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LABOR ACTION

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

FIVE CENTS

FEBRUARY 10, 1947

Washington Muddle Proves Need for Action:

SAVE THE RENT CEILINGS!

British Plan Terror Rule in Palestine

By AL FINDLEY

His Majesty's Imperial Government—The Labour Party, "Defenders of Freedom"—has declared open warfare on the Jewish population of Palestine.

At present a defacto "police state" exists in Palestine, characterized by suspension of habeas corpus rights, mass arrests, concentration camps, house-to-house searches and attacks on unarmed civilians. This is now to give way to a legal "statutory martial law," removing all barriers to a complete smashing of any resistance movement in Palestine.

The decks are being cleared for action—the wives and children of the British officials are being evacuated from the country. This is an unprecedented peacetime action. No similar measures have been taken anywhere in British territory during peacetime. The only other equivalent action was the evacuation of British subjects from Gibraltar after France fell in 1940 and from Egypt when Rommel was attacking Alexandria in 1942.

INCIDENT A PRETEXT

High Commissioner Sir Allan Cunningham, who is also military commander-in-chief, has been given wider powers than any other governor throughout the British Empire. Bevin, who claimed that it would

take a division of soldiers to keep order in Palestine if 100,000 Jews were permitted to enter the country, is now using 100,000 armed soldiers to keep them out and to suppress the Jewish resistance movement.

What is supposed to have precipitated the all-out campaign of terror against the Jews was the events surrounding the imposition of a death sentence on Dov Grunner for taking part in an attack on a police station. He was to be hanged on Tuesday, January 28. On the preceding Sunday a British judge and a British banker were kidnapped and held as hostages by the Irgun, who demand prisoner-of-war status for their members.

British authorities announced that Grunner would appeal the sentence and granted an indefinite stay of execution, but warned that martial law would be declared if the two hostages were not released within 48 hours. Shortly before the deadline, the hostages were released.

Grunner has since repudiated his appeal on the ground that he is a soldier and not a criminal. If he refuses to reconsider, the death sentence will stand and the execution will take place on February 4. Further reprisals by the Irgun are expected.

Like all other so-called "incidents," these kidnappings are only a pretext on the part of the British and not the real reason for the proposed military occupation of Palestine. The institution of martial law was actually planned when Montgomery visited Cunningham in Palestine.

The imposition of military law is in line with the secret plans exposed by the Haganah as early as last spring. The aim of these moves is not the Irgun or the Stern group, which are being used as red-herrings in an attempt to disarm the Haganah, the main Jewish underground organization, and to destroy the fighting power of any Jewish resistance movement.

In this job, the British are attempting to get the aid of Palestinian industrialists and business men, who are hampered by the continual breakdowns of transportation and communication. Spokesmen for this group, typified by Mayor Rokeach of Tel-Aviv, have in the past been closely associated with the Revisionists and their anti-labor programs. But like business men the world over, they oppose any active resistance. It is interesting to note that the Irgun called a truce to allow shipments of citrus produce.

HAGANAH FAILURE

The Haganah, led by the reformist labor leaders, has failed to take the active leadership of resistance. Under the pressure of Palestinian Jewish officialdom and business leaders and the pro-British Weitzman, they first postponed and then gave up their "irrevocable decision" to launch a mass resistance and civil disobedience campaign against British imperialism. The failure of the Haganah to provide effective leadership has resulted in a shift of emphasis from mass actions of Haganah to individual terrorist actions by the Irgun and Stern groups.

The Jewish Agency, having no confidence in the ability of the people to solve anything, is lost in a maze of diplomacy. Circumventing the Zionist Congress decision not to attend the London conference, they are attending in an "unofficial" capacity. As the New York Times puts it: "The pattern followed in the Palestine conference makes it clear there actually are two conferences. One is official, with the Arabs. The other is unofficial, with the spokesman of the Jewish Agency. The timing of the adjournments of the official conference leaves alternate days free for the unofficial conference."

The Palestine labor movement, Arab and Jewish, cannot rely on the diplomatic maneuvers of their so-called leaders. They must take the initiative in organizing a joint struggle of Jewish and Arab workers, AGAINST the British and for an INDEPENDENT Palestine.

What You Can Do On Rents!

The time for action on the rent problem is NOW. Here are just a few suggestions of things that can be done:

1) First and foremost: organize a tenants' committee in YOUR house (if you live in an apartment house) and on YOUR block. Such committees have as their job to defend the interests of the tenants as a group, where individual action would be futile. These committees should serve as the "collective bargaining" agent between the tenants and the landlords.

2) REMEMBER THAT EVEN IF WASHINGTON PERMITS AN INCREASE IN RENTS, THAT INCREASE IS NOT MANDATORY. It means that the landlord is permitted to charge you more rent; it doesn't mean that he is required to charge you more rent. If and when the rent increase comes through, that's when the real fight begins between the real estate lobbies and the tenants. Then is the time for the tenant committees to serve notice on their landlords that they will not pay more rent, come what may.

3) In your local union or neighborhood organization or consumers' group, raise the question of rents. Propose that protests be adopted against rent increases. Propose demonstrations at local price control offices, city halls or other conspicuous spots in favor of maintaining the rent ceilings. Remember that only militant action can save the day: cringing postcards to Congressmen are of little use. A mass wave of protest can be of use.

4) Do not allow the recently announced "hardship" clause to be used as a means of raising rents. This government gift to the real estate lobbies, which allows rent increases where landlords are suffering "hardships," is a patent fake. LABOR ACTION has printed loads of information about the high profits of the landlords; check back issues for this information. Remember: even if landlords are permitted increases because of "hardship," such increases are merely permissible, not mandatory. Tenant action can resist them.

5) The local branch of the Workers Party in your city stands ready to aid all tenants engaged in rent struggles. These branches are, in many instances, already active in neighborhood activities against the real estate gougers. Phone or drop into the headquarters of the Workers Party to discuss with it plans for further action.

By SUSAN GREEN

By a hair's breadth the sixty million tenants under rent control escaped a ten per cent rent increase Wednesday, January 29. The mimeograph machine was turning out the announcements for local OPA offices, reporters were assembled in the Office of Temporary Controls for the rent boost to be made public, there were only a few minutes to go—when the President "turned a somersault in full public view," as the Washington Memo of the New York Post put it.

Since then there has developed a whodunit mystery much better than the Hollywood or radio concoctions. For here we have a double-edged mystery. Who was responsible for the order that would have boosted rents across the board? Who pushed President Truman to the wall to rescind the order?

The suspects for the original crime are President Truman and his two close advisers, John R. Steelman and Clark Clifford; Major General Philip Fleming, director of OTC, and his deputy, James Fullin; AND the real estate lobby. Suspected of responsibility for the President's somersault are Philip Murray, the labor movement, the veterans, and the tenants, sixty million strong. Let us assemble the evidence.

Goldman Hits Taxi Profits At Hearing

CHICAGO, January 29.—Albert Goldman, Workers Party candidate for Mayor of Chicago, testifying today before the City Council hearing on the taxicab situation, proposed that the city take over the taxicab system and run it for the "benefit of the cab drivers and the public."

Goldman pointed out that taxicab service in Chicago is controlled by the Parmelee Company, which has a monopoly on Chicago taxis, and is "interested only in profits, and not in the welfare of the drivers or of the people."

"It is not enough, however, that the city should take over the taxicab system," Goldman stated in his speech at the hearing. "Control of the cab system should be vested in the union of the drivers."

"The city should guarantee a living wage to all drivers. Drivers should not have to depend upon tips, or a percentage of fares for their wages. The city should reduce rates so that more people can afford to use cabs."

ON WHOSE ORDERS?

James Fullin, deputy director of the Office of Temporary Controls, to which OPA is now subordinated, was in charge; Director Fleming was away attending his mother's funeral. Fullin is notorious as a real estate lobbyist, first working in the usual way from without and then getting himself a place for effective boring from within the government. Fullin bored for an across-the-board raise and for the end of all rent control. However, it is fantastic to suppose for a moment that Fullin took advantage of his chief's absence to raise rents on his own hook. That would have been political suicide. The order came from higher up.

Director Fleming appeared before the Senate Banking and Commerce Committee, on his return to Washington, and took upon himself full responsibility for the hot order. He testified that before he left Washington for his mother's funeral he instructed Fullin about the ten per cent boost. Asked by the committee why he decided to lift ceilings against the President's known opposition to a general rent increase, Fleming lamely answered that he didn't know the President had expressed himself. Fleming's remarks were excused.

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File Petitions for Draper In Los Angeles Campaign

LOS ANGELES, February 3.—One thousand signatures, twice as many as the law requires, were filed in the office of the city clerk this morning to nominate Harold Draper for councilman from the working class and Negro 7th District. Draper was the first of the thirteen candidates in the field to file, although it is safe to say no one of the other twelve is backed by less money.

House-to-house canvassing for Draper had begun January 27, just one week before. The collection of so large a number of signatures in so short a time was not a happy accident but the result of careful and precise planning and a spirit of high revolutionary enthusiasm. Every member of the Los Angeles branch of the Workers Party, of which Draper is organizer, except those few physically unable to do so, has been involved in the work.

Only a few of those willing to sign the petitions were ineligible to do so, a consequence of the enormous registration last fall in connection with the unsuccessful campaign for a California FEPC.

Although signatures were not hard to get the first three days of the canvassing, they came even more easily beginning January 30 when Draper's twenty-four-page illustrated campaign pamphlet went on sale. Mere sight of the cover page, a street map of the southeast side with the title "Jim Crow in Los Angeles" superimposed, seldom failed to arouse interest and usually brought an invitation to come inside and explain the candidate's position. In the first two days, seventy-two pamphlets were purchased—it would be inaccurate to say "sold" because little salesmanship was necessary—and by the end of the week well over 100. Several newsstands in the district are now displaying the pamphlet, and others are likely to handle it soon. (Editor's note: "Jim Crow in Los Angeles" is appearing serially in LABOR ACTION.)

An important item of equipment carried by the canvassers was a note sheet on which they jotted the names of interested persons who wished to be contacted later, to be sent sample copies of LABOR ACTION, or notified of public meetings. The branch expects to develop an important sympathizer group as a result of this campaign.

Teachers Face Pay Fight

Militant Action Urged to Secure Higher Salaries

By A TEACHER

Two weeks ago the New York State Legislature passed a bill appropriating \$32,000,000 for additional aid to education for fifteen months. The appropriation was accompanied by a provision establishing an annual minimum salary of \$2,000 for teachers. The \$32,000,000 will be distributed among a large number of communities which will have the option of using the funds to reimburse themselves for increases already granted. But in the majority of cases the money will probably be used for further increases. In a few cities upstate, this will mean an annual increase of \$800; in New York City, \$300. Governor Dewey said that later on in the session he would urge permanent adjustments in basic salary schedules.

The bill failed to meet the demands of the teachers. The increase is inadequate; New York City teachers are demanding an increase of \$450. It is not permanent and thus may be discontinued at the expiration of

the bill. A third objection is the failure to incorporate into the basic salary schedule the cost-of-living bonus of \$350 a year granted in 1945, which is also temporary and may be withdrawn at will.

Prior to the action by the Legislature, the press and radio were full of stories about the possibility of strikes in many New York cities. Teachers were aroused as never before under the pressure of the steady increase in the cost of living and the indifference of city and state governments. Strike votes were scheduled for Buffalo and the Albany area, and there was considerable pressure for a strike poll in New York City.

Passage of the bill was greeted by a loud chorus of critical denunciation. But instead of the disappointment whipping up strike sentiment to action, it has had the opposite effect. Strike talk in New York City is now declining.

The explanation for this reaction is to be found in the cowardice of the present teachers' leadership and the

anarchic state of New York teachers' organization. Where else in the world can one find some eighty organizations among approximately 30,000 people? There is no one organization which enjoys the confidence and support of a sufficient number to make it the authoritative teachers' spokesman.

Only 8,000 teachers are organized into unions, and they are divided. The larger organization is the Teachers Union, CIO, in which Stalinists have the decisive influence; the smaller is the Teachers Guild, AFL. Social-Democrats are "active"; its policy is exceedingly timid.

The Joint Committee of Teachers Organizations is, as its name suggests, a representative body of teacher organizations. It is larger than some of its affiliates and confines itself to public statements. The Teachers Interest Committee sprang up like a prairie fire a number of months ago when the situation became hot. It appears to have a wider base among

(Continued on page 2)

A Letter from the Philadelphia Workers Party:

Urges Philadelphia AFL and CIO To Start Own Daily Labor Paper

BULLETIN!

PHILADELPHIA, Feb. 4.—Westinghouse Local 107 of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers Union-CIO, at a general membership meeting tonight resolved to ask the CIO Industrial Union Council, the AFL and the Railroad Brotherhoods to take action toward establishing a daily labor paper in this city. Local 107 specifically called on labor to support "The Real Record," newspaper of the striking Guildsmen, and to undertake joint union action to transform "The Real Record" into a permanent daily labor paper.

Dear Brothers:

Three months ago the Philadelphia Record members of the American Newspaper Guild were forced to strike because David J. Stern, the supposedly "liberal" publisher, refused to make even the most elementary gestures which would have made negotiations possible. On Saturday, February 1, to the amazement of the entire city, including the strikers, Stern announced the sale of the Record to the Evening Bulletin, Republican newspaper.

Only one interpretation of this is possible. It is an anti-labor, strike-breaking act. The Bulletin is pulling Stern out of a very deep hole. Conservative and liberal employers know the value of cooperation. Stern could never again have published a "liberal" paper. Whom could he have fooled? It is precisely that audience to which Stern appealed that is now 100 per cent behind the strike. That is why a

new management was needed for a new Record.

Sale negotiations were conducted in strictest secrecy by the top management of each paper. The object was to throw a bombshell which would confuse and disorient the Guild strikers.

AIM AT BIGGER TARGET

Stern and the Bulletin are aiming at a bigger target too—the Philadelphia labor movement, especially the CIO. The rumor that the CIO drove the only "liberal" paper out of business is spreading fast already. That is a lie. Thinking workers must not listen to it!

Listen to what Mike Harris of the Steelworkers Union, who tried to postpone the strike, said of Stern, the great liberal:

"I feel I should apologize for having asked you to postpone strike action. But I made the offer in good faith; I was hopeful a compromise might be worked out. I have negotiated something like 130 contracts. I have sat across the table from outfits like Bethlehem Steel and U. S. Steel, down to plants employing 15 men. Never in my experience have I run across such complete and blind disregard to the principles of collective bargaining as I found in the Stern management." This is a clear statement on Stern's liberalism from a responsible union leader.

One other unforgettable incident from the recent past on Stern and the labor movement: During the vicious police cavalry attacks, beatings and storm-troop strike-breaking work in the General Electric strike last year, the Record supported Sheriff Mehan, as a defender of the

law. The Record attacked the strikers and strike leaders and condoned police violence. Labor cannot forget.

The boast of the Bulletin is nationally famous: "Nearly everybody reads the Bulletin." One reader of "The Real Record," the strikers' newspaper, nailed that one very nicely: "... what in hell else is there to read here?"

That is the nub of the question. The labor movement and the Guild strikers have to answer that one. We can provide a truly free press, a labor press, an alternative to the conservative Bulletin and reactionary Inquirer. We have the opportunity of turning an anti-labor act into a great blow for the labor movement. We have a duty not to leave the working class of this city to the mercies of the Inquirer and the Bulletin.

It is necessary to establish a daily labor newspaper in Philadelphia, published by the CIO Industrial Union Council and the AFL Central Labor Union, which together represent hundreds of thousands of organized men and women. This would be a free press because it would be a people's press.

Can it be done? The Guild headquarters reports overwhelming support. Hundreds of letters and phone calls arrived on the heels of the Stern sale announcement, continuing support to the strike and urging a permanent "Real Record," the strikers' paper. The need is here and it is understood already by many.

Where to start: The Bulletin's cagey and ambiguous announcement leaves unclear its intentions regarding the Record. Will it or will it not publish a daily morning paper. This confusion is deliberate. Its purpose

is to confuse, dishearten and disperse the strikers. At the same time the Bulletin announcement states: "We hope (the Record and the Camden Courier-Post) will be resumed under independent ownership."

The Bulletin didn't make a multi-million deal just on a hope. But we can take them at their word. Here is a publication's plant ready at hand. The idea of such an enterprise—a daily labor newspaper—would spread like wildfire within the working class. And that's where the money would come from—from the nickels and dimes of organized working men and women and their unions and organizations.

There is a more valuable property involved than the printing plant of the Record. We don't care where such a labor paper would be printed.

But the "real Record" is the staff of organized newspaper writers. It should be the duty of the Philadelphia labor movement to keep that property intact by putting it to work on a daily labor paper.

William Green has offered unity to the CIO. Philip Murray replied with an offer of united action. In Philadelphia, as nationally, such united action would be a powerful blow to the labor haters who sit in the halls of Congress and rule the government. Let labor unity start here with a CIO-AFL labor daily. The inspiration will spread. This is not an opportunity to be missed.

For our part, the Philadelphia branch of the Workers Party and the readers of LABOR ACTION—we pledge our full support to such an effort.

Signed: WORKERS PARTY
1139 West Girard Ave.
Philadelphia 23, Pa.

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Aftermath of Frisco General Strike

OAKLAND, Feb. 1—Would local AFL leaders back down before Dan Tobin's strikebreaker orders. Would the militant clerks now out on strike for the fourth month at Kahn's and Hastings' stores be sold down the river by the Central Labor Council? The complete answer to these questions is not yet known, but it's easy to see which way the wind is blowing.

The Oakland General Strike which lasted less than three days has had serious repercussions within the local and national labor movement. Among other things, it provoked an intense conflict inside the Teamsters Union. Joe Casey, Teamsters Union official

and Western AFL representative, Charles Real, also, a Teamster Union official and head of the Bay Area Central Labor Council, and Jimmy Marshall, president of Teamsters Local 70, openly blasted the strikebreaking rates of union big-wigs Tobin and Beck who vied with each other in trying to break the solid union front. Beck, for example, knifed the AFL negotiators, ordering teamsters to return to work before any concessions had been won.

Presumably confident that they could oust Tobin and Beck from their positions in the union, Casey and Marshall are reported to have been ready to fight Tobin's bureaucratic actions. The "East Bay Labor Journal," official organ of the Alameda County AFL, printed published reports of Casey's speeches with every indication that these reflected the opinion of the whole Central Labor Council. Thus, in the Journal's January 17 issue was reported a Casey speech before the Alameda Building Trades Council as follows:

"Casey really let the big boys have it. . . . He really pulled the stoppers and let go at the interference from the out of town teamster officials in this local fight. . . . Casey spoke of the \$30,000 salary paid the teamster official Tobin who was undoubtedly finding it tough to live on that, but all of the while was advising and encouraging his boys to 'take it easy,' etc.

Casey, Marshall and Real were put on the carpet before the Executive Council of the Teamsters International Union, which met in Miami, for their criticism of Tobin and Beck. It was simultaneously reported, unofficially but reliably, that Tobin has ordered the teamsters to go through the clerks' picket line and return to work. The Oakland press has for a week been filled with rumors, denials, accusations and counter-accusations as to what the next move would be in the clerks' strike. However, instead of pursuing their campaign against Tobin, the local leaders have claimed up, apparently thrown into consternation by Tobin's order. It would appear that they are wrangling on how best to save face for themselves, and for Tobin, without at the same time provoking the rank and file of the Teamsters and the Central Labor Council. He accused the committee of refusing to accept "reasonable and just terms" proposed by him to end the walkout. James Ghalliano, AFL attorney, later explained that the "just and reasonable terms" were nothing else than the proposals of the Retail Merchants Association—that the clerks return to work without union recog-

nition, without achieving any of the gains or objectives of the strike.

