

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# NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN STALIN'S RUSSIA - II

# Timid "Left-Wing" Wins at French Socialist Convention

By F. FOREST

## 1. THE FOURTH FIVE-YEAR PLAN

Russia has a most crying need for a labor force large enough and productive enough to cope with the devastation wrought by the war and the norms of the Fourth Five-Year Plan, which is, first and foremost, a plan for machine construction. The promises given to the workers regarding a rise in their standard of living is made strictly dependent upon "a consistent and systematic reduction of the cost of all goods and on wide-scale construction of all kinds of scientific research institutes to enable science to develop its forces." (Stalin) In other words, the Russian worker is told that if he wishes a raise in wages, he had better display a high labor productivity gain, basically, a "reduction of the cost of all goods" is dependent upon it. Until science will have developed a form of synthetic feeding, the Russian worker must continue to earn his food through the conveyor-belt system.

The question of the labor force must be viewed against a background of the loss of seven million men in a war which left 25 million persons homeless. These, Molotov tells us, live in "dug-outs or worse." Being ill-housed and ill-fed, the Russian worker is now told that he must also remain ill-clothed. Even, theoretically, for example, only 240 million pairs of shoes are planned for the year 1950, the last year of the Fourth Five-Year Plan. This means hardly more than one pair of shoes, every two years, per person. This is not the exception but the rule for all of light industry. In the production of cotton and woolen fabrics, moreover, the Fourth Five-Year Plan sets the following figures: 4.6 billion square yards and 160 million square yards respectively. Here is how this compares with previous plans:

	1932	1937	1942
Cotton .....	4.7	5.1	4.9
Wool .....	270	220	177

In other words, the plan for 1950 for light industry is less than for the First Five-Year Plan, and this at a time when Russia has in the meantime incorporated 25 million additional people into her empire!

The only exception to the sector of means of consumption goods is, even in Czarist times, the production of vodka, which is planned annually at 11-12 pints per person. (Since the "per person" includes children in the cradle, the Rus-

sian worker, in reality, is assured of a greater number of pints.)

When the Russian worker asks why must he continue to be so ill-clothed in the "land of socialism," he is told that before he can have textiles, he must have textile machines, and the plan for the machine construction calls for a 200 per cent rise above 1940. Outside of machine construction, no such high target figures exist for heavy industry, but, in contrast to the light industry, they are exceedingly high, in each case representing a percentage of 1940, though below the plan for 1942, set up before war broke out.

	in millions of tons		
	1940	1942	1950
Iron .....	15	22	19.5
Steel .....	18.3	28	25.4
Coal .....	166	243	250
Oil .....	31	48.5	35.4
Electric power .....	48	75	82 (bln. kw. hr.)

The average annual rate of increase planned for heavy industry is fourteen per cent, contrasted to only seven per cent for light industry. Moreover, the leit motif of Stalin's February 9th speech, in which he first announced the Fourth Five-Year Plan, was that this situation would continue for many years, since the goal was to catch up with the United States. "Perhaps three new Five-Year Plans will be required to achieve this, if not more."

The much-oppressed Russian worker, weary, hungry and destitute shows little interest for the high plans for the continued further production of means of production and ever lesser production of means of consumption. Drew Middleton, of *The New York Times*, who has just visited the crucial Don Basin region tells that the economic conditions and productivity of labor there is comparable to that of the devastated Ruhr. That, in one sentence, tells us more of the devastation of that region and the low productivity of labor than all the exhortations of *Pravda*, *Trud* and *Komsomolskaya Pravda*.

## 2. THE RUIN CAUSED BY THE WAR

The invasion of the Ukraine in 1941 and the devastation of its Don Basin region deprived Russia of 54 per cent of its coal production, 60 per cent of its production of pig iron, 48 per cent of steel, 35 per cent of manganese, 50 per cent of wheat and 74 per cent of sugar beet. Industrial machinery, livestock and grain were systematic-

ally removed by the Nazis, dams blown up, mines flooded and factories destroyed. In some cases, as in Leningrad, the Russians were successful in transferring the equipment to new industrial areas in the Urals, but most of the materials could not be moved in time. In fact, despite all ballyhoo, the growth of new industrial areas in the Kuznetsk Basin, the Urals and the Amur Valley in the Far East do not, in any appreciable extent, make up for the loss of no less than 25 per cent of its fixed capital. Official Soviet reports to the Reparations Commission list the following destruction:

70,000 villages
6 million dwellings
31 million industrial enterprises
98 thousand collective farms
40 thousand miles of railroad (out of total of 86 thousand)
17 million heads of cattle and 40,000 tractors

When you add to this, the unprecedented wear and tear of capital equipment, and put that alongside the tremendous development in production in the United States during the war, you can get some semblance of the gigantic, if not impossible, task facing the Russian worker in the next five-year period which has as its aim the restoration of the national economy to pre-war levels and an increase of industrial output of 30 per cent. As we saw, this "general" increase means a decrease in the production of consumer goods, a "general" increase (200 per cent) in the sector of machine construction.

The task is well-nigh impossible if it is intended, as it always is by a ruling class, to circumscribe the achievement of the task within the inter-imperialist framework, that is, without benefit of proletarian revolutions, which the Stalinist bureaucracy could not weather. But to try thus to accomplish the plan means to take it out of the hands of the Russian worker. It all boils down again to how much oppression will the Russian worker stand?

What has he done in the first six months of the Plan? What is his relationship to the Russian peasant? What is the relationship of the peasant to the state?

Next week we will return to a consideration of the Plan, both on the industrial and agricultural fronts, measured against accomplishments and the crisis now sapping the Russian economy.

By SAUL BERG

The reports in the American press on the recent congress of the French Socialist Party were so garbled because of the political illiteracy of the correspondents, that all sorts of incorrect interpretations of political trends in France became rife among circles here. The congress was important and significant in revealing trends in France, and it will be worth our while to assemble the main facts as to what happened, and attempt to draw lessons.

The Blum-Mayer leadership of the Socialists was repudiated by the convention and a new "left" tendency, headed by a young deputy from Pas-de-Calais, Guy Mollet, constitutes the majority on the new executive committee of the Party. This tendency is, if anything, more strongly anti-Stalinist than the rest of the party, far from representing any trend toward unity with the Communist Party. There is a pro-Stalinist group of some size in the SP, but it is not this one.

The only concrete action taken by the convention on relations with the Stalinists was to dissolve the "Entente" committee of the party whose task had been to achieve unity of action with the CP.

The general political tendency of the Mollet group is revealed by its actions at the convention to be that of an exceedingly timid centrist group. The leadership of the group is loaded down with parliamentary cretins, whose overnight swing into opposition to the party leadership was motivated primarily by their fear of losing their seats in the Chamber of Deputies in the coming elections, unless something was done to resuscitate the organization, so that it could pretend once more to appear as the defender of the workers' interests.

# Two Who Remain in Tennessee's Jails

By ERNEST RICE McKINNEY

A monstrous crime has just been perpetrated and a horrible tragedy was performed at Lawrenceburg, Tennessee. I refer to the Columbia, Tennessee, trials which have just been concluded and in which 25 Negroes were being tried for attempted murder. Before the trial of the 25, 103 Negroes were kept in jail and two of them were killed by "officers of the law" for "attempting to escape," for attempting "violence" while being questioned, or for some equally vague offense in the presence of the "guardians of the law" such as it is in Tennessee and the entire South.

