Shachtman Debates Oak This Friday, Nov. 8, in New York

nings in the history of the American radical movement is expected in New York City when Max Shachtman, National Chairman of the Workers Party, and Liston Oak, managing editor of the New Leader, debate the subject: "Does Stalinism Flow from Bolshevism?" Arranged by the Labor Action School, the debate will take place on Friday, November 8, at 8 P.M., at the Hotel Diplomat, 103 West 43rd Street, New York City. Admission is 75 cents. Oak will defend the affirmative position, with Shachtman denying that Stalinism has anything in common with the Bolshevik tradition.

Max Burt, publicity director of the Labor Action School, has an-, nounced that the largest hall in the Hotel Diplomat has been secured for the debate, one seating 750 people, but he urged everyone to buy tickets in advance or to come early because it is expected that the SRO sign will be put up early in the evening.

VITAL SUBJECT

The subject of the debate is one of the most hotly contested questions within the radical movement. Max Shachtman, one of the founders of the American Trotskyist movement and editor of The New International, is at present the candidate of the Workers Party for Congress in the 15th District in Brooklyn. Shortly after the infamous Moscow Trials in which many Old Bolsheviks were framed by the Stalin government, he wrote a hard-hitting brochure, Behind the Moscow Trials, in

One of the most exciting eve- which he exposed the lies and inconsistencies of Stalin's trials.

Liston Oak, at present managing editor of the Social Democratic New Leader, was for many years a leading spokesman for the American Communist (Stalinist) Party. During the Spanish Civil War, he served in the post of Public Relations Director in the Loyalist Government's Bureau of Information. Mr. Oak then broke from the Stalinist movement, denouncing its reign of terror against all dissident radical groups in Spain.

Questioned by a LABOR ACTION reporter, Max Shachtman said that he will prove that "Bolshevism represents humanity's most democratic and socialist aspirations. Stalinist totalitarianism, far from being the logical outgrowth of Bolshevism, is its total perversion and negation."

Liston Oak will maintain the contrary position, that Bolshevism and Stalinism are equally totalitarian and that the latter flows from the former.

WILL BE REPORTED

A full report will be printed in LABOR ACTION for the benefit of those out of town readers who cannot attend this vital debate, though we are certain that all New York readers of LABOR ACTION will want to attend personally.

To be certain to gain admittance, it is advisable that tickets be purchased in advance. Tickets can be obtained at the Workers Party Local New York headquarters, 114 West 14th Street.

New International Announces Sub Drive

The New International, the leading much higher circulation than at Marxist magazine in America, has just announced the beginning of a subscription and expansion campaign, to obtain 500 new readers to the magazine, as well as to boost the total circulation toward its intended goal of 5.000 copies.

The months of November and December have been set aside by supporters of The New International and by branches of the Workers Party for carrying out this campaign to expand circulation. If the campaign succeeds, the magazine will again become a monthly publish-

ing 12 issues per year. business office (now located at 4 and agents will be able to increase Court Square, Long Island City 1, substantially their orders. The stead-

(1) 500 new Subscriptions, to be obtained by January 1, 1947.

(2) A sharp increase in bundle order sales, based upon increased sales

and increased newsstand coverage. Today, The New International prints and circulates 3,000 copies to subscribers and bundle order agents. This compares unfavorably with its pre-war circulation of about 5,000 copies-a goal we hope to reach again. The purpose of this campaign is to take a big step forward to reattaining this circulation of 5,000 copies. A good deal of work and effort is put into publication of The

The New _

INTERNATIONAL

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present.

ON LEADING NEWSSTANDS

To start off the campaign, a distribution agency will henceforth place the magazine on all the leading newsstands in Manhattan and the Bronx boroughs of New York City. Readers will henceforth, beginning with the November issue, be able to obtain the magazine from all leading newsstands in these two

Achievement of the subscription quota will boost circulation another 500 copies, and it is expected that As announced by the magazine's many branches of the Workers Party expanding toreign circulation The New International will add also to the rising circulation.

All branches of the Workers Party have begun to move into action in support of this drive. Leading branches have accepted the quotas of new subscriptions assigned to them-New York City is to get 175, Chicago to get 75, and Newark to get 25-and other branches are expected to do as well. We will report results as the campaign gets into motion. A campaign prize of the complete, 12-volume set of Lenin's works will be rewarded to that branch of the Workers Party doing the most on behalf of The New In-New International, and it rates a ternational in the next two months.

LABOR ACTION A Paper in the Interests of Labor

NOVEMBER 4, 1946

FIVE CENTS

ORGANIZE COMMITTEES TO PUSH PRICES DOWN!



UN Cannot Produce Peace

Like Its Predecessor, the League of Nations, It Is a Robbers' Nest

Last week, on the Flushing Meadows of the former World's Fair Grounds, the General Assembly of the United Nations opened its first assembly to be held in the United States. An unresponsive and skeptical New York continued its daily activity amid thousands of UN delegates POINTS AT ISSUE (see LABOR ACTION exclusive on UN opening-page 7).

The first few days of the meeting were devoted to lengthy speeches by spokesmen of the 51 member nations, spearheaded by the rhetorical efforts of President Truman. These pious speeches were incidental to the actual work of the Assembly, and only hinted at the various disputes and disagreements in store. The numerous speeches were filled with expressions of harmonious intent to settle outstanding problems peacefully and to work in unity for a better world. A mere listing of some of the issues in dispute, however, belies such a

The agenda of 51 points prepared by the General Council reflects the

depth of the conflict between the Anglo-Américan UN supporters, and the Russian UN supporters. Most of these questions will be discussed, but not acted upon, during the six-week

session now on.

Other problems will be taken up at the new meeting of the Big Four Foreign Ministers, set to begin on November 4 and to run, parallel with the General Assembly meetings. It is in these Big Four sessions (America, Russia, France and England) that actual agreements, if any, will be made. In practice, the General Assembly is simply a public forum for the powers, big and small. It cannot decide or enforce anything.

Here are various points at issue between the UN powers. Can they make decisive, lasting solutions?

(1) The Veto Problem: At present, any one of the Big Five members of the eleven-nation Security Council can, by veto action, block any action,

or any aspect of action, proposed by the other powers.

Russia, a minority in the UN and the Council, supports the veto right and will struggle to the end to retain it. America, as anxious as Russia to preserve unhampered the right of its government to act without restrictions when its interests so dictate, also supports the veto power. Truman is prepared to make concessions on this veto power, but Russia's delegates-despite their acquiescence to discuss the matter-cannot and will not accept this.

(2) Trusteeship Council: The question of a system of trusteeships and assignment of trustee powers over designated territories.

This matter, postponed from previous meetings, finds the powers in agreement on the principle that the peoples involved should not have their own government, but should be under the control "trusteeship" of one or another big imperialist power. The only disagreement is over who shall

(Continued on page 7)

Housewives

SEATTLE - A delegation represent-

ing the Homemakers' Price Control

League is scheduled at present to call

on the City Council here on Monday,

November 4, and demand passage of

an ordinance that sets the top price

of milk at 13 cents a quart for over-

the-counter sales and 14 cents for

lawmakers was made at a meeting

of the strategy committee of the

league, October 26, in accordance

with perspectives adopted when the

HPCL was officially organized at the

Swedish Hall on the previous Wed-

Under the chairmanship of Mrs.

Don Burns, the women set up at that

meeting a tight, streamlined consum-

er action group and entrusted to a

strategy committee the task of di-

recting plans for price-relief demon-

strations before governmental bodies.

bringing pressure on dealers and

dairy organizations, organizing neigh-

borhood price committees and obtain-

The league adopted as its slogan:

One pint a day for invalids and

children, no butter, no cheese, no ice

cream, no powdered milk." Deter-

mined attitude of the homemakers in-

dicated they are resolved to stick by

this formula until the dairy monop-

oly-Seattle Milk Dealers Association

-cuts back the price of milk which

is now sold in stores for 18 cents a

quart and set on back porches for

Success of the meeting is attributa-

ble to the work of a few individuals

who put in long hours at the tele-

phone promoting a series of chain-

call announcements of the meeting,

circulating petitions to President

Truman demanding action on dairy

(Continued on page 2)

ing the support of organized labor.

Decision to call on the municipal

Organize

In Seattle

home delivery.

nesday evening.

19 cents.

MR. BIRD IS "OUT"

The price picture is well enough known to every one of us. It reduces itself to the simple fact that wages cannot possibly be stretched to meet the price greed of the profiteers. What to do, then, is the principal question that faces us today.

Now, there are many things we can do. We can, for example, put forward through our unions the basic slogan of last winter's General Motors strike: Wage Increases WITHOUT Any Price

As a story from Detroit that appears elsewhere in this issue demonstrates, the slogan is spreading though there is not yet any aggressive union campaign to put it into effect. However, it is

the kind of realistic and fundamental approach to the problem that is certain to rise in the big wage struggles that lie ahead because of its incontestable logic.

Further, there is the entire wage campaign that is now shaping up. The auto workers are already on the move; the steel workers and others are certain to take action as their contracts expire. We will, however, have to be on guard against permitting the same steal that was put over on us last year when labor's picket line wage victories were stolen through price boosts granted in Washington.

MANY WAYS TO FIGHT

More than that, however, with the many lessons of the price situation staring us in the face, we will have to seek ways to give our wage battles real value. The GM Program is one. An escalator clause in every contract is another—and a number of unions have already acted to include that in their programs.

Thus, we say that the first way to tackle the price situation is on the wage front. But the fight against higher prices does not end there. It must be fought in many ways, from the simple economic action of a wage demand to the rounded political action of a Labor Party massing labor's political strength against the government operated by the servants of the meat monopolists, steel magnates, and so forth.

Here we want to discuss one of these avenues of action - popular price control committees, composed of housewives and labor representatives. Combined with the economic and political activities of our unions, this type of action can really crack the price swindle. It is, further, something that can be put into operation in a minimum of time.

SEATTLE AS AN EXAMPLE

Thus in this issue of LABOR AC-TION you will read how a group of housewives in Seattle got together, solicited and received the support of unions, and made their plans to beat down the robbery of inflated prices.

(Continued on page 7)

UAW's Wage Drive Marked by Caution

By WALTER JASON DETROIT, Oct. 27-The contrast be-

tween the beginning of the great GM strike struggle and the present attempt to obtain a wage increase at Chrysler, and other auto plants, reflects the significant changes that have taken place in the UAW-CIO in the past year.

The obvious conservative approach of the UAW-CIO leadership, the result of the new and important bloc between Philip Murray, CIO president, and Walter P. Reuther, UAW president, along with economic uncertainties in the auto industry have combined to produce an attitude of cautious and watchful waiting on the part of the men in the shops.

"WATCHFUL WAITING"

The crusading spirit of the GM workers is not evident. At Chrysler, a year of sporadic employment with a short work week that meant an average of \$29 weekly pay for the workers, plus the big layoffs, have brought about a cautious sentiment

among the workers. The fact that the entire union leadership is moving slowly and conservatively is realized by the workers, and this accounts for the feeling of "watchful waiting." The UAW board didn't even discuss important questions of strike strategy, as de-

manded by the secondary leadership. The fact that Reuther is "keeping his hands off" the Chrysler negotiations, allowing Norman Mathews, director of the Chrysler division of the UAW-CIO, to handle them, signifies to many workers that "Chrysler isn't

Right now Reuther is basking in

(Continued on page 2)

Building Up of NI Circulation Is a Political Necessity

By ERNEST ERBER, Managing

NAME

ADDRESS

Editor of The New International The main aim of our present drive to build up the circulation of The New International is a distinctly po-

litical one. It is true, of course, that an increased circulation would ease the financial problems of the magazine and permit us to render a more efficient service to our readers. But the financial problem is not our most pressing one.

JOURNAL OF MARXIST THEORY

Our most pressing problem is born of this, really tragic, situation:

1. The postponed proletarian revolution and the continued decay of social institutions has produced developments that confront our generation of Marxists with questions of such historical scope as no other generation has faced since that of

ZONE NO..... STATE

2. A whole new "lost generation" of young intellectuals and politically awakened young workers do not know where to turn in trying to understand the world about them-a world more complex and contradictory, perhaps, than any since the dissolution of the Roman Empire.

sole journal of Marxist theory in the world that even recognizes that history has presented us with problems that are both new and fundamental in their character, let alone the fact that we represent the only serious and fruitful efforts to answer them. We record this fact without boasting -for there is nothing to boast about -but with gravity.

4. But with all we have to offer the thousands of serious students of our times, we reach too small a number, 3,000. Were The New International widely known and rejected by those who are seeking a way out, a

3. The New International is the situation would prevail that could not be solved by "campaigns" or promotion of any sort. That tragic sitthat our magazine remains as yet a "candle hidden under a bushel." This is the problem that our present circulation drive must tackle.

SPREAD LIVING MARXISM

The historical developments referred to above have been used by the enemies of Marxism, with ex-Marxists in the lead, to gleefully celebrate the "crisis of Marxism" and the "death of Marxism." Marxism faces no crisis and it certainly is far from dead.

Those who have issued the certifi-

cate of death have yet to prove their competence as practicing physicians. But their voice reaches tens of thouuation consists precisely in the fact sands and supplies the intellectual fodder for a new generation of disillusioned youth, especially on college campuses. Little wonder that malnutrition of the mind is a striking feature in such circles today.

> However, the reason why the talk about a "crisis of Marxism" makes such a profound impression is that there is really a "crisis of Marxists," or, to be more exact, of "certain Marxists." Those who believe that Marxism consists of "applying" the quotations of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky to the new phenomena, that there is really nothing new, that

everything is working out according to the "finished program," such 'Marxists" really present the spectacle of being in a crisis.

Not dogma but living Marxism is required. Marxism is a method and a frame-work, not some kind of historical schema based upon "inevitability." Such Marxism offers the only tools with which our complex and contradictory world can be analyzed. Our failure to energetically promote The New International really robs thousands of potential young Marxists of the opportunity to learn how to use these tools. Let us use the present drive to make a modest beginning and introduce at least 500 new readers to our magazine.

it." "It" meaning a big fight.

The Boss's Dictionary

Several maritime unions have

made public a letter written by

Ralph Chandler, vice - president of

Matson Navigation, kingpin of West

Coast shipping, urging industrialists

to contribute substantially to the

anti-FEPC fund. The Rural Free

Press, voice of the Associated Farm-

ers, has been blasting Proposition 11

most vicious anti-labor organizations

on the Coast and directly connected

with the Merchants and Manufactur-

ers Association, is now moving into

high gear with their hate campaign

against FEPC. Frank P. Doherty,

corporation attorney and old guard

Republican, with offices in the Guar-

antee Trust Co. building, is chair-

man of the Southern California Com-

The line-up is clear. The backbone

of the open shop campaign, big busi-

ness and their stooges are against

FEPC. The CIO and the AFL are

conducting a vigorous campaign for

Proposition 11. Thousands of Negroes,

Mexicans, Jews and Catholics are de-

termined to strike a blow against

Jim Crow and racial or religious dis-

crimination. The proposition stands

Women of the Pacific, one of the

in every issue.

Work:

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Sea Officers Win Strike

Marine Engineers Benefit Association and the Masters, Mates and Pilots have returned to work on the East Coast and Gulf with a 15 per cent wage increase and \$1.60 for overtime after the first strike in the history of their organization. The MEBA members will be shipped from the union hall, but the companies can still hire captains off the dock.

The Pacific American Shipowners Association and two East Coast companies are still holding out. These bosses have not yet seen the light of trade union solidarity, but they are expected to settle soon - very

The officers' unions are very weak, due to their organizational make-up -their branches have local autonomy for each port, and a sharp cleavage between East and West Coasts means small and scattered groups which would have been easy prey for the shipowners had not the unlicensed personnel in both AFL and CIO unions backed them solidly.

It took the solidarity of sailors and longshoremen to put the strike over. All foreign flag vessels were permitted to sail and carry goods to foreign ports. Therefore, American big business didn't cry at all-in fact, their press gave the strike very little space. With no outside pressure, the

After all, their profits are guaranteed by Congress. But their patience went unrewarded for the waterfront workers stuck together.

WHAT IS NEEDED NOW

This spirit of solidarity must be carried on to the ships. The officers must remember that they too are employed by the shipowners. The days of straw bosses and company whips are passing. We've got to speed them on their way. And one immediately indicated need is joint expiration dates on all waterfront contracts. Then, when a new contract is necessary, all maritime workers will be fighting together and simultaneously.

In order to back up the economic gains now made, it is necessary to give Washington a lift, also. A little study of how congressmen vote and act in Washington will prove that the way to check the anti-labor gang is LABOR POLITICS. A completely independent Labor Party-organized by and based on the trade union movement - is next on the agenda. We need our brother unionists in Washington working for a government that will be ours and not the shipowners'.

The coming Congress will be a stormy session. "It will see "labor" bills that will ask the ball and chain

UAW Wage Issue --

(Continued from page 1)

the bloc formed with Murray, for his election as a CIO vice-president in the place of R. J. Thomas is considered a cinch. Murray is for it.

In addition, at the UAW board meeting Murray tore into the Communist Party and bluntly told George Addes he would have to make up his mind quickly to support either Murray or the Communist Party. Small wonder that Reuther isn't anxious, from his bureaucratic point of view, to upset the applecart by another strike struggle along the crusading lines of the GM battle.

Meanwhile, the Stalinists are beginning to retreat and duck for some cover, now that Murray has finally made up his mind to come to grips with them. John Williamson, trade union director of the Stalinists, sounded the retreat in a recent article in the Daily Worker when he declared the "main task of progressives" is to unite behind the leadership of Philip Murray."

In a word, both major factions dominating the UAW-CIO for their own reasons are approaching the Chrysler wage negotiations with extreme caution and care.

SITUATION WILL CHANGE

ers' conference adopted the central idea of Reuther's GM Program: "Higher wages without a price increase." It is bound to be a major issue in the coming steel negotiations.

More local unions in the UAW-CIO are taking advantage of the IEB statement to begin wage negotiations. This movement can easily spread beyond the control of the top leadership. Likewise, the national CIO convention will climax the present factional struggle within the CIO and clear the way for some ac-

At the special UAW IEB meeting, the board ignored all demands of the secondary leadership for adopting a national strike strategy. However, if Chrysler says no to any wage increases, the whole problem will be posed in sharpest form.

Each major strike wave in American history has its own peculiarities. The next major series of clashes between the workers and the giant corporations will assume new and different forms than the post-war strike struggles, although the basic class content will be unchanged.