To really get the flavor of this sell-out you have to realize that it was Teamsters Local 70 which more than anyone else helped precipitate the Oakland General Strike after scab trucks had been driven through with police protection! It is also necessary to know that the organization of the clerks at Florsheim's and other stores succeeded only because of the effective solidarity shown by the Teamsters Union. Now it was to be Marshall of the Teamsters who broke away first from the Strike Strategy Committee and who, at Tobin's behest, may attempt to run union trucks through the clerks' picket line.

The big question mark is whether the teamsters membership, which has demonstrated tremendous militancy throughout this affair, will obey anybody's orders to scab on the clerks. That's the explanation for Marshall's attempt to end the clerks strike in a big hurry. In that way, he could save himself both from Tobin's wrath and from a revolt among the rank-and-file teamsters.

WHICH WAY NOW?

There are some people in Oakland who are undoubtedly pleased by these latest developments. The "Forward Alameda County League," the latest concoction by Oakland's anti-labor big-money interests, Mayor Warren Beach, the Retail Merchants Association and their stooges in the

City Council all will be laughing loudly up their sleeves. The RMA now doesn't have to give a single concession, they can wait for the walkout to collapse under the weight of Tobin's strikebreaking. Any rationalization that the Clerks' Union would be stronger even if they went back to work without winning anything is just a lot of nonsense. The unorganized clerks will have no desire to join the union when they see how the clerks lost the strike at Kahn's and Hastings even with the supposed support of tens of thousands of AFL members.

Just about two months ago, twenty thousand workers jam-packed the Civic Auditorium to roar their approval of the General Strike action. Why don't the local labor leaders call another such meeting to tell this large and powerful AFL membership the truth about the highly paid finks within the labor movement today? The over a hundred thousand AFL unionists would know how to answer Beck and Tobin, even if some of the local leaders don't seem to know anything besides the language of sellouts. The aftermath of the General Strike indicates that a terrific overhauling of the AFL leadership is long overdue. Tobin and Beck have got to go, and the spineless local pie-cards right after them—if every labor struggle is not to be stabbed in the back by a \$30,000-a-year bureaucrat in Seattle or Indianapolis.

TENANT PROTESTS HALT EVICTIONS IN CITY PROJECTS

NEW YORK—New York City Housing Director Edmund Butler has started evicting tenants of the city housing projects. Starting with incomes over \$3,000 at this time and working down to \$2,190, the tenants to be evicted include families which have been forced to live doubled up because there are no apartments available. Sixty-eight per cent of project dwellers are involved.

Families are to be put on the street—to make way for homeless families. It is evidently easier to shuffle a deck of cards than build new and adequate public housing.

Fortunately for the project tenants, the tenants' organizations took up the challenge immediately. Three days after the first eviction notices were known to have been sent, a picket line of several hundred people was called at City Hall. Another was called in front of Butler's office.

The tenants' association of the Fort Greene project attended a meeting in record-breaking numbers and announced to all concerned that they would not countenance one single eviction. They demanded that new public housing be built to house all those who need it; in the meantime, nobody would leave. The meeting ended with a firm decision that, if necessary, squads would be organized to put furniture back into the apartments should they be put out.

On Friday, January 31, a mass rally for the Fort Greene project was called. On the same day Butler announced that the Authority had backed down on the evictions. It would seem that the people in the project were convinced, for the meeting was poorly attended.

It may be that for the time being there will be no evictions, but as soon as the vigilance and militancy which the tenants' organization showed is relaxed there will be "sneak evictions" in the hope that they can pick off one tenant at a time. The tenants must see to it that their organization keeps up the fight; that they support it in deed as well as in sympathy; that broad, united organizations of veterans and unions as well as tenants' organizations are formed to maintain the fight against evictions and to maintain rent ceilings.

LEADERS BACK-TRACK

Before the Wednesday night meeting of the Joint Strike Strategy Committee, Marshall had announced that he would "let the boys tend to their own knitting" and that he would not attend the committee meeting. Yesterday, the cat was finally let out of the bag. Marshall pulled the teamsters out of the Joint Strike Strategy Committee and the Central Labor Council. He accused the committee of refusing to accept "reasonable and just terms" proposed by him to end the walkout. James Ghalliano, AFL attorney, later explained that the "just and reasonable terms" were nothing else than the proposals of the Retail Merchants Association—that the clerks return to work without union recog-

Court Upholds Jim Crow "Covenant" in Michigan

DETROIT, Jan. 25—The McGhee family is different from any other family in only one respect. It is Negro. For this crime the McGhees must vacate the home, situated in a white neighborhood, where they have lived for over a year.

This was the unanimous interpretation of "justice" handed down by the Michigan Supreme Court in Lansing on January 7. This decision sustains the ruling of Justice Guy M. Miller of the Wayne County Circuit Court of last February 9. The decision of the Michigan Supreme Court is to be appealed to the U. S. Supreme Court by the McGhees with the aid of the NAACP.

The legal sanction of restrictive covenants and Negro segregation is as fraudulent as it is vicious. The "impartial" judges were forced to reach back to 1861, four years before the abolition of slavery, to dig out a legal point on which to hang their piece of judicial Jim Crow. According to an 1861 definition of "law and justice," restrictive covenants to exclude residents of a community because of race, creed or color are "private contracts" and thus are sacred in the eyes of the law. That this definition was conceived in the days of slavery, that it represented one of the features of a slave society, does not restrain these judges from snapping the legal whip. It only exposes them as desiring to perpetuate the evils of

the slave system after the system itself is abolished.

The monstrous conspiracy of real estate interests, government agencies and Jim Crow judges to segregate Negroes cannot conceal itself behind the miserable figleaf of the sanctity of "private contracts." It stands revealed for what it is: an intensification and legalization of the brutal racial discrimination that infects every aspect of life in Detroit. (The only significant exception is the local unions where, as a rule, prejudice enters against the policy and the efforts of the unions.) In this North-east city, Jim Crow sits on every government agency, waits on tables in every restaurant, clerks behind every hotel register, closes the eyes of the police to illegal discrimination and opens them wide to the slightest infractions of the Negro. The January 7 decision of the august judges of the State Supreme Court shows that Jim Crow also wears legal robes to exult the sacredness of "private contracts" and real estate profits to the debasement and persecution of human beings.

The cold, silent and hypocritical persecution that hounds the Negroes in Detroit is hardly less vicious than the flagrant and violent barbarism of the South. One can only wonder whether it is anything more than a gutter vocabulary and cancer of the mouth that distinguishes Bilbo from our respectable judges of Michigan.

NEGRO SYMPOSIUM AT PHILA. FORUM

The Workers Party of Philadelphia continues its series of Sunday Evening Forums at Labor Action Hall, 1139 W. Girard Ave. On Jan. 26 the group sponsored a symposium, *The Negro Faces 1947*. Brief talks by each of the speakers were followed by a discussion period.

One of the speakers, Clarence E. Jackson of the Philadelphia Tribune, emphasized that in 1947 both white and colored peoples "must face the facts." The facts are that the Negro, especially in the South, is even in worse economic straits than his white fellow worker, Jim Crow policies are practiced everywhere and that vicious hate campaigns are sponsored by the enemies of the working people. Jackson's advice was that both colored and white should consider "a man's a man" and treat each other as brothers, even though realizing that the interests of the corrupt ruling class was the most powerful force keeping Jim Crow policies alive.

While he agreed basically with Jackson's analysis, Ernest Rice McKinney, National Secretary of the Workers Party, pointed out that the Negro problem was a unique social problem in America since the Negro was the only group to which a national Jim Crow policy applied. According to McKinney, the "a man's a man" policy could only be carried out fully in an organization of colored and white workers in which the Negroes participated fully and democratically.

The party speaker described the CIO Operation Dixie as a workers organization which would do more to cement the friendship of the black and the whites than all the other existing organizations combined.

THOSE PORTAL PAY SUITS

This isn't going to be a survey of the portal suits filed in the last few months against industry by various unions. By now the suits total several billion dollars; the steel workers alone are asking \$1 billion. There is no question but that the workers are entitled to pay for the time they are forced to spend on company property going to and from work and making ready. What I want to comment upon is the way the entire governmental apparatus has leaped to the defense of Big Business in this situation. The Justice Department has filed a brief with the U. S. District Court of Michigan asking for dismissal of the portal-to-portal pay suits, on grounds that "legal history has established the rule that courts do not deal with trifles." The billions due the workers are considered a "trifle" by Attorney General Clark.

Clark also argued that to make employers compute employable time in terms of minutes, rather than hours, "would create a burden on the company greater than the benefits to be conferred upon the workers." Not that the Justice Department isn't concerned with the welfare of the workers. Clark argued that "close observation of the activities of workmen," that is, keeping track of the minutes of overtime due them, would be "humiliating," and that the companies would be inclined to cause "speed-ups," which would impair the health of workmen, etc., etc. . . . If you want to beat a dog, it is enough to say he ate the frying pan, as the old proverb goes. . . .

The Treasury Department has also rushed to protect the bosses, by issuing a ruling that any money paid out by industry to its workers for back portal pay may be deducted from industry's taxes. This ruling has the effect of turning the portal pay issue into a fight between the unions and the government, and, incidentally, of "stiffening industry's spine to resist union demands," according to the Wall Street Journal.

Congress isn't inactive in this situation, either. The Senate judiciary committee has cleared the decks for fast action on the numerous bills introduced by public-spirited Congressmen, designed to outlaw portal suits. Slick attorneys for Big Business are suggesting that "a simple revision of the wage law, redefining the hours-worked clause," can be made retroactive without violating the Constitution's prohibition against ex post facto laws—that is, laws passed after the event.

It is useless to judge these portal suits from the legal or Constitutional viewpoint. The bosses have the power to pass any law they wish and to make it constitutional. For they own the government. It is their people, their political parties, that run the state. Why should the state decide a case like this in favor of the workers, who haven't ONE SINGLE LABOR REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS, who haven't even got a Labor Party yet? If I were a worker in a union which has filed a portal suit, I sure wouldn't spend any of the green stuff until it was laid in my hand.

A typical industry spokesman appearing before the Senate judiciary subcommittee hearing testimony on legislation to block the portal suits, was Thomas F. Patton, general counsel of the Republic Steel Corporation. Patton, owl-eyed, serious, told the committee that the effect of the Supreme Court decision in the portal suit is to "pervert the fair labor standards act," "an instrument of righteous correction against sweatshop employers, into an instrument to destroy the great majority of industrial employers in this country." Payment of the money due the workers, he said, would have "a disastrous impact on public finances," and would "ruin" the employers. Patton defied the courts to force industry to pay any money to employes for back pay due them. He said that if a bill were passed "regulating" (that is, outlawing) portal pay claims, "any agreement forced

on employers by court misinterpretation of the act in the past would not continue to be binding."

But Patton, like the Attorney General, has got our interests at heart. If the liability of the bosses to fork over this dough were removed, he said, it would not be unfair to employes but "would merely prevent them from obtaining a windfall which would ruin the industry that furnishes their employment." Another lawyer, William C. Chanier, appearing for the aircraft industry, sobbed that "the aircraft industry faces complete and utter disaster if portal-to-portal claims are allowed or compromised."

BUSINESS NOTES

Business inventories continued to rise during November, by \$1.1 billion, at all levels—manufacturers, wholesalers and retailers. Finished goods stocks held by manufacturers totaled \$19.9 billion on December . . . The New York Dairyman's League, which rigged the butter market and thus made millions of dollars for its members, got off with a fine of \$25,000 in federal court, after entering guilty pleas. At that price, the league can afford to rig the market every day and twice on Sundays. . . . Liggett & Myers Tobacco Co., which upped the price of Chesterfields 50 cents a thousand in the past year, found that it paid off. The company reports 1946 net income of \$16.9 million, equal to \$5.39 a share, compared with 1945 earnings of \$13.4 million, or \$4.30 a share. Year-end inventories were up \$41.3 million compared with 1945, a record high level.

Swift & Co., one of the big meat packers, "can look forward to a favorable year," said John Holmes, president, to his stockholders recently. He acknowledged that "meat pipelines are filled up." How quickly the meat got to market when the meat trust wanted to sell it. . . . Another packer, John Morrell & Co., also had a good year, with earnings of \$5.26 a share in 1946, compared with earnings of \$2.58 in 1945; in addition, surpluses rose over \$1 million, and inventories were up over \$2 million at the end of the year, compared with 1945.

Government economists figure that deflation is here. Unemployment now totals over 2,000,000, and is expected to at least double before the end of the year. They point out that consumers' savings have shrunk drastically, under the impact of high prices. . . . Because the workers wages won't begin to buy back the mountain of goods he produces, the loan sharks are preparing to help us out during the coming year, by financing our installment buying. During 1946, consumer credit of all kinds mushroomed over \$2 billion to a total near the 1941 record of \$10 billion. This year it will soar to \$15 billion, say the loan sharks. These bankers admit that veterans and other low-income groups are now "priced out of the market," and that the only chance they have to buy a new refrigerator or car is to buy it on time.

Banks now have \$320 million in direct auto financing and \$200 million through dealers, compared to only \$80 million and \$65 million in 1941. C. W. Bailey, president of the American Bankers Association, says that personal loans outstanding are now at an all-time high, higher than in 1941. "We have about half the number of loans we had in 1941, but the average loan today is twice the average of 1941. The dollar won't go as far as it did five years ago, so people are required to borrow in larger amounts. The reason for borrowing, in the majority of cases, is for necessities, paying off bills, borrowing to live, if you please," Bailey is a little worried. "If a lot of people now find it necessary to borrow for routine living expenses, they won't have either money or credit when the supply of durable goods comes along," he says. It is men like Bailey who are the first to condemn the demands of unions for higher wages, or for portal pay.

Teachers Face Pay Fight - -

(Continued from page 1)

classroom teachers than any of its competitors.

These four groups are the influential constituents of the Teachers Salary Conference, which was created to give unified direction to the struggle for salary increases.

At the end of 1946 strike talk increased. Favorable radio and newspaper publicity encouraged it. Successful strike action in other cities encouraged New York's teachers. As the time for Dewey's report to the Legislature approached, proposals for a strike poll were made by the Teachers Union and the Teachers Interest Committee. A special meeting of the Delegate Assembly of the Guild went on record for strike action.

But the Teachers Salary Conference met in secret session to consider proposals for taking a strike vote, and decided against it. Subsequent to the meeting Executive Secretary Gilbert Gedey said: "We want to still keep within the dignity of our profession and give the Governor a reasonable time to grant our requests." He defined a "reasonable time" as two weeks after a hearing in Albany which has not yet been arranged. After that, said Gedey, they would reconsider a strike poll. His chief, Mrs. May Healy, chairman of the Conference, said they had reason to believe a hearing would be held on February 12, Lincoln's birthday.

This is the strategy of cowardice. The Legislature should have been confronted by a strike vote, if it did not satisfy the demands of the teachers. Had Dewey seen that New York's teachers meant business, he would have instructed his Legislature to go further to meet their demands.

CHICAGOANS!

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Possibly not even a majority strike vote would have been necessary. A threat by 900 teachers organized in the Chicago Men Teachers Club a few weeks ago, to which other teachers' organizations in that city were opposed, won a city-wide increase for all of them. A school system is not a factory; even a strike vote by a substantial number would have clubbed Dewey into acquiescence.

There can also be no doubt that Mrs. Healy knew it. But she is a Tammany politician and is apparently playing the game according to Democratic Party strategy, which is to exploit the situation to embarrass Dewey with the aim of hurting his chances for the Presidency in 1948.

UAW INTERNAL SITUATION IS AGGRAVATED BY QUARREL OVER ALLIS-CHALMERS STRIKE

By KEN HILLIER

CHICAGO, Feb. 2—CIO auto union official R. J. Thomas, on the defensive after the narrow victory in the Allis-Chalmers election, last week issued a blast to the newspapers on the conduct of Walter Reuther, UAW president. Thomas charged that Reuther had entered the Allis-Chalmers "strike picture" without the presence and knowledge of the officers of striking UAW Local 248, and had met "secretly" with company representatives.

He further charged that Reuther had swallowed the negotiation bait in fear of a defeat in the Wisconsin Employment Board Election. The release, issued by Al Leggett, Thomas' public relations director, hit all the newspapers in the country.

REUTHER REPLIES

Reuther has snapped back in a letter to the presidents of all the union's locals, charging that Thomas' practice of running to the press with internal union matters was criminal, doubly so because the strike is still on. Saying that this must stop, Reuther's letter demands a public retraction, or a trial before a UAW rank and file board composed of last year's convention delegates. Reuther also stated that since the Allis-

Someone should explain to Gedney and all who think like him that labor pioneered for free universal public education in this country more than a hundred years ago. If there is any such thing as a teaching profession at all, it is thanks to labor in the first place. Moreover, the majority of the pupils in the schools are sons and daughters of workers. When teachers integrate themselves into the labor movement they will find in it a greater self-respect than they can hope to win by patient submission to the indignities and cynical abuse to which they are subject in the educational system which is the playground of Republican and Democratic Party politicians.

Chalmers matter has been raised, it is necessary to acquaint the UAW rank and file with the whole story of the strike and promised a document within a few weeks.

The rank and file has apparently reacted to Thomas' statement with disgust. The comment heard over and over again in the shops is, "Thomas is just a poor loser, and his running to the press is no damn good for the union."

Thomas' inconsistency was indicated later in the week when the UP news service printed a story quoting Thomas as saying that the strike could be settled if the company made "a few minor shifts in policy." A minor shift means in effect that he was ready to accept the terms outlined in last week's LABOR ACTION report.

The Allis-Chalmers strike has brought the internal situation in the UAW to a head. The Stalinists who are evidently advising Thomas on what to do, have taken Reuther's unity pleas at board meetings as a sign of weakness, and may have prompted the release in order to make some capital. That it has boomeranged is generally accepted to be the case. With Reuther taking the case to the rank and file, it will probably strengthen his hand in the coming local elections.

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INTRODUCTION BY ALBERT GATES

BY LEON TROTSKY

35¢

New Rash of Anti-Labor Bills Breaks Out in 80th Congress

Immediately after the opening of the 80th Congress, a barrage of drastic anti-labor legislation was introduced for consideration by the two houses.

The aims of the most extreme among the anti-union elements in Congress include the outlawing of the closed shop and a 60-day cooling-off period before any strike may be called. Among the other proposals for anti-labor legislation are the following:

A bill to prohibit industry-wide collective bargaining between unions and employers;

A "free speech for employers" proposal;

Various schemes to nullify the "portal-to-portal" suits.

The aim of these bills is to weaken as far as possible the organizations of American workers. Industry-wide collective bargaining—a weapon and a symbol of working class solidarity—places unions in a far stronger position than does bargaining with individual employers. What is farcically termed "free speech for employers" is actually a device to aid the come-back of some of the most odious tactics of American big business: the utilization of the labor spy, strong-arm methods to prevent union organization, threats of dismissal against active unionists. This proposal would also permit employers to request new collective bargaining elections which would challenge already-gained union recognition.