What is the crime and what is the tragedy? The perpetration and the organization of the crime began on February 25 in this year of Lynching, the Four Freedoms and the American Way of Life. On that night in Columbia, following a simple altercation between a Negro and a white man, a white mob composed of uniformed policemen and armed white civilians organized for the purpose of "mopping up" the Negro section of the town, with all the usual savagery and blood-lust of the Southern white mob on a recurrent campaign of "teaching the Niggers to stay in their place."

## NEGROES FOUGHT BACK

The Negroes, who knew what to expect after some brave Negro had dared be a man and defend himself against insult, withdrew to their section and armed themselves for the defense of their persons and their homes. Such action of course is not tolerated from Negroes in the United States. These courageous Negroes huddled in the darkness of "Mink Slide" and waited for the white mob. During the night four white "officers of the law" were shot. And during the week the State of Tennessee and the mob carried on a reign of terror in the Negro section. Negro business establishments were destroyed and 103 Negro men and boys were jailed. White supremacy had triumphed, the nobility of white manhood had been demonstrated, and white womanhood had been given full protection!

The state's case against these Negroes was based on the fact that four white policemen had been shot. Who shot them was of no concern to the state or its "decent white citizens." All that concerned these white people was the fact that Negroes had armed and were determined to die with the dignity of human beings and not like vermin tramped under foot or burned at the stake. Of the 103 arrested, the state selected 25 for trial on the charge of "attempted murder." Ten of these 25 Negroes had only recently returned from service in the armed forces, making the world safe against Hitler or any future Hitler. They thought they were fighting against fascism, and for freedom and equality.

It is really not strange that the state included 10 Negro ex-serve men among the 25. Above all, Negroes who have seen other countries and other peoples, not as savage as white Southerners, must be taught a lesson. They must be taught that Jim

Crow still rules in the U. S. and that where Negroes are concerned, the mob is the law.

Vincent Sheehan, in his reports on the trial to the New York Herald Tribune, was surprised at the way the trial was conducted. He need not have been. This trial was conducted as the trial of Negroes is usually conducted in the U. S. and particularly in the South. It was especially borne in mind that this was no ordinary trial. It was the trial of Negroes who had dared defend themselves and not run like scared rabbits. These Negroes armed themselves and shot back. Nowhere in the U. S. does the law of self-defense apply to Negroes as it does to white men. In this country the usual legal procedure about self-defense is distorted, twisted and perverted whenever and wherever Negroes are involved. This perversion is covered over with unctuous and hypocritical talk about "law and order," seeking the protection of the "law," and a pretended concern with attempts to discover whether or not one's life and home were really in danger.

## A KANGAROO COURT

The trial was conducted in a manner to make even the most hard-boiled and corrupted shyster lawyer blush. The court permitted the state prosecutor to do and say pretty much as he pleased. The procedure was a frame-up procedure and the trial was a mere imitation of the proceedings of a lynch court, just before the victim is burned at the stake. All the rules of cross-examination were violated in the case of the defense. The defense not only had to contend against the prosecutor but the judge. Any evidence or tactic which would have put the best face on the case for the defendants was ruled out. The judge barked and snarled at the defense attorneys. No limit was put on the prosecution but some of the most telling evidence attempted by the defense was ruled out. The state's witnesses lied and lied, but the defense was not permitted to demonstrate that they were lying.

In his closing address to the jury the prosecutor, one Bumpus, called for the elimination of "rats," "lice," "skunks," "punks," and "pimps" who had come into the South from the North. He demanded more hangings because the Nuremberg trials were not going to cause enough hangings. He was against people with such names as "Stinkski" and "Eleanor-ski." This was the way this little shyster and ignorant blatherskite addressed a jury which was expected to decide the fate of 25 Negroes according to the law and the evidence.

After the deluge of filth, venom and malignity the jury decided that two of these 25 Negroes were guilty as charged. Not one of them had been proved guilty and not one of them had had the opportunity to be properly defended. Their lawyers were on trial in this court of "law" along with the 25. It was an offense in this trial for a defense lawyer to be presumptuous enough to demand either the right of cross-examination or the right to present relevant evidence. Furthermore, no one on the side of

the State was interested in the fact that these Negroes had been attacked by a mob, that they were defending themselves, that two of them had been murdered, that their stores had been smashed in and that the whole Negro population of Columbia had been intimidated and brow-beaten for weeks and months.

## SAVING FACE

But the sovereign State of Tennessee had saved its face. ALL of the hated victims had not been acquitted. At least some lesson would be taught to Negroes who dared shoot at white men. This court would teach them to cry for mercy and be shot like rats the next time a white mob decided to invade the Negro section.

Vincent Sheehan, who wrote some excellent articles on this trial before the verdict, succumbed to the usual liberal pap and nonsense after the verdict was in. He was elated that only two of the men had been convicted. Democracy had triumphed:

only two innocent men were to be railroaded to the state's dungeon. It might have been 25. The jury was composed of men of "courage and decency." It had the opportunity to send all 25 up for 21 years and had courageously and decently refrained.

The New York Times was also jubilant at this demonstration of the democratic spirit, the American Way of Life. Only two innocent victims were convicted. We must have patience. The Negroes of Columbia and of the nation must have patience. It's not as bad as it might have been. The South has done better in days past. Things are improving. All the Negroes need do is turn their guns over to the "decent" white citizens, work harder and pray more.

We say again: a monstrous crime was perpetrated at this trial and conviction. Only fools, scoundrels of "good will" and cowards can rejoice over the outcome. But tragedy was present also. There were Negroes present testifying for the state. This

was the tragedy. Not the fact that Negroes appeared as witnesses for the state but the way in which they became the state's witnesses. Everybody knows how they got there. They were intimidated, terrorized and maltreated. They were made to sign statements and give evidence which had been prepared for them. We have no quarrel with these Negroes. Even if they went voluntarily, we still have no quarrel with them. They live under a constant reign of terror, intimidation and brutality. Anyone, black or white, who casts a stone at these Negroes who testified for the state at that trial, is a man or woman not fit to live; or suited for the association of any decent human being.

There is only one bright spot in this whole sordid affair. It is the Negroes of Columbia who defended themselves and shot back on February 25. The Workers Party and this paper salute these brave Negroes.

# Stalin Gave Green Light - -

(Continued from page 3)

force a settlement that would leave Hitler and Stalin in control of Eastern Europe.

## ECONOMIC TREATIES

The diplomatic treaties were reinforced with economic treaties that provided for the supply of Germany with many crucial materials cut off by the British blockade and for the transit across Russia of certain vital commodities supplied by Japan.

The Hitler-Stalin bloc led to an immediate cessation of all anti-fascist propaganda in Russia, including the stopping of anti-Nazi films and plays and the disappearance of anti-fascist books from book stores. The Communist International applied the same line throughout the world. It stigmatized anti-fascist propaganda as "war-mongering" and conducted "peace campaigns" in England and the United States. Mosley, leading British fascist, and Gallacher, Communist member of Parliament, vied with each other in denouncing the British government's part in the war and demanding peace. The British Communist Party organized "People's Peace" meetings throughout the country. In the United States, the Peace Mobilization movement, organized by the Communist Party, picketed the White House under the slogan of "The Yanks aren't coming!" and conducted a tremendous agitation in the union movement against lend-lease aid to Britain. Browder and Fritz Kuhn, Nazi Bund "Fuehrer," sounded almost indistinguishable in their support of the Hitler-Stalin "peace" efforts.

## STALIN SENT "REGRETS"

When a bomb narrowly missed Hitler in the Munich beer hall shrine, the Russian government "expressed its regrets and indignation at the attempt to assassinate Chancellor Hitler" and "expressed satisfaction over

his escape" and sent its "condolences to the injured and to the relatives of the dead." The Moscow radio broadcast the German version of the incident, including its blame of the British Intelligence Service for the bombing.