The contrast between the GM strike and the Chrysler workers' struggles is the first evidence of this But this situation cannot continue fact. The almost universal adoption long. Nor can the GM Program be by the CIO of Reuther's GM Prosuppressed. Only today, Philip Mur- gram — higher wages without price ray in a speech before a steel work- increases - is a second evidence.

Seattle Women --

(Continued from page 1)

prices, grinding out mimeographed material, calling on the daily press, writing resolutions and planning the organizational structure of the

They took time out recently to hold a demonstration in City Hall Park and pay a call on A. Frank Bird, secretary of the Seattle Milk Dealers Association. After trudging up eight floors (Skinner Bldg. elevator operators would not let them ride with their banners), they found the gentleman conveniently "out."

"Housewife" members of the local Stalinist aggregation turned out in full force at the organizational meeting in order to swing the new-born league behind the campaign of their congressional candidate, Hugh De-Lacy. Specifically, they wanted the call on the city fathers to be dovetailed with a Communist Party demonstration against apartment house rental policy held on Saturday, October 26, at the City Hall. Discussion produced the hard, cold facts that (1) The Council does not meet on Saturday and (2) The affair cannot be planned adequately on such short notice. In the midst of debate, the question was called and the women voted in favor of a motion to place the matter in the hands of the strategy committee. The Stalinists, in other words, lost this round.

CIO ENDORSES LEAGUE

Key perspective of the league is to involve as many homemakers as possible in the struggle against price inflation. This is why the temporary, self - constituted committee that worked out organization plans proposed that the membership of the strategy committee be composed of volunteers. This procedure was followed. The number of women who volunteered at the Oct 23 meeting was 33. A motion was then passed to limit the number of members on the committee to this number.

More housewives were drawn into the activity by giving all those will-

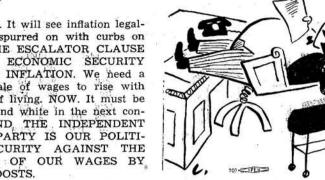
ing to serve an opportunity to participate in consumer action, protests to government agencies, delegations calling on the dairy industry and in organizing neighborhood, union and miscellaneous groups.

Meanwhile, the CIO Seattle Council has endorsed the league. Word from the Aeronautical District Council (Boeing Aircraft workers) and Boilermakers Local 104 that similar action has been taken is expected shortly. The Union Register, weekly of the Lumber and Sawmill Workers Union (AFL), devoted one and onehalf columns of space to activities of the Seattle league and to consumer activities at Portland, Ore., in its issue of October 25. A model resolution has been prepared for introduction in union and other bodies that, when passed, commits them to support the PHCL and contribute financial support.

A young, militant housewife, Mrs. R. F. Hogan, not connected with any political organization and without prompting from any outside source, gave the Seattle movement its initial kick-off. She began by calling her friends and neighbors. They all agreed with her that something should be done about the price of milk. Within a few days a check-up revealed that between 1,500 and 2,000 women had been contacted in some manner. Mrs. Vivian Woodruff, one of the first housewives called by Mrs. Hogan, shared with the latter a major portion of the responsibility for building the movement. These two ladies are the co-chairwomen of the strategy committee.

The league has established contacts with a similar organization in Portland. There is good reason to believe that the struggle in Seattle will be linked shortly with organized price protest groups in Tacoma, Bremerton and other cities. In fact, Miss Jesse Short of the Portland Affiliated Milk Committee was present at the organizational meeting of the HPCL and described the machinations of the dairy monopoly in Oregon.

for strikes. It will see inflation legalized and spurred on with curbs on wages, THE ESCALATOR CLAUSE IS OUR ECONOMIC SECURITY AGAINST INFLATION. We need a sliding scale of wages to rise with the cost of living. NOW. It must be in black and white in the next contract! AND THE INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY IS OUR POLITI-CAL SECURITY AGAINST THE CUTTING OF OUR WAGES BY PRICE BOOSTS.



California Labor Bucks Bosses In Behalf of FEPC Amendment

LOS ANGELES-During the last six weeks, the big guns of the business interests have been booming away against proposition 11, the California Fair Employment Practices Act, which would bar discrimination because of race, creed or color in hiring. Recently huge billboards carrying the slogan, "Don't Be Misled-Vote No No. 11 - Smash This CIO - PAC Scheme," and signed by a "Committee for Tolerance," have been appearing in all parts of this city.

The "gentlemen" behind this committee prefer to remain anonymous. However, a reporter for the Labor Herald, the California CIO newspaper, unmasked these "tolerant" sponsors and found the well-heeled members of the Chamber of Commerce. Treasurer of the so-called Tolerance Committee is Thomas Deane, vicepresident of a branch of the Bank of America, one of the largest in the

Mr. Deane was worried about the effects of an exposé. "I don't want any publicity. I work for the Bank of America, you know. I wouldn't have touched this with a ten-foot pole if I had known there was going to be any publicity in it." The honorable Mr. Deane, who is against FEPC because "It deprives an employer of the God-given right to hire anyone he chooses," is afraid to come out in the open. He prefers to hide behind a phony "tolerance" committee.

a good chance of winning at the polls on November 5. The Los Angeles and San Pedro sections of the Workers Party urge all California readers of LABOR AC-TION to vote YES on Proposition 11 and to go on from there to put some real teeth into the Act.

mittee for Tolerance.

Detroit Workers Party Joins Campaign for Statewide FEPC

tober 20, the party elected three dele- race, religion against religion - they gates to the October 26 Action Con- make more difficult the unity of the ference for an FEPC and set up a working class against this capitalist special FEPC campaign committee of its own. One hundred and fifty thousand signatures of registered voters must be obtained between November 6 and December 1 to place the proposed bill before the State Legislature. If the Legislature amends or rejects the bill it must go to the voters for a referendum.

Hall said that members of the Workers Party would rally support for the campaign in unions, veterans' organizations and other groups. A public rally will be held at the party headquarters: Labor Action Hall, 3773 Gratiot, on Sunday, November 10, at 8 p.m., at which volunteer workers will be enlisted in the campaign. The subject will be: "What you can do to get an FEPC law."

The Socialist Youth League, youth section of the party, has already mapped out a program of action for the campaign and will publicize the drive in the schools.

Excerpts from the Workers Party statement follow:

The Workers Party and the Socialist Youth League warmly endorse the campaign for a State FEPC law and welcome the opportunity to join in circulating its petitions and publicizing its activities in every way possible....

Racial discrimination is fostered and maintained because it serves the interests of the capitalist class, the big bankers and monopolists, the 60 families who fatten on the exploitation of the working population which serves them. Keeping the Negro and other minorities in a state of legally and illegally enforced deg-

Now

Only

\$2.00!

LABOR ACTION BOUND VOLUME 1945

A permanent record of Marxist analysis of the year's outstand-

ing events.

Order from LABOR ACTION 4 Court Square Long Island City 1, N. Y.

DETROIT, Oct. 25-Support to the radation enables this tiny class to set campaign for a Michigan FEPC was aside one section of the working announced by the Detroit Branch of class as a reservoir of cheap labor. the Workers Party. Ben Hall, organ- And, by pitting the working people izer, reported at a meeting on Oc- against one another - race against exploiting class and thus fix more firmly the power of the exploiters....

LABOR SUFFERS

Consequently, it is not only the minorities but the working class as a whole which suffers from the system of discrimination and which pays for it in terms of the lowering of its own rights and living standards. That is why it is the obligation of all to support campaigns such as this for a State FEPC and to strive by determined mass actions to eliminate Jim Crow generally

The Workers Party and the Socialist Youth League welcome the campaign for a State FEPC as one step along the road of fighting Jim Crow. This fight must not and cannot come to an end with the passing of this bill. The forces that profit from discrimination and segregation are powerful and well entrenched in society. Even when passed this bill will be enforced only if the working people themselves by unified mass actions through their unions and other organizations ensure its enforcement. The courts and governments of this city, state and nation have proved unable and unwilling to put an end to discrimination. Here in Michigan, to cite only one simple example, the Diggs Civil Rights Law remains a dead letter because of sabotage on the part of those in political office and passivity on the part of those who should be fighting for its enforcement.

It is to such a program, the program of socialism, that the Workers Party and the Socialist Youth League are devoted. The fulfillment of such a program is an imperative necessity for all working people.

> WORKERS PARTY, Detroit Branch.

SOCIALIST YOUTH LEAGUE, Detroit Branch,

3773 Gratiot, Detroit 7.

You Can Subscribe To Labor Action For Six Months For 50 Cents!

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

Today the capitalist class and all its hangers-on are on the defensive. On the Negro question, for instance, they profess a liberal attitude. Papers like the New York Times and the Herald Tribune regularly utter solemn sentiments against lynching and in favor of Negro equality, etc. But this column maintains that these people are in reality enemies of Negro emancipation. They speak in favor of equal rights and opportunities for Negroes because they cannot very well do otherwise, but they are enemies. They defend and encourage the capitalist oppression of the Negro at every turn. Encourage, you ask? Yes, they encourage it. This is how it is

The other evening a radio commentator on the Nuremberg trials began his piece by saying that it was not altogether easy for an American to give his opinion about the Nuremberg trial as long as we had at home a Lawrenceberg, Tenn., trial. This gentleman, whoever he was, tried to bring to public notice the latest injustice of the many to which the Negro people are daily subjected.

Any genuine friend of the Negro people could see the point and welcome a useful piece of propaganda. For the American people must constantly be reminded, every day, in every way, by as many groups, individuals and organizations as possible, of the crimes that are perpetrated against one-tenth of the na-

THE TIMES WRITER

Not so our writer of Topics of the Times. He jumps to attack the radio commentator. He accuses him of not knowing arithmetic. He regrets that the circumstances of the Tennessee trials were shameful. He is sorry about the lynching. But, he says, Goering and the other Nazis killed five million non-combatants, while, after all, only four Negroes were lynched in Georgia and all but two of those accused in Tennessee were acquitted.

Who but an enemy of the Negro people could write that? He writes as if all the Negro people have ever suffered is the lynching of four people in Georgia and an unjust trial in Tennessee. It is now 83 years since the Proclamation of Emancipation.

Who can count the innumerable violations of elementary justice to which generation after generation of Negroes in the United States have been subjected?

In many Southern cities a Negro cannot ride on a trolley or bus without being humiliated by a Jim Crow seat. This happens to at the very least a million Negroes every day of their lives.

The Negroes cannot vote. The Negroes are excluded from

white-collar jebs. The Negroes are jammed up in ghettoes.

The Negroes were Jim Crowed in two World Wars and in the last one their humiliation was exported to every corner of the globe.

These are some illustrations, only a few, of what happens every day to millions of Negroes. Not only those feel it who actually have the experience. When a Negro is lynched, the whole Negro population feels the injustice, the shame, the bitterness of frustration and impotence. This has been going on for nearly a hundred years now. It is impossible to calculate the blows and wounds, physical and psychological, which have been inflicted on the Negro people day after day, in fact, hour after hour, through the years. Even as I write the Negro people are being stabbed at every turn by a civilization which treats them as some form of un-

HIDING THE TRUTH

That is the fact. Luckily human nature is resilient or the Negroes in America would have perished long ago. But they have cultivated thick skins, they have learned to suppress themselves, particularly in the South. They have seized opportunities. They have fought back where they could. And over and over again they have allied themselves with progressive causes. Today they eagerly follow the labor movement. Perhaps here at last is a force which will seriously help them. They are overwhelming supporters of the CIO. But the bitterness remains, particularly the bitterness at the Jim Crow army organized by F. D. Roosevelt.

*Now our Times writer, if he had the faintest sympathy with the aspirations of the Negro people, would

understand some of this. He would welcome the commentator's statement. He would see that the commentator meant to say: "Do not let us pat ourselves on the back about justice to evil-doers. We have a terrible amount of evil in our own back

yard which we should never forget."

Instead of this our Topics of the Times man runs to attack the commentator. He is anxious to compare the six millions killed by the Nazis with the four killed in Georgia. He is anxious to show that the situation of Negroes is not so bad. He doesn't want this question brought up and constantly displayed. No. He wants it forgotten, white-washed, smoothed over. He doesn't want people's consciences aroused. He wants them lulled. When we consider the violence of the forces arrayed against the Negro, anyone who goes out of his way to attack the Negro's friends is encouraging the Negro's enemies. And these capitalist journalists, with their superficial bow to liberty but , their readiness to defend the enemies of liberty are in reality some of the most vicious enemies of the Negro's

And if we are talking about numbers, what about the six million Indians dead in the famine caused by British imperialism?

And further. Does our Times scribbler know that Hitler copied his laws for persecuting Jews from the Southern laws for the persecution of Negroes?

And finally we ask our Times correspondent one question, or rather two. They are as follows:

1) Has any organization, social, political or otherwise, ever done as much for the Negro, both from the point of view of precept and example, as the CIO?

2) When, if ever, has the Times correspondent written one single article to show this and to point out its significance?

I do not claim to have read all or even many of the articles of this writer. But this much I know. The attitude he so consistently displays in defense of reactionary concepts about the Negro people always, always and always goes side by side with a similar viciousness against organized labor and its attempts to solve great social problems.

TAPPING THE WALL STREET WIRE

By JACK RANGER

All of Washington's pretenses that it was making efforts to control prices on the nation's food and drink have now gone out the window, with the lifting on October 23 of price controls on remaining items such as flour, bread, whisky, beer, soft drinks, restaurant meals, fish, desserts, and canned goods. Only items remaining under "control" are rice, sugar and syrup.

A combination of real and artificial scarcities, mixed with Big Business politics, has now lifted living costs so far beyond the means of the average family that bourgeois economists are worried. There is no mass labor party in the United States to organize a buyers' strike—but such a strike is nevertheless taking place. High taxes and low wages do not leave the housewife enough to permit her to enter the market for items that were once looked upon as staples in the "American way of life"—like meat, butter, cotton sheets and pillowcases and towels. From all parts of the country, butchers and shopkeepers are complaining that the people won't buy their wares.

I look for prices on many commodities to tumble somewhat after the November elections. The Republican Party has done a good organizational job in persuading businessmen to hold their commodities off the market for the purpose of making Truman look even sicker than he is as a politician. But the planned scarcity tactic cannot be pursued much longer. Each businessman is becoming increasingly worried that, if he holds off much longer, he will be left with a lot of goods and no buyers at the high price level.

The Wall Street Journal reports that a flood of cotton goods will deluge the public by Decemberthat is, after the elections. Civilian Production Administration officials believe that during recent months as much as 60 per cent of production of cotton cloth has gone into warehouses rather than to the market. Buyers for the big retail stores are getting cautious. "Manufacturers have been making all this cotton stuff right along and have a lot ready to dump in our laps," said a Cleveland retailer. "The pipelines are filled up. All it takes is for some one to turn on the faucet."

Cotton mills are now producing at the rate of about 9.5 billion yards a year, a third more than in pre-war

A phenomenon of recent years has been the extremely rapid growth of the sales tax as a means used by the wealthy to finance their government. The sales tax, as Lenin once pointed out, is one of the most unfair methods of taxation, in that the poor, who must spend all they earn in order to live, thus pay a disproportionately large tax, the wealthy being taxed on only that portion of their income which they spend. The very existence of the disgraceful and unfair sales tax is an index of the political immaturity and weakness of the American workers.

Now the wealthy are becoming even more brazen in their tax policies. Big Business in California, for instance, is preparing a bill to increase the present 21/2 per cent state sales tax to 4 per cent. ... Wealthy tax lawyers are cooking up a scheme whereby their clients can claim a "travel for health" tax deduction, based on a wintertime jount to Florida-on the doctor's orders, of course.

The sales tax on cigarettes has been a bonanza for state governments. Cigarette and tobacco taxes have spread more rapidly in recent years than any other single form of taxation. Thirty-one states are now resorting to such taxation, as contrasted with 26 states in 1940. Revenue derived from such taxes in 1945 amounting to over \$164 millions, this year has jumped 5 per cent. In 1930 the comparatively few states then levying taxes on tobacco received only \$10.5 millions. Rates vary today from 2 cents to 5 cents a pack. Seven states levy a tax of 2 cents a pack; eight states collect. 3 cents; three states collect 4 cents; while the others-Arkansas, Louisiana and Oklahoma-collect 5 cents. Several states, including Illinois, are proposing as part of a state soldiers' bonus program an increase in ciga-

The cigarette tax racket is so good that some cities have gotten into the business. Among the major cities currently collecting cigarette taxes, and the amounts thus derived in 1944, are: St. Louis, \$1,281,081; Kansas City, \$645,290; Denver, \$330,037; and Birmingham,

SCHWEINHAUT QUOTES THE BIBLE

Henry A. Schweinhaut, the scrofulous young attorney whom the Department of Justice sent out to Minneapolis in 1941 to prosecute the Trotskyists, was rewarded for his work by being made a justice in the district court in Washington, D. C. The other day a defendant charged with stealing a few bottles of liquor appeared before Justice Schweinhaut. The defendant pleaded guilty, but quoted from the Bible on the virtues of forgiveness. Schweinhaut came right back with the verse from Exodus, "Thou shalt not steal," and gave the defendant up to four years.

The Mormon Church is one of the wealthiest groups of spookery peddlers in the world. The Mormons, who next year will celebrate their centennial in Utah, own department stores, hotels, railroads, airlines, mines, sugar beet and canning factories and other properties. A member of the Council of Twelve Apostles of the Mormon Church, addressing the church members recently, called for outlawing strikes, on grounds that the strike "breeds lawlessness, eventuates in anarchy and will destroy any government or society." Successful strikes in Utah would also cut into the profits of the spook artists.

Attorney General Tom Clark has written to the nation's lawyers asking them to see that participants "in mob violence" are speedily brought to justice. The copper expressed "deep concern" over the increasing number of cases of mob violence throughout the country. Reminding the lawyers' organizations that, unfortunately, the authority of the federal government in cases of mob violence is extremely limited, Clark promised that the Department of Justice would investigate carefully each such case, and make its reports available to state and local authorities. The government knows that its policies are inevitably forcing large masses of workers to struggle. When such struggles develop, Clark is promising the bosses full support of his department.

Following the spontaneous stoppage, a strike committee of twenty, made up of Trotskyists, Stalinists and Syndicalists, was elected. When the reformist union leadership set up loudspeakers in the port area, six thousand assembled longshoremen pushed the strike leaders forward to the microphone.