As was pointed out in LABOR ACTION a few weeks ago, this would mean that the bosses could keep harassing unions interminably and that they could seize on occasional periods of union difficulty to destroy long-won bargaining rights.

On the subject of portal-to-portal pay, practically the whole of the American capitalist class is up in arms. A recent survey has revealed that all members of Congress, with only two exceptions, favor legislation nullifying "portal-to-portal" suits. What is involved is not only the financial angle, though that too, of course, disturbs them considerably; but what really gets them is the idea that labor, for once, may be in a position to gain some measure of justice through the machinery of capitalist legality. On the other hand, the CIO "Union News Service" points out that

"Members of Congress get twenty cents a mile, in addition to salary, while traveling all over the country to and from work."

"Corporation executives draw their salaries even while on the golf links or in Florida."

"Coupon-clippers get paid, not only while going to and from work, but even while refraining from it altogether."

"But then, none of these folks call it 'portal-to-portal' pay."

The Role of Women in U.S. Industry

Despite Recent Drop, Number of Women in Industry Has Increased 5½ Million Since 1939

By SUSAN GREEN

During the war seven million women left their place in the home to join the working force of the country. The all-time peak of woman employment was eighteen and a half million. By the end of 1945, however, the total decreased by about a million, and by the end of 1946 another million women disappeared from the labor force. What happened to these two million working women lopped off the country's working force when war orders ceased?

Right after V-J Day there was an army of hundreds of thousands of job-hunting women. By the end of 1946 many had given up the hunt. The reason? Well-paid jobs open to women dwindled. The industries in which women are still wanted are neither the most attractive and most skilled nor best paid; quite the contrary. They are: cereal preparation, woolen, worsted and cotton textiles, garment and apparel, electrical appliances, tobacco, radio, shoes, paper, and so on. Not attracted to these fields and despairing of finding work for which they are suited and adequately paid, many of those two million jobless women simply dropped out of the race for jobs and are no longer even listed as unemployed. Many, of course, didn't intend to work after the war anyway.

When woman employment was at wartime peak, surveys showed that at least three-fourths of the women in jobs were compelled by economic necessity to earn a living. The present figure of about sixteen and a half million women in jobs, would indicate that—at least by percent-

ages—those women who must work are at work. High employment among women reflects, of course, the over-all rosy employment condition which we now precariously enjoy.

What the present income of women is, compared to their wartime wages, is another question. The riveters, spray painters, drill press operators in slacks and sweaters have all but disappeared. The well-paid jobs in heavy industry now are, by and large, closed to women workers. Here the lay-offs of women have been greatest. In production of durable goods as a whole, the employment of women fell from 232 per 1000 workers in June 1945 to 130 in June 1946. The shift has been to the lower paid jobs in consumer goods manufacture and in the service industries.

Considering their lower wages against the constantly rising living costs, the lot of working women is not a happy one. Current statistics tell us that eighty-four per cent of working women support at least themselves and in many cases dependents. We also learn that over half of the working women who live with their families, contribute more than half of their earnings to the family group. Thus the size of the pay envelope is indeed important; and it has shrunk.

The number of women employed and their wages are bound to be affected by worsening economic conditions. However, the war has brought certain permanent changes in the status of women workers. The labor movement must take these changes into account in relating the woman question to the general labor situation.

First of all is the matter of numbers. In 1939 there were some eleven million working women in the country. In 1947 there are over sixteen and a half million women holding jobs, after the post-war lull-off. The working force has been increased by over five million women needing and desiring to be breadwinners.

WOMEN HAVE BROKEN THROUGH SOME BARRIERS

In the second place all women workers have by no means been forced back into light manufacturing and service industries. That women have permanently broken through certain barriers is shown in several

committees as Senator Taft from Ohio are deterring factors. But the 80th Congress will, without doubt, be the most hostile to labor in many years. According to Louis Stark, labor expert of the New York Times, it is to be expected that the result of the "trading" between the various tendencies in Congress and the administration will result in the passage of a revised Case bill which would fix a 60-day cooling-off period on strikes, ban secondary boycotts, and take foremen's unions out from under the Wagner act.

As we pointed out some weeks ago, this is the price which the workers of this country are paying for the disastrous policy of the union leadership in giving labor's support to one or the other of the two capitalist parties—both of which are determined to drive a knife in labor's back, with disagreement only on how deeply to drive it.

public. People who had never read Verité or even heard of the PCI have now become familiar with both.

Most important was the splendid effect the PCI's attitude of solidarity with the printing workers' demands had on those workers themselves. Many of them offered to distribute Verité. When the question of printing the paper arose, a dispute broke out. The manager of the printing plant "refused" to allow it. The workers told him to go to the devil; they were running the plant.

Then the worst obstacle came up: one section of the printing workers, the make-up men, is controlled by the Stalinists. They refused to work for Verité—imagine: Verité to appear and Humanité not to! The leaders of the pressmen told our comrades not to worry; they would persuade the make-up men. And so they did! Ten minutes later the Stalinists trooped in and began to work.

In the meantime, the workers on the Stalinist morning and evening dailies, Humanité and Ce Soir, scented a Stalinist scheme to send in non-union or outside Stalinists to print their papers. To forestall such a possibility, the workers occupied the plants in which the Stalinist papers are printed. The outraged Stalinists called upon the police to clear the plants, but didn't dare to publish.

The entire incident has resulted in increased prestige for the PCI and its paper, Verité. It is no accident that Verité was allowed to publish and Humanité was not, for Verité steadfastly supported the demands of the printing workers while the Stalinists did not.

At the same time, the Stalinist discriminations against the woman worker are all too prevalent. The time-honored injustices of starting women at lower rates than men, of slower upgrading, of preventing them from advancing to the maximum rates paid to men, of lower rates for the same jobs—these all flourish.

Important Correction On SWP Article

Several weeks ago in publishing a statement by the SWP Minority on bureaucratic atmosphere of the convention of the Socialist Workers Party, we inadvertently gave the impression that the SWP is a member of the Fourth International. This is completely erroneous. Like ourselves, the SWP believes in principles which are common to the Fourth Internationalist movement, but is not a member. It is true that the SWP was at one time a member of the Fourth International, but withdrew from membership in that organization some years ago. A statement announcing the severance of its relations with the Fourth International can be found in the SWP press of the period. As every one knows, the Voorhees Act prohibited membership in an international organization, or imposed very severe limitations on such membership. We sincerely regret any confusion that may have resulted among our readers from our mistake.

How Washington Scuttled Veterans Housing Program

By ANALITIKOS

THE furore surrounding Wilson W. Wyatt's resignation as Expediter of the Veterans' Emergency Housing Program and Administrator of the National Housing Agency has not quite died down. In fact, the crisis in the VEHP which developed one year ago continues to deepen. It has been one of the more interesting post-war developments in Washington and marks the formal end of the New Deal. Wyatt has been succeeded by Frank R. Creedon as Housing Expediter and Raymond M. Foley as National Housing Administrator. The Administration continues the pretense of an emergency housing program. Only as recently as January 8 President Truman, in his economic report to Congress, said that "more than a million additional housing units need to be started in 1947," thereby giving a numerical target to the successors of Wyatt.

We may disregard the modifier "more" and take one million dwelling units as the Administration's target in 1947. Since slightly under one million were actually started in 1946, this, if successful, will mean a two-year total of approximately two million as against the original Wyatt goal of 2,700,000. Actually, even had Wyatt continued in office with all the emergency powers that he proposed, there would have been a reduction of some 400,000 units from the original two-year goal. Thus, the Truman program will mean housing for only 300,000 less families than the Wyatt program. Can it be that a mere 300,000 dwelling units has caused all the smoke and fury in Washington?

Immediately after the Truman program was announced on December 14, 1946, shortly after Wyatt's resignation had been accepted, Wyatt's chief economic adviser Norton E. Long, head of the Program Board, resigned in a blast against the "phony program." The unusual radio and press coverage of Long's resignation is symptomatic of widespread public interest in housing. To understand the issues involved in the current housing crisis and to obtain

some perspective on what is likely to happen in 1947, as well as to see clearly what should be done in this all-important domestic field, it is necessary to examine the history of the Veterans' Emergency Housing Program.

THE HISTORY OF VETERANS HOUSING

No great knowledge of the economy was required to predict that with the end of the war there would be a profound housing crisis in this country. There had been very little building since 1929 and residential construction was further curtailed during the war as military demands sucked up the bulk of the output of the construction and building materials industries. Yet, V-J Day occurred without any plans having been made to meet the housing crisis, to provide shelter for the 13 million expected to be discharged from the Armed Forces during the next 18 months, nor, for that matter, to meet the needs of a population that had been growing at a rate of 700,000 a year since the beginning of the war.

No plan was forthcoming from the National Housing Agency. This may explain why Blandford, at that time NHA Administrator, was exiled to China—the American "Siberia" for politicians who fail to make the grade—to assist in that country's "reconstruction." The proof of the pudding lies in the fact that order L-41 of the War Production Board, the order which controlled construction and limited non-residential construction, was revoked in October, 1945. As a result, what little inventories of building materials the country possessed were devoured in an orgy of non-residential construction.

Some of those who had opposed the revocation of L-41, particularly Chester Bowles, then OPA Administrator, were somewhat alarmed. They gave considerable thought to the matter and actually had drafted in essence what became known as the Wyatt program, prior to Mr. Wyatt's arrival in Washington. It was Bowles and his advisers, together with other New Dealers, who were responsible for giving birth to the last of the New Deal's programs, one which had all the character and verve of the earlier crusades under Roosevelt. In fact, it is rumored that they were responsible for the appointment of Wyatt himself. Be that as it may, Wyatt was called to Washington in December, 1945, his appointment announced in January

Old and unsolved problems like these are once more posed for solution by the organized labor movement. The something new that has been added, as pointed out in this article, is the five million additional women workers in more diversified jobs, including heavy industry, whose economic and human status must be raised for the good of themselves and of all of us.

The recent resignation of Wilson Wyatt as head of the Veterans Emergency Housing Program brought to a head the crisis and the breakdown of the government housing program—such as it was. We are printing here an article which, we believe, tells for the first time in this country the full story of what is behind Wyatt's resignation and why the housing program has been such a dismal failure. This article concentrates on the manner in which even Wyatt's inadequate housing program was wrecked by those opposing any government action in behalf of veterans housing; it does not enter into detailed criticism of Wyatt's program itself.

Analitikos is the pseudonym of a prominent expert in the field of housing study and domestic economic affairs. The second part of his study will appear next week.

1946 and the VEHP with all its trimmings promulgated on February 7, 1946.

WHAT WAS THE ORIGINAL WYATT HOUSING PROGRAM?

Under instructions from Truman to "make no little plans," Wyatt announced a relatively bold housing program to meet the immediate emergency. It called for 2,700,000 dwelling units to be started in two years, 1,200,000 in 1946 and 1,500,000 in 1947. This far exceeded the all-time historical peak of slightly in excess of 900,000 in 1925. Considering that only 225,000 houses were started in 1945, it called for a supreme effort. Realizing that the conventional home industry by itself could not meet these goals, Wyatt, in addition to calling for a large amount of conventional homes, placed considerable emphasis on prefabrication. There were to be 250,000 prefabs started in 1946 and 600,000 in 1947. The composition of the entire program is shown in the following tabulation:

WYATT PROGRAM (Dwelling Unit Starts)		
	1946	1947
New Conventional	650,000	850,000
Conversions	50,000	50,000
Prefabricated	250,000	600,000
Temporary Reuse	200,000	—
Trailers	50,000	—
Total	1,200,000	1,500,000

Wyatt was careful to point out that, even if his program was completely successful, there would still be an increase of about half a million in the number of families doubled up and living with their in-laws at the end of the program, making a grand total of at least 1,700,000, according to his estimate. Moreover, the program did not contemplate any action in behalf of the millions of slum dwellers. Nevertheless, the program was a relatively decent attempt to meet one of the most serious emergencies arising out of the war.

To achieve these goals Wyatt placed great reliance on various aids calculated to increase the production of building materials and to channel maximum quantities into housing. Among them were: priorities, allocation of raw materials, premium payments to producers of building materials, limitations on non-residential construction, special financial aids such as the market guarantee and RFC loans to stimulate prefabrication, and the fanfare of publicity aimed at securing the cooperation of

Colonial Imperialism Remains Despite Political Concessions

By HENRY JUDD

IN LAST week's article on the colonial rebellions that have passed over Asia and other areas of the colonial world since the end of the war, we described the basic factors behind these mass uprisings by colonial peoples—the weakening of the traditional imperialist powers (England, France, Holland); their necessity to come to some terms with the peoples they formerly held in outright servitude; and the awakened nationalist consciousness of the colonial masses. The answer to the efforts of the old imperialist masters to re-instate themselves in their former ruling positions was mass revolts in Java, Indo-China, Burma, Palestine and the beginnings of a revived popular movement for independence in India, Ceylon and the colonies of the Near East and Africa.

Headed by the 40,000,000 Javanese and the 25,000,000 Indo-Chinese, the first stage was open, armed rebellion that took on the aspects of widespread warfare. The guns of the half-trained but determined fighters of Java and Indo-China soon punctured the imperialist illusion that the downfall of Japan automatically re-established white imperialism in its former positions. The fierceness of the

resistance forced a sharp change in policy and removed any illusion that the former colonies could be reconquered by force. Instead, after bloody fighting, imperialism approached the conference table and sought allies among the conservative elements of the native resistance and independence movements. It found these elements in the native capitalists, merchants, landowners and middle class intellectuals who, for the most part, stood at the head of such movements as the Javanese liberation front and the Viet Minh Party of Indo-China.

ATTEMPT TO COMPROMISE

In other colonies, where open rebellion did not yet exist, imperialism hastily approached similar conservative forces in the nationalist movement (Congress Party of India, Wafdists of Egypt, Arab League in Palestine, etc.). Everywhere efforts were made to evolve agreements and compromises, based on concessions that would halt the rising wave of rebelliousness. Imperialism cleverly carries its own logic and leads, or tends to lead, to social revolution—that is, the destruction not only of foreign imperialism, but native tyranny in the form of landlordism and capitalism.

The first efforts on the part of the colonial peoples were only partly successful. They were not sufficiently strong nor did far-sighted revolutionary leaders stand at their head to lead them to national independence.

all segments in every community. It was a private enterprise program, the heart of whose approach may be summed up as an attempt to apply the emergency techniques of wartime to the peacetime problem of the housing shortage. If we could use such methods and techniques to build thousands of airplanes and tanks, why, asked Wyatt, cannot we use the same approach to build millions of homes?

HOW THE PROGRAM GOT OFF TO A FALSE START

Although the program was announced on February 7, it was not until March 26 that Veterans' Housing Preference Order No. 1, popularly known as VHP-1, was issued. This order was an attempt to limit the volume of non-residential construction, so as to reduce competing demands for scarce building materials. But the seven weeks delay was fatal. Everybody and his cousin started to dig holes in the ground, both for residential and non-residential projects. More construction permits were issued in March than could possibly be supported by the expected production of building materials.

Moreover, once the order was issued, it was discovered that it did not limit non-residential construction. Race tracks and beer parlors continued to go up at a rapid rate. In April over \$600 million of non-residential construction was authorized. And in May non-residential construction approvals reached a peak of almost \$700 million. Authorizations were cut back sharply at the end of May, and further reduced in September, but it was like locking the barn door after the horse had been stolen. The huge volume of non-residential starts in March, April and May consumed the critical building materials that could have completed thousands of houses in the latter half of 1946.

Part of the explanation for the delay in the issuance of VHP-1 and other vital orders is to be found in Wyatt's inexperience in dealing with the Washington bureaucracy. The major factor, however, was the fact that the Wyatt program was sabotaged by other departments within the government.

The success of Wyatt's activities as Expediter clearly rested on the cooperation that he could obtain from the Civilian Production Administration, War Assets Administration, Federal Housing Administration, Reconstruction Finance Corporation and other governmental agencies whose activities impinged upon the housing program. In recognition of this relationship, the Patman Act gave Wyatt directive powers over all government departments and agencies. In fact, no other official in the history of this country, with the exception of the President in wartime, has ever had the powers that were given to Wilson Wyatt.

Starting off with two strikes against him because of the failure to limit non-residential construction and the rapid draining of materials pipelines, Wyatt attempted to give

(Continued on page 5)

TROTSKYIST LEADERS IN INDO-CHINA ARE VICTIMS OF GPU!

Special to LABOR ACTION
PARIS, January 20—According to reliable information received in socialist circles in this city, the entire leadership of the Trotskyist movement of Indo-China has been murdered by the Stalinists. Details are not yet available, but will be sent to LABOR ACTION as soon as they are.

A JUNIOR PARTNER

In those colonies where there had not been open rebellion (India, Ceylon, Egypt, etc.), the imperialist power entered into negotiations with the conservative nationalist movements. The pattern was the same everywhere—an effort to make a "deal," by which imperialism gave up something to the native capitalists and feudalists, in exchange for the right to continue as ruler of the people. Expressed differently, imperialism offered to make the native capitalist class a junior partner.

Such is the character of the various agreements reached, or in process of being reached, in Indonesia (establishment of an Indonesian Republic within the Dutch Empire); in Egypt; in Indo-China at one period when

(Continued on page 6)

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

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Editorials

Labor Unity and Joint Action

The AFL has called upon the CIO to meet with it to discuss organic unity of organizations in order more effectively to stop the threat of the anti-labor drive. This was the AFL's answer to the proposal of Philip Murray, president of the CIO, on December 5, that the two labor organizations undertake "unified action" to combat what he called "a deliberate and monstrous movement under way to cripple, if not destroy, the labor movement of this country."

In its statement, the AFL Executive Council even announced the personnel for the subcommittee it had appointed to discuss the proposed merger with the CIO. This committee consists of John L. Lewis, William Green, George Meany, Daniel Tobin and William Hutcheson.

The issue of labor unity has been with us for a long time and has been a constant necessity for the American workers, even though for long stretches of time it was virtually impossible to achieve. Nonetheless, any possibility for uniting the American labor movement on a democratic basis within which the advances of industrial unionism won by the CIO would be maintained, must be seized upon and explored to the full.

It may be said, as perhaps some CIO officials will say, that the present AFL offer is not seriously intended, that it is

merely a maneuver in order to cast upon the CIO the blame for the present state of division. That may be true or it may not. But we do believe that, maneuver or not, the CIO should call the AFL's bluff, if bluff it is, by appointing a committee of its own to initiate negotiations for unity.

At the same time, however—and on an immediate basis, even more important—it is necessary to press for joint action between the two labor organizations, AFL and CIO, to smash the anti-labor drive. Organic unity cannot be achieved overnight; there are many serious obstacles to overcome before it can be reached. And, though we believe that negotiations for such organic unity should be begun, we also believe that even more important is the immediate achievement of joint action—that is, cooperation on local and national levels between AFL and CIO to dismantle the labor-baiters. It would be tragic—as seems to be implied in the AFL letter to Murray—if immediate joint action were frustrated in the name of ultimate organic unity.

The unionists of both camps look to the leaderships for action against the anti-labor legislation. That is the prime and immediate necessity. Which is why the perfectly legitimate desire for organic unity should not be allowed to stand in the way of immediate joint action. Each in its place.

Twisting the Knife Again

The following news item appeared in the New York Post for January 28:

"Harold C. Hanover, State AFL representative, today described State Senator Bontecou, Republican, as a 'pawn in the hands of the enemies of labor' for introducing a bill today to outlaw the closed shop. The AFL supported Bontecou for re-election last November."