Hitler showed himself just as tender and considerate for the welfare of his partner. On Stalin's sixtieth birthday both Hitler and von Ribbentrop sent messages of congratulations. Stalin replied to thank them and to state to von Ribbentrop that the friendship was "cemented in blood." (Meanwhile Hitler's hangmen were adding to it the blood of the Jewish population of Poland.)

Stalin and von Ribbentrop clinked glasses in a sumptuous Kremlin banquet toasting their "friendship." Red Army bands played the Nazi "Horst Wessel Lied" as German diplomatic delegations landed at Russian airports and Nazi bands defiled the "Internationale" by playing it on Templehof airdrome when Molotov visited Hitler. The swastika and the hammer and sickle flew side by side on these occasions.

Molotov explained:

"One may accept or reject the ideology of Hitlerism as well as any other ideological system: that is a matter of political views." (Some translations of his speech said, "... that is a matter of TASTE.")

Today the Stalinist propagandists would have us believe that this was all a clever game on the part of the Russians, that it was necessary to "buy time" to prepare for war. But how then was it that the Russian armies were so badly prepared? How was it that Hitler's attack caught them by surprise? But if it really was a game the Russians were playing and everything the Russians said and did was compounded of lies, du-

licity, hypocrisy and double-dealing, all designed to deceive the Nazis, did it not also deceive and mislead the people, both within Russia and Germany and throughout the world? Did it not deceive the members of the American Communist Party? Did not Browder and Foster repeat the same lies in the United States?

Was all this necessary as an elaborate cover to trick the Nazis? If this was the case, how can anyone believe the Stalinist régime today? How do we know that Molotov's and Vyshinsky's speeches at the Peace Conference are not a gigantic hoax to cover up some other ends? To say that the American, English and French diplomats also lie is not saying anything new. All it is saying is that Stalinist Russia is not different; it plays imperialist power politics in the same dirty manner.

That is why the spectacle of Hitler's partner sitting on the judges' bench at Nuremberg and pointing an accusing finger at the prisoners in the dock causes an honest man to become nauseous with disgust.

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The French Socialist Party is not a small party, claiming well over 300,000 party members, and receiving over 4,000,000 votes in the June elections. Furthermore, this party emerged from the war a predominantly middle class outfit, devoting most of its activities to electioneering, and to job patronage in the many local and national government offices that it controls. At its convention this spring, the party leadership received an overwhelming vote of confidence.

There was not the slightest sign of any substantial dissatisfied left wing in the party. In the detailed reports of three days of speeches at that convention by dozens of delegates, I found exactly one critic. Yet at the recent congress, the new "left" wing defeated Blum-Mayer by 2,964 mandates against 1,365. The new leadership had the support of 50 deputies of the Socialist parliamentary group, and of one cabinet minister, Tanguy-Prigent, Minister of Agriculture.

Had all these parliamentary do-nothings and careerists so completely changed their political coloration in a few short months? Could the predominantly middle class party membership, two-thirds of them in the party only since "liberation," give such a crushing majority to any genuinely left grouping? Obviously not. Let us examine the actual position taken by the "lefts."

On the most pressing question before the congress, that of Socialist participation in the government, the Mollet group capitulated completely. They approved "tripartism," that is to say the coalition with the capitalist MRP of Bidault. They voted for the report of the Socialist parliamentary group—thus giving their endorsement to the whole rotten policy of the party, which had caused its retreat in the last elections.

Under these circumstances, its opposition boiled down primarily to dissatisfaction with the way the leading committee of the party carried on its directing work. In other words, the "left," instead of presenting a distinct political stand came to the congress with a bill of grievances, and said, in effect—put us in office and we'll carry on the same policy, only more efficiently. And to show that they had no real differences with the old leadership the new executive committee, one week later, reappointed Leon Blum to the political directorship of the party organ, "Le Populaire!"

## RANK AND FILE SWING

Blum, speaking at the congress, stated that "our men in the government must be the honest and loyal

directors of the affairs of capitalism." Mollet, the "rebel," replied "We know that everywhere and always, they have sought to be the best," and the congress adopted a resolution "addressing to our comrade-ministers the expression of our gratitude for the energetic action that they carry on in the government, and assuring them of our affectionate confidence." Enough said.

The most heartening development connected with this congress was that it revealed the beginnings in the rank and file of a real left swing. The Socialist federations of the departments of Indre, Vosges and several others, as well as a number of branches in the Paris region, adopted motions demanding the withdrawal of the Socialists from the government. At the convention itself, two delegates had the courage to go beyond the miserable stand of the "left," to demand withdrawal from the cabinet, and a resort to mass action of the workers.

Likewise, the recent magnificent struggle of the postal, telephone and telegraph workers, in which so many Socialist workers cooperated militantly with Trotskyists and revolutionary syndicalists in the first successful struggle against the strike breaking collaboration of the Stalinists and the government, had its repercussions in the congress.

## MASS DISCONTENT

The "left" filled its speeches with references to the necessity of extending the functions and powers of factory committees to permit them to control production. In addition the congress adopted in vague form the demand for a sliding scale of wages to meet rises in prices, a demand defended heretofore only by the Trotskyists and the revolutionary syndicalists.

That calls for action are a mockery when Socialists continue to participate in the capitalist government is obvious, but it is likewise obvious that these calls to action signify the discontent and leftward development of the French workers.

The new Socialist leadership is attempting to stem the tide and to channelize this discontent into a loyal opposition. On every hand, the Trotskyists see their slogans of militant struggle taken up by wider and wider layers of the working class in France. Neither the Stalinist nor reformist bureaucracies in the French labor movement will succeed in preventing this.

# Program of the Workers Party

## I. For Price Control by Labor and the Consumers

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

## II. For a Living Wage

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

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

## IX. For Peace and Freedom

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

## X. For an Independent Labor Party and a Workers Government

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

FOR A SOCIALIST AMERICA AND PLENTY FOR ALL!



With the Workers Party

AKRON - 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 information.

BUFFALO - HEADQUARTERS: 639 Main St. Open meetings on Sunday evenings. Friday evenings at 8 p.m. a four-week course in "Labor Politics." Fee: 25 cents.

CHICAGO - LABOR ACTION, 1561 W. Madison, 2nd floor, Chicago 7. Telephone—CHESAPEAKE 5798. Office hours: 3-5:30 p.m. daily, except Sundays, Tuesday and Wednesday evenings.

DETROIT - Headquarters, 3773 Gratiot (at Mt. Elliott). Office hours: 11 a.m.-3 p.m., Tuesdays, Wednesdays and Thursdays. Class in "Fight for Socialism" every Thursday at 11:30 a.m.

LOS ANGELES - Headquarters at 316 1/2 W. Pico near Olive. Telephone Richmond 7-3230. Office hours: 12 to 3 p.m. daily except Sunday; also 4:30 to 6:30 p.m. on Monday, Wednesday, Friday.

LOUISVILLE - New International on sale at Ellers Bookshop, between Liberty and Jefferson on 3rd. For other information regarding LABOR ACTION, New International and Workers Party—Write Robert Durant, Box 1181, Louisville, Ky.

NEWARK - HEADQUARTERS: 248 Market St. OFFICE HOURS: Tuesday—3 to 6 p.m.; Wednesday—12 to 3 p.m.; Saturday—3 to 4 p.m. Newark newsstands: 91 Barclay St. 168 Belmont Ave. Stand, Market and Mulberry, northeast corner.