A Stalinist, Van den Brande, and a Trotskyist, Doremans, spoke over the "mike" to the assembled crowd, after which a demonstration of 10,000 strikers marched through the streets of Antwerp. Upon the complaint of the union

leaders, several members of the strike committee were arrested by the police of the Social-Democratic Burgomaster, but in the face of the violent reaction of the strikers, these leaders were released after three days' detention.

Upon hearing the news from Antwerp the dockers of Ghent and Brussels joined the strike. Here the leaders of the strike committees (Stalinists at Ghent, Trotskyists at Brussels) were not even union members, having been expelled some time past for carrying on propaganda for militant action. The three ports together set up a national strike committee, with the Stalinist militants working side by side with the Trotskyists, whom they had so often slandered.

At Brussels and Ghent the strikers returned after gaining a series of partial demands. At Antwerp, by far the largest port, the strikers remained adamant, and at this point the Stalinist bureaucrats intervened.

Raymond Dispy, national organization secretary of the CP of Belgium, came to the meeting of the sumption of work, which barely fraction per cent majority.

"More food must become availa-

A British conference of women

trade unionists said last week: "The

working classes are starving. Their

limbs are like matchsticks, and tu-

berculosis and other diseases among

was added, had pleaded with British

trade unionists to "tell the women of

Britain that Germany could not sur-

One woman made a plea for the

withdrawal of British troops and

families from houses seized and al-

lotted for their use while German

worker families live in damp cellars

and cold air raid shelters. She was

ignored. Another U.S. Army report

shows available housing is jammed

with 43 per cent more people than in

1939 and that most Germans "live like

ter more than a year of Allied mili-

A rainy summer limited the har-

vest and the coming winter "threat-

ens to end the descending spiral in

social disaster," says a keen observer.

Hunger may create mass unrest, fears

the U.S. Army as it prepares its new

mobile zone constabulary to handle

So serious is the situation that the

Allied Control Commission for Ger-

many (CCG) is known bitterly as

"Complete Chaos, Germany."

vive another winter without fuel."

German women trade unionists, it

children are on the increase."

ble," the report adds, "to avert seri-

ous effect on the health of the popu-

lation during the coming winter."

The Terrible Result of Allied Starvation Policy in Germany

By JACK ARMOUR

PARIS, Oct. 16-German caloric consumption is the lowest on the continent, rivaled only by Italy, an October 15 British report indicated. In calories per day, the table of starvation reads:

Denmark	2,800
Switzerland	2,632
Norway	2,490
Luxembourg	2,300
Holland	2,190
Belgium	2,000
Czechoslovakia	1,930
France	1,800
Finland	1,770
Italy	1,100
Germany:	
American Zone	1,180
British Zone	1,050
French Zone	900
(Figures on the	Rus-
sian Zone are unob	tain-
able.)	
1.	

German workers receive approxi- tables became available, but has

The capitalist system is under fire.

The newspapers discuss openly the

dangers threatening "free enterprise"

if it is unable to solve the problems of

peace as easily as the problems of

war. But surely few have given the

is based so hard a whack as did the

President of the United States in his

In the course of his recent address

on ending meat controls, Truman is-

sued the following astonishing words:

many people was to have the govern-

ment seize the packing houses. This

cause the seizing of empty packing

"Another remedy suggested by

recent address on meat.

principles on which "free enterprise"

mately one-third the American work- started again. Rickets, a disease of er's 3,000 and British 2,800 calories a malnutrition, "continues excessive." day. Before the war, nutrition experts declared 2,400 calories a day-100 calories an hour-were necessary for a minimum level of subsistence. After the war, they revised their figures downward to 1,500.

For well over a year now the German workers have had to live on a diet below this lowest known subsistence level. What has happened to their health?

In its October report of the month, the American Military Government declared the nutrition of Germans is at the lowest level since October,

School children from seven to fourteen showed such a "marked loss of weight" that unquestionably some would suffer "an uncorrectable growth arrest." A progressive loss of weight occurred during spring and summer which was halted briefly in August when supplies of fresh garden vege-

German worker reserves - the "hump"-of food, clothing and health Truman's Lasso Too Loose were used up during last winter. Cities are rubble. Eight million of To Corral Meat for People the best of German manpower are dead, prisoners of war or disabled. Germany's good soil, abundant forests, rich coal mines and well developed industries still lie prostrate af-

spokesman himself, the President of offered no real solution, however, be-

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plants would avail us nothing without the livestock. "Some have even suggested that the government go out onto the farms and ranges and seize the cattle for slaughter. This would indeed be a drastic remedy. But we gave it long and serious consideration. We decided against the use of this extreme wartime emergency power of government. It would be wholly impractic-

throughout all parts of the country." Let us examine the passage carefully. Truman says that "many people" suggested that the government seize the packing houses. Not some Trotskyists, but "many people," people obviously who are in a position to make suggestions to the President and his cabinet.

able because the cattle are spread

THE PRESIDENT'S REPLY

That the suggestion should be made by "many people" is remarkable enough. But equally remarkable is the President's reply. Did he say that the government could not seize the packing houses because the sacred principle of private property would then be abolished? No. He says that he didn't seize the packing houses because it offered no real solution. Says the President: "The seizing of empty packing plants would avail us nothing without the livestock."

So then, obviously, the NEXT step was to seize the livestock. Now, to seize livestock is different from packing plants. When you seize the kind of private property known as livestock, you don't give it back. You seize meat to eat it.

President Truman was perfectly aware of the difference between the two seizures. He said: Some have "even" suggested that the government seize the cattle. As the President himself stated: "This would indeed be a drastic remedy." Then, however, comes another of the remarkable observations in this speech. Of this drastic remedy the President says: "But we gave it long and serious consideration."

We hope the people of the United States give, this equally long, and own and share the goods of life?

equally serious consideration. The

OUT OF THE HORSE'S MOUTH

President and the cabinet consider whether they should not seize millions of cattle from private owners in order that the people of the United States get a piece of beef to eat.

Now when we revolutionaries talk about private property as a system which has outlived its usefulness, we want to see who will attempt to de- any demonstration. fend it. For it has been exposed as inept and bankrupt by its chief the United States.

Note that the President could give

absolutely no reason for not seizing

the cattle other than that it is a

"drastic" measure (which is true) and

that it is "wholly impracticable be-

cause the cattle are spread through-

out all parts of the country." But

this last reason is absurd. It isn't as

if President Truman had to take a

lasso and go out rounding up heads

by himself. He need only have used

the police powers of the state he

heads to have taken this "drastic"

step-a step which would have pre-

vented the present runaway price

Imagine the situation: the President

for capitalism, finds himself forced

to talk about taking over the meat

industry and then the cattle-and can

find no better reason for not doing

so than the fact that the ranges are

Is this not evidence of the weak

pins upon which the capitalist sys-

tem rests? Is this not evidence of the

inability of capitalism's defenders to

offer intelligent reasons for its con-

tinuation? And above all is this not

evidence of the need for socialism,

a society in which all would equally

by the meat growers and packers.

national strike committee at Antwerp, called together the CP members of the committee and presented them with an ultimatum: leave the committee or face expulsion from the party! The majority of the Stalinists capitulated and left. In the ensuing confusion the reformist union leaders organized a referendum on rescraped through by a one and a

The National Strike Committee, composed of forty militants elected by the rank and file, continues to function as a revolutionary opposition movement in the union. Furthermore, the revolutionary tendency is growing elsewhere in Belgium. In the Province of the Center, a printed paper is now being issued by the revolutionary trade union opposition. A, whole rash of strikes has broken out in

A Paper in the Interests of Labor November 4, 1946

Why Are U.S. Labor Leaders Behind Red-Baiting Drive?

By E. R. McKINNEY

An organized but not clearly defined campaign against the Communist Party (Stalinists) is under way in the United States. As is usual in these intermittent drives against the "Communists," or "the reds," all sorts of people and organizations are participating. There are, of course, the professional red-baiters: the hypocritical leaders of the Republican Party, the NAM, the fascist groups, Catholic Church dignitaries, and the top leadership of the AFL. But the spearhead of this specific campaign seems to be inside the CIO. This does not mean that the initiative was not taken by the federal government. Such initiative

on the part of the government could be expected considering the new relations between the government and Stalinist Russia. With the close tie-in of the CIO, the Democratic Party and the government, it may be true that the word was passed along to Murray from the government, that the time had come for a house-cleaning in the CIO to get rid of the "reds," to begin again to

protect the country against an attack "from without." In plain language this means that the time has come to begin thinking once more about national unity and "defense." As a result of the "Peace Conference" in Paris, and the sharp disagreements between the U.S. and Russia anything can happen. Thus we are getting a new version of "remember Pearl Harbor."

Anti-Communist Party agitation and propaganda is breaking in all CIO unions. Union presidents resign because they have suddenly discovered that their organizations are dominated by 'communists." Carey, the CIO secretary, is busy going from convention to convention and caucus to caucus speaking out against the CP and Moscow. Little trade union bureaucrats, such as Jack Altman, who were never averse to playing with the Stalinists when they needed a vote or two or a measure of prestige, are today industriously pointing out that Stalinism is totalitarian and anti-labor. Philip Murray has had a revelation also. He has discovered that the Stalinists are not interested in the labor movement in the U.S. but only in the welfare of Russia and that they take their orders from "a foreign power."

Little Johnnie Green of the shipyard workers union, is also on the alert for any "communist" who may be lurking in his union. Any day now we can expect a pronouncement from George Addes that he knows nothing whatsoever about any communist influence in the UAW and if any is pointed out he will certainly be ready to step on it. R. J. Thomas is probably having many sleepless nights trying to forget how he joined the Stalinist caucus at the last UAW convention and the vicious clown he made of himself in his fight against Reuther. Perhaps Murray would like to forget his quiet and pious alliance with the Stalinists during the war, or how he rose in the Boston CIO convention to present a plaque to Joe Curran and the NMU with these words: "this is what the CIO thinks of your union and what it thinks of you personally."

Why didn't Murray and the other CIO leaders, including Reuther, take the same attitude toward

The answer is easy to give. Stalinist Russia, for its own reasons, was "our gallant ally" in the Second World Imperialist War. The Russian people were being crushed by Hitler's tanks. The Russian soldiers were "holding the line" while this country got its tanks ready. The "gallantry" of the Russians at Stalingrad kept Hitler's legions away from the West until "we" were prepared to meet them. Murray and the others were part and parcel of the American imperialist war machine. Any ally is good enough to use against one's enemy. You don't stop to discuss the color of the ally, the color of his politics, his "ideology" or "ism." That is a luxury one saves for quieter and less dangerous times. Any one who dares bring it up while the barbarous "German people" are warring against "peace-loving" Russia, is a traitor to "national unity" and the "solidarity of the labor movement." This was the refrain.

Things are different today. The war is over and Germany is crushed. The "German people" are being made to pay for the "crimes they committed against humanity." The peace-loving conquerors, Russia, England and the United States, have just hanged what remained of the scoundrelly Nazi leadership. Stalinist imperialism is voracious and not easily satisfied. Not even with Poland, Hungary, Czecho-Slovakia, Austria. There are China, Turkey, India, Iraq, Iran and oil. There are also atom bombs, vetoes and Communist parties in every country, bound together by a "dissolved" Third International. There is a GPU with its agents in every country, in every factory and on every ship. They may even be in "our State Department." To be sure this GPU was in these same places during the war but then it was there, you must remember, in the interest of "democracy, peace, good will and the struggle against totalitarianism."

These, then, are the roots of the "anti-communist" campaign today. We do not concern ourselves primarily with the motives of the capitalist ruling class and its government at Washington. We understand them and we are against them.

Day before yesterday the German "aggressors," yesterday the German and Japanese "aggressors," tomorrow the Russian "aggressors," the day after tomorrow another "aggressor." This is the capitalist world during the armed interlude between two wars. It's called "peace." In the days to come we

should be prepared for some queer and surprising propaganda from Washington. The capitalist politicians will lament that their former ally, Russia, is not really a "democratic country," that the Russian workers are not really . "free" but oppressed and stifled. They will talk about "totali-tarianism," "bureaucratic methods," the "new Ghengis Khan," etc. If necessary for their purposes they will even go so far as to become the defenders of the Old Bolsheviks murdered in the purges by Stalin. They may even become the defenders of Trotsky who was murdered by a GPU agent acting under the orders of Stalin. Publishers will not only be free to issue books against Stalin, but may even be exhorted to do so. They will certainly not be told to hold up anti-Stalinist writings as they were instructed during the war. The Workers Party will have none of this and

ests in this country or in any other part of the world.

urgently warns the workers against this hypo-

critical campaign of United States imperialism. The ruling class in the U.S. is not a defender of democracy, not a defender of the working class and its inter-American capitalism is against Stalin today for the same basic reason that it was against Hitler: namely, that their imperialist interests conflict with those of

Stalin and the Russian bureaucracy. Now they want to drag the labor movement behind this scheme just as they dragged the working class behind their war.

Bearing this in mind, it is necessary to understand that the attitude of the labor leaders is, unfortunately, cut from the same cloth as that of the American imperialists. In fact the field of politics and diplomacy, Murray and his lieutenants, and Green and his lieutenants, think like the ruling class. Their chief fault in this, as in all the major questions of the day, is that they have no INDEPENDENT PROGRAM for labor, for the working class, for the trades unions. This is especially true on the main social and political questions such as imperialist war, political action and imperialist aggrandizement. They are a transmission belt of the capitalist-imperialist exploiters. Hence, in the tangled web of imperialist diplomacy, in the midst of the scheming and plotting for international trade, supplies of raw materials and financial domination, the trade union bureaucrats continue to act as the willing tools of the capitalist ruling class.

And this is their role in the present drive against the American Stalinists. They did not in the past and do not now take a principled position in connection with the Stalinists. They have never had a progressive and militant working class program or attitude toward Stalinism in the labor movement. When it suited their own bureaucratic purposes, or the purposes of the big leaders in industry and the government, they made the most unprincipled deals with the Stalinist goons, bureaucrats and murderers.

The labor officialdom never presented a political program by which labor could combat the Kremlin political line of the Stalinists. In fact, they have themselves often, albeit very stupidly, followed the political line of the Stalinists, except where this line was clearly in conflict with the line of the government. They have aided and abetted the Stalinists, playing into their hands by opposing and stamping out as best they could every trend of labor toward independent political action. They have opposed every proposal, particularly those coming from the genuine anti-Stalinists, the Marxist revolutionaries, for a program for the workers which would enlighten them on Stalinism and prepare labor to destroy the disease of Stalinism.

Not only have the positive actions of Murray and Co. disoriented and confused the working class in relation to the Stalinists and Stalinism but what they have failed to do has been a blessing to the Stalinists as they went about their usual business of stabbing the labor movement in the back.

While they failed to give labor an independent (Continued on page 5)

Prospects for the Coming French Election DeGaulle Makes a New Bid for Power

tary occupation.

France remains the crucible of ity. European politics: all significant tendencies are centered there with classic clarity. The referendum of October 13 on the Constitution proposed by the Assembly, the present political stalemate and the coming elections on November 10 all point to the continued state of class tension which marks European politics,

The new Constitution, presented to the electorate after it had rejected a previous one several months ago, was "compromise" by the three parties of the coalition government: Socialists, Stalinists and MRP (Conservative Catholics). It did not propose

as much concentration of power in the National Assembly-which had previously been the main excuse for opposition by the de Gaullists - and was this time supported by the MRP, which had opposed, and had been the decisive spiral and the exorbitant profiteering , factor in defeating the first draft.

of the United States, chief spokesman DE GAULLE'S ROLE

In the second, more recent constitutional referendum, the three big parties supported the draft constitution, and the only major political voice raised in opposition was that of de Gaulle. Le Grand Charlie has been playing a cagey game, trying to cluster round himself the extreme conservative and fascistic forces in France in order to prepare for his reassumption of French political leadership. He saw in the constitutional referendum an opportunity to organize a conservative opposition against all parties, centered around

his would-be Bonapartist personal-

It must be conceded that even though the Constitution was passed by a vote of approximately nine million for and eight million against, de Gaulle has won a political victory of some consequence. For this political martinet has succeeded - without a formal political party at his disposal -in rallying only one million votes less than the three major political parties of France. (Though it is possible that many of the "No" votes were not intended as votes in support of de Gaulle, yet the immediate effect of those votes is to increase de Gaulle's strength.)

When one further considers that there were seven million abstentions, the defeat of the three party coalition becomes clearer. The seven million abstentions are the index of a growing apathy in French political life; they are the voice of people who, disgusted with what seems to them the meaningless rigmarole of political chicanery, vote "with their feet." However, we must also note that some 300,000 votes, according to our information, were cast blank. We do not know how many of these were cast on the request of the PCI. French Trotskyist organization. but they certainly represent a protest against the Constitution AND de Gaulle.

And of one thing we may be certain: apathy, indifference, political disillusionment will help the reactionary de Gaullist forces more than anything else. The would - be Bonapartist will find his road to power easier if the masses turn away from

POLITICAL SKIRMISHING

The indications are that most of the French workers still supported the two parties which have so tragically

years-the Socialists and Stalinists; daries. If it joins with the MRP in leadership made sizable contact with Paris, the vote was two to one in favor of the constitution.

With an election to the National Assembly only a few weeks off, there has been some hectic political skirmishing as a result of the referendum. The MRP, which had gone along with the Socialists and Stalinists, has suddenly discovered that it must make a bloc-or try to-with de Gaulle. The estimate of Edgar Ansel Mowrer, political writer for the New York Post, is unfortunately correct when he writes that "de Gaulle emerges as the strongest single force in France. Though beaten by a coalition of the three large parties, he is obviously still the most popular figure in the entire country." He has succeeded in deflecting a considerable section of the MRP's supporters, who feel that his refusal to work with the Stalinists represents a more determined version of their rightwing point of view. And the following he has attracted has enhanced de Gaulle in the eyes of the French capitalists and Anglo-American imperialists, both of whom see in him a more reliable and resolute-if more temperamental—ally than the watery

The MRP is now trying to adapt itself by its announcement that it will henceforth refuse to participate in any coalition government with the French Communist Party and that it looks forward to an exclusively MRP government or at least a coalition directed against the Stalinists. By this maneuver the MRP hopes to form a temporary bloc with de Gaulle in order to consolidate the conservative votes for the November 10 election.