We don't know exactly what the Post had in mind when it printed this item, but it strikes us as the completely perfect comment on the kind of politics practiced today by the leadership of the American trade union movement. In fact, the item reads as if it were a set-up to demonstrate the futility of the policy of trade unions which support one or another of the capitalist parties in the elections and then find themselves repeatedly "betrayed" by the very men they helped get into office.

We are quite certain, too, that this sort of item could be duplicated throughout the

country—it is just in season. Around October of each election year, the season is ripe for "I'm-a-Friend-of-Labor" speeches which the politicians roll off their tongues as if they were born in a strike headquarters, raised on a picket line and spent their lives distributing union literature. That's when they need votes.

But around winter or spring of the following year, when these "friends of labor" have been elected and are beginning to twist the knife they're already plunging into labor's back, then it's the season for the union leaders to yell bloody murder. They've been "betrayed," you see.

Isn't it about time this sort of tragic farce were ended, once and for all? If labor stops giving its support to the two old capitalist parties, it won't have any occasion to be betrayed. If it builds its own independent party, it will be able to put forward its own program, run union militants for office and direct their course if they're elected.

Where Else Can You Read It?

We don't much believe in tooting our own horns on LABOR ACTION. Either our readers find the paper valuable and interesting, or they don't—and if they don't, nothing we can say will change things much. However, there comes a time in everyone's life... And this is such a time.

We were checking up the other day. In all modesty, we think that in the past few months LABOR ACTION has printed more and better material than any radical weekly in the country. For instance, we have had more information—some of it available nowhere else—on Indo-China than any other paper; some of our items on the role of the French Stalinists have been widely reprinted (if at times without credit!).

Our dispatches on Poland, especially those by A. Rudziński, have given a fuller picture of the situation in that country than any other English-language paper in this country.

Those who have followed Jack Ranger's

column have found material on American economy, skillfully presented, that would take a long time to collect.

And to cite another example, the recent analysis of the split in the Italian Socialist Party by Saul Berg and Jack Arthurson have been more informative and authoritative than anything in the American press. And there've been other such pieces in the paper—for instance, this week's full exposé of veterans' housing.

Now, as we've said, we've not tooted our horn much—perhaps not enough. But we do want to say to our regular readers that they have an excellent opportunity to help maintain the eight-page paper which has made this wide coverage possible. We're starting a brief, modest subscription campaign on March 1. A mere 2,000 subs; a drop in the bucket.

If each of our regular subscribers sent in just ONE six-month, 50-cent sub, they'd help insure the maintenance of the eight-page. A mere drop in the bucket, we said? Yes, but don't forget to drop it in!

International Socialist Notes

A split is in the making in the Mexican oilworkers union (STPRM). Six sections of the union representing about 5,000 workers walked out of the special convention held in the middle of January. Spokesmen for the groups asserted that the convention was not being run on a democratic basis. These sections, comprising 20 per cent of the union membership, could not get any representation on the newly elected executive committee of the union.

The dissident groups complained that the leaders had "seized control" and that the discussion at the convention had gone far beyond the purposes for which it was called. This extraordinary convention was convoked supposedly to elect a new executive committee and president, and also to outline a program of militant action against the government anti-union offensive. In reality, it was converted into an arena of struggle between two sections of the leadership seeking control of the union's vote in the executive committee of the parent national federation, the CTM.

A convention of the CTM is scheduled for early February and a fierce struggle is going on between the Stalinist "ins" and the bureaucratic non-Stalinist "outs" for the lucrative post of CTM president now held by Lombardo Toledano's mouthpiece, Fidel Valesquez. Faced with a revolt from the oilworkers rank and file the two cliques united hastily to elect a compromise president and executive committee in the oilworkers union.

The new leadership is neither new nor militant. It will follow the line laid down by the Stalinist "theoretical," Lombardo Toledano, who is

Special to LABOR ACTION

PARIS, January 20—Pierre Conte, member of the PCI, French Fourth Internationalist party, has at last been released from jail after being held since the PCI demonstration some weeks back which protested the French policy in Indo-China. He has been given "provisional liberty" pending his trial. In the meantime, a meeting protesting his arrest was broken up by the police, as was the original rally on Indo-China.

the real power in the CTM. The line laid down by Toledano is worth quoting. It was delivered by him at a conference of CTM and other labor leaders held at the end of December, 1946, to decide on what attitude the CTM ought to take toward the Mexican government at that time engaged in smashing a national oilworkers strike. Here is what Toledano said:

"It ought to be remembered that a political line exists which was formulated by the workers' movement, supporting the candidacy of Miguel Aleman for President, and today supporting his government. Did the strike of the oil workers violate this line? The conclusion is, it did. The worker-employer agreement and the political considerations that the workers movement formulated during the recent Presidential campaign impose on the workers the obligation of cooperating, although cautiously and alertly, with those sectors—public and private—who are concerned with the material progress of Mexico. Such is the essential content of

national unity." (Hispano-Americano, January 3, 1947.)

Such is the content of the Stalinist betrayal of the Mexican working class.

PROTEST AGAINST RISING LIVING COSTS IN CUBA

Forty thousand Cuban workers held a three-hour demonstration against the high cost of living and the black market before the Presidential palace in Havana on January 21. When President Grau San Martin tried to address the workers from a balcony of the Presidential palace, they drowned him out with their angry slogans, "We want more meat," "We want more food." After repeated unsuccessful attempts to get a hearing, Martin was forced to withdraw.

On the balcony with Grau San Martin was the Stalinist secretary-general of the Cuban Federation of Labor, Lazaro Pena. Pena assured San Martin that the demonstration was no "communist attack" on private property, but a protest against the high cost of living. Needless to say, the Stalinists helped Grau San Martin to power and were given control of the trade unions which they run with an iron hand. They have kept the workers from striking for adequate wage increases to keep up with the skyrocketing price-rises. The Stalinist game has been to have Grau San Martin grant trifling wage increases. So great, however, is the discontent of the workers with San Martin's régime that the Stalinists had to put on a show of militancy and organized the demonstration.

RELIGION:

A Former Marxist Runs To Supernatural Cover

By IRVING HOWE

Readers familiar with the American radical movement will remember Will Herberg. During its short-lived existence, the Lovestone group (the "right" Communists) found in Herberg one of its theoreticians. As such he was noted for a certain intellectual nimbleness, if not profundity.

When the Lovestone group committed suicide at the beginning of the war by a mass dissolution, virtually all of its people retired from socialism entirely. Many of them discovered that life as an appointed official of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union could be quite comfortable, and since the Social Democratic leadership of that union has a liking for ex-revolutionists cynical enough to work in his hire, it found jobs for the Lovestonites. For an EX-revolutionist, it can always find a job.

Herberg maintained his quiet existence as a minor bureaucrat until recently, when he resumed literary activity. He gravitated, naturally enough, to Dwight Macdonald's Politics, where he participated in that magazine's massed flight from revolutionary socialism with an essay urging the substitution of religious values for science. And now he has come out with a full-fledged statement, "From Marxism to Judaism" (Commentary, January, 1947).

The title tells the story perfectly, and it is such a truly pitiful—I mean that, literally: truly pitiful—performance that it might be charitable to pass the article by in silence. Yet if only by its embarrassing extremity, it should provide a sobering check for those intellectuals toying, in one way or another, with religious conceptions. For Herberg's article reads as if deliberately written to provide an illustration for John Dewey's attack on the modern flight from science and reason, and as a contemporary instance of a perennial phenomenon in periods of political reaction. Who, familiar with the history of the socialist movement, can read this frank call for supernatural values without remembering the "God Seekers" who, after the defeat of the 1905 Russian Revolution, abandoned socialist politics and went off in search of absolute Godliness?

How else is one to explain such atavistic nonsense as Herberg's declaration that "the affirmation of freedom of the individual person can be grounded in nothing less ultimate than the belief that he is created in the image of God"? This is the final, wretched, pitiful instance of the intellectual's retreat; and if we note the moral, believe us that it is not to crow, but rather to point to this caricature of the trend in order to make clearer its meaning.

"Socialism" in Great Britain

By STANLEY GREY

The British Labor Government, in theory, favors socialism. Any doubt on that score, its supporters tell us, can be erased by examining its program, which is four-square against free enterprise, and by reading the speeches of its leaders before they came to power. If the stubborn skeptic asks why the British government continues capitalist imperialist policies in Greece, Palestine and India; why the nationalization of industries (the slow, polite, respectable nationalization) is carried out to such advantage to the capitalists; why the old capitalist class still has a powerful stronghold in the running of the government by its retention of offices in the state civil service and in the management boards of the nationalized industries; why, in a word—this socialist government is acting in so anti-socialist a fashion—the reply would be that life is complicated, socialism a slow process of evolution, and rapid measures of real socialization would only lead to a prison society in the Russian style. Thus do the mouths of the Labor Party talk socialism while its hands build a society leagues removed from socialism.

It is because of this division of labor between hand and mouth that we can be grateful for a straightforward and simple declaration of policy by a leader in the British government. In a talk to Detroit labor leaders a few weeks ago, Patrick Gordon-Walker, parliamentary secretary to Herbert Morrison, described how nationalized industries are managed in Britain.

He said: "We haven't anything like 'workers' control' where the workers run an industry. As a matter of fact, we are against it." No diplomatic double-talk here; there is no workers' control simply because the government leaders do not believe in it. That is as clear as it is anti-socialist.

To be AGAINST workers' control of production and FOR socialism is a contradiction in terms, for it is workers' control which is the basis of the socialist economy. In analyzing the nature of an economy, the pivotal question is: who controls the means of production? The evils of capitalism are reducible to the fact that by virtue of their ownership of the means of production, the capitalists CONTROL production and operate it in the interests of greater profits with inevitable consequences of crises and wars. To wrest this control over production from the hands of the capitalists it is necessary to do away with the private ownership of the means of production which is the basis of their control.

But the socialist revolution wipes out private ownership, not for its own sake, or for the sake of nationalization in the abstract, but precisely for the purpose of transferring control of production from the hands of the capitalists to the hands of the workers. While nationalization provides the economic basis for socialism, it does not itself establish socialism. For between the end of capitalist control by nationalization and the institution of a socialist economy there is a tremendous gap. To establish socialism, this gap must be filled by exactly the factor that the British Labor Party leaders are against: workers' control of production. Any talk of socialism without workers' control is either to throw sand in the eyes of workers who want socialism or, as is the practice of the capitalist press, to exploit the weaknesses of a non-socialist nationalized economy for arguments against a real socialist economy. Neither the first can long appease the workers who will press inexorably for more control, nor will the latter long fool them as capitalism continues to break its neck on its own contradictions.



MARXISM IN THE UNITED STATES, by Leon Trotsky. Introduction by Albert Gates, 44 pages; Workers Party Publications, New York.

Workers Party Publications—through the kind permission of Comrade Natalia Trotsky—has just published Trotsky's valuable and long-out-of-print essay on Marxism in the United States. The essay is now available for the first time in unabridged form. All the deletions made when the work was originally published as an introduction to The Living Thoughts of Karl Marx (published by Longmans, Green & Co. in 1939) have now been reinserted, together with a brief introduction that summarizes its significance for America today.

The essay falls into two sections. Part One is a lucid statement of the general social, economic and political tenets of Marx, and their applicability to the modern world. Written in the clear and unambiguous style that Trotsky so successfully employed in the exposition of popular Marxist conceptions, it is a summation of the Marxist methodology, the basic economic laws of Marxism as applied to capitalist economy, and a polemical retort to those who question the validity and the practical "working out" of these laws. In this respect, it is reminiscent of Trotsky's famous essay on the 90th anniversary of the writing of the Communist Manifesto. Throughout the work, the correctness of Marxist doctrine is reinforced by wide references to the facts and statistics of American social and economic life, revealing the close attention Trotsky paid to America and his broad knowledge of this country's development.

The second half of Marxism in the United States is a historic analysis of the Roosevelt New Deal, viewed as a stage in the development of American monopolist capitalism. Familiar figures (Wallace, Roosevelt, Ickes, etc.) appear before the reader,

advancing their arguments in favor of New Dealism and capitalism, and then—with analytical precision and facts—are replied to by Trotsky.

NATURE OF U. S. CAPITALISM

The essential characteristics of American capitalism, its sources of power and mobility, its contradictions and its contrasts with other capitalist nations, are probed by the author. Altogether, this section makes fascinating reading as an analysis in retrospect of a significant period of American life. If the first part of this work may be described as a classic restatement of Marxist social thought, this part may be described as the concrete application of that thought to the life-stream of American capitalism. The reader is, again, amazed by Trotsky's close knowledge of American history and development.

An interesting section of the pamphlet, and one no doubt that will be subject to discussion and controversial issue, is that part dealing with "the inevitability of socialism," an issue long in dispute among Marxist theoreticians. Without entering into this matter during a brief review, it is worth quoting Trotsky's clear position:

"The lucubrations of certain intellectuals on the theme that, regardless of Marx's teaching, socialism is not INEVITABLE but merely POSSIBLE, are devoid of any content whatsoever. Obviously, Marx did not imply that socialism would come about without man's volition and action: any such idea is simply an absurdity. Marx foretold that out of the economic collapse in which the development of capitalism must inevitably culminate—there can be no other way out except socialization of the means of production. The productive forces need a new organizer and a new master, and since existence determines consciousness, Marx had no doubt that the working class, at the cost of errors and defeats, will come to understand the actual situation and, sooner or later, will draw the imperative practical conclusions." (Page 34—Trotsky's emphasis.)

Not only does Trotsky draw the conclusion, based upon his study of American economy internally and its external projection upon the world scene, that the laws of Marxism apply to the United States but that, in effect, they apply with almost classic clarity in any analysis of this country. To him, "it is clear that if the miracle of capitalism's rejuvenation could happen anywhere at all, it would be nowhere else but in the United States. Yet this rejuvenation was not achieved." (Pages 39-40.) From this, Trotsky draws the related conclusion that the future growth and radicalization of the American proletariat, as it draws the "imperative practical conclusions," is guaranteed. It is this thought that Albert Gates develops in his introduction to the pamphlet. There is little question that Trotsky looked upon the American proletariat as one of the mainstays for the future development of revolutionary socialism. The entire pamphlet abounds with his solid confi-

dence and grounded belief that the American working class will arise to the problems confronting it.

As a source work for provocative discussions and studies on many problems facing American workers, as well as American capitalism's relation to the world, Trotsky's essay has its greatest value. It deserves to be widely circulated and discussed.

BOOKS RECEIVED

ALMAYER'S FOLLY, by Joseph Conrad. Penguin Books, 25 cents.

This first novel of a great English writer is here reprinted in a cheap edition. It is set in the Dutch East Indies and interesting as the first attempt of the novelist to create a work of art.

AURIOL IS DARLING OF JESUITS AND OF STALINISTS

PARIS, Jan. 20—Vincent Aurioi, France's new Socialist President, has been installed at the Palais Elysee, right off the Avenue des Champs-Elysees, across the street from the former Columbia Red Cross Club, where American soldiers used to go to guzzle cokes.

A virtual outpouring of Aurioiana has flooded the Paris press, covering his career as a lawyer, his voting against Pétain, his flight to Britain to join de Gaulle, his right-wing socialist convictions.

One fact is not covered by the tales: In his home town of Toulouse, Socialist Aurioi has such a reputation as the most extreme right-wing candidate that on Election Day the Jesuit leaders vote for him.

On Election Day, they call the faithful to prayer for Aurioi's success. And in Jesuit style they remind the kneeling electorate that a vote for Aurioi is following the commandments of God.

With such powerful support from on high, and from slightly lower down, Aurioi has been a sure-fire winner for 25 years. No one in Toulouse has been able to beat an election combination of Aurioi, God and the Catholic Church.

A left-wing Toulouse Socialist who at Jesuit-led church ceremonies has been exhorted democratically, i.e., under pain of possible excommunication and certain damnation, to vote for right-wing Aurioi, points a little bitterly to the Stalinist writer, Florimond Bonté, who wrote in L'Humanité on January 17:

"The election of Vincent Aurioi to the highest French position must be considered as an important victory for democracy. It will mark a date in the history of France. All the intrigues of reaction will be foiled."

Not only the Jesuits but also the French CP voted for Aurioi. A true alliance of holy worthies.

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UAW Vet Conference Works Out Good Program But Restricts Its Actions to Mere Lobbying

By H. B. MASTERS

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Although a good program for veterans was adopted at the national conference of the United Automobile Workers-CIO veterans, attended by nearly 150 delegates, little was done to carry it out except to conduct a lobbying expedition to Capitol Hill.

Nevertheless, the conference took action on some vital matters facing the veterans, especially those in the UAW-CIO, and widespread repercussions may be expected.

The conference unanimously and vigorously protested the national CIO's "outstanding American" award to General Omar Bradley, because of his ruling against the right of GM veterans to obtain unemployment compensation during the strike, and for his cut in veterans' on-the-job subsistence. Emil Mazey, director of the UAW-CIO Veterans Department, previously explained why Bradley had not been invited to address the session. He outlined in detail the case against General Bradley.

A proposal to have the UAW-CIO Veterans Department initiate a march on Washington to get action on the housing and bonus program failed to carry by a small margin, although the Resolutions Committee endorsed the idea.

URGE RENT STRIKES

The danger that rents were to be raised brought an immediate response from the conference, which voted to call on all local veterans' committees to organize tenant councils for a rent strike if any increase was made.

The UAW-CIO proposal for a "wage adjustment" of \$3.00 a day for every day in the States, and \$4.00 a day for every day overseas for the veterans was reaffirmed unanimously, with a provision that "the source of revenue for payment of veterans' back wages be the fabulous war profits of the big corporations, and the huge fortunes of America's Sixty Families."

Two special resolutions on racial discrimination were adopted. One called for enactment of a federal FEPC, and the other denounced Jim Crow as practiced in Washington against some of the delegates.

The liveliest debate centered around two major organizational proposals on veterans' work.

From the Stalinist-controlled Local 155 came a resolution calling for state-wide conferences of veterans to be directed by Philip Murray, while the Resolutions Committee advocated that the national CIO "request all international unions and local unions to set up veterans' committees and a functioning veterans' department to coordinate our common fight for the veterans in the shops on the basis of the program adopted by the CIO."

The Resolutions Committee spokesman explained that "spadework of this kind was necessary before any state conferences would have real meaning." Of course, the proposals are not mutually exclusive, but it seemed that both the Stalinist clique at the conference and the supporters of Emil Mazey were interested in a "test of strength." The recommendation of the Resolutions Committee was overwhelmingly adopted.

BEHIND-THE-SCENES FIGHT

The hot behind-the-scenes issue was the problem of the functioning of the Veterans Department and its previous reduction by the International Executive Board majority because it was under Mazey's control. Mazey is in the Reuther camp.

The resolution on this question charged that the national Veterans Department was "unwisely cut to one man, crippling its ability to service the local unions," and it called on the IEB to carry out the mandate of the 10th annual convention of the UAW-CIO, which says: "The IEB shall assign the Veterans Department such staff as is necessary to properly carry out its functions."