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. Third floor, 114 W. 14th St. HARLEM—Meets every Wednesday at 8:00 p.m. Workers Party Headquarters, 2143 Seventh Ave., Room 106 (near 127th St.). BROOKLYN DOWNTOWN—Meets every Wednesday at 8:00 p.m. Workers Party Headquarters, 275 Fulton St., 2nd floor. For addresses and time of other branches in New York City phone the

Boss Party Platforms Keep Mum on Major Issues of Day

By J. MARVIN

The two parties of American big business met recently to nominate their New York State candidates. They drafted programs that avoid the essential problems.

The Democratic nomination of the strong ticket of Lehman-Mead indicates a stretch drive to knock Dewey out of the next Presidential campaign, for if the Dewey-Ives combine is beaten in 1946 he will be removed as a threat in 1948. Let us, however, examine their program to see what they have to offer concretely.

For instance, a person today would say that Point 1 on any political program should be prices. That is, any same person. You can look down the points of their program until you run out of numbers. No mention of the price situation. Not anywhere! Not in EITHER program!

There is a meat shortage in New York because of the profiteers. No mention of prices. People queue up endlessly because of the artificial scarcity! No mention of prices. Mass labor unrest because of the sharp cut

in the standard of living! No mention of prices.

TWEEDLEDEE-TWEEDLEDUM

Now, we are not saying that these gentlemen are lacking in sanity, though their system certainly does. They have a sane program for the bosses, not for us. They know that their bosses want large profits and that real price action such as the Workers Party advocates, would cut their profits. So...they just avoid the subject.

After reading through all the speeches at the conventions, you begin to feel a little queer. As a New York Post correspondent put it, "Study of the speeches by top leaders of the two parties suggests the possibility that they are campaigning in different states, or different decades, or both." Say the Democrats: We are the true liberals. Dewey is only fooling if he calls himself a liberal. Al Smith was a liberal. So was Franklin Roosevelt. By God, so is Herbert Lehman. As you can see, a very profound and far-seeing program.

Political Crazyquilt Snarers Coast Labor

By WILLIAM GORMAN

SAN FRANCISCO — The Wallace affair has increased political confusion in California. The Democratic Party in this state is a crazyquilt combination of the old Democratic machine and the Stalinist-controlled CIO. The latter is responsible for snaring the labor vote at a time when labor is extremely dissatisfied with the housing and price situation.

The Democratic Party-Communist Party deal was achieved only after extensive smoke-filled-room contriving. Once achieved, the Stalinists drove hard to evangelize the Democratic Party and herd the workers once more into providing fat government jobs for aspiring Democratic office holders. But the coalition, made up of advocates of American imperialism and advocates of Russian imperialism, was very tenuous when it began. Today, it is bursting at the seams. It would be well nigh impossible to find any one in the Democratic Party camp who could explain the cross-cracking splits and splinters that come flying from this "force of progress," as the Stalinists so blatantly titled it.

Since Governor Warren won both the Democratic and Republican nominations in the primary election, James Roosevelt, the Democratic Party chairman, conceded that he would vote for Warren in the coming elections. The Stalinists, who are conducting a write-in campaign for their candidate, Archie Brown, let out a pained howl. David Hedley, State CIO-PAC chief, said, "When Mr. Roosevelt says he will vote for Warren, he...blurs the dividing line between reaction and the forces for progress."

ACT I - "The Democratic County Committee, largest county unit in this state, is out in support of Wallace." (San Francisco Chronicle, September 24.) However, Will Rogers, the Democratic Party candidate for Senator, declared that he is for a "get tough" policy with Russia, i.e., supporting Byrnes and Truman!

ACT II - Rollin McNitt, head of the Democratic County Committee which is supporting Wallace, is embroiled with Ellis F. Patterson. Patterson, who lost out to Rogers for Democratic Party Senatorial nomination, has declared himself a candidate for Congress from the Sixth District, against the regular Democratic candidate Harold Harby. Patterson is receiving Political Action Committee

support. PAC is supporting the Democratic Party. "McNitt threatened disciplinary action against all Democratic Party committeemen who support Patterson." (Chronicle, September 25.) McNitt then resigned from the PAC. "Patterson said he would pay no attention to McNitt." (Chronicle, September 25.)

ACT IV - Patterson said that he will not support Rogers. "Patterson charged that Wallace had double-crossed him after promising in Washington that he would not be a candidate." (Chronicle, September 26.)

The PAC statement on Roosevelt's support of Warren continued, "the situation created by Mr. Roosevelt's remarks will undoubtedly call for a careful examination by the state meeting of the California CIO and its Political Action Committee."

Meanwhile, a possible hint of the results of the "examination" have been the "third party" statements by Patterson and Bartley Crum. (Crum is a Republican attorney who once lived in Wendell Wilkie's shadow and has now become one of the most reliable Stalinist weathervanes on the West Coast.) Patterson declared that he hopes Wallace will lead a "Third Party." This was the same day that Wallace announced that he would campaign for "worthy Democrats."

STALINIST MISLEADERS

This sordid playing of political football with the political power and strength of the California working class is not yet over. The Stalinists have thrust the CIO into greater confusion and disoriented the millions the CIO could have rallied to a fighting labor program. For the traditional Democratic vote-catchers are not so much to blame as the Stalinist misleaders who proclaim that they speak in the name of the working people.

The workers of California are being provided with a multitude of excellent reasons for the formation and building of an Independent Labor Party. The dividing line between "reaction and the forces of progress" is the dividing line between the small group of profiteers and their political agents and fakers on one side, and the millions of workers on the other.

For housing, price-freezing, economic security the workers need only use their power for their own behalf. The very first step is the building of an Independent Labor Party NOW!

Say the Republicans: Dewey gave clean government. We are against government encroachment on individual freedom. Dewey gave clean government. We are against Totalitarianism. Dewey gave...Equally profound!

Their programs are a conglomeration of meaningless phrases. The Republicans say they will send men to Congress who will vote on Peace Treaties. And why not? They made them. They are for mediation and conciliation procedures. Class collaboration always was good for the bosses! They say they will further the economic good health of the state. That's what their backers pay them for.

Since the Democratic Party adheres to these principles, we can see that it's still Tweedledee and Tweedledum.

ALP TAGS ALONG

The one "bright" spot is the inevitable two-reel comedy where Dewey accuses the Democratic Party of catering to Communism. Then he secretly curses himself for not being able to corner the Stalinist votes for the Republicans. But the Stalinist-Blumberg machine is not cornered by anyone; it gives itself away.

The ALP, without a word, supports the candidates of the Democratic Party, the party of the capitalist class. Pardon me—except in Kings County, where they are running Luchi for City Court judge. It seems that the Democratic machine there is dicker with the Liberal Party, which is an act of infidelity.

No, the ALP is not what we mean when we talk of an independent Labor Party. We mean a party based on the working class which is independent of the capitalist parties, a party which runs its own candidates on its own program, a working class program.

The workers of New York City will have their chance to cast an independent class vote for ERNEST RICE MCKINNEY in the 22nd Congressional District of Harlem and for MAX SHACHTMAN in the 15th Congressional District of Brooklyn.

Conrad Lynn Speaks For Harlem Branch On Election Issues

Conrad Lynn, prominent Harlem attorney, will speak on "The Three Candidates in the 22nd Congressional District," on Wednesday, October 16, at the Harlem headquarters of the Workers Party. The Workers Party is pressing its campaign for E. R. McKinney to Congress despite the maneuvers of the Powell Democratic-Stalinist forces to deny the voters of Harlem their democratic right to nominate an independent labor candidate.