At the same time it has appealed to the Socialist Party for a bloc against the Stalinists. The muddled and faction-riddled SP is thus faced betrayed and misled them in the past with another of its periodic quan-

for in the proletarian suburbs of an anti-Stalinist bloc it will alienate those sections of the supporters who have been taken in by talk of a "united proletarian front" with the Stalinists. If it cooperates with the Stalinists against the MRP it will lose many of the middle-class votes it has gained in the past, which were intended as a "bulwark against communism." Whichever way the French SP turns it is in difficulty, which is why it will probably try the impossible by not turning anywhere.

> In the meantime, the struggle sharpens. Misery, insufficient food, economic disorganization, political confusion remain in France. The forces of the right are beginning to coalesce. As an unsigned dispatch to the New York Times of October 16 puts it: "...de Gaulle's opposition to the Constitution encouraged a variety of fascist elements who prefer a conservative dictatorship to a republican government..." And that "... unless the anti-Communist forces can form a coalition capable of governing the country without the Communists, who have been in every post-war cabinet, the resistance to the Communists may resort to force. This is also de Gaulle's conviction."

While the reactionary elements gather under de Gaulle's banner, political apathy and confusion grow in the ranks of the lower middle class and the working class. For the government in which the Socialists and Stalinists dominated solved none of their problems - and these parties offer nothing but more of the same. Hence the large numbers who turn away in disgust from politics.

The situation is highly dangerous. The French working class has given abundant evidence in the last few years of its ability to struggle and sacrifice, of its incipient militancy which could so readily be brought to a peak if a bold revolutionary

it. Right now the French workers face a new threat to their security and liberty in the de Gaullist reaction. The, two "parties of the left" are socially impotent, unable and unwilling to move toward genuine revolutionary socialist policy.

Under these circumstances, the eyes of revolutionists the world over turn to the French Trotskyists, who are making a supreme effort to place their candidates on the ballot for the November 10 election, despite the difficulties which the new Constitution imposes on small parties. In the last election to the Assembly, they polled some 45,000 votes though only able to place candidates in about onefifth of the districts. An increased vote for the French Trotskyists will indicate that the most advanced political elements within the working class movement of France continue to struggle and grow.

Don't Miss It!

The Workers Party, Local New York, expects a sell-out for its 800-seat hall in the Hotel Diplomat, November 8, when the first debate in radical history in seven years will take place between Max Shachtman, national chairman of the Workers Party, and Liston Oak, managing editor of the New Leader, on the question "Does Stalinism Flow from Bol-

A thousand tickets are on sale in various New York City bookstores, among them the New York University bookshop, the Labor Action Book Service at 114 West West 14th Street, and several other college bookshops. A complete list will be available next week.

James M. Fenwick

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

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> EMANUEL GARRETT, Editor EDITORIAL BOARD IRVING HOWE

ALBERT GATES

HENRY JUDD

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Editorials

Immediate Freedom for the CO's!

There are today approximately 1,000 men who are still in U.S. jails as conscientious objectors (CO's) to war. About 840 of these are Jehova's Witnesses, many of whom are not classified 4-E, but who refused to serve in the Army as ministers of the gospel. There are some 5,000 others who have served prison terms and can have their civil rights restored only by an amnesty.

Further, as of September 13, 1,385 conscientious objectors were in Civilian Public Service Camps, with 7,386 discharged... The CPS camps are in effect slave camps where the men are compelled to work under military direction. Fifty-three men are now awaiting trial in Federal Court for striking against forced, unpaid labor at the Glendora (Calif.) CPS. Similar strikes have occurred in other camps, notably at Big Flats, N. Y.

The imprisonment and detention in forced labor camps of these CO's was a scandalous violation of democratic liberties to begin with. Their continued imprisonment is an outrage demanding wide protest and organized action to secure their FULL release.

LABOR ACTION disagrees sharply with the conscientious objectors. Their attitude is one we consider radically wrong, though they have displayed commendable courage in standing by their

As our readers know, we are violently opposed to imperialist war, and have said so week in and week out, before, during and since the war. It is precisely for that reason that we disagree with the CO's. Their way weakens the fight against imperialist war. Wars are the product of the vicious social system in which we live and it is only by eradicating that social scientious objectors!

system that wars can be eliminated. There are wars, wars against imperialism, against fascism, against the injustices of this social system, that demand our fullest support because in their very nature *they lead to an elimination of the causes

Not all the CO's, it is true, are believers in pacifism with its hopeless and dangerous illusions. Some of them are political objectors who are not pacifists. But their action, however courageously motivated, represents a retreat from the real arena of struggle against imperialist war. As revolutionary socialists we believe that our place is always with the people. Thus, we believe that the place of the opponent of imperialist war is with the young men who are compelled to fight the war and not away from them. At best the stand of the political CO's (and some even claim to be revolutionists) separates them from the people. At worst, it contributes to illusions which undermine the real struggle against

Nevertheless, it is their DEMOCRATIC RIGHT to refuse to serve in the Army. And we must uphold that right! A campaign is now under way to secure complete amnesty for the CO's. Many of these have been offered their release from jail, but have properly refused it without amnesty. A Committee for Amnesty has been established, with headquarters at 5 Beekman Street, New York.

In protesting the persecution of the conscieutious objects — a persecution which is in sharp contrast to the easy government treatment of known fascists -we call upon our readers to join in the campaign to demand of the President and Congress immediate amnesty of all con-

Stalin Kidnaps German Labor

A day after the municipal elections in Berlin (analyzed in an adjacent column) in which the Stalinists received a resounding defeat, the Russian occupation forces began to kidnap highly skilled German workers and transport them to Russia. From Berlin some 400 to 500 workers who worked in plants which the Russians dismantled, have been spirited eastward.

The Berlin correspondent of the N. Y. Post, Kendall Foss, wrote on October 25 that from the Russian occupied zone, "a much larger number has disappearedperhaps 10,000 to 15,000, though there is absolutely no way to be sure. These, too, are associated with such plants as the Junkers airplane factory at Dessau, the Zeiss optical workers at Jena and the Seibel airplane parts plant at Halle-all of which seem on the move."

Here is yet another touch to complete the portrait of life under Stalinism. Forced labor, spiriting of skilled workers away from their homes to distant labor camps—these were the characteristics universally associated with the Nazis. It was for these characteristics that they were so universally hated. And today we see that forced labor, kidnaping of workers are part of the Stalinist system, too.

Large parts of the Russian working force are already in forced labor campsthough this fact is little known. Now the forced labor of Stalinist totalitarianism is being extended to those areas where Russian armies rule.

Here is the picture of what Stalinism means. Sauckel, the Nazi pig who ran the concentration camps for Hitler, is dead; but Stalin carries on in the same tradition.

No doubt representatives of United States imperialism will protest. But their lack of any basis for protest is indicated in Foss' dispatch when he writes that "We (i.e., U. S. imperialism-Ed.) took scientists and technicians to America after the war.... We agreed in order No. 3 of the Allied Control Council last January to the concept of compulsory labor ... "

Yes, Sauckel is dead, but Stalin continues. Forced labor-that most terrible characteristic of modern totalitarianism -continues in Germany. Let those who still retain any faith in Stalinism think of

Army Postman Rings 15.000 To 20,000 Times for General

"GORIZIA, Italy, Oct. 16-Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower inspected United States troops and military installations along the Morgan Line today ... At Caporetto, General Eisenhower said he was willing to listen to 'gripes' and that he had received 15,000 to 20,000 letters of complaints. While not all problems were settled, he said, ALL THE LETTERS WERE ANSWERED."-(New York Times, with the emphasis ours-all

O. K., men, any more complaints?

Next Week:

THE AMERICAN MIDDLE CLASS

THE CAIN "AUTHORS' PLAN"

By George Lawler

By Albert Gates

A REVIEW OF "STUDS LONIGAN" By Irving Howe

SOUTHERN SOCIETY

By David Coolidge

D. POLITICS

Stalinists Lose in Germany

The first opportunity for the people of Berlin to express their political views since the assumption of power by Hitler, has resulted in a decisive victory for the Social Democratic Party and a resounding defeat for the Stalinist and conservative Catholic parties. The Social Democrats received 948,851 votes or just under 49 per cent; the Stalinist dominated "Socialist Unity Party" received 383,249, or less than 20 per cent; the conservative Christian Democratic Union received 432,016 votes; and the extreme right-wing Liberal Democratic Party was fourth with 181,875.

Recall the conditions of this election—the favored position of the Stalinist "Socialist Unity Party" (SED); the fact that it had four to five times as much newsprint allotment as the other parties; that the Social Democrats were banned in the section of Germany occupied by the Russians; that no party had the financial and administrative aid such as the Russians gave to the SED-and you will realize that the mere 20 per cent vote which the SED received is the most devastating and conclusive repudiation of Stalinist Russia vet made in any of the occupied areas of eastern Europe. And when it is further recalled that this repudiation has been administered not by backward peasants of a Balkan country, but by the workers of Berlin who, before the advent of Hitler, were overwhelmingly enrolled in the ranks of either the Social Democratic or Communist Party then it becomes clear that the workers of Berlin have given a sign that they still retain at least some of their old class consciousness.

THE MEANING OF THE VOTE

PCI RUNS 119 CANDIDATES

After a heroic effort, the Parti

Communiste Internationaliste (Fourth

International) has succeeded in put-

ting sixteen lists of candidates on

the ballot for the scheduled telection

for next month. The sixteen lists rep-

resent a total of 119 candidates in

the fourteen departments. The PCI

had to raise 2,380,000 francs to place.

its candidates in the field, according

to a French election law which is

designed to make it as difficult as

possible for minority revolutionary

parties to appear on the ballot. The

Workers Party of the United States

contributed 14,000 francs toward this

sum. In the last elections to June

50,000 for eleven lists in nine depart-

Parisot, Pierre Boussel and Pierre rade, Le Van.

IN FRENCH ELECTIONS

What does this vote mean in the present situation? First and foremost that the workers of Berlin-despite years of Hitlerite repression and propaganda-continue to think within the working class and socialist tradition. They have had a sad experience with the Stalinists. The Russian armies came into Berlin as conquerors: they lorded it over the people of Berlin in the same despotic manner in which they dominated the Balkins; they raped, they stole, they brutalized; they suppressed and terrorized those parties which would not be their servile agents. But they made one serious mistakethey failed to realize that the workers of Berlin had a great tradition, a tradition of independence and pride. And so the first time that the population of Berlin

had the opportunity to express itself it repudiated by an

International Socialist Notes

tors of Paris, respectively; Yvon Crai-

peau, general secretary of the PCI,

in Seine-et-Ooise; Gérard Bloch, in

Puy-de-Dome; Madeleine Forcade in

Gironde (Bordeaux area): and Albert

Demazière, organization secretary of

the PCI, in Bouches-du-Rhone (Mar-

The election campaign got off to a

flying start with a mass meeting in

Paris on October 11, attended by

1500 people, who vigorously applaud-

ed the party's revolutionary pro-

gram for France and the colonial

masses. Party leaders who spoke

were Boussel, Poillet, Severin, Beau-

speeches of two revolutionary colo-

Candidates of the PCI include: Paul Benoit, and the Indo-Chinese com-

nial figures, the Senegalese comrade,

seille area).

SED, which had been created by a fake merger of Stalinists and a few scattered Social Democrats. Just as the workers of Berlin never accepted the totalitarianism of Hitler, so they do not accept the totalitarianism of Stalin. And this fact can only cause rejoicing among

voting for the old conservative church parties as a result of their disillusionment with the Stalinists. Half of the vote went to the Social Democrats—and since about 30 per cent went to the conservative parties, it is reasonable to suppose that the bourgeois elements of Ber-

lin did not vote for the Social Democrats, but rather

that the Social Democratic vote was largely working

SOME HOPE FOR THE FUTURE

Of course the Social Democracy itself is a bankrupt, inept and hopeless movement. In a sense it is an indication of the political disintegration of Europe that today in 1946 revolutionary socialists find comfort in the fact that the workers of Berlin are voting for the Social Democrats, while 20 years ago we were bending every effort to break the workers away from the reformist Social Democracy. But facts are stubborn-and the fact is that in the present specific situation the vote of the German workers should be hailed.

This does not of course mean that we in the slightest abate our criticisms of the Social Democracy. Quite the contrary. Only the day after their victory, which came as a complete surprise to them, the German Social Democrats admitted that they were at a loss for what to do with their newly acquired power. Traditionally they have played the role of subservient agent of their native capitalist class. And that is the role they will continue to play in relation to Anglo-American imperialism.

The Social Democracy remains a working class movement, reformist and inept, unable to solve the basic problems of society because of its unwillingness to abolish capitalism-but still a working class movement in which there is a measure of internal democracy and a degree of sensitivity to working class pressure. That the electorate of Berlin, therefore, chose to support this party, with all its shortcomings, as against the Stalinist and capitalist parties is an encouraging political symptom. Encouraging that is, for the opportunities it offers to whatever revolutionary regroupings may today be taking place in Germany-I. H.

STRIKE IN CEYLON

Brief reports have announced mass

strikes of transportation workers

(railroads, city transport, dock work-

ers, etc.) in the great harbor city of

Colombo, Ceylon, as well as other

sections of this island lying off of

India. Mass demonstrations of work-

ers parading in Colombo have been

reported, during the course of which

strikers attacked the car carrying the

Mayor of Colombo, and beat up His

The two Trotskyist parties in Cey-

lon-the Lanka Sama Samaj and the

Ceylon unit of the Bolshevik-Lenin-

ist Party of India-have important

movement of Cevlon. It is certain that

these Trotskyists are playing an ac-

tive part in the strike struggle and

LABOR ACTION will carry a report

on their activities as soon as infor-

Honor, the Mayor himself!

mation has been received.

Frank in the first, third and fifth sec- GENERAL TRANSPORT

frère and Craipeau. The audience influence in the labor and union

overwhelming majority the Stalinist puppet party, the

revolutionary socialists. The workers of Berlin did not fall into the trap of

Wars of Aggression

Robert H. Jackson, United States prosecutor at the Nuremberg trial, recently clearly formulated the primary reason for the hanging of several of the leading figures of the Nazi régime.

It was for the "planning, preparation, incitation, or waging of a war of aggression, or a war in violation of international treaties, agreements or assurances, or conspiracy or participation in a common place to do so.

Despite the musty legal rhetoric characteristic of this parasitic profession, the meaning emerges clearly enough.

Equally clearly stated is that the Nazis were not executed for the crimes they committed against the German people-and, in particular, the German labor movement-except insofar as these acts were part of the war preparations. This concept, said Jackson, with that transcendent historical objectivity of a person who has never had to risk his hide under fascism, "does not fully protect minorities against discriminations and persecutions...."

But let us overlook this for the time being, as well as many of the other criticisms which have been directed against the trial: the fact that the defendants were tried for an act which was not recognized as a crime in international law when they committed it; the fact that the real criminals, the capitalists, were not put in the dock, etc.

Let's get down to the nub of the matter-the theory of aggressive war.

One simple fact, which all the propaganda whitewash in the world cannot obliterate, reveals the trial as a fraud. It is this: that if aggressive war is a crime the Russian leaders should have been in the dock along with the Germans for their actions following the Hitler-Stalin pact in 1939.

"Jodl was grinning like a fox," reports G. M. Gilbert, the prison psychologist, "'So now they want to hide the fact that there was a secret treaty! ... The war probably never would have been risked if Hitler hadn't had this agreement in his pocket!'

For almost every crime of the Nazis in "the persecution of individuals or minorities on political, racial, or religious grounds where it is a domestic policy in preparation for such war" a Stalinist counterpart can be brought forward. That Justice Jackson only now announces this reveals that he has not only been chummy with Russian war criminals during the past year but that in our accelerated age foreign policy can rapidly change in the few months since the trial began. Yesterday's ally is now an enemy. That Jackson does not look very bright under the circumstances is really not his fault.

Marxists have long pointed out that it is not aggressor nations which cause war but capitalism itself. Capitalism will only produce goods for a profit. When it cannot dispose of a glut of goods on the home market it attempts to sell them abroad. When it does so it invariably collides with other nations attempting to do the same thing. The result is war. That was the meaning of World War I, which was precipitated by Germany's attempt to build a colonial empire at the expense of the Allies, and muscle-in on a world market largely controlled by the United States, England, and France. It was the basic cause of World War II.

Viewed in this fashion, an actual aggressor nation, in the sense of a nation which unleashes the armed struggle, usually is the one whose need is greater. It may be seeking booty which another nation long ago acquired and has fattened on. Hence the Nazi diatribes against "plutocratic England." Both are morally culpable.

The term "aggressor" has very useful propaganda value. Every nation seeks to inveigle its opponent into being an actual aggressor in the military sense. From the point of view of the propaganda fed its own people, every nation has always waged a defensive war. In an age of secret treaties, economic pressure, propaganda, and imperialist diplomacy, every power finds it easy to create this impression in its own interest against an opponent.

For instance, the United States was undoubtedly the victim of aggression at Pearl Harbor, and it was a godsend for President Roosevelt, who was going against the grain of the American people in his war drive. But it was a defensive war on the part of the Japanese, also.

The following report, written from Honolulu by Hallett Abend on the eve of the war, has in it all the simple facts necessary for Japanese leaders to prove to the Japanese people that they were being made the victims of United States aggression: "... already today, as a result of the freezing of her assets and the cessation of her trade with the United States, all parts of the British Empire, and the Netherlands East Indies, Japan is suffering almost the equivalent of a naval blockade. If it continues for another half year her industries will collapse."

College professors, those nasty old maids of both sexes who wind up in capitalist editorial offices, professional politicians, army and navy officers, and other unclassified organic matter, diffuse the comforting myth that our military leaders are models of ethical thinking and conduct. Such is, of course, far from the truth. The question of defense or aggression is almost solely one of expediency—that is, of weighing against each other the propaganda and military value of following a course of aggression or of defense.

Abend shows the division of opinion which existed on this question just prior to the war: "Not only in the Philippines but in Batavia and Singapore there are few doubts that Japan will take provocative action. In some high quarters there's insistence that the democracies must take direct action even if Japan remains quiet; that her striking power must be destroyed-now."

War guilt? It is nothing but the reflext of international policy.



THE JUNGLE, by Upton Sinclair, to explain the depth of our social able and well-heated editorial offices with a new introduction by the author; 343 pp. The Viking Press, New York. \$2.50.