Richard Reisinger, IEB member, and a George A. Aides supporter, attacked the resolution. He repeated the old story about "let the regional directors handle this work." The Stalinist spokesmen hedged on the issue, knowing that the sentiment of the delegates was strongly in favor of a real functioning Veterans Department. The chairman of the Resolutions Committee, Jack Widick of Local 7, ended the debate with a vigorous speech urging the delegates to fight for a real functioning Veterans Department to coordinate national work, full time men in each region and committees in each local to carry out the job of integrating the veterans in the shops. It was reported that over 250,000 veterans are working in the auto industry. The resolution of the committee was adopted.

Although the conference was supposed to be limited strictly to veterans' problems—and the usual resolutions for cash for terminal pay, etc., were adopted—a good discussion on conscription and foreign policy developed when the committee introduced a resolution against compulsory military training and against the extension of the draft law.

Some delegates spoke for preparedness and in reality against the basic idea of the resolution. Then, an amendment was introduced from the floor, demanding that the veterans call on the United Nations to adopt this proposal as part of its "disarmament" program. The speaker stressed he was against conscriptions in all countries, not just the United States.

DISCUSS FOREIGN POLICY

The Stalinists seemed confused on what to do, for such an amendment is obviously directed against Russian military conscription as well as American conscription. They floundered around, and the resolution was amended carried overwhelmingly.

The conference denounced President Truman and Congress for the housing scandal, called the present housing program a joke, and demanded enactment of a new version of the Wagner-Elender-Taft bill immediately.

Before the conference began, the Stalinist press urged that it adopt a "program of action." However, at the conference, Irving Richter, UAW-CIO legislative representative, whom Reuther once tried to remove as a Stalinist henchman, merely urged a program of legislative lobbying.

The fact is that the conference did not answer the question asked, by some delegates: "How do we get this program carried out?" It turned down the march on Washington, and everyone appeared to feel the limitations of a merely lobbying campaign.

A Working Class Group Resists Stalinist Terror:

The Polish Independent Socialists

By A. RUDZIENSKI

January 10, 1947—In previous articles we informed our readers of the "expropriation" of the Polish Socialist Party by the Stalinists, who stole the name of the old and genuine socialist party, the title of its central organ "Robotnik" (Worker) and even the national congresses. This bureaucratic-totalitarian expropriation of a party and of the unions of the workers has no precedent in political history.

In spite of having GPU agents imposed as leaders of the expropriated party and in spite of having this organization dominated by police measures, the Polish workers did not submit. When the old genuine Polish Socialist Party was denied the right to legality, the militants and leaders of this party entered the Stalinist-dominated "Socialist Party" and began opposition work inside of it.

The regional congresses of the Socialist Party in the industrial districts opposed the totalitarian Stalinist policies, the persecution of the peasants, the elections "bloke" and demanded electoral freedom and the right of strikes and union organization for the workers. The representative of this tendency in the party's national council, Zulawski, protested against the Stalinist terror. The pressure of this group, supported by the working-class base of the party, caused a conflict between the Stalinist Party and the conciliatory Polish "Socialist Party," a conflict that threatened the basis and even the existence of the Stalinist regime in Poland. The quarrel was resolved in Moscow, under the personal auspices of the "great Stalin."

The results of this understanding are personal concessions to the Stalinist-reformist bureaucrats and a pact directed against the working class opposition. According to dispatches from PAT (Polish telegraphic agency in London), the socialist oppositionists within the legal Polish "Socialist Party" were excluded from it.

Still they did not submit. Zulawski and his comrades formed groups of independent socialists in various industrial districts of the country. His principal base is Cracow and the industrial region around Cracow, especially Chranow, an industrial city near Cracow, which manufactures locomotives. (Cracow is a traditional fortress of the Socialist Party.) The

The dispatches of A. Rudzinski, we believe, have been unrivalled in the American press for their presentation of the facts about Poland and their detailed examination of that nation's political life. While we do not necessarily agree with every formulation which they have contained, we believe that his dispatches have gone far to dispel the cloud of lies about the Stalinist claims to popular support in Poland. He has been the only correspondent who has offered detailed information and Marxist analysis of the anti-Stalinist struggle.

The article printed here provides information about the Polish underground. Contrary to the Stalinist attempt to smear all oppositionists in Poland as fascists, this article offers evidence that there is not one but many underground groups battling against the Stalinist terror in Poland; that there are socialist groups in opposition; that the underground as a whole is a bloc of heterogeneous groups whose common aim is the achievement of democratic rights. We have requested Rudzinski to write further on this subject and as soon as he does, we will print his dispatches.—Editor.

independent socialists formed an electoral bloc with the Mikolajczyk peasants in the spirit of the best traditions of the worker-peasant alliance in Poland. In Cracow the worker-peasant opposition slate was headed, not by Mikolajczyk, but by the socialist leader, Zulawski. Still other slates of the socialist-populist opposition bloc were circulated through Chranow, Chorzow (chemical industrial district), Radomsk (metallurgical manufacturing) and throughout the city of Warsaw.

The significance of this accomplishment is of enormous importance not merely for Poland but for the entire working class movement in the Russian zone. In none of the countries dominated by Russia—Yugoslavia, Rumania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia or Hungary—has anyone dared to attack the Stalinist regime so strongly as has the Polish opposition. In all of these countries the socialists remain, in greater or lesser degree, submissive to Stalinism.

FORM OPEN OPPOSITION

Only in Poland, after two years of terror, persecution, imprisonment, shootings and deportations, do the workers openly dare to oppose Stalinism, to form an independent socialist party of opposition and to ally themselves with the peasant opposition against the governmental bloc in the elections.

We have no illusions about the electoral results. According to the declarations of Mikolajczyk, 50,000 members of his party were jailed. In its best days, the illegal Peasants Party had 20,000 militants. The imprisonment of 50,000 populist mili-

people hate the Stalinist occupiers like a plague, they do not intend to shed their blood in behalf of the Anglo-American imperialists nor to pull their chestnuts out of the Russian fire for them. The Polish people will take advantage of the Anglo-American pressure against Russia to win a certain margin of political and economic freedom from Stalinist totalitarianism, without losing sight of the British betrayal in 1939 when the Polish people were left to their own fate, nor the miserable betrayal of the Warsaw insurrection of 1944, which was handed over to Hitler and Stalin by the Western imperialists.

Nor will the Polish workers and peasants forget this election easily, even though the proverb says that in Poland memory does not exist.

The proletariat of Poland and the poor and rebellious peasants, however much they hate Russian imperialists, do not want a new war and do not want to be used as a spearhead of American imperialism. The Polish proletariat, in alliance with the radical peasants, is fighting for a socialist Poland, for a socialist Europe without spheres of influence and imperialist zones.

The formation of the independent socialist party and the worker-peasant bloc openly opposed to Stalinism, demonstrates the sound class instinct of the Polish proletariat, its enormous revolutionary dynamism and its inexhaustible capacity for resistance. Even if this movement is for the moment led by political centrists, it merits the warmest support from the international proletariat because its social and political implications are revolutionary.

INTER-IMPERIALIST CONFLICTS

The governments of Great Britain and the United States are attempting to utilize the Polish situation. The "Western Allies" who sold out at Yalta and Potsdam in total disregard of the Polish resistance which menaced their imperialist rule, are today attempting to foment a civil war in Poland. But if the Polish

Veterans Housing - -

(Continued from page 3)

the holder of an HH priority a preference for those materials that were essential to the construction of a house. But at the same time that Truman told Wyatt to go all-out for housing, he told CPA Administrator John D. Small to eliminate controls as rapidly as possible. The two horses rode off in opposite directions, necessitating impossible feats of balancing on the part of the rider. Nails provide a typical illustration of the difficulties encountered by Wyatt.

As early as April efforts were made to place nails on Priority Regulation 33, the key regulation establishing priorities for building materials. But nails are made out of steel. Small used first the excuse of the steel strike and then the excuse of the coal strike to delay action. Naturally, the big steel companies, especially Bethlehem Steel, the chief producer of steel wire out of which nails are made, did not wish any further government "interference" in their business. Moreover, they were dissatisfied with the price they were allowed to charge for nails under the OPA regulation. Wyatt ordered OPA to raise the price of nails—in fact, he put through over '200 price increases on building materials in the space of about five months. Finally, early in August, nails were placed on PR-33 and Wyatt assuaged the feelings of the nail producers by instituting a premium payment plan so that nails became a very profitable business.

It is worth recalling the fact that the Patman Act, although it was passed somewhat belatedly on May 22 and not completely to Wyatt's satisfaction, was the only part of Truman's 1946 legislative program to be passed by Congress. Yet, in spite of legislative support, and in spite of the fact that in August and September Wyatt was successful in putting through a series of priority, allocation and other actions that did result in substantial increases in the output of building materials, the program collapsed with a resounding thud at the end of November. Why?

After a few days to digest the Republican landslide on November 5, the White House came to the conclusion that the war had come to an end and that all the controls associated with the war had to be scrapped immediately. Accordingly, OPA was

abolished. Since price ceilings on new homes were an important part of the Wyatt program, Truman asked Wyatt to submit a report on the future of the VEHP. This Wyatt did on November 20. Although the substance of the report leaked to the press, it was never published. Instead, Wyatt's resignation was demanded and received effective December 5. It is difficult to isolate the basic issues from the personal political conflicts that led to Wyatt's forced resignation, but this is essential if we are to understand precisely what happened and what is likely to happen in housing.

Although Wyatt stressed the importance of price control, he nevertheless was willing to continue after the demise of OPA. He did, however, plan to use the abolition of price ceilings as an excuse for scaling down his program. Above all, he emphasized the necessity for continuing wartime emergency powers. In addition, his suppressed program called for vigorous measures in support of rental housing. So far as the administration is concerned, the issue was not one of fundamental objectives, but of methods. There was a basic conflict between Wyatt's attempt to use emergency powers and the administration's realization that this was impossible after the elections. It was on the shoals of this contradiction that the Wyatt program foundered.

There were many contributing factors, to be sure, such as the effective but quiet sabotage of Foley who saw to it that HH priorities were over-issued in the spring and summer of 1946, thus inflating the demands for building materials and bringing the full wrath of the pressure groups down on Wyatt's head. There was also Wyatt's own initial reluctance to strike out boldly in the direction of energetic measures to support rental housing and low-cost industrialized housing, the two crying needs. Instead, Wyatt played ball with the home builders and in the end was knifed by them for his pains. In fact, whether it was conscious or not on Wyatt's part, his whole handling of the Lustron case gives the appearance of having forced this issue to an all-or-nothing conclusion so that he could resign before his political prestige was shattered.

(To be continued)

Hollywood Rewrites Spanish Inquisition

Day in and day out, American capitalist society is re-writing the entire history of the human race. In some instances, this process is being carried on with a disregard of the truth that can match any of Stalin's perversions of history. In the case of Hollywood films, the corrupt revision of history is carried on without the slightest apology. This form of corruption has, in fact, become so commonplace that it is accepted without comment.

The degree to which open lying has been carried is well illustrated in a Hollywood dispatch to *The New York Times*, sent by Thomas F. Brady, and printed in the Drama Section of that paper on December 15th, 1946. This dispatch deserves to be quoted in full:

"The screen adaptation of 'Captain from Castile,' Samuel Shella-barger's novel of the conquest of Mexico, which Twentieth Century-Fox bought in 1944 for \$100,000, has presented something of a problem because the major villain in the novel, Father De Lora, is a cruel and corrupt priest of the Spanish Inquisition.

"According to the Rev. John J. Devlin, pastor of St. Victor's Roman Catholic Church in Los Angeles, Hollywood representative of the Legion of Decency, and adviser to the Producers' Association on matters religious, the studio was warned at the time the novel was purchased that it was not acceptable to the church. A major objection was that Shella-barger depicted the inquisition as 'witch-baiting' and overlooked the fact that the inquisition, from the orthodox point of view, aimed itself at the crypto-Jews, who became Catholic converts for the purpose of subverting Catholic thought, Father Devlin explained.

"Lamar Trotti, adaptor of the novel and producer of the picture, declined last week to discuss the problem with this department. Father Devlin said, however, that he had discussed the matter with the studio in an interview and subsequently found the third script on the picture acceptable from his point of view.

"The treatment of the inquisition has been toned down very much, indeed," he explained. "Father De Lora appears very briefly and is no longer shown to be cruel. A bribe which the inquisitor took in the novel is explained as an outright gift to the church in the scenario. Altogether, the inquisition is touched on only briefly and fleetingly."

During the war, Mr. Darryl F. Zanuck of Twentieth Century-Fox, made speeches in which he said that at long last, Hollywood had discovered the facts of life, and that it was now going to produce films which educated as well as entertained. Here is a sample of post-war education and entertainment. It is a commonly known historic fact that the Spanish Inquisition was both merciless and corrupt, and that it not only tortured and put infidels to death, but that, also, it threatened to persecute as a means of extortion.

The corruption and graft which the clergy managed to collect because of the Inquisition is fabulous. This story is told in the three volume *History of the Inquisition of Spain* by the great American scholar, Henry Charles Lea. His work is documented from original sources. These sources are Catholic: they are not products of the pens of "crypto-Jews."

But what is the truth when we are concerned with matters such as these? And what is anti-Semitism when the interests of the Roman Catholic Church are involved?

For decades, bourgeois scholars have attacked the Marxists on the ground that they have a polemical point of view which leads them to approach history from the standpoint of the special pleader. Yet the most influential mass art of our time openly admits that it indulges in the most bold-faced distortions of history, and that it will try to gain hundreds of thousands of dollars from productions which contain these lies.

The clergyman who has demanded distortion will comment on his victory in the press. The producer and writer, and the studio, which have bowed to this pressure have no comment to make. The film will not be written and produced according to all of the specifications of the Production Code. The Production Code is an instrumentality for preserving decency in the film.

All of this is decency in the year 1946.

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

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

VIII. For Full Economic and Educational Opportunities for Veterans

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

IX. For Peace and Freedom

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

X. For an Independent Labor Party and a Workers Government

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

FOR A SOCIALIST AMERICA AND PLENTY FOR ALL!

The Labor Action Sunday Forum:

EMANUEL GARRETT

Editor of Labor Action

Russia and the Nature of Stalinism
February 9 8:30 P. M.

DR. OSCAR TROPP

Practicing Psychiatrist

Social Implications of Psychoanalysis
February 16 8:30 P. M.

HENRY JUDD

Author of "Revolt in India"

"The Next Stage in India"
February 23 8:30 P. M.

Admission: 50 Cents — Series of Four: \$1.50

ALL LECTURES AT 114 WEST 14TH STREET, NEW YORK CITY

Despite the Current Myth, He Was Not a "Respectable" Liberal

Carlo Tresca: The Life of a Rebel

By EMANUEL GARRETT

Four years ago, in the month of January, Carlo Tresca was murdered on the streets of New York. Since then we have published regularly reports of the activity of a committee established to press for an investigation of his murder. Norman Thomas is chairman of the committee which, quite properly, includes people of many different political hues, united on the single point of ferreting out the fascist thugs who killed Tresca. It is more than proper that these people, an ex-judge, Dorothy Kenyon, various union officials, etc., should be on the committee; it is their duty. However, in reflecting on the activity and publicity releases of the committee, and reviewing the speakers and speeches at the Tresca Memorial Meeting, we feel it necessary to say something about the man and the FALSE legend that is growing up around him. And we feel that were Carlo alive today, he would be the first to protest with us.

Carlo Tresca, above all else, was a rebel! And as a rebel he was a man of rare attainment and courage. Though our political views differed widely, we are proud to number him among our heroes; for he was forged out of the steel that makes revolutionists. But in violation of everything that Tresca stood for, an image of Tresca is developing as a pink-tea anti-totalitarian, a lovable, genial character, and nothing more. To be sure, Tresca was lovable. Few came near him who did not feel the warmth of his devotion to the ideals of liberty, of his love for humanity, of his contemptuous disregard for the conventions of this bigoted, oppressive society we live in. All that is true, but there was far more to the man and rebel. He was indeed an anti-totalitarian, but we would prefer seeing him described for what he really was: an anarchist-syndicalist.

It reflects poorly on the man to hide his political philosophy behind vague and pale generalizations. We differed with him, but we respected his convictions as he respected ours. The more so because Tresca was not a dilettante anarchist, idling away his hours in futile talk at a bohemian tea shop. For years, the press referred to him as "Tresca the Troublemaker." And the capitalist press, which despised and feared him, was right to this extent: where there was trouble, where a man of courage was needed, Tresca was there. We well remember how Tresca laughed at the "bomb plots" the police were always involving him in, how at meetings he would tell the story of his many arrests, his clashes with the respectable powers that be, proud that the enemy knew him as an implacable fighter.

A REBEL FROM HIS YOUTH

Born in Sulmona, Italy, Tresca organized in his youth the first Socialist Party in that city. At the age of twenty-two he was secretary of the Italian Railroad Workers Union, indicted for "libelling" some big-wig, Tresca was sentenced to

six years' imprisonment. Having forgotten to file an appeal, with characteristic contempt for the judiciary, Tresca fled Italy and eventually came to the United States. From the day he arrived, he was up to his neck in the struggles of the American working class, and his name is linked with unforgettable pages of our history. In this country, he was arrested at least 36 times, tried by jury seven times on accusations ranging from shouting "Viva Socialismo" in a cop's face to sedition. During the famous Paterson silk-strike alone he was arrested seven times, tried by jury three times and held in \$30,000 bail. Paterson, Lawrence, Pittsburgh, Mesabi Range, and in others too numerous to list—in every one of the battles which marked the first decades of this century, Tresca was organizer, speaker, fearless fighter. Where Tresca was needed he went, summoned to this trouble and to that one by Vincent St. John, the great leader of the Industrial Workers of the World.

In a pen sketch of Tresca, Max Eastman tells a story about Tresca and the "Socialist," Jacob Panken (who later became a judge) in the hotel strike of 1913. The strike was a difficult one. At one strike meeting, Panken, who loved flowery oratory, was haranguing the strikers with the admonition to settle their grievances at election time. When Panken finished, Tresca moved to the front with slow and dignified calm, mounted the platform, and in the English that he refused to master, fired the audience to cheers with the simple speech that began with these words: "Fellow workers, a strike, dat is not a course of lectures—dat is a fight." Panken, so far as we know, was not at the Memorial Meeting, but others like him, and we repeat altogether justly, were there. It is worth musing on what the Tresca of Paterson and the hotel strike and a host of bitter battles would have said had he been able to speak.

HOW CARLO TRESCA FOUGHT THE FASCISTS

At this meeting, many tributes were paid to Tresca as an anti-totalitarian, a tireless foe of fascism. It is a pity that Tresca could not address some of the speakers who believe that the best way to fight fascism is to ignore it, to let the fascists hold their meetings uninterrupted. While Tresca was alive, Mussolini's Black Shirts in this country scarcely dared hold a meeting in New York. One of our comrades who was with Tresca at the time, tells of an occasion when Tresca went to a small coal town in Pennsylvania, predominantly Italian in population, where the Black Shirts had severely beaten a miner. Tresca called a meeting at which every last Italian coal miner was present. He publicly asked the fascists to come, and prepared the miners, who truly loved him, to receive them. The Black Shirts came, and Tresca defied them to start something, taunted them, asked them if they were brave men only when ranked as a gang against one man. While the audience cheered, the Black Shirts slunk out

and never again dared raise their ugly heads in that town.