Conrad Lynn told this reporter that he will stress the "complete inadequacy of both the Republican and Democratic platforms in this election. McKinney offers the only alternative to the working people of Harlem, one which they will have to accept sooner or later."

As regards the Workers Party, Lynn said that it was "in the leadership of those forces who are trying to build an independent Labor Party, which will be necessary in order to defeat complete reaction."

Lynn was formerly attorney for the Lynn Committee to Abolish Segregation in the Armed Forces, formed in 1943 to push the case of Winfred Lynn. Twice the case was taken to the U. S. Supreme Court, and thrown out on technicalities both times.

The real issue in the case was the legality of segregation, since the draft law stated that there would be no discrimination in the armed forces. The Committee was dissolved in the spring of last year, after having been the only case on that issue to be prosecuted during the war.

Colonel Blimps Find Singapore Surprise

The following account of life in Singapore is reprinted from "Fight," organ of the Ceylon unit, Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India.

One of the first things they did was to put old Raffles back on his pedestal in front of the Town Hall. Now it was no longer Shonan; it was Singapore again. For years before the war this floating arsenal was the Night Club of the Empire and the resthome of the Blimps. The war swept it away. Singapore fell in less time than any other part of the Eastern Empire and there was no other part whose loss they felt so keenly. But when the war ended and the armies of Mountbatten moved in to liberate the people of Malaya it was above all to Singapore they came. The four years of Japanese occupation was merely a best-to-be-forgotten lapse on the part of the Eternal Blimp. They moved among the wreckage and debris of the world's cheapest labour force like gods returned from exile. Swords were surrendered. The Union Jack flew once more. White ties gleamed in Government House. The Grand Hotel was renovated. The masses starved. Labour was cheap. The Blimps who came back to bask in this eternal summer of the Empire looked around them and recognized the place. Old Raffles was back. It was Singapore again.

But they were wrong and were soon to learn it. Mountbatten had hardly driven off from the steps of Surrender Hall than the strikes began. Between "liberation" day and this there have been no less than 127 strikes in Malaya. Biggest of them was the general strike which started on Jan. 29th and lasted several days. Over 200,000 workers participated, including engineers, dockworkers, public employees, domestic servants and shopkeepers. The strike had been called because of the refusal of the British authorities to release 14 trade

union leaders who had been imprisoned because of their participation in a previous strike in December on the issue of higher wages and better conditions for the workers. And in that strike the workers of Malaya reached out to their class brothers in the armed forces. "The workers of Malaya humbly request you to give us every possible help in the present 'strike' to raise our standard of living. You shall perform your duty in saving humanity from the imperialist yoke. If you are not in a position to help us, please be neutral. The British government may force you to open fire on unarmed and innocent people. Dear brothers, keep up the name of India and save mankind from poverty and death." This was the appeal they printed and circulated among British and Indian troops. The appeal did not go unanswered. On more than one occasion the conscript workers in uniform demonstrated their solidarity and sympathy with the workers of Malaya. But perhaps most significant of all was the mammoth May Day celebrations in Singapore in which workers of all nationalities aided and participated.

A May Day Committee was set up by servicemen in Malaya to co-operate with the General Labourers Union in organizing the May Day celebrations. The committee consisted of 1 Trotskyist, 1 Labour Party, 1 Stalinist, 1 ILPer and 2 militant workers at present unattached. Letters were sent to Citrine, Bevin, Gallacher and others but it was only the RCP (British Section, Fourth International), which sent a telegram expressing solidarity with the toilers of East and West.

But Singapore is no longer the Happy Hunting Grounds of the Blimps. The workers may be starved, the men may be beaten, troops may be employed to fire on them, and the solidarity of the oppressed is growing simultaneously!



RENEWAL SUBSCRIPTION CAMPAIGN: The campaign to get renewal subscriptions for the Eight-Page LABOR ACTION is now on in full force, and growing with each week. Last week was an all-time record week for subscriptions to LABOR ACTION—many of them renewals that were the direct result of activity on the part of local branches of the Workers Party. Within another week, the balance of the 5,000 subscriptions obtained during the Subscription Campaign of six months ago will have expired. On the basis of lists sent out to the branches, many LABOR ACTION agents are hard at work on the job of paying visits and getting the renewals. We appreciate their efforts and work for this important job.

LABOR ACTION BUNDLE ORDER BILLS: Bills for the first ten issues of LABOR ACTION are now in the mails. Most of our agents are paid up and in good shape. We hope the few who are falling behind will take account of our needs and put themselves back in the good graces of LABOR ACTION by simply sending in a substantial payment.

Table with 2 columns: City and Subscriptions. Includes rows for NEW YORK CITY, Boston, Chicago, Philadelphia, San Francisco, Cleveland, Buffalo, Detroit, West Virginia, Baltimore, Louisville, Minnesota, Newark, Miscellaneous, and TOTAL.

Our special thanks to Comrade G. T. of Boston who, on his own initiative, sent us in no less than 12 subscriptions obtained by himself! And San Francisco's new organizer, dynamic Milton Miller, is hard at work on his new job and writes, "We have regular sales at some local union meetings as well as assignments to visit expired subs. I hope to increase the bundle order by increasing the number of meetings at which we sell in the next month. My main concentration is the renewals, for the present, and I believe that the results will show us up at the top of the list in your weekly LABOR ACTION column." Hit it, Milt, and we'll make room for you on top of the list!

Comrade Vincent P. from Reading, Pa., writes that "I am getting the comrades to carry out their renewal canvass assignments so that we can get this matter over with. We have visited 25 persons for renewals already and got nine renewals, with five indefinite." And from Detroit our old friend Miriam writes, "At the Labor Day Parade we sold 130 papers at the AFL parade, and 70 papers at the CIO Parade—a total of 200 papers. Our people did a swell job at this."

Advertisement for LABOR ACTION subscription. Includes text: 'I Want to Subscribe to THE NEW EIGHT-PAGE LABOR ACTION 114 West 14th St., N. Y. 11, N. Y.' and a form for Name, Address, City, Zone, State.

Los Angeles WP Announces Policy for November Elections

The Los Angeles section of the Workers Party urges all workers and readers of LABOR ACTION in this city to cast their votes on November 5 for the two write-in candidates being run by the Socialist Workers Party—Steve Roberts for Governor and Cynthia Rogalin for State Senator.

The Workers Party makes this recommendation since it is not running candidates of its own this November, and since Roberts and Rogalin are running as socialist candidates on a generally militant program. We take this action in spite of the fact that we disagree vigorously with the SWP on a number of important political questions.

So, for example, the SWP election platform includes a statement in favor of defense of Russia in the present world situation, although this is qualified by denunciation of the Stalin régime. We consider it disastrously false for socialists to give support to either camp in the current rivalry between American-British imperialism and Russian imperialism, or to any future war waged by one of these oppressors against the other.

In the November election locally, however, Roberts and Rogalin will be the only candidates advocating a program which can begin to solve the problems of American labor, and the only candidates through whom one can register a vote for a new socialist state.

In addition, we call attention particularly to Proposition No. 11 to set up a state-wide FEPC and urge full support for it as a step toward fighting the growing menace of racism in California. VOTE "YES" on PROPOSITION NO. 11!

Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor...

A Veteran Looks At United States

Dear Editor: Several months after returning from Europe, I decided to see America. I did it by hitch-hiking right across the middle. It was from New York to Washington, through the Blue Ridge Mountains to Southern Ohio, over to Kentucky, on to St. Louis, then all the way on Route 40 via prairies, mountains and deserts to San Francisco.