By ARTHUR STEIN

In 1906, as now, meat was in the news. Then, the problem concerned mainly the conditions under which meat was produced, and The Jungle is, above all, a document of conditions in Chicago's stockyards around the turn of the century. Its lively and realistic descriptions of ground rats in our meats, of the remains of dead packing workers going into the world as "pure lard," of the complete corruption of government inspectors, of the indiscriminate use of diseased cattle and of the thousand and one ways in which the packing trust increases its profits by adulterating the country's food, it is these things which have made this a book of firstrate importance in the history of America. The passing of the Pure Food and Drugs Act is generally attributed to The Jungle, and with it, Sinclair became known as the chief among the "muckrakers," the men who, forty and fifty years ago, drew upon themselves the wrath of ruling politicians by insisting upon a public exposure of the rampant corruption in politics and in industry.

But The Jungle is more than this. It is the novel of a socialist agitator, who, starting softly and ending with an eloquent thunder, denounces the whole system of misery under which we, forty years later, still find ourselves. And his success is noteworthy, though what to him seem the main causes of capitalist exploitation— "trusts" and "greed"—hardly suffice book, an account of the effect these evils have in the lives of human individuals, is powerful and often moving.

A New York Times reviewer, seeking a way to praise the book despite its socialist content, finds that "...on the whole things seem much better than they did in 1906. The capitalist system has humped itself along, modernized itself a bit, humanized itself quite a lot and produced a better life for the sons of Jurgis, Ona, Stanislovas and the rest."

This, to put it mildly, seems a bit' strange a year after the end of the most deadly of all wars, a year after Hiroshima and Nagasaki. But is it possible that what The Jungle said in 1906 no longer holds true?

The Jungle is the story of Jurgis Rudkus, a Lithuanian immigrant who started to work in the Chicago stockyards when he came to the United States. It describes the process of his brutalization through the vicious poverty to which he was subjected, the monotony of his job, and his consuming hatred for the thing that made a machine out of man. It then proceeds to bring him into contact with drink, with prostitution and finally with crime. It also contains accounts of the tragedy which is the fate of women in our society, of the brutality of the police against striking workers, and of the corruption of the political machines of the two major parties.

Do these things still exist? Anyone who for as much as a single day ventures from the doubtlessly comfort-

dilemma. But the main part of the of the New York Times into the shops and mines where workers work, into the dingy restaurants where workers eat, and into the rat-infested slums where workers live; anyone who, besides writing book reviews also reads the accounts of housing shortages, of trust - manufactured meat shortages, and above all, of the devastation of capitalism's war-such a person will know. But then again, such a person would probably not be able to write for the New York Times Book Re-

> Thus, the criticism to be made of the book, forty years after its first publication, cannot be that it has dealt too harsfily with the ability of capitalism to "humanize" our lives. As far as that goes, I am sure that most of us will feel that the picture of the capitalist system has not been painted dark enough, that this system has brought us evils which Sinclair had not foreseen and with which he could not have been fa-

> The criticism, if any is to be made at all, should rather deal with the medium Sinclair has chosen for his fiery agitation. As a novel, the book is certainly inferior, for none of the people in it ever reach the level of real, separate human entities, with the private and intimate emotions which form the core of people in real

> That the arguments of the book are still valid is certain, and so is the superb quality of its agitation and social documentation. What is less certain, however, is whether these things suffice to make a novel.

THE EPIC STRUGGLE FOR INDONESIAN FREEDOM

INTRODUCTION

We publish the following article at the request of a British writer in Indonesia and with the permission of the editors of The Voice of Free Indonesia, a left wing nationalist publication of the Indonesian people. We do so because the article gives a splendid pen picture of the miserable capitulation of the arrogant Dutch imperialists to the Japanese invaders. A cowardly capitulation which in colonial history is paralleled only by that of the British imperialists in Burma and Malaya.

The splendid feeling of hatred for the imperialist oppressors runs through the body of the article.

On the other hand the hatred for the "cowardice" of the Dutch exploiters is offset by illusions in the "courage" and fighting spirit of the Australians and Americans which mars the article and shows its emotional base and lack of scientific content. The Americans, British and Australians as also the Japanese are no different under the skin when faced up to a similar situation. The Dutch are no more "cowardly" and no less "brave" than the imperialists of other nations. This was especially pered by an appeal to the Dutch

shown by the miserable capitulation of a similar character to that of the Dutch in Burma, Singapore and Malaya as a whole.

The latter part of the article is addressed to the British troops who although they were conscripted to fight for "democracy," were sent into Indonesia to put the Dutch back into power and to deny democracy to millions of Indonesian people. The British working class must give its an-

The British troops are not in Indonesia for progressive purposes, they are there only for the purpose of putting the Dutch imperialist gangsters once again into the seat of power. It is time these troops were with-

On the other hand the Indonesian people must shed their illusion in the other, non-Dutch, imperialist gangsters. For they too will only be too ready to replace the Dutch as masters of Indonesia, and live as parasites on the wealth created by the Indonesian workers.

The hatred of the Dutch capitalist imperialist oppressors must be tem-

working class to help in the job of freeing the Indonesian people.

During this present struggle, we read about the determination of the Dutch to fight their way into Indonesia again, so let us cast our minds back to four years ago and have a look at their cowardly behavior then, when they were determined NOT to fight the Japanese.

I am among the Indonesian people who will never forget the month of March, 1942, a day when we witnessed to our horror the shameful and degrading conduct of the Dutch armed forces, an army in complete disorder fleeing for their lives, unprincipled cowardly officers running from an enemy they formerly professed to disdain.

Imagine the thoughts of the people when they saw the great white Dutch Tuans, the former conquerors of Indonesia, fleeing like chaff before the wind from the Japanese invaders who had not then fired a shot in Java or even made a landing. Imagine the Indonesian people's feelings of contempt when they saw the once swaggering Dutch officers and NCOs

throwing away their uniforms in rice fields and ditches as they ran, saw them hiding in kampongs and dressing themselves in sarongs showing absolutely no more respect for their uniforms, the symbol of their country's honor, than they would for a piece of rag. Truckload after truckload of Dutch uniforms were collected from the rice fields and stacked twenty feet high outside the former government buildings in Sourabaya, for the display and for the amusement of the Japanese.

GONE WITH THE WIND

It is difficult for anybody to realize the feelings of utter helplessness that the Indonesian people felt, or realize the absolute loathing and contempt that they had for the Dutch when they heard them screaming over the radio, their willingness to surrender three or four days before the official capitulation, and to see Batavia, the seat and government stronghold of the Netherlands East Indies, fall to thirty Japanese on cycles without a Dutchman in sight.

Three days before the Japanese landed in Bali, the Dutch army had fled, and not a single shot was fired in the defense of Bali, even though

the Dutch had spent thousands of gulders in building up air and coastal defenses, the only white men to be wounded being two American pilots, who were shot down by the Japan-

Where were the Dutch airmen?

They had gone with the wind. In Bali I saw Dutch military captains, who were doctors in private life, hiding in air-raid shelters in Den Pasar during a Japanese raid on the port, fifteen kilometers dis-

They were trembling with fear, had rubber stuck in their mouths, and cotton stuffed in their ears. Their duty was to be at the airport helping the wounded, not hiding in holes in the ground. But were there any Dutch airmen in those raids? No. Many Indonesians, however, went to their death.

CAPITALISTS—COLLABORATORS

Also, what about the conduct of the Dutch business men in Indonesia at the time of the capitulation to the Japanese? Was their conduct any better? No. It was a thousand times worse. Can you imagine what the Indonesians thought, when they saw the Dutch Tuans, who always treat-

ed them so condescendingly and as inferiors, now toady and bow to the Japanese? Well known Dutch business men running around the streets of Sourabaya and other towns in Indonesia with the Japanese flag wrapped in cellophane around their arms, to show they were willing to cooperate with the Japanese. Many were the Dutch business men who showed the Japs how to run their factories and offices, and sat playing cards, drinking with them, and displaying friendship in general.

AFTER THE JAPANESE CAPITULATION

The scene now moves on to the capitulation of the Japanese. The Indonesians declared them-

selves a republic, and refused for all time to be again dominated or ruled by the Dutch. They had lost all respect for the Dutch as a nation, who after 50 years in Indonesia, draining the country dry of its wealth, could not protect the country from foreign invaders for even 350 hours. The Indonesians realized that the Dutch had deserted them in their first hour of need, not caring what happened to them or their country as long as they could save their own miserable skins. The Indonesians accepted their fate then with grim bitterness, but knew that some day their time would come. At the capitulation of the Japanese, the Dutchmen came back, once again strutting around the streets as though they were conquering heroes with no thought of shame for their past conduct, and with no excuse.

The Dutch declared that the Indonesians were playing at "cowboys and Indians" and once again would have to be taught a lesson by their Dutch masters. The behavior of the Dutch was nauseating to see. They had all their former arrogance and conceit, the war had taught them nothing, and they still wished to remain the great white Tuans. It never occurred to them that they had no further claim on Indonesia, and that they had the Australians and the Americans to thank for their lives and freedom. They had lost all rights to Indonesia at the time they fled from the country, instead of staying and fighting.

UNDERESTIMATING THE INDONESIANS

The Dutch make one big mistake. They insist on underestimating the intelligence, the capabilities and the courage of the Indonesians. Let us compare the Indonesians and the Dutch of today.

Although the Indonesian Republic is only eight months old, it has not only been able to defend itself against the British, Indian, Dutch, and Japanese soldiers, but also against spies and lying propaganda. That in itself shows the Indonesians not only to be a more courageous people than the Dutch, but also more capable in defending their country's interests. Against the Japanese, the Dutch could not defend Java for one week, even though they had tanks, planes, artillery, etc., yet the Indonesians are still going strong with practically nothing other than FAITH and COURAGE, a weapon that the Dutch KNOW NOTHING of.

In defense of their rights, the Indonesians will fight to the last, NOT run away like the Dutch did four years ago.

To the British in Batavia, Sourabaya and other Indonesian towns, I ask you this: Are you going to be instrumental in helping a lot of cowards, a decadent, unworthy lot of Dutchmen to once again enter Indonesia in order to dominate and suppress the Indonesian people and once again exploit them for their own selfish gains? Once the British withdraw from Indonesia, taking with them their Indian troops, you can rest assured that the Dutch will present no problem to the Indonesians. They will finally run, just as they did from the Japanese. The Dutch are only here because the Australians, the Americans and the British won the war in the Pacific. They can only stay in Indonesia as long as the British remain, hiding behind the backs of the British and fighting bravely to the last Briton.

In the interest of the many lives that may yet be lost, it is to be hoped that the Dutch will realize that their reign in Indonesia is finished forever. The Indonesians will never become a dominion of Holland. It is to be hoped that the Dutch will sink whatever is left of their national pride, and withdraw peacefully and gracefully. Instead of shouting their threats to the world that they intend to fight in Indonesia, they would be better advised to indulge in something a little more beneficial to their people, namely, the production of BIGGER and BETTER

There will always be a Republic of Indonesia. There will never again be a Dutch East Indies!!

Free-Once Free-Forever Free!! (Reprinted from British Socialist Appeal)

Another Article in a Series on the Workers Party

Historical Development and Modern Socialism

By ERNEST ERBER

In last week's article we came to the conclusion that it was not our party but, rather, the capitalist system that had no future. Whether socialism proves victorious or not, the continued decline and disintegration of capitalism are inescapable. That which was predicted by Marx on the basis of THEORY has been confirmed in our time on the basis of FACT.

We stated that United States capitalism was not immune to this decline, that nearly everyone accepted the present boom as a temporary one which would be followed by a crisis on the order of 1929-39 or worse. We said that the American workers would turn to socialism, not because we would succeed in painting such an attractive picture of the socialist future, but rather because life would become intolerable for the masses in the capitalist present. We said that the American worker was not biologically different from the European worker who embraces a socialist program. Historical development would create a mass socialist movement in this country also.

At this point the skeptic asks: "How so? Did not America follow the same pattern of industrial development as Europe? If economic development is the key to historical change, why should the United States not have also produced a mass socialist movement? Haven't socialist parties been preaching their programs in this country for as long as in Europe? Isn't it even true that the socialist movement in this country once represented a force far stronger than that of today? If you expect the rise of a mass socialist movement to result from the further decline of American capitalism, why did not the depression of 1929-39 produce such a movement?"

METHOD OF REASONING

This line of reasoning appears to be crushing, both in the accuracy of the facts presented and in the logic of the argument based upon them. However, it only APPEARS to be. Marx long ago pointed out (and before him, Hegel) that APPEARANCE and REALITY rarely coincide. Since everything is in motion and in process of change, it could not be otherwise. The economic and political development of the United States and the kind of labor movement it has produced must also be examined from the point of view of MOTION. The first general criticism of the skeptic's approach we quoted above is that it is based on a wrong METH-OD of analysis. It sees American economy, politics and the working class as being static, that is, the same today as yesterday and, therefore, the same tomorrow. Nothing could be further from the truth, as we shall

The second error in the above argument is that which confuses economic development as the KEY to historical change with economic development as the DIRECT, IMMEDI-ATE AND MECHANICAL IMPULSE to change. When Marxists say that economic development is basic, they are not saying that one need only examine the economic changes and find the answer to all questions. Man is no mere automaton who reflects economic changes in the manner of the wheels of an automobile which reflect the power supplied by the motor. The social order which man has developed is exceedingly complex and never more so than now, in this last stage of capitalism, when their utmost limits.

As a result, the impulse supplied by economic change passes through various phases before it registers decisive political changes and continues on to register changes in the other manifold fields of human activity. Sometimes the impulse of economic change (even when it is sudden and sweeping enough to constitute a virtual shock) is absorbed by the political institutions for years and even decades with only slight visible effects upon these institutions. However, the longer the delay in bringing the political institutions into line with basic economic change, the more contradictions pile up that cry out for a solution. These contradictions pile up like flood waters behind a dam. While the only result visible to the eye is that the sluice gates are opened wide and running full in an attempt to adapt the dam to the flood, the dam will suddenly crumble under the weight of the waters and the whole situation, which developed slowly over a period of time, is suddenly changed in the twinkling of an eye. Such changes are called social revolutions in the terminology of his-

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

History develops most unevenly. It is always the process of slow accumulation of basic contradictions and then a sudden forward lurch to overcome them. To our friend, the skeptic, it appears that if industrial development in Europe produced a mass socialist movement fifty years ago and a similar industrial development in the United States failed to produce a mass socialist movement within fifty years, then there must be something about the kind of capitalism we have in this country or the kind of political institutions or the kind of working class that makes a mass socialist movement impossible. In essence this argument boils down to the completely illogical reasoning which says: "It's never been and, therefore, it will never be."

Or does the skeptic protest that this is an unfair presentation of his point of view? That what he really

means is: "It has not been for FIFTY Spain, or The Netherlands and Yugo-YEARS and, therefore, it will never

But what is so magic about fifty years? Why not ten years or twenty or seventy-five? Arbitrarily placing a time limit on a historical development changes nothing. The skeptic's argument remains, therefore, that "since it's never been, it will never

How many progressive and intelligent trade unionists did not say during the period between 1900 and 1935 that it was impossible to organize the mass industries in the United States? How many did not argue that since the membership of the AFL remained between one and two million for thirty years, this represented the maximum of workers who COULD be organized? How many did not give up the fight for industrial unionism because it had been advocated for forty years without success? Yet today the mass industries ARE organized, the two million organized workers have become FIFTEEN MIL-LION and the CIO (and in large measure the AFL) are based on the INDUSTRIAL FORM of organiza-

SUMMING IT UP

Yes, in one sense it is true to say that American capitalism IS different, that the American political institutions ARE different and that even the American working class IS different. Nor only in minor factors as, let us say, the difference between Belgium and France in these matters. (Even in the case of two countries as similar as Belgium and France the NATIONAL forms and historic backgrounds are different enough to produce working class movements that are different from one another in many pronounced respects, so pronounced that even a superficial study immediately reveals them.) The difference between the United States and Europe as a whole is far greater than the differences between the most widely different of the European countries; as between Sweden and

slavia, or Poland and Italy, or Germany and Greece.

We have established (a) that history must be seen in its process of motion; (b) that the economic changes are basic but most often delayed in their effects upon political change; (c) that history moves unevenly, by slow accumulation and sudden change; and (d) that while capitalism is basically the same in cle.

tant factors. In order to discover why the Ameroped a mass socialist movement (or even an independent class party) we

Europe and the United States, there

are vast differences between the two

continents in a whole series of impor-

ican working class has never develmust analyze the differences between Europe and the United States. This will be the subject of our next arti-

GUTTER SHEET MAKES ITS APPEARANCE IN NEW JERSEY WITH SCAB PROPAGANDA.

NEWARK-Using a phony "100 per cent Americanism" dodge, a new fascistic rag, "Think Weekly," has made its appearance in New Jersey.

The paper began cautiously, claiming to be "non-partisan, non-sectarian" and without "an ax to grind." But eloquent testimony to its real anti-labor partisanship, was the role it played in the recently ended Phelps-Dodge strike. It was widely distributed in the plant area. With the company bosses, it hammered away at the leadership of the strike as Communist.

Whether or not the Stalinists were in the Phelps-Dodge strike leadership, is beside the point. The workers were fighting to preserve their union against a vicious company drive to destroy the union by refusing to meet the workers' demands for long overdue pay raises. On this, the new sheet had not a word to say.

The editors try to be cunning on the question of anti-Semitism. They even claim to have writing for them a man with an obviously Jewish name, David Goldstein (but allegedly not a Jew). Yet they are stirring up the rot of a "Christian Crusade Against Communism."

A tipoff as to its character is in its condemnation of all progressive causes, pinning the "Red" label on each. For example, on August 25 it having this filth handed them on wrote: "When you hear commentators speak in favor of such legisla-

tion as the Fair Employment Practices Bill...or when you hear them smearing those who are fighting against these things, you know you are listening to Reds.'

Or, in the same issue: "The majority of these strikes were organized and planned while the veterans were overseas, firing over dead buddies or curled up in wet, muddy ponchos." . . . "Every industry in the country that was dominated by the CIO, PAC Communist Party, had planned that when GI Joe returned he wasn't going to take away key positions from REDS."

It urges readers to listen to and follow such arch-reactionary commentators as Upton Close. Hamilton Fish, Martin Dies are the "true Americans." It is even bold enough to give shifty support to the Ku Klux Klan, and to openly support

TREAT 'EM LIKE SCABS!

What is particularly alarming is that they have managed to get permission from the Catholic War Veterans, Post No. 562, North Arlington, N. J., to stamp its name on papers distributed to pickets at the Baker platinum works in Newark.

The paper is as much a scab as a man who crosses a picket line to work. Workers who are insulted by picket lines should realize that and act accordingly!