Many times Tresca risked death. He was shot at countless times and Mussolini's forces tried repeatedly to kill him, until a bullet did finally lay him low on Fifth Avenue. Tresca scorned them, defied them, challenged them in the open. And not only the Black Shirts. Deputy Sheriffs, armed vigilante bands many times threatened him. Once in Grand Rapids, Minn., during the Mesabi Range strike, he was ordered out of town by an armed band of deputy sheriffs. He left town in a car with some companions, followed by five carloads of deputy sheriffs. At the next town, the streets were filled with deputy sheriffs and respectable citizens armed to the teeth. It looked like a lynching party. Tresca refused to permit his companions to risk their lives. He halted the car and calmly, slowly walked down the main street. The stunned sheriffs did nothing.

HIS RELATIONS WITH THE TROTSKYISTS

It is possible to tell endless tales of Tresca the rebel. We remember his speeches at the time of the Sacco-Vanzetti case. Delivered in Italian, it did not matter if he did not understand the language. The fire in them spoke clearly the rebel's call to fight. And we remember too the many times that Tresca came to Trotskyist meetings in this country, to defend them against Stalinist attacks, to join with us in whatever was the action at hand.

Tresca was available for Trotskyist meetings when we needed him, because, whatever our differences, he respected us as we respected him: as rebels!

We record with particular gratitude and pride Tresca's work on the Dewey Commission to investigate the charges against Leon Trotsky. He could not be intimidated by the Stalinist gangsters any more than he could be by Mussolini gangsters. When asked to serve, Tresca did not hesitate for a moment, and bent his efforts to organizing the Commission and getting its work started. It was one of the last great acts in the life of this rebel.

Tresca is dead now. Every effort must be expended to press the investigation of his murder, and to involve in this work every human being in whom there still beats a spark of decency. At the same time, we think it important to keep his memory clean and sharp. Something of the same is now happening to Carlo Tresca happened to Gene Debs. Over the years, the great rebel Debs has been prettified into a sanctimonious, if lovable, spineless, if benign, plaster-sainted liberal. Debs and Tresca were indeed wonderful human beings in the fullest sense of the word. It is disheartening to see the Gene Debs of the Pullman strike, of the Canton speech, in which he spat defiance at the warmakers and slaveholders of the world, to see this Gene Debs depicted with the pink water-coloring of genial liberalism. Equally with Tresca! Let us remember the man as he was: A REBEL!

Colonial Imperialism and Some Political Concessions - -

(Continued from page 3)

The Viet Nam government was recognized; in India and Burma, where efforts are still going on. These agreements are far short of—in fact, have nothing in common with—real independence. They are structural changes in the previous setup, new arrangements due to a change in the relationship of forces. Imperialism can no longer exist without finding solid and loyal supporters among the colonial bourgeois elements. It must pay a price for this, however.

Thus, the nationalist movements came to a halt under their conservative, capitalist leadership while lengthy negotiations went on. Under cover of these negotiations, efforts were made to destroy the radical wing of the nationalist movements—to drive out the revolutionists and those who wanted to continue the struggle to the end. Men like the Javanese revolutionist Tan Malaka were jailed; the Indo-Chinese bolshevik leader Ta-Thu-Thau was murdered. But, of course, the movement could not be halted so easily, since its momentum and its inner forces were powerful. The present rebellion in Indo-China, in this sense, is probably the beginning of a new stage of militancy and revolutionary activity.

AGREEMENTS UNWORKABLE

In Indo-China, an agreement had been made. But the Viet Nam government found it could not halt at this point, that it must carry on the fight for the right of the people in Cochinchina to join up with Viet Nam, a right that had been promised by the French. By the same token, French imperialism found that because it had yielded a hand, after sharp fighting, an entire arm was now being demanded. It is safe to predict that none of the other agreements arrived at will have any durability; all will prove unworkable in practice because the dynamics of the forces involved are too powerful to be contained by any "deal." Likewise, those colonies that have not yet had open rebellions will find themselves inevitably forced to take that path, if they are to gain their freedom. Imperialism has had its day. The questions is—what shall replace it?

If imperialism is to have its way, then a modified form of the old colo-

onial system will be created: a neo-colonial system under which the old imperialist master remains in control, but gives an increased share of power and profits to the native reactionary classes.

ROLE OF COLONIAL WORKERS

But if the masses of colonial peoples are to have their way, then we shall witness an increased tempo in both the scope and rate of the colonial movements of revolt, leading finally to the achievement of complete freedom from any type or form of imperialism. The primary meaning of the events of the past two years, in the colonial world, is the reinforcement and vindication of the Fourth Internationalist idea that ONLY the colonial working class, together with the masses of poor peasants who are united together under the leadership of a revolutionary po-

litical organization, can achieve even the democratic revolution. The growth of the Fourth Internationalist parties in India, China, Indo-China, Ceylon, etc., is essential for this.

The democratic revolution in the colonies means the winning of national independence. But the "democratic" bourgeois leaders (Nehru, Gandhi, Soekarno of Java, Ho Chi Minh of Indo-China, etc.) have shown again they cannot accomplish this. The winning of national freedom—the ending of colonialism of the old and new type—depends entirely upon the revolutionary activity of the workers and peasants. The next stage in the evolution of the colonial world will see the transformation of the struggles, after many difficult obstacles are overcome, into broad and even more popular struggles, national and social in character.

FRENCH RULE IN INDO-CHINA HAS BROUGHT ONLY EXPLOITATION AND ILLITERACY

By R. VALENSI

A jail for every thousand inhabitants, a school for every 3,245 (statistics of the Office of Public Education).

There's something to counteract a little the smiling vision of the civilizing mission of the "mother country" in Indo-China. Documentaries issued in France on the possessions abroad invariably show us very proper classrooms where teachers are telling attentive little natives that their colonizers are the descendants of the Gauls.

The truth is that after nearly 70 years of French imperialism's "civilizing" in Indo-China, 80 per cent of the population is illiterate. The existing schools, showplaces for tours of inspection of high functionaries and cinema depiction, are designed to create docile pariahs.

The "civilizing presence" of France in Indo-China, to employ the formula of the MRPist, Montell, was characterized by a political program of obscurantism and intoxication of the native masses, among whom the colonialists were more preoccupied with the distribution of opium and

alcohol than the benefits of education.

The struggle that Viet Nam has conducted since August 19, 1945 (date of the Viet Namese insurrection), against illiteracy is absolutely remarkable and attests to the potentialities of this people, whom the reactionary press want to represent as incapable of governing themselves.

In September, 1945, two decrees of the Viet Nam government instituted popular education.

The first decree decided to create throughout the territory of Viet Nam popular night schools for parents and workers. Within six months, each village and city was obligated to have founded at least a class of thirty students.

The second decree instituted instruction in "Quoc-Ngu" (the national language), compulsory, free and universal. In one year, all Viet Namese from eight years of age up were to know how to read and write Quoc-Ngu. After this length of time, any Viet Namese still illiterate would be punishable by a fine.

Four month sessions were set up to turn out teachers; each student upon finishing had to form a committee in charge of popular education in his province and educate other supervisors. Classes were held in the open air, and under market awnings. They sat on wooden planks and wrote with manioc roods instead of pencils.

The students willingly organized the courses, and the entire intellectual elite of Viet Nam provided considerable effort in the struggle against illiteracy. The results were stupefying. In September, 1946, after one year of popular education, regions where the percentage of illiterates was 80 per cent no longer had more than 25 to 30 per cent. In six months Viet Nam obtained better results than the "Association for the Spreading of Quoc-Ngu," created in 1938, had achieved under French rule in seven years. This gives us an idea of the perspectives that open up before colonial peoples who free themselves from the imperialist yoke.

Through the struggle that Viet Nam had led against famine and against illiteracy, those two evils perpetuated by French imperialism, we can understand the energy with which the people of Viet Nam fight for their independence. They know what they have to defend.—(From La Verité, organ of the French Parti Communiste Internationaliste.)

N. Y. LABOR ACTION SCHOOL OPENS NEW SERIES OF CLASSES

Continuing its plan of providing for the varied interests of people in the labor and socialist movement, Labor Action School has arranged four new courses and a new series of Sunday evening lectures, in the second eight-week term beginning on January 28.

All new classes will be held on Friday evenings.

Widespread interest has been expressed in Jack Weber's course in American History, a condensed Marxist study of the period from colonial days through the Civil War.

Of outstanding importance to active trade unionists is The Labor Movement Today, a course given by E. R. McKinney, national secretary of the Workers Party.

The many persons who have expressed a desire to begin a systematic study of Marxian economics will find Reva Craine's class on the Fundamentals of Marxian Economics designed to meet their demands.

The large enrollment of students in the first part of the three-term course on the Development of the Socialist Movement is expected to be further increased in the second term. The second part, "The Rise of the Second International and the Struggle for Revolutionary Marxism," will be given by Albert Gates, an editor of LABOR ACTION.

The Story of Jim Crow in Los Angeles - II

The following excerpt continues the publication in LABOR ACTION of an election campaign pamphlet published by the Los Angeles branch of the Workers Party. Its author is Hal Draper, candidate of the Workers Party for city councilman from the Seventh District of Los Angeles. We are publishing this pamphlet not only because of the material it contains on the Los Angeles situation, but also because its description and analysis of Jim Crow, as well as its program to fight Jim Crow, are of interest to readers throughout the country. Readers wishing to purchase copies of the pamphlet may do so by writing to the Workers Party, at 316½ W. Pico, Los Angeles.

The present drive to renew and extend restrictive covenants is not exactly a spontaneous movement by indignant house-holders. What are the forces behind them, seeking to line up white home-owners in a Jim Crow front?

In the first place, the banks and other lending institutions, anxious to preserve their investments on real estate loans. The Bank of America and the Security-First National Bank are prime movers but not the only ones. Their method is to refuse to finance loans unless the area is restricted, thus forcing action.

Second, the real estate boards, for similar reasons. The Southwest Realty Board, for example, has probably given the financial backing for every covenant organized in that district. Although the myth that Negro occupancy automatically lowers property values has been exploded by a survey of the National Association of Real Estate Boards in 147 cities, the real estate salesmen still like to use restriction as a selling point.

Third, the federal government, through the Federal Housing Authority, which acts in this respect as the executive committee of the real estate operators, but with the public's money. Besides guaranteeing loans on race-restricted property, the FHA has actually "recommended insertion of race restrictive covenants as a pre-condition for its guarantee of loans," reported Loren Miller of the NAACP to a national conference last May. Since that time the FHA has deleted this from its manual but it is still to be seen whether its local offices will change the actual practice.

From the USC to the KKK

Fourth, particular moneyed powers with vested interests. Last May the magazine Now lifted the lid on the drive for a restrictive covenant in the square mile area bounded by Washington Boulevard, Grand, Exposition and Vermont, in the heart of the city. This area contains a large amount of property tied up with investments of the University of Southern California and the Automobile Club of S. C. In addition, Chancellor KleinSmid of USC and the Doheny oil family have mansions here. These three powers were squarely behind the anti-Negro campaign. The Auto Club's legal department was handing out blank agreements and recruiting canvassers and admitted working in close collaboration with USC authorities. At USC, every fraternity and sorority had signed up, except a Jewish sorority.

The role of the USC deserves an extra word. While it has Negro students, its school of medicine rigidly excludes them; it has drawn the color line on the athletic field for 15 years; it uses a textbook on eugenics which preaches racism and Negro inferiority; its dormitories are Jim Crow. With all this, it is more distinguished for football teams than for education, in which its standing is notoriously low. And up to a recent revolt of its faculty (which was hushed up), its professors and instructors were being paid salaries which were among the lowest in the country. There's the combination: Jim Crow, poor education, economic exploitation and lots of rah rah—all in a university, mind you; not an ordinary sweatshop.

Getting back to covenants, we list fifthly—plain racketeering. A fly-by-nighter sets up as a realtor, circulates covenant agreements, and charges two to five dollars for the "privilege" of signing, to cover the legal processing. A number of race-baiting numbskulls can even be induced to do the actual work of canvassing for the "cause" while the operator collects the soft fees.

Sixth on the parade is—the Ku Klux Klan. The Klan revival in this state began last March with fiery crosses in Big Bear Valley and an American Legion meeting there where an avowed Klan spokesman, Rev. Swift, declared: "We intend to form restrictive covenants here and elsewhere in order to hold the line of pure Americanism." More on that later.

From finance capital to the underworld—that is where our list has brought us. And in such a set-up you can be sure that the capitalist politicians are not missing, although they are the bashful boys who don't like their faces to show in such goings-on. An exception is a gentleman named McIntyre Faries, who was the Southern California head of the campaign for Governor Warren's election. This "friend of the peep-ul" is one of the top leaders of the restrictive-covenant group in South Pasadena. To complete the circle, his law firm is also the counsel for the City Housing Authority in Los Angeles! Do you get the picture?

Old Jim Crow on the Job

But the expanding drive from within the bursting Negro community is making its way. In 1945 more lawsuits challenging restrictive covenants were filed by Negroes in this city than by Negroes in all the rest of the country. The Central Avenue district is moving west, to Broadway. The so-called Jefferson tract on the west side is moving east, to Vermont Avenue. Restrictive covenants are bulging at the seams.

As this is written, the possibility exists that the California Supreme Court may declare the race covenant unconstitutional and illegal, as it clearly is. If and when this occurs, the Jim Crow drive may be expected to shift from the "legal" instrument of segregation, the covenant, to a flare-up of racist violence and intimidation—encouraged by the money powers but carried out by such agencies as the Klan and local vigilante terrorists.

Such is the connection between "respectable" Jim Crow (as

practiced by the banks and real estate gougers) and race violence. The latter is brought to play when the other is knocked on the head. The fight will shift from the courts to the field of defense against terrorist gangs.

There is a "restrictive covenant" in the industrial plants too.

Last hired, first fired: as soon as the "war for democracy" and its labor shortage was over, the Jim Crow pattern began to snap back.

Partly, it was automatic, because Jim Crow creates a vicious circle. Being among the last hired, Negro workers were among the earliest laid off. Being given little opportunity for all-around training under conditions of war production and race prejudice, they were the more easily weeded out when industry could afford to pick and choose. Then the FEPC was killed in Congress by the Democratic-Republican coalition and all vestige of restraint was removed.

Or if it wasn't automatic, a shove was given. For example, at the local Todd shipyard in the month following V-J Day, Negro welders, especially women, were fired even against union seniority rules. This was done through the pretext of a welding re-test: the government's Navy inspectors cooperated by inspecting the color of the welder rather than the test-plate.

Here you have the reason why fully one-quarter of all job applicants were "non-white" at the U. S. Employment Service in Los Angeles as of last March. This is grossly out of proportion to their six per cent of the population. By now, the proportion of Negro unemployment is probably even higher.

The local USES acknowledges that their February survey "reveals a higher percentage of openly acknowledged discrimination than had ever been previously recorded." Nearly a third of the job orders in the manufacturing field excluded Negroes. Nearly a quarter of all job orders were discriminatory. This, mind you, counts only employers who put down their prejudice on paper and sign their names to it. The USES policy is to cooperate in such race discrimination as the agent for the employer.

The Negro worker is being pushed back into the economic blind alleys marked out for him by the economic rulers of our society!

All the jabberwocky that was handed out during the war about the "new freedom" or all four freedoms that would follow the defeat of fascist Germany is being exposed as the regular patriotic poppycock that is handed to oppressed people when their loyal services become necessary to tide the capitalist rulers over a crisis.

The attack on Jim Crow in jobs produced the drive for a state-wide Fair Employment Practices law. The reactionary state legislature turned it down several times. Was it just the bad, bad Republicans who blocked a state FEPC? No. The Negro assemblyman from the 62nd district, Gus Hawkins, openly laid the responsibility upon both the Democrats and Republicans (Los Angeles Sentinel, Feb. 21, 1946).

With the Workers Party

AKRON
Write to Box 221 for information.

BALTIMORE
Headquarters: 21 W. Preston St.
Meetings of the Socialist Youth League are held every Friday at 8 p.m. Public forums are held the second Friday of each month.

BUFFALO
HEADQUARTERS: 639 Main St.
Open meetings on Sunday evenings.

CHICAGO
LABOR ACTION, 1501 W. Madison, 2nd floor, Chicago 7.
Telephone—CHESAPEAKE 5798
Office hours: 3-5:30 p.m. daily, except Sundays, Tuesday and Wednesday evenings.
CLASSES—every Friday night at 8 o'clock on a series of Marxist classics. Led by Albert Goldman. First class begins Friday, January 10, on "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific."
FORUM—EVERY SUNDAY AT 3 P. M.
SOCIALIST YOUTH LEAGUE business meetings held every Sunday at 7:30. Forums held three times a month on Sundays at 8:30.
February 25: Lydia Bydell will speak on The Revolutionist as an Individual.
Class held every Thursday night on Fight for Socialism.

CLEVELAND
The Cleveland Branch of the Workers Party meets every Thursday at 8:00 p.m.
The Cleveland Branch of the Socialist Youth League meets every Tuesday.
Definite headquarters are not yet established for either of these meetings.
Youth socials are held every Friday or Saturday night.
For further information write Bernard Douglas, P. O. Box 1190, Station B, Cleveland, Ohio.

DETROIT
Headquarters: 6341 Gratiot, Rooms 9 and 10. Telephone: PLAZA 5559.
Write or phone for information about the discussion group on "Stalinism."

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

LOUISVILLE
For other information regarding LABOR ACTION, New International and Workers Party—Write Robert Durant, Box 1181, Louisville, Ky.

NEWARK
HEADQUARTERS: 248 Market St.
OFFICE HOURS: Tuesday—3 to 6 p.m.; Wednesday—12 to 3 p.m.; Saturday—3 to 4 p.m.
Forums every Friday at 8:30 p.m. at Labor Action Hall, 248 Market St.

NEW YORK CITY
CITY CENTER: 114 West 14th St., third floor. Open every day from 10 a.m. to 10:30 p.m. except Saturday until 8 p.m.
Telephone: CHelsea 2-9681.
You are welcome to attend all open Branch meetings of the Workers Party in New York City.
BRONX BRANCH: Meets every

Thursday at 8:15 p.m. at Wilkins Hall, 1330 Wilkins Ave., Bronx.
HARLEM BRANCH: Meets every Wednesday, 8:15 p.m. at the Workers Party Headquarters, 2143 Seventh Ave. (near 126th St.), room 106.
CENTRAL BRANCH: Meets every Wednesday, 8:15 p.m. at the Workers Party City Center, 114 West 14th St., third floor.
CHELSEA BRANCH: Meets every Thursday, 8:15 p.m. at the Workers Party City Center, 114 West 14th St., third floor.
SATURDAY AFTERNOON BRANCH: Meets every Saturday at 2:30 p.m. at the Workers Party City Center, 114 West 14th St., third floor.
BROOKLYN BOROUGHS HALL BRANCH: Meets every Wednesday at 8:15 p.m. at the Workers Party Headquarters, 276 Fulton St., second floor.
BROOKLYN-BROWNVILLE EAST NEW YORK BRANCH: Meets every Wednesday at 8:15 p.m. at De Luxe Palace, 558 Howard Ave. (near Pitkin Ave.).
SOCIALIST YOUTH LEAGUE: Meets every Friday at 8:15 p.m. at the Workers Party Headquarters, 276 Fulton St., second floor.
For further information concerning the WORKERS PARTY, the SOCIALIST YOUTH LEAGUE and LABOR ACTION SCHOOL in New York City please write or visit the Workers Party City Center at 114 West 14th St., third floor, or phone CHelsea 2-9681.