I saw millions of cars crowding perfectly constructed roads, brand new factories with crowds streaming in and out with every shift, flashy drive-ins and roadhouses with twenty-four flavors of ice cream, record-breaking crowds at all amusement spectacles, thousands of dollars lost every hour in Reno gambling casinos. This is the U. S. with its economic

power made greater by war, its myriad of neat, intact cities and towns a startling contrast to the devastation in so many other places, its horizon showing rows of wheat and corn. This is a country where boom-spending is supposed to be the symbol of economic health.

But pardon the skepticism. If this is all American capitalism can produce at this stage of the game, one wonders about its vaunted vigor. Let's forget for the moment about the permanence of the current "prosperity," nor ask what is to follow. The serious current problems should be well known—inflation, housing crisis, inexplicable shortages, difficulty of adjustment for many veterans, continuing racial discrimination, etc., etc. A trip across the country provides enough proof that reality is far from the peaches and cream glow of official statistics and the capitalist press.

For instance, the housing crisis is, of course, obvious everywhere. As you come into Philadelphia, you find a long stretch of army barracks being constructed, far, far from the populated parts of the city. This is just about the only attempt this large metropolis has made to solve the shortage of homes for veterans. How very reminiscent of New York, where the answer has been a project of metal Quonset huts in an equally inaccessible spot!

A vet from Baltimore just decided to give the whole thing up; he left his wife and child with her family, left town and began traveling to all points on the compass, hoping somehow to find a place to live. Around the oil fields of Western Colorado workers refuse to stay in towns where their only sleeping quarters are the floors of warehouses. In the San Francisco Bay area the rumor of an apartment to be vacated brings

a score of home-hunters before the old inhabitants have packed.

Sky-high prices are not uniform, but they are generally startling. Seventy-five cents for a matinee movie in Washington, D. C., two bits for a glass of pineapple juice in St. Louis, sixty-five cents for a bacon and egg breakfast in Kansas, a dollar for a haircut in California. Meat is available only at black market prices even in the stockyard districts of Kansas City.

Vets are hardly finding it as easy as official figures indicate. Sometimes the picture is as ludicrous as a cartoon from "Yank." A former lieutenant-colonel in the MP had just been forced to sell his blacksmith shop in a small town in Utah and was rushing to Reno to live off an old "colleague" who was now a dealer in a casino. A crack fighter pilot had drifted from one unskilled factory job to another; he was now

driving back to his father's small farm in Southern Indiana, "for good, maybe." He told of a veteran, three years in the infantry in the South Pacific, who left his wife and two kids in Wilkes-Barre, Pa., in order to look for the "right spot" in various mill towns of Eastern Pennsylvania, meanwhile using his army sleeping bag every night and washing in rivers.

That the most powerful nation in the history of mankind should be able to provide some sort of economic sufficiency for its citizens is the least that should be expected. But the facts illustrate the structural weakness of even this mightiest of capitalist countries. This, plus the vastness and beauty of the country, the tremendous natural and man-made wealth, the fundamental friendliness of most people, is what a slow trip across the country has revealed.

W. BARTON, San Francisco.



# Philadelphia Gets Building Boom - - But Not in Houses!

PHILADELPHIA—Everybody knows there is a housing shortage. The newspapers, the radio, the movies—they are all of them talking about the critical housing situation, trying to explain the reasons for it. And President Truman has appointed a man named Wyatt to tell the public the sad story of why there is no housing.

We are told that two enormous and insoluble difficulties are obstructing construction of new homes. Number one—building trades workers have all become heartless monsters who, through their monopolistic unions, are demanding fabulous wages; they don't give a damn about the rest of us; they just want to get rich quick. And number two—there just isn't any lumber, cement, bricks, pipes, electric wires or steel beams available. All these strikes, you know. And what there is so high priced the construction companies and the government can't afford it—because the workers raised wages so high that the manufacturers have to pass it along.

## TRUTH OF THE MATTER

Now, for a long time LABOR ACTION has been disrupting this beautiful harmony among Democrats, Republicans, government, manufacturers, real estate interests and other "leaders of the community." LABOR ACTION doubts these official explanations. Instead, it claims, there is no home construction because the federal and local governments are tools for the private real estate interests and materials manufacturers who want to keep government housing to a minimum in order to line their own pockets.

What is the truth? Take Philadelphia, for example. Not a single housing project has gone up since the end of the war. The Mayor and the City

Council have talked about new housing for fourteen months. The result: zero. The League Island homes, built six years ago as emergency barracks for 300 families, were supposed to last five years. Families can't move because there is no place to go, even though the wooden barracks are falling apart.

That's one side of the picture. The black side. The other side is an unprecedented construction boom. Not since the golden twenties was there anything like this. You stroll down Broad Street and the noise of the construction crews deafens you. Next to the Inquirer Building five square blocks of new buildings are going up. Shovels are excavating, trucks hauling dirt and cement, cranes are lifting steel girders into place. And not two-story structures, either, such as most Philadelphia homes. In fact, not any kind of home is being built here because, as everyone knows, construction wages are too high and materials are scarce.

## PLENTY OF BUILDING

These new buildings will be a credit to the skyline. The Inquirer is building a rotogravure plant which will be of the latest architectural design, built of the very best of everything. Behind it, excavation is proceeding for the new square block structure of Smith, Kline & French, the chemical company. Next to this, Station WCAU is planning the world's finest television station.

Throughout the downtown section, building trades workers, whose wages are too high for the government to afford for home construction, are using very scarce materials in bustling activity. On Walnut and 12th Streets, Genison's Men's Store has just opened a breath-taking, luxurious, all-glass fronted, four-floor building. Robin-

son's over on Market Street, has had an ultra-modern tile and cement front added. The Real Estate Trust Co. is adding a complete new building. In the industrial sections, the Coca Cola Co. is building a new bottling plant. Westinghouse is expanding. Automobile dealers are adding new sections and frontages to match the 1946 and 1947 models.

Topping the list, prize of all prizes, is the Goldman Theater. Mayor Samuel himself attended the opening of this "dream come true" to assure us that this first new movie house to be completed anywhere since the end of the war is the finest there is. No modern improvement or design that was known and useful was omitted. The multi-colored tubes, sparkling bathroom fixtures, deep floor carpets and relaxing seats are pointed out as big features.

Now, if only some construction workers would cut their own pay and some scarce materials would show up, perhaps we could build homes, too. But until then we'll just have to relax and watch the construction boom roll by.



# Bradley Defends Vet Wage Cut

By CHARLES STEWART

The American Legion convention held last week in San Francisco was the scene of a terrific squabble between the Legion heads and General Omar Bradley, ostensibly over the cut in subsistence for veterans in on-the-job training and apprenticeship program.

What are the real facts of the matter? On August 8, 1946, Public Law 346, section 2 was amended by public law 679. Formerly veterans under the training program, if without dependents, got \$65 a month and veterans with dependents got \$90 a month, the total wage plus the benefit could total up to the pay of a lowest paid mechanic.

Under the new law, the over-all CEILING is \$175 a month for single vets and \$200 a month for vets with dependents. The passage of this bill was preceded by a barrage of publicity turned on a few cases who wanted to use this program to train as vice-presidents or bull-fighters.

While the fan-fare was spread about the passage of the terminal leave bonds for ex-enlisted men, this wage cut for veterans was put through at the behest of Omar Bradley of the Veterans Administration by a rider proposed by that great champion of the people—John Rankin, the Jim Crow Congressman from Mississippi. At that time not a single veterans' organization squawked about it.