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 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

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 Govern-

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

FOR A SOCIALIST AMERICA AND PLENTY FOR ALL!

Red-Baiting Drive in the Unions --

(Continued from page 3)

program, independent of the capitalist class and its government at Washington, and independent of Stalinism and its government at Moscow, today they continue this policy, only now it is against the Stalinists. They still have no program for labor which is in the interest of labor, and thus labor will again be led onto a reactionary course. Out of this anti-Communist Party drive, the working class will get no decent working class education, no independent political program and no understanding of what took place.

The program of Murray and Co. as of all the other labor bureaucrats is therefore reactionary and should receive the condemnation of every militant and progressive worker. Many of these workers are already anti-Stalinist. They have learned many bitter lessons from years of painful and heartrending experience with the Communist Party. They have seen this gang of union-wreckers fight for their "second front" in France in order to protect the Russian bureaucrats. They have seen them fight for "incentive pay" (piecework wages), the no-strike pledge, labor-management plans. They have seen the Stalinists lie, steal elections, beat up opponents and smother every trace of democracy in unions under their control. They have seen the Stalinists organize frame-ups against opponents and act as stoolpigeons for the FBI.

These progressive and militant workers in the unions have a job to do. They must reject the reactionary red-baiting campagn of Murray, Green, Lewis and Co. They must not fall prey to the bart held out by the capitalist ruling class and the government. But if they do not support the redall social contradictions are driven to baiters, they must, nevertheless, carry on a ruthless and enlightened struggle against Stalinism

inside and oustide the union movement. This must not be done as mere anti-Stalinism, but should be accompanied with a program for labor, a militant economic independent political program. Such a program will differentiate labor from all the 1eactionary forces in the country: from the Stalinists on the one hand, and the capitalists and their government at Washington on the other. Such a program would serve notice on the trade union leaders that we will tolerate no more of their foolishness, no more of their licking of the capitalist boot, bowing before the anti-labor capitalist government, walking arm in arm with the Stalir ists today and calling on labor to frounce them

It is to these workers that the Workers Party makes its appeal. Their opposition to the Stalinists and to Stalinism is correct and progressive. They are not "red-baiters" and they should not permit themselves to be intimidated by the Stalinists or their dreamy-eyed fellow-traveling liberals, or by the union bureaucrats. The attitude of the militant and progressive trade unionists toward the Stalinists is generally a correct one. They want to preserve the unions as independent, fighting organizations of the working class. But this cannot be done either by submitting to the program leadership, and blandishments of the Stalinists, the opportunism and class collaboration of the union leadership, or the imperialist program and solicitations of the capitalists and their gov-

The anti-Stalinist progressives and militants have another job to do in relation to those in the rank and file of labor who take a reactionary position in connection with Stalinism. We are talking about the misguided workers who, for example, follow the lead of the Hearst press or the

Catholic workers who follow the lead of the Catholic hierarchy, and all those tragically misguided workers who are against "politics," against Jews, Negroes, foreigners, the loudest "patriots" who are against strikes, those who hesitate to join the union, and those who are inclined to be friendly with "management." Many of these workers will join in the pack-

hunt against the Stalinists for the most reactionary reasons. There position will not be progressive. They will be the willing or unwilling tools of the most reactionary forces in the country. These are the workers who are against "the reds" on principle. They are against socialists, and revolutionists and Marxism. They do not understand these things but they are against them because this is what they are taught. It is the task of the progressive militants to

win these workers away from their reactionary attitudes, to explain to them what Stalinism really is and how to differentiate between Stalinism and independent working class economic and political action. These workers must be made to understand that the Stalinists are not socialists or communists as they claim but just Stalinists, representatives of the reactionary bureaucratic ruling class of Russia, who function in the labor movement, not in the interests of the working class but in the interest of the Kremlin.

Above all now, as always, the militant progressives in the labor movement must struggle ceaselessly for an independent economic and political program for labor. The Workers Party has such a program. It is carried in LABOR ACTION each week. It is an anti-Stalinist program. It is an anti-capitalist program. It is an anti-imperialist program too. It is a program for labor, for the working class and the trades unions.

NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN STALIN'S RUSSIA - V

By F. FOREST

The purge on the ideological front has become wide-spread. It is greatly complicated by the composition of the so-called Communist Party of Russia. This party has long since ceased to have anything in common with the ideas of Lenin-Trotsky which had overthrown Czarism and established the first workers state in history. This party has long since ceased to be proletarian in its composition; it has become the party of the new ruling class that hid under the title of the "classless intelligentsia." The party further deteriorated during the war for its tremendous growth brought in an entirely new element that answered the chauvinist call of the "Great Patriotic War." Over three and a half million people -or fully two-thirds of the party membershipjoined the party since the outbreak of war. These know nothing at all of the past of the party.

Many special columns in the press are being devoted to their training, new textbooks are being published and no less than 10 million copies of Stalin's falsification of history known as "A Short History of the RCP" (Russian Communist Party) have been issued for their "enlightment." But is all this effort expended because of a change of line from the wartime glorification of Czarist generals like Suvorov to a "return" to Leninism? Not at all! The "cadres" are being . factory director by the name of Kamchatkov was taught to be reverent to "The Leader." The professors are being specifically instructed not to follow the old rule of teaching the great lessons of October 1917. Too much time, complains the Propagandist of April 1946, is being spent on the pre-October period; too little on the post-October. The greatest stress should be paid to the Great Patriotic War. That is where full-blooded Stalinist history begins.

THE THEORY OF VALUE

The change in the teaching of history had been preceded three years ago by a much more radical change in the political economy taught. In August, 1943, the chief theoretical journal of the country, Under the Banner of Marxism, published an editorial which asserted that the law of value functioned in Russia. (It has been published in English as "Political Economy in the Soviet Union.") It is of no concern to us here how the Stalinist writers got out of the contradiction of asserting that the law of value, which means the existence of an exploitive class, operated in Russia, and maintaining at the same time that socialism had been "irrevocably established." What does concern us here is that Leontiev, the author of this article, had for years been writing the exact opposite; so did Ostrovityanov. The latter helped author a whole book, Outline of Political Economy, in which he argued that the law of value could not function under socialism which meant the end of exploitation of man by man. He

also asserted that it did not operate in the old Year Plan was nowhere near the 93.8 per cent workers' state; that it was a capitalist category. Yet these writers were not only not "liquidated"; the plan. they were not even removed from their posts.

THE PURGE OF WRITERS

How does it happen then that at this time writers of much lesser note, and on a change of line not so startling, are being accused of "bourgeois nationalism" and removed from their posts. In fact, so far as the ideological front is concerned the purge has taken a greater toll of writers than even the more monstrous and gory Trials of 1937. If it is not in the main due to a change of line, what then causes the present purge of writers, artists, musicians? The answer is to be found not in the state of mind or propaganda, but in the state of production. It is clear that the purges are the consequences of trying to execute the Fourth Five Year Plan. The other changes of line occurred either during the war when all energies were bent on defeating the Nazi invaders, or when the Fourth Five Year Plan was first announced, but had not been tested against six months of the plan's operation, as it is pres-

THE GENERAL PURGES

The purges began on July 26 when a certain accused of having reported overfulfillment of quotas 102.4 per cent, when in reality his factory had only come up to 98.3 per cent of quota. The purge in fact appeared like a joke; for such mild offense, even when spread on the front page of the paper, no great punishment could be given. Even the revelation of embezzling of 40,000 rubles from the Ministry of State Control could not have brought more than a jail sentence and a fine. Nothing to compare with the wholesale executions of the 1937 Trials which had wiped out the whole Old Guard of the Bolsheviks who led the overthrow of Czarism. The present purge was indeed a "soft" one.

It did not, however, accomplish its purpose of diverting the dissatisfaction of the worker with the state rulers to a few embezzlers. Even the sop thrown him in the form of an amnesty for all wartime labor offenses did not quiet the worker.

He knew that behind the glittering front of "socialist state," "nationalized property," "collective farms," "planned production" stood, on the one side, the fatted state officials, industrial managers, politicos, generals, and on the other side stood he, ill-fed, ill-clad, ill-housed. Where was the equality of rationing when, alongside it, running in fact through the whole fabric of Russian life, was black marketing? How did catching a few embezzlers stop large-scale profiteering, millionaire kolkhozniki investing in tax-free government bonds? He continued in his own way. Production in the first six months of the Fourth Five mon with socialism.

figure. No, in reality it was barely 50 per cent of

The purges spread more deeply, but they were not called purges. To judge by the Russian headlines, you would think that it was all a matter of righting workers grievances: "Against Indifference to Complaints of Workers," "Greater Attention to Veterans," "Against Wastage of Raw Materials and for Lowered Costs of Production,' "Every Pood of Grain Is Important to the State," "For Stalinist Concern for Mothers and Children." At the same time, N. S. Khrustchev, Premier of Ukraine, revealed on August 23, that "a mass replacement of the party's personnel is taking place," that 64 per cent of all secretaries of regional committees of the party and 66 per cent of all directors of Machine Tractor Stations were replaced. Nevertheless, compared to the '30's, this is still a soft purge. Why?

Thus far the Russian state is moving cautiously, but the reports of production continue to be bad. A. G. Zverev, Minister of Finance, according to the New York Times of October 12 reports that inefficiency in the Ministry of Armaments alone 'lost them 7 million rubles, that certain trusts have reached only 57 per cent of their quotas, that plant equipment costing 2,400,000 rubles had not been utilized for more than two years, and that production costs which should be lowered by 17 per cent at the end of the Five Year Plan have, in some instances, been raised 19.2 per cent. This report, along with the newly created Council for Collective Farm Affairs, which was set up on October 9, to cope with the catastrophic situation on the agricultural field will no doubt result in further purges. In fact, since the prospects of Russia's getting out of the present crisis before long are not very bright, we can say that the whole life of the Fourth Five Year Plan will continue to be one series of purges after an-

The rise in the workers wages is wiped out by the greater rise in prices-in many instances of consumers goods there has been a 300 per cent increase. The Russian masses who fought so heroically and sacrificed so much have now nothing better to face than a bread diet. In the Ukraine it is feared that there will be actual starvation when the UNNRA shipments cease. This is Stalin's Russia after victory. The workers standard of living, and democratic rights, match the Czarist times. Under these conditions it is criminal to continue to call Russia a workers' state as does the Socialist Workers Party. This can only harm the cause both of the Russian worker and that of the world proletariat who would rightly not chose to live in such a workhouse as Russia. The only way out is to tell the truth about conditions in Russia, and to show that it has nothing in com-

HOW LABOR CAN SOLVE THE HOUSING CRISIS

By HENRY NEWMAN

PART III

An acute housing shortage is going to be with us for a long, long time. That was the inescapable conclusion of the initial article in this series. Last week in Part II we looked at the three main obstacles that bar housing and began to explain how labor can surmount them. Obstacle number one is the boss lockout in land and money. To smash this lockout, labor must demand and see vances the money needed at once.

LABOR CAN BREAK BLACK MARKET

Obstacle number two is the country-wide black market in building materials. What goes into the making of a house? Cement, lumber, steel, glass, plaster and a few other substances. They come from various places: mine, forest, factory, mill. But the building materials have this in common: They move not one inch unless a worker moves them. If a nail or a can of paint goes to the black 'market, it is a workingman that takes it there.

Does he know it? Perhaps. Most often he does not. It is meaningless to say that he should, because the capitalist system is not organized that way. In the past, however, workers have often not been even curious about what goes on up in the front office. The average worker likes to do 'his day's work and go home to forget about it. But workers should be very much interested in what happens to the things they produce, especially when in this particular case the bosses are so obviously bringing the building industry to ruin with their dishonest mismanagement. The worker must make it his business to know where what he is making comes from, where it goes and what price is being paid for it. No doubt, one of the obstacles to this kind of interest on the part of the worker arises from the role that the building trade craft unions play. Very often they play the game with the building trade interests against the people.

There are ways in which the workers in the building materials industry can end the black

market by their own efforts. They can start in stalled by an aroused electorate. The story was each lumber camp, in each quarry, in each mill, in each trucking garage, in each yard, by demanding to see the books in the front office, backing the demand by united labor action. They can check what is written there against their own knowledge to make sure they have the straight facts on who is getting what they make and what prices are being charged for it.

Naturally, such action requires coordination by many unions. It could be done by having delegates from all the local shops in the entire industry meet together in one industry-wide emergency conference of labor to break the black market. They could jointly plan and initiate a nation-wide stoppage of all black market transactions in the building industry. They could agree that not one worker will lift a hand to cut a black market tree, mine a black market stone, transport a black market pipe, or hammer a black market nail. That would do more to smash the profiteers' black market than a thousand speeches against it. But for that, the support of the entire labor movement

HOUSING A POLITICAL QUESTION

The final obstacle to top-speed housing, according to the New Republic article, "Facts on Housing," is government inefficiency. In the eyes of the real estate interests and the black marketeers whose support elected many government officials, however, the latter are not at all inefficient. As a matter of record, over the past fifty years, including this year, these officials have consistently and efficiently protected the whole slum real-estate racket against all the efforts of the people to get housing. Of course, it is not a matter of inefficiency, it is a question of whose interests the government represents.

A score of years ago Lincoln Steffens, in his Autobiography, exploded the idea that we can get anything better merely by putting "honest" and "efficient" men in public office. He traced the course of city after city in the early nineteen hundreds after reform governments composed of men having real integrity and high ideals were in-

the same everywhere: a few years of cleaner politics and slightly better administration; then a slump back to the old rotten conditions.

Are we to conclude from this that labor should turn its face away from politics and government? The answer is an emphatic no. The right kind of government is an organizing tool, as indispensable for large scale housing as for large scale production. But we must thoroughly understand that it is not enough merely to elect other men to office.

The boss politicians, Democrats and Republicans alike, are representatives of capital, of the real-estate racketeers. The government we have protects their interests-high land prices, black market materials prices, housing scarcity. Labor needs a new and different government, a labor government, one which will mobilize the building industry for a mighty effort of rebuilding our cities. Decent houses for all the working people of our land will be the aim of labor's government.

We have now considered each of the three main obstacles to housing cited by the New Republic: entrenched real estate interests, the black market, and governmental toleration or support to both. We began by rejecting the misleading idea in the New Republic article on housing that these things will disappear automatically when the shortage of good housing disappears. They will never disappear "automatically" because there are forces devoted to preserving them. Furthermore the obstacles are neither accidental nor isolated, but they are part of the basic pattern of social relations under which we live.

We have shown how the working class can cut through these relations, changing them profoundly by its own activity against the landlords, the real estate interests, the black marketeers and their protectors in the government. We leave pious wishes, vain hopes, delusions to those who still have faith in the automatic workings of our economic system. For our part we urge labor to make a frontal attack on the obstacles, brushing them aside to release a mighty surge of housing construction. .

Norman Thomas' Breathtaking Slogan!

We have just read a statement issued by the Socialist Party, and signed by Norman Thomas, on the Wallace-Byrnes controversy. Since we try our humble best to let our readers in on a good thing—on the principle of sharing the happiness -we hasten to report that in this moment of international crisis, the Socialist Party has raised as its political demand the breathtaking slogan "Disarmament Now."

Thomas' statement reads: "The one great hope of peace, however, lies ... in an agreement between the nations for effective disarmament and an international provision for security." You may rub your eyes again, but believe us-that's what the man said.

Consider. The major powers of the world are engaged in a bitter struggle to divide the spoils of the imperialist war just ended: they are rearming at a terrific clip and searching for all kinds of new weapons as part of this bitter struggle. And along comes Norman Thomas—the Man Who Has Done Most In Our Time to Make Socialism Ineffectual — imploring the imperialist powers to disarm.

Can't you just picture Stalinist Russia disarming in consort with the British Empire and U. S. imperialism? Such a lovely picture: Stalin dissolving his army in a burst of fraternal warmth; the British withdrawing their troops from all over the world; General Eisenhower looking for a constructive job—all at the suggestion of Norman Thomas.

If any serious "agreement between the nations for effective disarmament" were possible, there'd be no need for armament in the first place. To call upon the imperialist powers to disarm is as sensible as calling upon them to cease being imperialist. The statement indicates again that in the SP's national leader there's a great deal more pacifism than socialism. For socialists bend their energies to abolishing imperialism and its cause, capitalist society, rather than in issuing utopian calls for it to disarm.

In the same statement Thomas continues his unspotted record of confusion by professing to be. "SHOCKED" that "Mr. Wallace should advance the theory of peace by the division of the world into an American and Russian sphere of inflence." Why "shocked"?

Henry Wallace is a capitalist politician. He is furthermore a capitalist politician who, for reasons of his own, favors a conciliatory policy toward Stalin. So why the slightest degree of "shock"? By now Norman Thomas should know what to expect from capitalist politicians, even of the "liberal" variety ... that is, if he ever will

And to top it off, Thomas finds it a "HUMILI-ATING fact that it took the President of the United States so long to find out that there was a fundamental conflict on foreign policy....

Strange, we weren't at all "humiliated" by the fact that President Truman is, shall we say, a little slow upstairs. Why should a socialist be in any way "humiliated" at the intellectual deficiencies of a leader of capitalism-socialists don't (or shouldn't) take any responsibility for them. Now, if a member of the Socialist Party felt rather humiliated at the statements that his national chairman issues-THAT WE COULD UN-

What Does the GI Think As He Sees Hungry Europe?

By J. R. JOHNSON

At every turn today one can see the degradation, the thinly-disguised barbarism of contemporary capitalism. Usually capitalism does one thing, prepares for war while at the same time it talks about something else, e.g., preaches about peace. But sometimes the big powers forget to disguise themselves. The New York Times and its correspondents are as a rule careful to preserve the elementary decencies. But quite recently they have exposed themselves (and we are sure, slandered the American people) in one of their accounts of American occupation forces in Germany.

The conditions in most of Europe today are a disgrace to civilization. Even according to this New York Times correspondent, today you can see "scores of pedestrians harnessed to heavily laden carts. The American visitor "winces" at the sight of women greedily scrapping up "pebble-sized lumps of coal from passing wagons." People line up for soup and coffee and slices of brown bread doled out by the American

FATE OF EUROPE

This is a small part of Germany today, but it relates to the fate not only of Germany but of a whole continent. The writer whom we have just quoted sees it in Germany and describes it accurately enough.