READING
For information regarding the activities and affairs of the Reading Branch of the Workers Party address: P. O. Box 1671.
Regular class on the "Role of the Party in the Fight for Socialism" every Monday evening at 8:30.

PHILADELPHIA
HEADQUARTERS: 1139 West Gerard Avenue (3rd floor).
WP branch meets Wednesday at 8 p.m.
Socialist Youth League meets Friday at 8:00 p.m.
LABOR ACTION FORUM SERIES: Every Sunday evening at 8:15 p.m. in Labor Action Hall, N. E. corner of 12th and Girard. Some of the topics scheduled are:
February 9—Role of Stalinists in Labor Unions.
February 16—Lecture by James T. Farrell.
February 23—Commemoration—Lenin, Luxemburg and Liebknecht.
All forums will be held at Labor Action Hall, northeast corner of 12th and Girard, at 8:00 p.m.

SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA
For information on the activities of the Workers Party in the San Francisco Bay area write: LABOR ACTION, 466 Tenth St., Room 206, Oakland 7, Calif.
Open forums held every other Sunday, starting Sunday, January 19. Forums held at above address (a few doors off Broadway on Tenth). Forums start at 8:00 p.m. Admission free. Refreshments served. For exact schedule of dates and subjects, write above address.

SEATTLE
For information write to P. O. Box 143, University Post Office, Seattle, Wash.
For information of Workers Party addresses and activities in cities not listed above, write to Workers Party, 4 Court Square, Long Island City 1, N. Y.

New York WP Demands Indo-China Independence

NEW YORK, Feb. 3—An enthusiastic crowd of about 75 people attended last night's meeting at the Workers Party City Center in New York to protest French imperialist aggression in Indo-China.
Highlighting the program was the appearance of a visitor from France, who spoke with Henry Judd acting as interpreter.
"Recent events in Indo-China make one ashamed to be a Frenchman," said the speaker. After briefly reviewing the history of French imperialism in the Indo-China peninsula, he gave a description of the resistance movement of

the Viet Namese. He recounted discussions he had had with Ho Chi Minh—President of the Viet Nam Republic and leader of the Viet Namese Stalinist Party—concerning the nature of the resistance movement, especially in light of Trotsky's theory of the permanent revolution. He also recalled Ho Chi Minh's reply to his arguments: "Trotsky is perfectly right on paper and in the books, but between the books and the reality of political life there is a great difference; that difference is the Third International." Ho Chi Minh did not, however, say that that difference had meant the strangulation of the revolutionary movement in Asia.
Other speakers at the meeting included Mr. Dennison Do, a native of Hanoi in northern Indo-China, who voiced what must be the feelings of

all Viet Namese: "We don't want to be treated as foreigners in our own country." Henry Judd, speaker for the Workers Party, pointed out the necessity of revolutionary socialist leadership in the struggle for Viet Namese independence.
"A purely nationalist struggle is not enough," Comrade Judd said. "Only revolutionary socialist leadership can bring about real independence in the colonial countries."
The audience, which, in addition to the members and friends of Local New York of the Workers Party, included a number of Viet Namese, concluded the meeting with the singing of The Internationale.
(The text of the French comrade's speech on Indo-China will be published in our next issue.)

Where You Can Buy Labor Action and New International

- AKRON**
Kaldas Cigar Store, 1 W. Market St.
News Exchange, 51 S. Main St.
National News Co., 323 S. Main St.
La Salle Confectionery, 620 S. Main St.
- BALTIMORE**
Fayette and Calvert Streets
- CLEVELAND**
Whitman's Store, 719 Prospect Ave.
- DETROIT**
Carl's Bookstore, 9109 Woodward, near Clairmont.
Cas a Warren Drugstore, opposite Wayne University.
Family Newsstand, downtown, in front of Family Theater.
Highland Park Newsstand, 13501 Woodward, near Davison.
- LOUISVILLE**
Eilers Bookshop, betw. Liberty and Jefferson on 8rd.
- NEWARK**
91 Barkley Street.
183 Belmont Ave.
Northeast corner, Market and Mulberry.
- READING**
Southwest corner, Fifth and Penn Sts LABOR ACTION only.
- PHILADELPHIA**
LABOR ACTION:
N.E. cor. 11th and Walnut.
N.W. cor. 13th and Market.
N.E. cor. Broad and Arch.
N.E. cor. 15th and Market.
S.E. cor. 19th and Market.
N.E. cor. 16th and Seybert.
N. N.E. cor. Broad St and Girard Ave.
New International:
N.E. cor. 11th and Walnut.
N.W. cor. 13th and Market.
N.E. cor. Broad and Arch.
N.E. cor. 15th and Market.
N. E. cor. Broad and Columbia.
- SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA**
San Francisco:
2059 Fillmore St.
Golden Gate News Agency, 81 3rd Street.
McDonald's Bookstore, 867 Mission St.
Paul Elder's Bookstore, 239 Post St. (N1 only).
Berkeley:
Whelens, Bancroft and Telegraph.
- SEATTLE**
102 Washington Street.

Shachtman Coast-to-Coast Tour Hits Middle West Cities

The national speaking tour which will take Max Shachtman, National Chairman of the Workers Party, from coast to coast continues in the Middle West. Comrade Shachtman, who is well known to workers in the leading cities of the United States as speaker and writer, will present the position of the Workers Party on the political problems facing the American and world working class.



In addition, he will be available for speaking engagements before other groups during the time that he is in each city. The tour is intended to be the most thorough taken by a party representative in some time and Comrade Shachtman will be available for informal discussions with party members and friends in addition to his speaking engagements.

- Comrade Shachtman's itinerary follows:
- | | |
|---------------|--------------------------------------|
| Detroit | February 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 |
| Chicago | February 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19 |
| Streator | February 18 |
| Hibbing | February 20, 21 |
| Minneapolis | February 22, 23 |
| Seattle | February 27, 28, March 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 |
| San Francisco | March 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 |
| Los Angeles | March 12, 13, 14, 15, 16 |
| Denver | April 2, 3 |
| Omaha | April 4, 5 |
| St. Louis | April 6, 7 |
| Louisville | April 9, 10 |
| West Virginia | April 12, 13 |
| Baltimore | April 14, 15 |
| Philadelphia | April 16 |
| Reading | April 17 |
| Newark | April 18 |
| Boston | April 23, 24 |

The 'Workers Fatherland' - Where Life is Much Better

MOSCOW, Jan. 30—The Russians have opened a combined restaurant and night club rivaling anything in Western Europe. It is lavishly decorated, stocked with the best food and wines and equipped with two bars, two bands and a floor show.

It is evident money has not been spared in fitting out this finest of dram shops. In the midst of this hard winter, anyone with the money can eat caviar, beefsteak, lamb, salad, oranges and ice cream, and drink anything from a number of strangely named cocktails to Russian wines.

The dining room is decorated in white in the Viennese style and the waiters appear in dinner jackets. The cocktail hall, which is big enough to hold a couple of hundred people, has marble walls, small tables and chairs and a bar with stools so high they are not recommended to the unstable. There even is a pert, svelte hostess in the cocktail hall who greets you with the mixture of warmth and boredom displayed by the young ladies at a New York tea room.

When you have a drink, you also get two plates. One of mine the other night was a museum piece, marked on the bottom with the Imperial initial N. The other bore the imprint of a German company in Saxony.

The club is in the Grand Hotel, one of this capital's older hostels. The crowd was about half Russian and half foreign, and the former seemed to be doing their darndest to have a good time. The check had not yet been presented.

It was interesting to see what some people were eating in Moscow this winter. A couple near us waded through caviar, salad, shashlik, potatoes, peas, carrots, ice cream and pineapple oranges, washed down with white and red wine, champagne and brandy. He looked like a prosperous official, she like the wife of all prosperous officials, here or anywhere else.

The bands were loud. They played American or English jazz most of the time, but kept their ideological franchise open with a few renditions of "Dark Eyes" and other Russian ballads.

The floor show was about what you would expect to see in a roadhouse outside Trenton. It included a lady magician, very coy; a couple of Spanish dancers from White Russia, and the inevitable pair of women acrobatic dancers.

The whole set-up will be irresistible to visiting firemen during the conference of the Foreign Ministers.
From a dispatch by Drew Middleton in the New York Times, January 31, 1947.



We print below extracts from a circular letter sent out to all LABOR ACTION agents on the March Subscription Drive we are planning:

HERE IS THE INFORMATION YOU HAVE been looking for on the recently announced LABOR ACTION subscription drive. Please give this your most careful attention and immediate action, as the success of the drive depends exclusively on the making of preparations in advance.

- (1) DRIVE GOAL: 2,000 new readers and subscribers to the Eight-Page LABOR ACTION. Suggested quotas for your branch are in this circular. Please let us know at once if you accept this quota—if not, we await your revision and suggestion.
- (2) DRIVE DURATION: One month, 31 days, the month of March, 1947. We are planning four (4) RED SUNDAYS as a part of this drive.
- (3) DRIVE OFFER: (a) A 50 cent subscription to LABOR ACTION for six months. (26 issues).

(b) A \$1.00 subscription to LABOR ACTION for one year (52 issues), together with a free copy of the pamphlet, PLENTY FOR ALL, to be mailed out by us.

(4) DRIVE PRIZES: To that branch and that individual comrade who do the best work during the course of the drive, we are offering the following prizes:

- (a) To branch securing the highest percentage of its quota, we will give all the available works of Marx (including 3 vols. of Capital) from our LABOR ACTION Book Service.
- (b) To branch securing next best percentage of subscriptions, we will give a 3-vol. set of Marx's Capital.
- (c) To best individual sub-getter (branches must keep record of this), we offer \$10.00 worth of books from the LABOR ACTION Book Service.
- (d) To next best individual sub-getter (branches must keep record of this), we offer \$5.00 worth of books from the LABOR ACTION Book Service.

Subscriptions during the past week dropped to a low point, as contrasted with the week before. Our agents are no doubt getting up steam for next month's big Subscription Drive, but meanwhile we'd hate to see a continuation of this low record. On our toes for subscriptions to the Eight-Page LABOR ACTION. Here's the record for the week:

CHICAGO	4
NEW YORK CITY	4
Akron	3
Streator, Ill.	2
Detroit	1
Los Angeles	1
San Francisco	1
Miscellaneous	5
TOTAL	21

Will you undertake to send Food Packages regularly to a European Working Class Family?

Will you support LABOR ACTION in its campaign to bring help in the form of food and clothing to families of European socialists, anti-Nazi and labor fighters?

If you can give us this support, please fill out the form below immediately and return to LABOR ACTION. We will supply you with all the necessary assistance, information and help.

LABOR ACTION EUROPEAN RELIEF SERVICE
4 Court Square
Long Island City 1, New York.

I am ready to help a European family during the coming months. Please send me a family address, together with information and mailing instructions. I will send.....CARE packages per month; or.....individual food packages per month.

Name.....
Address.....
City..... Zone..... State.....

NOTE: For those too occupied to attend to the details of mailing packages, LABOR ACTION EUROPEAN RELIEF SERVICE offers to take care of all details involved by sending CARE packages, food packages, clothing offers, etc. Please send us contributions and we will utilize them for these purposes, sending you all details. Send contributions to: LABOR ACTION, 4 Court Square, Long Island City 1, N. Y.

Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor...

On the Wages Of the Miners

Dear Sir:
During the recent coal strike the newspapers were crammed with stories of the big money miners were making. It was almost enough, we imagine—almost but not quite enough—to lead newspapermen to take up mining.
There are a lot of things that whittle down the miner's annual wage. None were generally mentioned by the papers—or by John L., for that matter. Here's one of them taken from the Morgantown, W. Va., Post for January 25, 1947:
The supply of coal cars to Monongahela County mines by the Monongahela Railway Company this week was the lowest since Christmas week, with an average of 47 per cent of normal as compared with 38 for the week beginning Dec. 23, 1946.
Car placements by the day for this week were 100 per cent Monday, 60 per cent Tuesday, 40 per cent Wednesday, 40 per cent Thursday, none yesterday, and 40 per cent of normal supply for today.
When the car supply is 40 per cent of normal that means that the coal

mined is 40 per cent of normal—which means that wages are 40 per cent of normal.
Let's keep that in mind when the weeping and the lamentations start next March.

J. M. F.

A Letter from a Missouri Cropper

Essex, Mo.
Jan. 22, 1947
To sharecroppers and day workers of Southeast Missouri. It is here again. You have had a hard fall and part of the winter. Cheap pay and long hours. You see stuff is going up everyday and when a man wants you to work for him and you ask him what he is paying and he says customary and you know that means as cheap as he can pay. I asked a man what he was getting for driving a tractor and he said \$3.00 a day. I am trying not to work that cheap. I like 88 cents an hour or more. A man cannot live on that.
To the man on the farm don't let them load you one-sided. I mean all cotton on day work, for when the end of the year comes you will still be the same and still have no money.

Says man of family in Southeast, "let us live off the farm and not on the farm but off the farm." Mean to raise what food as you know you like to eat. Let all of us do that on the farm. Mean you make what the man wants for himself and you work for \$15 a week and pay \$1.00 a month for house rent and he tell you it's free. Well if he pays you 80 cents an hour for common work and \$1.00 for skilled work it would be fine but as long as any of us take \$15.00 a week on the farm we are paying the Boss \$100.00 a month for his cold house. So let us go to town and make him sell to us. It can be done. Well, just think food is going up here. Every day let us stand up as men and aim at the same thing and that is a better living off the farm and not on the farm.
John Jones.

Vancouver No Beauty Spot to Its Workers

Dear Editor:
Vancouver today holds the record of being Canada's fastest growing city.
While our civic fathers boast of her scenic charm and congenial climate as the drawing card, it took a war to bring the thousands of people here, not to come to gaze in awe upon those snow capped peaks, etc., but, rather, to work in the war industries, particularly the ship yards that boomed throughout those turbulent years.
Since the war and the all around slackening down in the shipbuilding, etc., the civic authorities have been advising these ex-war workers to return to the farm to help grow more wheat.
During the war the prairie farms from "where most of these people came," with less than half the number employed on the farms, produced double the amount of wheat and other grains. So things are not so rosy down on the farm.
The housing situation here is in-

much the same deplorable state as elsewhere.
In the city's environs a considerable number of homes have been built for the veterans but they are flimsy, gerry built structures. The trouble is that the average vet, a "worker" cannot afford substantial homes.
There is still a great shortage here of many commodities, more so than in the East. The shortage of lumber here is due largely to the export trade. This, we are told, is the only way we can avoid another depression. If there was no other country to export to then what?
Here as elsewhere those safe and sane business men run the city, and Vancouver, with other cities, will flounder in that coming economic storm.
Vancouver is a fair city. It is true one can ski down her mountain sides in a welter of snow in the morning, swim with the polar bears in the afternoon and pick daffodils in the moonlight. But to the average worker it is just another city, a big sprawling, sweat shop. And one has little time or energy for such sports.
CHARLIE, Vancouver.

In the Factory On New Year's Eve

Things weren't going so good at the plant. We were having a tough time negotiating a contract after having waited a long time for an NLRB election to determine which union shall be sole bargaining agent. Working without a grievance procedure we were getting a raw deal all the way around with the company pulling off stuff they would never even try if the union were in. There was a feeling of general discontent and the atmosphere was one where anything can happen.
Some of the boys were standing around letting off some steam.
"Here it is New Year's Eve tonight and I haven't got enough

dough to take my old lady to a dog show."
"A dog show? Hell, they're expensive. I'd settle for a couple of 5ths tonight."
"Me, I shot my wad on Christmas. Whoever invented Christmas ought to be made to work in this joint for the rest of his life for the dough he got."
"Hey, I hear some of the guys want to go home at 2 o'clock this afternoon."
"That's right. I spoke to someone from the crankshaft line and he says they're trying to get off."
"How about us?"
"That's right, let's get off; with the money we make here two hours more or less isn't going to make much difference. Somebody go ask the boss."
We spoke to the assistant foreman and he went in to see the foreman but came back with the message that we were working until four o'clock as usual. The boys were pretty burned up and we passed the word that we were going to have a little conference at lunch. We did.
After lunch there was a tense atmosphere and not much work was getting out. The foreman kept hanging around. Finally at 1:30 the foreman came over, took off his neatly pressed suit jacket, rolled up the sleeves of his white shirt and started working right with us setting a fast pace. About five minutes before two we dropped everything and walked away. The entire department fell in behind our bunch and we marched to the time clock. As we lined up before the clock we turned back and there was the foreman standing with his mouth open and his hands on his hips.
Downstairs we found that practically the whole plant had pulled off the same deal. In the locker room there was a real holiday spirit and the feeling of solidarity reigned supreme.
As we came out of the building the cold air hit us but we felt very warm inside.
ROBERT SHERMAN, Chicago.

CHICAGO READERS, ATTENTION!

Campaign Rally

Sunday, February 16 — 7:30 P. M.
SKY ROOM — MAJESTIC HOTEL
29 WEST QUINCY STREET

SPEAKERS
Albert Goldman
Socialism's Candidate for Mayor
Max Shachtman
National Chairman, Workers Party

Chicago Experts Report Medical and Sanitary Substandard Conditions Under Old Party Rule

By M. SLATER

CHICAGO, Feb. 2.—The United States Public Health Service, after eight months of work by experts, has completed a health survey of Chicago.

The survey, divided into reports on more than 50 aspects of health service in the area, is being made public after each report is "studied" by the "Advisory Committee" appointed by Mayor Kelly to supervise the work. As a result, much of the report is still unavailable. However, those sections which have already been released point to the abhorrent health conditions in the city and the ineffectiveness of the City Health Department to cope with the situation.

The report on housing reveals that more than 100,000 of Chicago's existing homes are substandard and that 10,000 of these are unfit for human habitation.

The Negro neighborhoods of Chicago (among whose population the tuberculosis rates are the highest) cover an area of some nine of the

212 square miles comprising Chicago. Into this tiny region are squeezed 2,773,731 of the city's population of 3,396,000. The report disclosed that in 26 community areas reported in 1940 to be the most overcrowded (i.e., the Negro areas) there lived 37 per cent of the city's population.

This overcrowding, coupled with poverty and lack of proper facilities for cleanliness, obviously is the cause for the high tuberculosis rate among Negroes. Records show that Chicago had 1,837 tuberculosis deaths in 1945, of which 1,178 were white and 659 non-white. Although Negroes make up only one-twelfth of the population of the city, 35.8 per cent of the total deaths from tuberculosis were Negro.

INADEQUATE FACILITIES

The report analyzed the case-finding procedures and treatment facilities in Chicago.

It found that the Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium maintains ONE (1) small mobile unit, which X-rayed

43,488 persons in 1945. At that rate, it would take 75 years to cover Chicago!

X-ray equipment of the clinics was found to be inadequate, since only three of the six clinics covering the area have complete X-ray apparatus, while the remaining three have only fluoroscope equipment, which is not adequate for the discovery of tuberculosis in its earliest stages.

The over-all figures give the city a total of 2,738 beds for tuberculosis patients, including 1,206 at the Municipal Sanitarium, and 370 in private or organizational sanatoria.

But the situation is even worse than the figures indicate. Actually, about 170 of the beds at Cook County Hospital, for instance, are unusable because the hospital is improperly staffed and equipped.

In reviewing the hospital facilities of the city, the survey found that Cook County needs approximately 4,500 additional beds for acute cases, aside from those needed for mental

patients, tuberculosis victims and chronic invalids.