## LEGION INFLUENCE SLIPPING

Then why has the Legion at this late date started a hue and cry about it? Finding that the Legion's influence with World War II vets was slipping, and because the recent shakeup in the Veterans Administration has upset the bureaucratic stranglehold the Legion had on that

government agency, John Stelle, Legion Commander, opened up on Bradley.

It was revealed that the American Legion's membership is almost 65 per cent World War II vets, yet only 33 per cent of the delegates were of World War II. The reason for the Legion's fuss is now clear. Keep the old gang leadership in control and go through the motions of keeping the new vets satisfied.

The issue of the subsistence pay cut is a very real one despite the phony fight of the American Legion. In most cases it has meant a pay cut from \$20 to \$40 a month. General Bradley, who is, according to the American Veterans Committee, "the veterans' best friend," just covered up the incompetence of his staff by pushing through the cut.

## AVC SHIELDS BRADLEY

The old law provided sufficient safeguards against chiselers. All training programs had to be approved and the sums paid to veterans adjusted. The Workers Party insists that the subsistence cut be restored.

To date the American Veterans Committee has not by as much as one word said anything in the BULLETIN about this cut. This organization whose leadership boasts of being in the forefront of liberals fighting for veterans has unashamedly carried favor with the Veterans Administration to become an accredited organization of the VA and thus act as semi-official veterans agent for government services.

No matter if it's an organization of vets of the last war or of both World War I and II, the leadership of these organizations is totally inadequate to lead veterans in a militant struggle for their rights.

# Peddles Anti-Semitic Forgery

LOS ANGELES — Gerald L. K. Smith has finally come out completely into the open as a frank purveyor of anti-Semitic propaganda.

The fact is that up to now, fascist Smith has confined his most virulent Jew-baiting to closed meetings of inner-circle followers, while at open public meetings and in his magazine and bulletins, he has attempted to

pose as being a "critic" only of "bad" or "red" Jews.

Naturally this screen has been thinner than cellophane wrapping, but it has served him. Thus, at public rallies, the rabble-rouser often demagogically asks why he is called an anti-Semite when he attacks any Jew, like Walter Winchell, and why the Jews do not yell similarly when he attacks Irishmen, etc. Also: when last year Smith was defending his right to speak in public schools in Los Angeles, the city board of education gravely permitted themselves to be "convinced" by this transparent dodge.

Now, in his bulletin dated September, 1946, which is mailed out to a large mailing list, the fuhrer announces plans for distribution on a national scale of that standard textbook of the crudest anti-Semitism, "The International Jew," which peddles that even more notorious anti-Semitic forgery, "The Protocols of the Elders of Zion."

This is the book which was published about 25 years ago by Henry Ford and first ran in the Dearborn Independent. Ford later apologized for its issuance, but as Smith relates in his bulletin, that was only a diplomatic gesture.

"The Protocols," on which the book is based, was put together about the turn of the century by Russian Czarist agents and purports to be a secret document by the heads of a Jewish conspiracy to dominate the whole world. This conspiracy is supposed to include all Jews and to have been going on for thousands of years. While it has been exposed by scholars innumerable times and the history of its invention traced in detail, it has been for decades the "Bible" of anti-Semitism and a cornerstone of Nazi racism.

Smith's bulletin, bawling the fact that it is now out of print, announces that he has made arrangements to have it reprinted. The suckers are to be milked of ten dollars per, indicating that the anti-Semitic

publishing game functions very much like the pornography racket.

It happens that Pelican Books has recently published a 25-cent reprint, now available on the newsstands, entitled "An Enemy of the People: Anti-Semitism," which gives the fantastic story of the "Protocols" and how it has been used. The book is by James Parkes, a British scholar.

# Studio Labor Battles Hollywood Producers' Drive for Open Shop

By HAL DRAPER

LOS ANGELES, Oct. 5.—Warfare has broken out again on the Hollywood studio front between the fighting trade unions of the Conference of Studio Unions and the producers who are determined to break the back of bona-fide trade unionism in their territory.

While the struggle thus far has not involved such sensational violent clashes at the studio gates as made the national headlines last year, it is the same fight and over basically the same issue.

This issue is: Will the producers recognize and deal with the legitimate unions which democratically represent the workers in the field, or will they succeed in forcing the CSU out in favor of a so-called "union" which is led by racketeers, which is subservient to the producers and in which the members are throttled into being either peons or scabs?

## REAL ISSUES

The capitalist newspapers are calling the present dispute a "jurisdictional strike" and seeking to discredit it with that cry, just as they did last year. The truth is, however, that it is neither jurisdictional at bottom, nor is it a strike. It is a lockout by the producers.

Every worker who goes to the movies ought to know what the fat boys who doctor up his entertainment think of labor. Here is the inside story of the present fight:

The union which the producers like very much indeed is the International Association of Theatrical and Stage Employees (IA, for short), which was once the creature of the notorious racketeers Bioff and Browne and is now the racket of their successors, Walsh and Brewer. The IA claims jurisdiction over

everybody except actors and musicians. This is the organization which provided the scabs in the Hollywood strike last year. Both it and the CSU are affiliated with the AFL.

Earlier this year the executive council of the AFL made a definite assignment of jurisdiction as between the two outfits, in order to bring peace to the studio labor field. Such peace was not part of the producers' plans, however, since it meant that the CSU would be able to consolidate itself.

Taking advantage of an alleged ambiguity in the original decision involving set erection work, the producers advanced an interpretation which would strip the CSU carpenters of over 100 jobs in favor of the IA. The CSU appealed back to the AFL executive, which came through on August 16 with a supplementary clarification in favor of the carpenters. The producers, backed by Walsh's IA, refused to recognize this decision. This is the immediate cause of the present fight.

## MEN LOCKED OUT

Neither the carpenters nor the CSU went on strike. Instead the carpenters announced that their men would not work on any set job which was not divided according to the AFL award. As a result the studios began firing CSU carpenters for refusing to do particular jobs, and also firing painters for refusing to paint jobs performed by IA men in violation of the AFL decision.

By September 25 all CSU carpenters and painters in seven major studios had been locked out for standing by the AFL award. On the next day the CSU, led by Herb Sorrell, began picketing. IT WAS OBVIOUS THAT THE PRODUCERS

## HAD TRIED TO PROVOKE THE MEN INTO A STRIKE AND INSTEAD HAD BROUGHT ABOUT A CLEAR CASE OF LOCKOUT.

Meanwhile, Walsh is thumping his nose at the AFL council. Last Thursday he openly threatened to walk out and organize the entire amusement field against the AFL, unless he (and the producers) got their way.

This is the so-called "jurisdictional" situation that will confront the AFL convention in Chicago this coming week. It is simply a question of whether William Green will back down before Walsh or put teeth into his decision.

Some highlights: Hottest fight broke out in front of MGM studio in Culver City, where a sweeping injunction had been issued to prevent mass picketing. (MGM is the heart of the producers' anti-labor front, vanguard of the union busters in the industry.) CSU got around it by getting a permit for a parade in front of the gate. Last Tuesday the parade (mainly ex-GIs) stopped its lines before the south gate of the studio and Sheriff Biscailuz's storm troopers, called deputy sheriffs, went to work with clubs and guns in a wild free-for-all.

## ACTORS CROSS LINES

The Screen Actors Guild held a meeting last Wednesday and side-stepped as usual. But the report is that a motion to go through the picket lines was made by Wrad Bond, who usually plays Western villains and this time remained in character. This scab motion was supported by Frank Sinatra, who has been getting a "liberal" reputation for sentimental speeches against race hatred. Class-conscious bobby-soxers, take note.