Now what would be the attitude of the modern civilized person to such misery? At the very least he wants to have no part of it. If even he is not going to do anything, he does not want to see the misery, he does not want to hear about it. As a matter of fact millions upon millions of generous-minded people realize that the war against Germany is over and would be willing to do all they can, to alleviate the misery of a broken nation. Some few pathological cases gloat over the consequences of the defeat. But modern man is not so constituted by nature and training. Humanity and humanitarianism are so much part of our modern ideology that, except when whipped up by the fears and the passions of war, or crisis, the ordinary citizen reacts strongly against such catastrophies as are represented by Germany today.

Not so, however, the New York Times. In the N. Y. Times magazine of Oct. 13, 1946, Kathleen McLaughlin writes an account of the GI wives in Berlin. This Times correspondent reaches the depths of a vulgarity and callousness, which are obviously shared by the editorial staff of the Times.

SUBURBIA IN GERMANY

The sub-title of the article tells us that "With maids and meat, army brides scale the heights of

It is as if in the midst of the Black Death in medieval Europe, or the Great Plague of London in the 17th century or the famine now sweeping India and China, we were asked by a historian or journalist to take note of how nice and dandy it was for the doctors and nurses who were having all they wanted, to

eat and drink. Of the German shambles, Kathleen McLaughlin reports with the soul of a chamber-maid in the eighteenth century. The GI wives, we are told, write letters equivalent to "having a wonderful time." They have "houses" and "steaks, chops... butter and milk" and now, get this, "to say nothing of any number of commodities folks back home can't

According to the correspondent "they love it." About that we shall have something to say in a moment. For the time being, however, let us go on with the Times writer. The GI wives, she tells us, have created quite a sensation in their neighborhood among the Germans. They have become the "equivalent of the 'station-wagon' set" The disgusting pet-

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ty-bourgeois morality of this is bad enough, but the writer in an unguarded moment goes on to record that the neighborhood gossip concentrates on these GI wives, their households, amusements, etc. where formerly it was concentrated on the prominent Nazis living in the suburb.

CHANGE OF RULERS

· One set of rulers has been driven out. Another set has come in, with the same fat chops, steaks, commodities which even the folks back home can't get, and everything else including station-wagons. There is one particularly offensive picture and caption illustrating the article. It shows some of the wives wearing an American flag on the arm. The caption reads "Whistleproof-Brassards distinguish GI wives from frauleins." Think of what the average German must feel on seeing this distinction glorified in a paper of the standing of the Times. Is this how American civilization

is being recommended to the Germans? An army of occupation has the dirtiest, the most hated of all army jobs. Most professional soldiers detest it. The non-professional soldier, today as always, is concerned with one thing, to get home as quickly as possible after the war is over. We do not blame the occupying soldiers. They are doing their duty. If comforts are provided for their families, that is proper. But to transform these comforts into "having a wonderful time" and "becoming the station-wagon set" in place of the defeated Nazis, that is to insult the Germans and at the same time to slander and degrade the American people.

For our part we say quite frankly that we do not accept the implications of the Times correspondent. There are doubtless many of the wives who are happy at feeling themselves part of a little aristocracy built on chops and steaks and nation."

the commodities "that even the people at home can't get." But the majority are in all probability deeply disturbed at the wreck and ruin which they see around them. The article hints at this. Some of the GI wives "wince" when they see German women picking up scraps of coal in the street. They will wince too this winter at the hungry illclad children.

They will wince at the deaths from starvation. That is the nature of modern civilized man, particularly of working people. For the time being they may be rejoicing at the fact that life is not as miserable as they may have anticipated. But that complete callousness to what is taking place around them is a mark of a mature ruling class and the satellites and jackals who live on scraps from the big table and identify themselves with the big bandits. It is impossible that the majority of the wives of the GIs are like that, or will continue to be that way during their two-year stay in Germany. The commanding officers and upper personnel, yes. They fraternize with the Nazis. The average wife of the average soldier is not that type.

After the war of 1918, the British army of occupation in Germany had to be recalled by the British authorities. Too many of the soldiers were suffering from malnutrition. They were giving their food away to the hungry German children, In Japan today American soldiers have made permanent allies of the little Japanese boys who follow them around everywhere. We can be sure that they do not let these unfortunate children starve as long as they have a candy bar in their pocket. The American women in Berlin will live their lives as best they can. But we hope they will violently denounce the degraded morals and mentality of their ruling-class which tries to rouse their self-satisfaction on the misery and humiliation of a starving

It Didn't Reach Auto Plants, But There Was Plenty of Steel

By BEN HALL

Where is all the steel?

The big auto manufacturers are laying off thousands of workers for an "indefinite" period. Why? Because they cannot get enough steel Why can't they get enough steel? Because there are too many strikes

...they say. One such strike ... they say ... is the power strike in Pittsburgh, the steel center of America, where ... they say ... production has been hit by the strike, thus cutting off steel production and causing the acute shortage which has led to the layoffs in auto. THEY

This is all a ladle full of lies. The facts were explained in detail by Meyer Bernstein, representative of the Steel Workers Union and head of the CIO Veterans Department, in his report to the Detroit conference of UAW veterans on October 12.

The steel industry in Pittsburgh is operating AT 107 PER CENT OF CAPACITY, said Bernstein. True, he continued, there is and has been a power strike, but while the strike has affected the transportation system, the hotels and the amusement centers, it has not touched steel production in the slightest. All the workers manage to get to work and are working full shifts. Steel production in Pittsburgh and in all the other steel producing centers of the nation are producing more steel now than in any previous peacetime year and in fact current production has been exceeded only in two of the war years. Steel is producing at a national average of 90 per cent of capacity.

"We know that the steel is coming out of the steel plants," said Bernstein, "but why it doesn't get to the auto plants, IF IT DOESN'T, we do not know."

This raises two questions: (1) Is the steel getting to the auto plants? (2) If it is not, where is it going?

It is not difficult to find out! The steel companies cannot conceal their production because the workers themselves produce the steel and can easily find out how much is produced and where.

But other workers ship the steel. Truck drivers and railroad workers transport it. Other workers receive it at the point of delivery. Where is the steel? Let the workers find out where it goes and AT WHAT PRICE?

How is that possible? Carry out the program of action proposed by the Workers Party! Form committees of consumers and workers in each industry to control production, to investigate the origin and destination of all shipments, and to probe into the prices of production and the prices of sales.

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

SOCIALIST YOUTH LEAGUE

The Socialist Youth League, youth section of the Workers Party, has youth units in the following cities: New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Morgantown, W. Va., Cleveland, Chicago, Detroit. Seattle Cornell University, Ithica, N. Y.

Hot Off the "United" Nations Griddle—

"Iron Curtain" Balks Labor Action Reporters

By HENRY JUDD and EVA EVANS

We got a tough assignment last week. "I want the goods," said our editor. "The UN delegates are in town today for the opening session, and you're going out to get an exclusive on Molotov and Vishinsky." Well, we tried to tell him it couldn't be done, but....

So, we set out to cover the United Nations opening day, and interview the chief delegates of Russia. We went first to the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, located on ritzy Park Avenue. A formal luncheon was scheduled in the Grand Ballroom of the hotel. There had been a reception at City Hall previously, for the 1,000 odd delegates, but we didn't bother with

that angle of the opening events. The delegates had ridden down through Manhattan, in their motor cavalcade, to be greeted by the acting Mayor of New York. President of the Assembly, Paul-Henri Spaak -Belgium's left-wing socialist renegade, grown remarkably fat and sleek-looking on his success-complained at the City Hall reception about the "coolness and lack of enthusiasm" on the part of New Yorkers. Seems that the Wall Street white-collar workers hadn't dumped enough ticker tape out of the win-

(Continued from page 1)

control what; a sharing of the occu-

pied and "trustee" colonial territo-

The whole issue of Spain and its fas-

cist régime is a hot issue. The Rus-

sian delegation is anxious to oust

Franco, by any means, because of its

desire to replace him with a Stalin-

ist government in that country and

thus have a strategic base on the

western Mediterranean front. Amer-

ican and British imperialism too are

embarrassed by Franco and his fas-

cist régime, but fear the consequences

(4) Draft Treaties of the Paris Con-

ference: The incomplete, controver-

sial treaties of the Paris meeting still

remained to be settled and will be

the particular business at the horse-

trading Big Four Foreign Ministers'

These two highly controversial trea-

ties are likewise on the Big Four

agenda and will undoubtedly arise

during the course of discussions at

UNRRA, Refugees: The problem of

what to do for Europe's DP's, now

coming to a head because of the im-

(6) Displaced Persons, the End of

the General Assembly.

(5) German and Austrian Treaties:

of his overturn.

gathering.

(3) The Franco - Spain Question:

UN Gathers --

Minister for Ukrainia, also joined in this complaint.

The entire square block surrounding the gaudy Hotel was roped off by New York's "Finest." Hundreds of ex-GIs, now rookie policemen, dressed in their army clothing, were placed along the lines. A crowd of curious pushed around the hotel. We had arrived in time. Shrieking sirens informed us that the motor cavalcade was approaching from downtown City Hall. Headed by the inevitable motorcycle cops, a stream of cars swept up Park Avenue and rounded the corner, headed for the

ALMOST, BUT NOT QUITE

And then, as the traffic halted for a moment, within an arm's length from us, standing on the corner, was the open car of the Russian delegation. Vyshinsky and Molotov, there was no mistaking those two gentlemen. Molotov, seated on the outside, and looking like a sleek old grey rat; Vyshinsky, likewise grey, but with slits for eyes and a sneer on his face.

It took no imagination to picture these two men in the roles they have filled. One, the cynical actor and bargainer; the other, the vicious persedows when he passed. Manuilsky cutor of oppositionists, the hangman

pending end of UNRRA, as well as

the whole crucial question of Pales-

tine, will arise for discussion, al-

though no settlements will be ar-

Besides these issues there are many

others-issues that arise due to the

fundamental dispute between Amer-

ican imperialism, British imperialism

and Stalinist imperialism. Wherever

these powers, or blocs, touch one an-

other there is an issue at stake. The

matter of the Dardanelles Straits;

Iran and the whole Middle East; the

Chinese civil war issues; the problem

of the Japanese occupation, etc. Not

to mention the matter of control of

the atomic bomb and atomic energy,

or Russia's demand that a report on

occupation forces in non-enemy ter-

ritories (that is, everywhere except

where Russia is!) be rendered by all

As the General Assembly of the

United Nations moves out of the

phase of its glib talk and wearisome

speech-making and gets down to con-

troversial brass tacks, it will be seen

more clearly that this body offers no

hope to those who want and seek

peace and freedom from the fear of a

the powers.

A ROBBERS' NEST

(David), Stalin's stooge Foreign of the old Russian revolutionists. So these were Russia's chief spokesmen. two bosom friends of Joseph Stalin!

> While we were trying to decide what to do at this moment, the cavalcade continued on its way. Almost as good as an interview, we figured, but we continued on our grim assignment and plunged right into the Waldorf-Astoria! Someone was making a speech, and we barely had time to grab a peek at the menu (stuffed pheasant and liqueurs were included) before one of New York's "Finest" had us on our way again.

The General Assembly was scheduled to open at four o'clock, some-



where out on the Flushing Meadows (ex-World's Fair), so we took a nickel ride out on the subway. Surely Molotov and Vyshinsky would be there! Spaak was going to open up the meeting with the first bit of gab, and then President Truman-he was coming here in his "Sacred Cow"would follow him up. Out we went to Flushing. It looked like the war was about to begin all over again. Hundreds of cops, dicks, detectives, UN policemen, ex-GI rookies were lined up all over the place. We walked out to the old swimming pool (now the

UN Assembly Hall). And there it was-this "Iron Curtain" they've been talking about. It's about 12 feet high, solid as Molotov's loyalty to Joseph Stalin, and surrounding the area as closely as Vyshinsky's GPU surrounds a nest of oppositionists. Massive Marine guards (dressed just like those recruitment posters) stood at the gates. A platoon of them came huphupping along the path surrounding the "Iron Curtain." A small crowdthe Public - stood forlornly about each gate. But we persevered. We had Press Cards, had we not?

Just then the President's car, "The Missouri Mule," came screaming up the road, and sped into the enclosure. The delegates from Manhattan's Waldorf followed after. All vanished into the Assembly building that seemed half a mile away. Numerous New York members of the social élite, dowagers, matrons and

expensively dressed executive-look- "Iron Curtain." The other foot never ing types pushed at the gates, presenting passes. We went around to the Press Gate.

The Marine Captain, flanked on one side by a UN policeman and on the other by a UN bureaucrat, looked over our Press passes. "LA-BOR ACTION—what's that?" Your reporters had one foot inside the

got the chance to follow. "You need special press passes around here, buddy."

We got home in time to turn on the radio and here the final pious words of our President, his usual appeal to God for help. As usual, Truman was putting all the emphasis on all the wrong words.

Popular Control -

(Continued from page 1)

The same thing can be duplicated as easily in every neighborhood, in every community. A few housewives

think of it in your own neighborhood. You organize a price control committee. You visit the small retailer and the big dealer. You check on their prices. You let them know your intentions and demands, and plan your work according to what best meets the needs of the local situation. Perhaps you organize a buyers' strike to force the price down on cer-tain commodities. You give publicity to chiselers, picket stores, demand that prices be lowered, ferret out crooks and stock hoarders.

Poorly organized, sporadic buyers'

Yet, by themselves these committees cannot do the whole job. But they can go a long way in the necessary direction. Conferences can be called to coordinate the activities of

with the cooperation of our unions, on a national scale. And we must raise the question in

our unions of establishing price control committees, to cooperate with the neighborhood committees and plan wage-price action directly through the union. These committees can publicize the facts on prices and profits, as the General Motors strike did so splendidly last year. Working within the structure of a general union campaign to Open the Books of the corporations and to force higher wages out of the profiteers without permitting price increases in the products they produce, giving the neighborhood committees the backing of organized labor's strength, these committees can rout the price swindlers in industry and government.

We are faced with a battle between the tiny handful of capitalists and their government apparatus on the one side, and the great mass of people on the other. The capitalists are organized to act. Witness how they callously imposed a meat famine on the country to have their way.

They must be answered with action by the people, particularly with action by labor, which speaks for the interests of the people as a whole, is powerfully organized and can take the lead.

LET US, THEREFORE, ACT TO-DAY TO ORGANIZE OUR POPU-LAR PRICE CONTROL COMMIT-TEES! It CAN be done, and done

EPRESS ACTIONS BY HENRY JUDD -

CAMPAIGN FOR THE NEW INTERNATIONAL:

LABOR ACTION intends wholeheartedly to support the campaign just launched by our companion monthly Marxist magazine, The New International, for 500 new readers and subscribers. We intend to give full pub-

announced price reductions on several of its publications and bound volumes. Trotsky's "New Course" is now available, paper edition, for only \$1.00. Similar substantial reductions in price have been made for bound volumes of LABOR ACTION and The New International (see advertisements in this issue). We call this to the attention of our agents.

Likewise, Workers Party Publications announces the planned publication of several important pamphlets shortly. Heading the list will be Trotsky's pamphlet, "Marxism in the United States," with a special introduction by Max Shachtman; also Albert Goldman's pamphlet on the Question of Unity between the SWP and WP, with an introduction by Max Shachtman. Other pamphlets are in various stages of publication preparation. Further details on these will be issued shortly.

LABOR ACTION had another excellent week on new subscriptions and renewals of expired subscriptions. We did not-quite top our previous record of 72 in one week, but came close to it. Above all, full credit must be given to the Philadelphia Branch, headed by that splendid literature agent, Comrade Frank Harper. Here's the list for the week:

PHILADELPHIA . Los Angeles Newark New York City Akron San Pedro Baltimore 13 Buffalo Detroit ... Minnesota Miscellaneous .. TOTAL

From San Pedro, Lucy writes us, "Enclosed are four renewal subscriptions to LABOR ACTION. This makes our total, so far, about 10 renewals out of 25 expirations." And that's an excellent percentage.



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get together and make their plans in cooperation with union representa-The Seattle committee is designed particularly to fight the rise in the price of milk. And it is only in the initial stages of its work. However,

strikes have already had their effect on prices in notable instances. How much more effective will be a planned campaign of popular price control committees. We do not enter into all the details, because they will suggest themselves in every locality.

IN THE UNIONS, TOO

the committees on a city scale, and easily and effectively.

licity to this valuable campaign, and urge all our LABOR ACTION bundle order agents to do their best on behalf of this leading revolutionary pub-PAMPHLETS FOR THE SOCIALIST CAUSE: Workers Party Publications has

Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor same subject entitled "La Guardia" utterly false, for what man prefers nesses. They had condemned these The sentences objected to were not

Calls Book Reviews "A Fine Feature"

Dear Comrades:

The book reviews are a fine feature. I know it is difficult to select all the good ones. There are of course several 25 cent ones (and many others) that have not yet appeared. I would like to recommend for review Howard Fast's "Tom Paine," G. Child's "What Happened in History," Elliot Paul's "The Last Time I Saw Paris" and James T. Farrell's "Short Stories." (The first and last are already scheduled for review.-Ed.)

On our current sub drive the reaction to the paper is very favorable. Though I had been of the opinion that the articles were inclined to be too long, all the readers I have talked to find the length of the articles OK. They don't read every article, but those they do read are read regardless of length. Everyone likes the content.

Fraternally, FRANK HARPER.

A Reader Complains --**McKinney Replies**

Dear Editor:

I am forced to write in criticism of the low literary level to which some of LABOR ACTION's writers occasionally sink. Socialist, left wing and labor journals in general all too frequently have a tendency to resort to Hearstisms. It is the duty of an editor to edit and delete such objectionable phrases of "yellow journalism" even - especially - if they are written by responsible leaders of the party. The latest such offensive item in LA is to be found in an article of Ernest McKinney, headlined "Two Who Remain in Tennessee's Jails."

In this article, Comrade McKinney discusses the aspect of Negroes testifying for the state. He points out the the Tennessee trials. Now it is probable that there were some readersespecially Negroes-who had unjust- stant fear of lynching and from conly condemned these Negro state wit- demnation,

witnesses because they hadn't taken into consideration the factors making them testify (intimidation, terror, their whole past environment) which McKinney had pointed out. To these readers who didn't understand the position of the state witnesses, McKinney says: "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."

(My emphasis-R. O'N.) This is absolute rubbish! In order to lean over backward in fairness to the Negro state witnesses, McKinney falls out the other side of the boat. Good revolutionary socialist journalism demands that such writing be eliminated from the paper.

> Fraternally. RAY O'NEILL, Cleveland, O.