While an estimated total of 2,760 hospital beds are required for the treatment of Negroes, a total of 315 were found available to them among voluntary hospitals in Chicago.

Of the 95 hospitals in the area, only 67 are approved by the American College of Surgeons as meeting modern standards.

POOR FOOD HANDLING

The food handling service in the hospitals was found to rate 25.9 out of a possible 100 points. Violations included failure to supply adequate utensils and to clean them properly; lack of proper antiseptic treatment; improper storage and lack of protection against rodents and insects.

About 89 per cent of the city's accident cases, including those in need of emergency ambulance service, are handled by police wagons. Equipment of the wagons usually consists of a "well-worn stretcher and a much-used blanket."

To handle an average of 255 ambulance cases per day in Chicago, there were 138 motor vehicles (public and private) available in Chicago as of July, 1945. Of these, 51 were police squad cars, 43 police wagons, 33 privately owned and profit operating ambulances and 11 owned by various governmental agencies.

The charge that selection of many public health workers in Chicago and Cook County is dominated by the system of political patronage with "serious demoralizing results in service" was also made in the report.

The survey found that most of the public health employees hold temporary appointments and that the list of applicants is made up of persons suggested by ward committeemen. The applicant's ability to deliver votes seems to have been his most important qualification.

"The Chicago Civil Service Commission will not certify the legality of a payroll unless each name appearing on it has been cleared by the patronage office," the report declared.

While a rating of 90 would be deemed reasonably satisfactory compliance with standard sanitation codes, Chicago's eating and drinking places were found to rate 31.5 points out of a possible 100. Ninety-nine per cent of such establishments surveyed were found to violate standards for disinfecting dishes and utensils; for back-siphonage into water supplies from toilets, dish-washing machines and sinks; and for garbage disposal methods; 98 per cent had deficient toilet facilities.

Points Made by Albert Goldman in His Talk Over Station WJJD, Sunday, Feb. 2, at 1:45

1. A person, who shows that he can make money in his business or profession is not necessarily one who will make a good mayor of the city. What is necessary is an individual with ideas and a program for the welfare of the vast majority of the people of the city. Neither Kennelly nor Root have shown that they have any ideas or any program that can benefit the masses.
2. As its ultimate goal the Workers Party advocates the establishment of a socialist order. That is the only solution for the problems of mankind. But the Workers Party also has an immediate program for Chicago. It proposes that the city begin to solve its important problems like housing and transit in a socialist manner—which means that it should pay attention to the welfare of the workers and not to the interests of the owners of large properties.
3. Goldman emphasized that socialism should not be confused with conditions existing in Russia. Under Stalin that country is under a totalitarian dictatorship as bad as the one that existed under Hitler. Socialism means the greatest degree of freedom, democracy and equality. These do not exist in Russia.
4. As an example of the difference between the approach of the Workers Party and that of the Republican and Democratic parties, Goldman cited the part of his party's platform which demands the requisitioning of transient hotels in order to accommodate those who have no apartments and those who are compelled to live in firetraps.
5. Goldman will speak again over the same station on Sunday, Feb. 16th, at 1:45 P.M.

Newark Landlords Evict 24 Tenants From Homes

By PHILIP ROMANO

NEWARK, January 28—In a scene reminiscent of depression days, twenty-four persons were this week evicted from their furnished rooms in two High Street dwellings as a result of a landlord-lessee dispute. Under the guise of legal formalities, the landlords seek every opportunity to raise their rents. This week these workers and housewives found themselves on the street before they knew what was happening.

The tenants involved were caught completely unawares. Most of the male members of the families were away at work and arrived home to find their belongings in the street. This can best be illustrated in the words of the victims themselves.

This is Mrs. McLain who occupied a three-room apartment with her husband and three small children. "After my husband left for work, I took the children and made a house to house canvas for rooms, but I was unable to find them anywhere. On my return I found my possessions in the back yard."

Another worker, Kelly, who occupied separate rooms with his mother said he was called from work when the eviction started. His mother returned just as her belongings were being carried out.

"My mother is sick and if she is harmed in any way by this, there's going to be trouble for someone."

Again two federal shipyard workers returned home to find their things bundled in a sheet and thrown into the back yard.

LANDLORDS' ATTITUDE

The vicious attitude of the landlord's agent was attested to by one of the tenants, mother of three young children. When the agent came a few days previous to inform her that she had to move, she explained, "I told him it was impossible to find new rooms in such a short time, but he replied that it was not his worry. Then he said I was too snippy and that I could get out tomorrow or I'll have somebody come and put me out."

From the testimony of the twenty-four people, it was learned that every one was up to date on his rent. It appears that the buildings were leased to one man who paid a fixed rent to the owners of the buildings. The owners dispossessed the tenants on the grounds that the lessee had failed to pay his rent for the past few months. Inasmuch as the lessee had in turn rented the apartments to the twenty-four tenants, the court held that any action against him

could just as well be taken out on all the tenants. The owners then seized the opportunity to oust these families, obviously with the intention of raising the rent for newcomers.

There you have the utter callousness and the complete indifference to the very basic needs of the workingmen and women of the country. Situations like this can best be fought by aroused and consciously organized tenants' groups. There are many workers in this group. They should bring the affair to the attention of their local union. For it is labor primarily which can muster sufficient force to smash these profit-seeking gougers.

LABOR CONDITIONS IN PORTUGAL

PARIS, Jan. 20—The condition of the working class in Portugal was reported by Victor Alba for Force Ouvrière, a union paper, in December.

Forty-five per cent of the land is owned by the Catholic Church, with the church missions at Angola and Mozambique controlling most of it. Much of the remaining land is under the control of Anglo-Portuguese companies.

Portugal is run largely by Jesuit priests. They administer the land, direct sale of products to England, part of which are returned in finished form to what has become virtually a semi-colony of England.

Through the holy terror the Jesuits spread over the countryside, President Salazar's semi-fascist rule is assured. In the cities the priests through their enormous influence are the directing force in the corporate "unions," which include both workers and capitalists and are the basic means of labor control.

The priests fought the 1946 military movement which tried to unseat Salazar. Like the Pope of Rome, they have repeatedly threatened excommunication to illegal unions and other clandestine organizations.

While Portugal before the war had the lowest living standard in all Europe and now is exceeded only by war-torn Italy, Germany and possibly Greece and Austria, the church is the most powerful and richest force in the country.

Workers eat nine kilos (a kilo is 2.2 pounds) of meat a year, compared with 63 kilos in Britain and 54 kilos in Vatican City. Children die at a rate of 133 per 1,000 born, against 40 in Britain and 78 in Vatican City.

Washington Muddle Proves Tenants Need to Act Now to Stop Rent Boosts

(Continued from page 1)

tremely contradictory. While he took the rap for the proposed ten per cent rent boost, he kept arguing for continuation of rent control "substantially in its present form" to June 30, 1948. Chairman Tobey of the committee slyly commented: "He who submits against his will is of the same opinion still."

The fact that Truman hastened to inform reporters that he will not "penalize" Fleming and praised Fleming as one of the ablest men in the government, indicates that Fleming did not act on his own. Reports from Washington tell of a cabinet meeting on January 31, resulting in a huddle among Fleming, Steelman, Clifford and Fullin, where it was decided that Fleming is the logical one to stick his neck out, to take responsibility. Fleming stands accused of duplicity on the rent issue for, while advocating continuation of rent control in its present form, he actually is for breaking rent ceilings by allowing rent boosts to landlords on any one of twelve counts. However, he alone is not the author of the crime under investigation.

Man-behind-the-scene Clark Clifford, presidential adviser about whom not much has been said in this mix-up, was at first honored by some Washington reports with authorship of the rent decision. It was said that he prevailed on the President to retreat from his so-called hold-the-line rent policy for reasons of "political expediency." Did he think perhaps that because the Republicans had introduced a bill for a fifteen per cent rent hike, a ten per cent increase from the White House would be interpreted by sixty million tenants as a present of five per cent? At any rate, Clifford was supposed to have influenced both Truman and Steelman, but then Clifford's name was dropped from the newspapers and Steelman's took the headlines.

STEELMAN'S WORD

So far we have only Steelman's own word for it that he did not issue the order. Press Secretary Ross of the White House told reporters that Dr. Steelman informed him that the statement that he, Steelman, ordered

the ten per cent rent increase and was overruled by the President, is "both untrue and absurd." However, a spokesman for a national real estate lobby, George M. Englar, revealed before the Senate committee that he had conferred with "individuals in high places" and "felt we had made an impression." Pressed to be more specific, Mr. Englar named Dr. Steelman.

Earlier in his testimony he had said that his conversations with top-ranking officials had led him to believe that an across-the-board hike was in the cards. Steelman has some explaining to do. Against him is also the fact that Philip Murray was given the brush-off on that eventful Wednesday afternoon when he tried to speak to Steelman on the phone to get the score on the thickening rumors running the Washington rounds. Isn't Steelman supposed to be one of those "friends of labor"?

Whether or not Steelman made commitments to the realtors, one thing is certain: No step of such political importance would have been taken without the President's approval. It must be remembered that only ten days before that Wednesday the President had made public his rent policy, which he said was to hold the line—brushing aside the small item that 25,000 individual rent increases were being granted each month and the other negligible fact that Director Fleming had the presidential okay to extend the policy of individual rent boosts. At any rate, the President did not then favor an across-the-board hike. It is also known that the President had been in constant conference with Fleming and Steelman on the rent issue. Hard as it is for the President to admit to another major fumble, the Truman style of political faux pas is too much in evidence to be overlooked.

TRUMAN AND THE LOBBY

What made Truman consent to the ten per cent rent boost? Perhaps he was persuaded to believe that it would be too cumbersome to carry out the government policy of allowing rent boosts to landlords claiming "hardship" on twelve counts, and that a ten per cent across-the-board

boost would be more practical. Or maybe the underlying argument used by those influencing the President was that the public "expects" a rent boost and that since the Republicans were out for a fifteen per cent rise, the administration's ten per cent would be considered "moderate." Whatever arguments and whatever arguers prevailed on the President, the powerful real estate lobby pressuring against rent ceilings and rent controls is the power behind them all.

So arrogant has this lobby become that the same Englar mentioned above, president of the National Apartment Owners Association, very bluntly told the Senate committee that landlords are withholding thousands of apartments to protest against rent controls. "Thousands of units throughout the country are now on strike," he testified. So closely identified with government officials is this lobby that not only is the deputy director of the Office of Temporary Controls its unofficial representative, but prominent legislators, namely, Senator Hawkes, Republican of New Jersey, and Senator Brucker, Republican of Ohio, have joined the National House and Property Owners Association, one of the major lobbies. Like the "brain" in the wheel, the real estate business is the big boss.

Once having been convinced by the supporters of a ten per cent boost, why did the President stop the mimeograph machines at the eleventh hour—or was it fifty-ninth minute? The Washington Memo in the New York Post of January 30 had this to say: "The real story is that Harry S. Truman sadly and suddenly sensed the impact of the approaching announcement. The advance news stories heightened Mr. Truman's perceptions. He changed his mind only a few minutes after OPA had sent the grim word to its regional offices. He stopped the mimeograph machine, while reporters crowded the OTC press room. He turned a somersault in full public view. He left Clifford and Company perched on a limb overlooking the White House."

Mr. Truman's "perceptions" were heightened not only by advance news

stories, for some of which leaks the CIO is credited, but also it seems by a letter that Philip Murray dispatched to the White House at 3:10 that Wednesday afternoon after getting the brush-off by Steelman.

It is reported that Murray wrote to the President from the CIO Washington office, warning Truman that a general rent rise would menace the "prospect for industrial peace." Then it seems Mr. Truman peeped around the corpulent bellies of the realtors and saw enraged labor squeezed by high prices and low wages, homeless veterans demanding a better break, sixty million protesting tenants—and an election in 1948!

Thus far the above is all that can be reported about the rent mix-up. One unidentified government official let drop the comment that "when the whole story finally comes out it will look terrible." When that story breaks, LABOR ACTION will advise its readers.

In the meantime a few things need comment:

First, Murray revealed that the CIO is again relying on the same ineffectual tactics to keep rent controls as it did in the case of price controls. Trusting "friends of labor" in the government and pressuring Truman has led to defeat on price control and will have the same results on the rent issue.

Second, the AVC has officially called on Truman to assume "active, aggressive leadership" to preserve rent ceilings. Coming right after this last instance of his inability to decide whether he should serve the interests of the realtors or his own 1948 vote-catching interests, that appeal to the President is a bit funny.

Third, though the incident of last Wednesday shows how near we all are to rent increases if we leave things to the government, to date there has been no general protest from tenants and no strengthened organization by tenants for action in their own behalf. Only when workers, veterans, tenants take the rent issue into their own hands will it be settled in their favor.

VERMIN AND FILTH

Dining rooms of many of the places were elaborately decorated, while vermin and filth were found in the kitchens. Lavatories were either lacking or improperly equipped. Few places had kitchen facilities for handwashing. Work tables, etc., had "open seams and broken places filled with grease and decaying food particles. . . . Wash-water was not changed often enough, with resultant formation of scum."

As might be expected in a city where sanitation standards and inspection facilities are so poor, Chicago's rat population is startling.

Not long ago tenants in one of the buildings on Chicago's South Side reported that these rodents so infested their apartments that it had become usual to wake up and find them in bed.

A city ordinance forbids spreading poison on private premises outside of buildings unless it is in a receptacle which can be reached only by vermin. Because of this ordinance, private exterminators will not distribute poison in yards or passages of private premises, and public rat-control workers are forbidden to invade private property for more than four feet behind the property line. The rat, therefore, finds much space (and much uncollected garbage) in which to breed.

The filth, overcrowding and inadequate health facilities of the city are all contributing factors to the poor health standards in Chicago; while hospital and clinical accommodations are unequal to the need.

It is for this reason that in its campaign to elect its candidate, Albert Goldman, as Mayor, the Chicago Local of the Workers Party in Point 8 of its campaign platform calls for:

"Adequate free medical and dental care to all unable to pay. For expanded health services in the public schools. Free hospital and medical insurance to all employees and their families, at the expense of the employers."

Fifteen Chapters in Southern California Organize Opposition:

California AVC Convention Faces Bitter Fight Against Stalinists

By WILLIAM BARTON

SAN JOSE, Calif., Feb. 2.—The 1947 California State Convention of the American Veterans Committee to be held in San Jose from Feb. 21-23 struggle in the national organization convenes at a time when the internal fight, climaxed by F. D. Roosevelt, Jr.'s public blast against the Stalinists, has for the first time reached the state in an organizational form with the formation of a group representing fifteen Southern California chapters openly opposed to the present State Planning Committee. Until now, the conflict in the national organization has been reflected in California primarily in a constant struggle between the Stalinist dominated state leadership and the National Planning Committee. This is essentially the background for what will be the basic issue at the convention.

The current situation was almost entirely predictable. Readers of LABOR ACTION are familiar with the history of the AVC and its penetration by the Stalinists which led to the famous National Policy Committee declaration against Fascism and Communism, which, among other things, barred members of the Communist Party from AVC membership. FDR Jr.'s pronouncement completed this line of attack.

At the present time, the Stalinists in AVC are in no sense any weaker

than they were before the NPC's campaign against them began. LABOR ACTION has repeatedly pointed out that organizational repressive acts against the Stalinists will be either useless or will produce a wave of witch-hunting that will wreck the AVC, or any other group that finds itself in a similar situation. The only effective method for combating their machinations is by proposing and pursuing superior policies. This the conservative national leadership has definitely not done. As a result, the Stalinists are as strong as ever and the organization has reached its present uneasy state

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all over the country. It may still be increasing in size, and will probably continue to grow, but no one seems to have any reasonable idea of its future direction, prospects, or the likelihood of its actually contacting the mass of veterans.

California has been a special adaptation of the national picture. Through domination of the Los Angeles area, the Stalinists effectively control the state organization. A series of petty quarrels between the State Planning Committee and the national leadership, rarely over matters of policy, has therefore prevailed. Among the issues in conflict were things like the jurisdiction over Hawaii and Alaska and the percentage of dues allotted to the national office.

Meanwhile, the California AVC has managed to grow, but nowhere up to its possibilities. The influx of veterans from all over the country in the recent period has been tremendous. The state AVC has, like the organization everywhere, recruited to the extent that it has been serious, active and militant. It acquired much prestige by its active participation, sometimes leadership, in the anti-Smith picket lines in various cities. It has acquired some prestige among the many discriminated against minorities in the state with its defense of their rights, though its action and

resulting influence along these lines have been limited. Attempts have been made for a closer alliance with the organized labor movement, but, again, just a start. In specific situations local chapters have often effectively utilized pertinent issues. But, almost all of the valuable work and ideas have come from the rank and file in local chapters.

The state leadership has offered little direction and has proposed no significant program of action. That is why California is way behind the rest of AVC in fighting the veterans' number one problem—the housing shortage. The San Francisco chapters have participated in a joint housing conference with other veterans groups. Up to now, the SPC has attempted nothing along these lines nor any other extensive approach to the housing question, except to recently work out a proposed state program and organize a temporary lobby at Sacramento.

POOR DISCUSSION

The pre-convention discussion period has further revealed the nature of the current situation in the state organization. Having seen no copy of the statement issued by the rebelling fifteen Southern California chapters, it can only be discussed on the basis of a few quoted remarks

and hearsay. They apparently profess their loyalty to the national organization and propose a concrete set of suggestions for chapter activities. They seem to have little to say about concerted action on pressing issues, and probably support the national leadership wholeheartedly.

The Stalinist leaders have answered them with their usual ironic smoke-screen of "unity, unity and more unity." This has been their principal theme at two Northern California pre-convention conferences at San Francisco. The sizable section of progressive militants present were able to separate themselves from this organizational maneuvering and propose several concrete demands and plans of action. But, the tone was primarily a repetition of the unity refrain. Even a Stalinist inspired counter-resolution to the NPC anti-Stalinist statement was scuttled in favor of a generally excellent compromise solution against the utilization "of the name of AVC by any political organization or individual."

Discussions at the conferences have been mostly on very specific and detailed items for a state legislative program. The bonus question was all but completely pushed aside. Little was said about the general character of AVC in the state, of initiating any actions, of just what the possi-

bilities for the future are. The approach of the state leadership to these conferences was brought out into the open when an attempt was made at the conclusion of the last session to secure adoption of a motion to go on record expressing "confidence in the state leadership." Immediate protest pointed out that support or rejection of the leadership was the function of the convention itself and any such statement by a mere discussion group would prejudice its work.

This, then, is the background of the coming state convention. In general, LABOR ACTION advocates

that the delegates keep themselves on the alert for the Stalinists and their organizational tricks, and oppose them, not with the weapons of the national leadership, but with a militant program that will attract the mass of veterans. The housing question must be the cornerstone of a widespread plan of action, which includes action for a state and national bonus. Real efforts must be made to establish ties with the labor movement and other bodies of popular action. The Stalinists can be routed if the convention chooses a militant and progressive State Executive Committee, mandated to carry out a militant program.

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CORRECTION:

In a letter which appeared in the "Readers of LABOR ACTION Take the Floor" department over the signature of Dr. Charles Calvin, and titled "The African to America," a typographical error appeared in the last sentence of the second paragraph. The sentence should read: "When the officers of the ship learned that the law was on the way, or about on the way to the ship, the officers of the ship would tie weights around the necks of these poor innocent creatures, throw them overboard into the sea to drown."