Head of the producers' association now is Eric Johnston, former president of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce who a while back was being touted as a "progressive capitalist" by the Stalinists. Anyone who was surprised when Johnston came back from a trip to Russia with praise for the Stalin regime there should be kept now: in Russia they treat labor on the MGM model.

The "Communist" bogey is raised all over the place, of course, whenever the studio unions start fighting. This correspondent doesn't think the CSU is Stalinist-dominated but that wouldn't make any difference as far as the issues are concerned.

What the members of the CSU really want in the studios is an industrial union set-up, and a child could see how necessary it is; but the AFL turned it down. Too many internationals with members in the studios would never give up their per-capita.

While studio labor is not a large field or a basic industry, the situation is important locally as the spearhead of the open-shop drive in the city; and it is important nationally as the arena where it will be decided whether the biggest propaganda factory in the world, Hollywood, recognizes that labor has a place. Here's where you'll find out what goes on in the heads of the men who make your Saturday night pap.

# Warehouses Bulge

(Continued from page 1)

Officers of the CIO-United Packinghouse Workers in Chicago said that the exposure of the huge stocks of meat being held off the market by the meat trust confirmed union charges that "there is a definite conspiracy engineered by the big packing companies to deprive the public of meat."

"The hoarding of a large supply of meat ties in with the stoppage of meat production. Sizable amounts of cattle now are available in the public markets, but the big packers again are refusing to buy."

"Cattle receipts in seven midwest public markets for the two-week period ending Sept. 28 were 319,000 head. Week by week the cattle receipts are increasing. WHY NO MEAT? The slowdown of last spring is being repeated in more drastic form."

Union leaders cited the Sun's discovery as an indication of what federal investigators might be able to uncover.

But the government is more intent on protecting the meat trust than on exposing its machinations against the people. An OPA spokesman weakly mumbled that it had been "impractical" for it to inspect Chicago warehouses under existing law, and promised, cross its heart, that it would pay "particular attention to make sure that the meat in storage goes into legal channels at ceiling prices when it moves."

## PLENTY, BUT NOT FOR PUBLIC

The Sun, through its valuable survey, has just barely lifted one corner of the blanket covering up the

gigantic squeeze play by which the meat trust and the banker-controlled cattle associations are swindling the people.

There is plenty of meat for everybody in Chicago—at least 45,000,000 pounds, probably several times that amount.

Chicago is just one of the domains of the meat trust. What about East St. Louis, Kansas City, South St. Paul, Omaha? Cattle receipts at all the markets have been high. But no meat appears in the butcher shops. What about the tremendous movement of livestock to the East which by-passes Chicago? What about the cattle associations, which are holding back livestock from the market, calculating that after the first of the year all pretense of an OPA will be erased and prices will bound upward.

A government genuinely interested in serving the people could end the meat shortage in the United States in 12 hours.

Instead we have Truman, covering up for the meat trust, claiming that the reason there is no meat is because "we ate it" in July. HOW ABOUT THE 42,000,000 POUNDS OF MEAT IN CHICAGO'S WAREHOUSES, President Truman?

The poet, Carl Sandburg, called Chicago the "hog butcher of the world."

If you live in Chicago today, and are an honest man and not a black marketer, you can't even get a sawdust-stuffed hot dog.

# Rap Brass Hat Legal System

By WILLIAM BARTON

SAN FRANCISCO — Speaking before the San Leandro, California, Chapter of the American Veterans' Committee in his first public address since returning from Europe, former Major Earl Carroll, original prosecuting attorney in the famous Litchfield trials, vigorously condemned the entire army legal system as a throwback to the days of the Roman Legions "when kings could do no wrong" and the "people were his serfs." After a vivid account of some of the atrocities committed at the 10th Reinforcement Depot (Litchfield) Guard House, he contrasted the long drawn out whitewash trial of Depot Commander Colonel Kilian and his cohorts with the speedy conviction and maximum sentencing of almost all American soldiers indicted in the European Theatre of Operations.

With American military government operating in so many parts of the world, with so many civilians, including Americans, under its jurisdiction, with planned universal conscription involving hundreds of thousands of new men every year, the caste-ridden and grossly undemocratic courts-martial system hits home on a wide and terrifying scale.

He again revealed some of the sordid details of the Litchfield pri-

son. Most of the inmates were wounded combat vets. Hearing that they would be shipped directly back to the front from the Depot after leaving their hospitals, many of the men, sometimes with wounds insufficiently recovered, attempted to take a couple of days leave in some nearby town. When captured they were immediately tried and convicted by Depot officers and placed under the custody of guards who were generally "limited service personnel" because of "psychoneurotic defects."

The treatment of the men sounds like a description of a Nazi concentration camp—"Spartan" calisthenics, beatings, threats of murder for "repeaters," revival of men who had collapsed to give them a further go-over, resulting in permanent injuries and deaths. The murder of one Negro soldier who disobeyed a guard by placing his head against a wall when ordered to lean with his "toes and nose" prompted the investigation that resulted in the wide publicizing of the existing bestialities.

Mr. Carroll indicated clearly the striking difference between the trial of Colonel Kilian and his underlings and the men they had condemned. Every soldier prosecuted at Litchfield was convicted, all received maximum sentences, and the average trial took five minutes. It was difficult for them to obtain defense counsel or witnesses. Whenever defense attorneys with some sincerity were obtained, there was little time available to prepare a case.

The Brass Hats of the Litchfield case were, on the other hand, given months to prepare, defense witnesses were flown from the United States, and the trials lasted for half a year. The indicted were allowed to be completely free for the entire period. Every major charge against the big-wigs was dropped, only two minor accounts remaining. It was this last that prompted the then Captain Carroll to resign from the prosecution staff. To complete the mockery of

justice, the sentences were the lightest possible.

## HELD WITHOUT TRIAL

Mr. Carroll declared that many have been kept in prison for a long time without any indictments, and this condition still prevails today in Germany. This is true likewise of some American civilians. An illustrative case was presented of a civilian held in Frankfurt for 90 days and finally told that he was being charged with sending a letter without going "through channels." Attempts had been previously made to threaten and intimidate him into signing statements of confession to a wide variety of charges. He had tried to secure Carroll as his attorney, but the commanding brass hats had prevented that. Carroll had attempted to see him, but that was likewise stopped. The attorney is now planning to return to Germany to clearly find out if an indicted man actually has the right to choose his counsel.

A previous speaker, former Mayor Tom Foley, also a lawyer, explained that too many acquittals (for enlisted personnel, of course) brought official reprimands from higher headquarters. He felt that no particular individual was at fault, but that the entire system of "rank" consciousness and "eager beaverism" was responsible. For any lawyer to combat the machine required unusual courage and principle. The result, Carroll indicated, is that the "legal profession can deservedly hang its head in shame" for its part in the organized system of injustice in the army.

An interesting sidelight was the fact that the National Convention of the American Legion, in session in San Francisco at the same time as the meeting, refused to hear Carroll and Foley. Their revelations might have proven too embarrassing to the former brass hats who run the Legion and who have put their organization solidly behind the conscription program.

WHAT CAN CONGRESS DO ABOUT

## The Displaced Jews of Europe

COME AND HEAR

**MAX SHACHTMAN**  
Workers Party Candidate in the 15th Congressional District (Brooklyn)

Also

**ERNEST RICE MCKINNEY**  
Workers Party Candidate in the 22nd Congressional District (Harlem)

Will Speak On

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