In comment on the above letter, I want to say first that I was not leaning "over backward in fairness to the Negro state witnesses." I was not leaning but standing erect. I did not fall "out the other side of the boat." In this case there is no other side from that of ALL the Negroes involved, except the side of the Tennessee lynchers. I was not demanding "fairness" but justice and human decency for these deluded, intimidated and terrorized Negroes who testified for the state. I am willing to leave "fairness" to the petty bourgeois liberal quacks and softheads: to those who believe it was a "victory" when only two innocent Ne-

groes out of 25 were convicted. The Workers Party demands justice: justice for the Negroes who were tried and justice for those who testified. Justice for both means defense of both; and without any quibbling about "low literary level." Justice for those who were in the dock demands their acquittal and complete possible reasons why they testified in a freedom. No more trials. Justice for the Negro state's witnesses demands freedom from intimidation, from con-

directed primarily at readers "who didn't understand," but at those who would look upon the witnesses as "scabs," "traitors," etc. Who were these witnesses? Were they Negro bankers, business men or upper class Negroes who went over to the state because they had property or social standing to protect? Of course not. They were the same as the Negroes who were being tried. Let's admit that the sentence ob-

jected to is harsh. (And it is.) Let's admit that perhaps some readers of LABOR ACTION had uncritically condemned those Negroes who testified, from a lack of understanding. But which is more necessary in the circumstances: "fairness" to these "readers," or to place oneself firmly and unambiguously at the side of the brow-beaten and victimized Negroes who testified for the Tennessee lynchers? This is a situation in which it is necessary to pull people up with a jerk. "Good revolutionary socialist journalism" does not necessarily demand that one be harsh. On the other hand, "socialist journalism" is not to be judged primarily by its "literary level," since it is not a literary display but a campaign of propaganda and agitation for the purpose of calling the proletariat to class solidarity and effective class action. This is what is imperative in the case of Negro oppression in the U.S. Tennessee is only one concrete instance. It is necessary for revolutionaries and their press to beat the drums. In the face of the concrete situation, all talk of "literary level," "Hearstisms," and falling "out the other side of the boat," misses the main point and becomes mere phrasemongering.

ERNEST RICE MCKINNEY.

This Reader Is On the Ball

Editor, Labor Action:

In the October 5 edition of The Militant, organ of the Socialist Workers Party, there appears an article entitled "La Guardia Condemns Attempt to Bar Minorities from Ballot." In the October 7 edition of LABOR ACTION an article appears on the Explains How Boss Parties Rig Laws and Courts to Keep Minority Parties Off Ballot."

As a reader and subscriber of both papers, I received The Militant and read the article through. Then I hurriedly reread it, not believing what I had seen. Here was an article in a paper that claims to be a Marxist organ, written about a capitalist scoundrel, quoting him and never ONCE noting the fact that he was as guilty as all the present office-holders whom he criticizes. My first reaction was that perhaps old Fiorello wasn't as bad as he had been cracked up to be, or maybe he had reformed and joined the Socialist Workers Party. He couldn't have been shown any more

courtesy if he had. But then, two days later, came the October 7 issue of LABOR ACTION and I found that at least one leftwing paper still takes cognizance of the Little Flower's background. In LABOR ACTION's article he, was spoken of thusly: Fiorello La Guardia is no novice in politics. He knows whereof he speaks. And though it may bring a faint blush into the soft jowls of the now famous Little Flower, this is the time to mention that during his own term of office, and by the machinations of the political machinery which elected La Guardia to office, minority parties were subjected to precisely the same runaround when they attempt to get on

Who is calling whom petty bour-T. G., Akron, Ohio.

A Note to the **Job-Seeking Veteran**

The feeling that most veterans on the Servicemen's Readjustment Allowance Rolls, better known as the 52-20 Club, are more interested in collecting the \$20 a week than in securing work is gaining popularity as the "masters of peace" fail to solve the problems of veteran job-placement, and unemployment disturb-

ingly persists. Needless to say, the accusation is to live on the meager sum of \$20 weekly, dished out like a bone to a poor dog to keep him quiet, than put forth the effort to work? No rational being, himself victimized by the overwhelming cost of living today, could believe this as a generalization.

The U. S. Employment Service offices are swamped with requests for on-the-job training and apprenticeships in skilled occupations. Even if these requests for training could be adequately complied with, an urgent question poses itself: What assurance does the veteran have of his ultimate retention as a skilled craftsman on the job, once he learns it? What opportunity will he have to use his acquired skill on another job? There may be none. The trained machinist cannot be assured that the employer training him will continue to need him-even until the completion of his training. His skill might easily

one day be a useless appendage. To avoid flooding the market, employers are sometimes discouraged from training the unskilled veteran in favor of employing the available veteran with skill already acquired. This practice of dissolving training opportunities is used not only for fear of market-flooding. It is attempted as something of a safeguard to prevent possible employer chiseling, or underpaying a worker who produces for him, usually for the lowest possible rate the employer can fix within approved training - wage limits.

To return to the question of those veterans on the \$20 a week rolls who elude present job offers in the hope that eventual trends will radically change the wage picture or produce more opportunities for training. It is no personal opinion to declare this a false optimism. Since there is little to be accomplished by no activity at all, it appears more practical to accept the most suitable job to be had at the moment, to join a union in an active capacity, or to help build a union where there is none. And the only fight that can ever offer a real and ultimate victory over this muddled state of affairs and all others is the road to socialism. Join the Workers Party!

T. FRANK, Philadelphia.

IN BROOKLYN AND IN HARLEM, NEW YORK, YOU CAN CAST A SOCIALIST VOTE!

Vote Labor! Vote for Workers Party Candidates!

IN THE 15th CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT OF BROOKLYN—VOTE FOR MAX SHACHTMAN



With the ruling of the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court last week that the Socialist Workers Party, Socialist Party and Socialist Labor Party could not be reinstated on the New York State election ballot, the Workers Party is the only working class party on the ballot. Max Shachtman, the candidate of the Workers Party for Congress in the 15th Congressional District of Brooklyn, is the only revolutionary Socialist candidate running for office anywhere in New York State.

The action of the courts in keeping the other Workers Party candidate, Ernest Rice McKinney, off the ballot and in keeping the three other working class parties off the ballot is an attack against the rights of every minority party in New York State. The Workers Party proposed its program for fighting this outrage in an editorial in last week's LABOR ACTION.

The voters of the 15th Congressional District will have an opportunity to record their protest against this undemocratic action on the part of the Democratic politicians and the courts by voting for Max Shachtman for Congress. They will have an opportunity, at the same time to vote for the Workers Party program of action against high prices and low wages, a program of action for housing, for decent living conditions for the workers, for the veterans and for all the people of the country.

ans second, it will have to be junked.

AVC leadership has meant from the

beginning by posing the slogan

"Citizens First, Veterans Second."

Bolte has made it clear many times,

mainly in his rejection of the direct

political action of the veterans in

Athens, Tennessee, when they ousted

the corrupt Crump machine and

more recently in his criticism of the

March on Albany. Whatever the

leadership of these movements or the

illusions of its participants, these

actions have symbolized to veterans

all over the country their direct par-

ticipation as citizens first and veter-

The capitalist press, on the other

hand, has been unanimous in criti-

cizing the veterans for participating

directly in the solution of social

problems. Thus to the capitalists as

to the AVC leadership, citizens first,

veterans second, has meant advice to

the veterans not to be impatient, but

to allow the "normal democratic

process" an opportunity to resolve

Behind the recent stormy conven-

tion lies a year of development of

the veterans movement. In 1945, the

nation just finished with a war faced

the problems of reconversion. The

was presented simply as a matter of

reconverting. During the in-between

period, the veterans were offered

stop-gap aid, the little readjustment

It is now nearing the end of 1946.

It is well over a year since the war

ended and the nation is still not re-

converted. It is becoming increas-

ingly clear, not only to the veterans

but to the large masses of workers

appeared simply as problems for re-

conversion are really fundamental,

requiring drastic and decisive action.

have always understood that they

must solve their problems as citi-

zens. They are beginning to under-

means their problems as workers.

And on the picket line, they have

demonstrated that veterans acting

as citizens and as workers means

veterans taking militant direct ac-

are afraid of. That is why they are

crumbs of the GI Bill of Rights.

matter of housing, jobs, security,

the problems of reconversion.

VETS WANT ACTION

now becomes clear what the

Vote Workers Party!

By I. BLAKE

Vote for Max Shachtman for Congress!

The New York City Metropolitan

Area Council (MAC) of the Ameri-

can Veterans Committee held its sec-

ond convention on October 26 and 27.

During the two days not one word

was said about the platform of the

MAC. Until within half an hour of

the final adjournment, the delegates

were in stormy debate on rules gov-

erning the convention, on the adop-

tion of a Metropolitan Area consti-

tution, and the nomination of candi-

dates for the executive committee.

to two factions: the majority, Stal-

inist-dominated "Progressive" fac-

tion and the minority "Liberal" fac-

tion. But these factions were in no

way distinguishable as to platform,

as was demonstrated by the arena on

which the factional struggle was

Each was seeking to capture the

veterans movement, its prestige, its

power, even its stationary in order

to use it as a football in the rivalry

between the American Labor Party

and the American Liberal Party.

But the importance of the conven-

tion was not in the fact that the

Stalinists won, nor that the Liberals

had such a substantial minority. The

importance of the convention was in

the obvious, deliberate effort by lead-

ers of both caucuses to evade con-

crete issues of platform and policy.

session of the convention as a rep-

resentative of the National Planning

Committee of the AVC. In a sense,

his was the keynote speech of the

convention. He appealed for unity.

He urged the delegates to keep their

fingers on the pulse of the people

and not go too far ahead of the peo-

ple lest they be isolated. He submit-

ted that the slogan "Citizens First,

Veterans Second" was perhaps being

overworked. What junior was saying

Between the lines, by its very na-

ture and sentiment, the movement

of the veterans of the Second World

War is political. That's why the

AVC was formed with a political

coloration. If care is not taken, the

rank-and-file movement will carry

the veterans to a position embarrass-

ing to the leaders of the major po-

litical parties. This must be avoided.

Care must be taken. Don't overwork

the slogan "Citizens First, Veterans

Second." Unless the slogan can be

FDR, Jr. addressed the opening

EVADE CONCRETE ISSUES

Roughly, the body was divided in-

	Governor	2 Licutemant Governor	3 Comptroller	4 Attorney General	5 Chief Judge of the Court of Appeals	Associate Judge of the Court of Appeals	Ontrea States	Justices of the 2nd Judi (Vote	9 e Supreme Court cial District e for 2)	Justices of (Vote	the City Court	Representative in Congress
	A LA	2 A REPUBLICAN	SA REPUBLICAN	REPUBLICAN	55A ABPURICAN	MA	7 A REPUBLICAN	S A	SA REPUSLICAN	10 A REPUBLICAN	11 A SEPURLICAN	12 A MUNICAN LIGHT. LAISI
	★ I B DEMOCANT	★ 2 B DEMOCRAT	★ BB DEMOCRAT	★ B BEMOCRAT	★ BEMUCKAT	★ B B BEMOCKAT	★ B	★ B B DEMOCRAT	★ BEMOCRAT	★ B B OFMOCRAT	★ II B	12 B DEMOCRAT Emanuel CELLER
u ye.p	AMERICAN LABOR	AMERICAN LABOR	WHENCYN CYBOR	AMERICAN LABOR	S C AMERICAN LABOR	MERICAN LABOR	AMERICAN AROA	8 C AMERICAN LABOR	S C AMERICAN LABOR	10 C AMERICAN (ABOR	11 C AMERICAN LABOR	12 C AMERICAN LAIDS Emanuel CELLER
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ATTY			- 6		i di	Å				И .		12 VIRAN ZERROW WANTDAKE

Labor Candidate in Cleveland

Shop Committee Council Backs DeMoore, Independent Candidate

By GERRY McDERMOTT

CLEVELAND-Cleveland labor has a candidate of its own in the coming congressional elections. Breaking away from the two worthless capitalist parties, the AFL, CIO, MESA, and Rail Brotherhoods in the 22nd congressional district of Ohio are working to elect Mathew DeMoore, ndependent candidate. DeMoore is the head of the International Association of Machinists in the Cleveland area.

The need for labor to elect its own candidates to office is obvious and has been pointed out many times in LABOR ACTION. Working men and women in Cleveland's eastside have an opportunity to show the way to the whole labor movement by rolling up a huge majority for DeMoore. That is exactly what must be done .. next week at the voting booth.

The story behind the DeMoore campaign is an interesting one. In

veterans.

the Collinwood area of east Cleveland, a heavily industrialized area, local unions have formed a council to further the interests of working people—the Collinwood Conference of Shop Committees composed of CIO, AFL, MESA, and Rail Brotherhoods. When DeMoore entered the race, member locals of the Collinwood conference immediately got behind the campaign.

Here, then, is the pattern for independent labor political action—candidates from the ranks of labor, supported by all the trade unions. The next step is to form an independent labor party and work out a fighting program. This must be the next step forward for Cleveland

. The DeMoore campaign is based on a clear-cut program in contrast to the vague nonsense of capitalist candidates. He backs price control, minimum wage laws, FEPC, antilynching, and full employment. It is true that DeMoore does not indicate the best way to get these things. That is the weakness of the program. But compared to the capitalist parties, the program is excellent. Besides, DeMoore belongs to the working class, cannot be elected without them, and can be corrected by them, if necessary.

PAC SAYS NO

A tragic but instructive side light to the campaign has been the stupid behavior of both the PAC and the central body of the AFL. Neither have endorsed DeMoore! It is not their policy to endorse "independent" candidates!

As always, the Stalinists are hard at work to turn the campaign to their own purpose. Frightened at independent political action, they are trying to use the campaign to further their own "Third" party-that is, a party led by imperialist Wallace and Jim Crow Pepper, together with Uncle Joe Stalin's agents. We must have none of that.

The eyes of advanced American labor will be on Cleveland next week.

NOTE:

The New Address of THE WORKERS PARTY LABOR ACTION

THE NEW INTERNATIONAL

4 Court Square Long Island City 1, New York

With Ernest Rice McKinney's case against the Board of Elections still in the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court, the status of the Workers Party posi-

tion on the ballot in the 22nd Congressional District remains in doubt.

IN THE 22nd CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

OF HARLEM—VOTE FOR ERNEST R. McKINNEY

In the event, however, that the Appellate Division rules against the petition of Ernest Rice McKinney, the Workers Party Local New York calls upon all voters in the 22nd Congressional District to cast a write-in vote for the Workers Party candidate.

A write-in vote can be cast in the following manner: The main lever must be pulled and held while the slot over the top of the Representative in Congress line, Number 12, should be uncovered and the name written in. Pencil may be used. But the full first name must be written in. Ernest Rice McKinney is preferable. But Ernest R. McKinney will do.

Support the right of minority parties to be on the ballot!

Write-in Ernest Rice McKinney for Congress!

Protest Ballot Ban **On Minority Parties**

nority parties from participation in state-wide and local elections was strongly protested this week, at a meeting at the Hotel Statler in this city. Called by Norman Thomas of the Socialist Party, who chaired the proceedings, the meeting placed the blame for the precedent-setting ban on minority parties directly upon the

Scoring the attack upon the minority parties as a blow to civil liberties everywhere, representatives of the Workers Party, the Socialist Party, Socialist Workers Party, Industrial Government Party and Liberal Party, as well as representatives of the United Auto Workers, the Textile Workers Union of America, the Civil Liberties Union and other civic organizations pledged themselves to united action. The Workers Party representative pointed out that the barring from the ballot of E. R. Mc-

BUFFALO-The barring of five mi- Kinney, Workers Party Congressional candidate in Harlem, was part and parcel of the attack of the boss parties against minority parties in the state election.

THREE-POINT PROGRAM

The group adopted a three-point program to defend the rights of all minority parties.

(1) They drew up a resolution indicting Spencer D. Young, Democratic candidate, and Judge Murray for their attack on the Socialist Party, the Socialist Workers Party and the Industrial Government Party and also indicting the Democratic Party for its action against the Workers Party and the Liberal Party in the New York City election. This resolution was sent to all parties involved

and to Senator Mead. (2) A committee was formed to continue the protest by securing radio time on local stations, where a joint statement could be made by representatives of the minority par-

(3) The group voted for the convening of a mass protest meeting to be addressed by representatives of the minority parties and supporting

groups. Later the committee met and organized the mass meeting to be held on October 31 at 19 West Mohawk Street, Buffalo, at which all the five parties involved will be represented.

To Anonymous Contributors:

We regret that we are unable to publish letters that come to us anonymously. If a correspondent does not wish his name used, LABOR ACTION will respect the writer's confidence, and use any name the writer wishes or none at all—provided it comes to us signed. Often the letters present interesting problems which we should like to discuss further in private correspondence. One such anonymous reader recently sent us a very interesting letter on the housing problem, posing a difficult conflict between his social beliefs and personal welfare. We should like to discuss the matter with this correspondent, and will if he comes to our office. We were unable to communicate with him because his lefter came to us unsigned, and with no address. Please sign your letters. We shall respect your confidence.-Ed.)

ULUIIIL

STALINISM FLOW FROM **BOLSHEVISM?**"

"YES!"

Liston M. Oak

Managing Editor of"The New Leader" Radio Commentator

" NO!"

Max Shachtman National Chairman Workers Party

Labor Action School? The Shachtman-Oak debate opens the first 8-week semester in Labor Action School. Reginning regular sessions on Tuesday, Nov. 12, and continuing thereafter on Tuesdays and Fridays, the school offers a choice of six subjects. Instructors for this sessio anre Mary Bell, Oscar Williams, that the dislocations which at first Max Shachtman, Ernest Erber, Emanuel Garrett and Freddie Forest. In addition to the regular classes, a The veterans of World War II special series of Sunday night forums has been arranged. Guest speakers will include Gunther Reimann, James stand that their problems as citizens T. Farrell, and Isaac Rosenfeld. Write now for the school bulletin

ready know it, he must learn that

the capitalist parties cannot solve

his need for homes, jobs and secur-

ity. He must push beyond the Stal-

inists for inedpendent action of the

working class veterans under a gen-

uinely militant leadership.

Have You Registered At the New York to Labor Action School, 114 W. 14th

FRIDAY NOV. 8 8 P. M. HOTEL DIPLOMAT 108 West 43rd St. **New York City** ADMISSION: 75c Sponsored by LABOR ACTION SCHOOL St., New York 11, N. Y. Register im-Third Floor, 114 West 14th Street tion. That is what the AVC leaders . mediately! New York 11, N. Y.



