

FEBRUARY 17, 1947

## Common Union Strategy is Necessary Start

# WILL THERE BE LABOR UNITY?

## Albert Gates Takes Schachtman's Place On National Tour

The National Office of the Workers Party announces a last-minute change in the tour of Max Schachtman, its national chairman. Pressure of work and a series of new commitments have made it necessary

that Comrade Schachtman remain in New York for the next several months. In his place, Albert Gates, member of the editorial boards of LABOR ACTION and The New Internationalist, will cover the tour from Hibbing on. The same arrangements made for the Schachtman tour will hold for the tour of Comrade Gates.

Among the subjects which Gates will speak on are: The Crisis in the Labor Movement; Can Labor Control Rents and Prices?; Socialism: The Road to Peace and Security; and, Is a Third World War Inevitable?

Announcements of the places at which Gates will speak in each city will appear in LABOR ACTION as soon as they are sent in by the local branches. Readers are urged to watch these columns as well as to maintain contact with local party headquarters. Gates' itinerary follows:

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—March 20, 21.

Omaha—March 22, 23.

St. Louis—March 24, 25.

Louisville—March 26, 27.

West Virginia—March 30, 31.

Baltimore—April 2.

Philadelphia—April 3.

Reading—April 4.

Newark—April 6.

Boston—April 9, 10.

## Draper Place On Ballot Seen Certain

LOS ANGELES, Feb. 7.—Hal Draper, Workers Party candidate for city councilman from the Seventh District, will be on the ballot in the April 1 primary. Unofficial but reliable word that his nominating petitions had been checked and found valid was received by Draper from City Hall today. The first phase of his campaign, highlighted by the whirlwind collection in six days time of 1000 signatures, twice as many as the law requires, comes to an end.

The second phase begins tonight with the distribution of the platform leaflet just off the press and sale of the fact-loaded Jim Crow pamphlet outside a meeting called by the National Negro Congress, and continues Sunday with a house-to-house canvass with pamphlets and leaflets.

The leaflet, an eye-catching off-set job in red and black, is certain to give great impetus to the campaign. Its front page carries facsimile illustrations of the covers of Draper's two pamphlets, "Jim Crow in Los

The Campaign Committee for Hal Draper, Workers Party candidate for Councilman in Los Angeles, invites all readers of LABOR ACTION who live in District 7 (between Vernon and Adams) to participate in the work of the committee. Residents of District 7 who wish to obtain copies of the Workers Party campaign pamphlet, "Jim Crow in Los Angeles," and otherwise arrange to participate in the campaign to elect a socialist candidate by writing to Workers Party headquarters in Los Angeles, or to the LABOR ACTION office.

Los Angeles," especially written for this campaign, and "The Truth about Gerald Smith," issued when America's number one fascist first invaded this city and when the Workers Party was the only labor group to understand the necessity of offering him militant opposition. A hundred per cent effort by members of the WP augmented by the work of sympathizers and a growing list of contacts is expected to result in a mass distribution of the leaflet.

To enlist their active participation in the campaign and to bring them closer to the WP and the ideas of socialism, contacts and interested persons are being invited to a special meeting scheduled for February 23.

The Albert Gates meeting to be held Sunday, March 16, in the Embassy Auditorium, South Hall, will be an integral part of the election campaign. Every effort will be made to publicize Gates' visit and a big attendance is confidently anticipated.

The campaign wind-up rally has already been set for Sunday, March 30, two days before the primary election, in the Elks Temple, at 40th and Central, in the heart of the district.

A meeting to promote the campaign to elect Hal Draper, Workers Party candidate in District 7, Los Angeles, has been called for February 26 at Elks Temple at 40th and Central. All readers of LABOR ACTION are urged to attend this meeting.

## New Yorkers Defend Nickel Ride

# Protests Hit Banker Plan to Boost Fare

The voices of the dozens of labor, fraternal, political and consumer organizations—behind which rumbled the still more numerous voices of the rank and file straphangers—have, it now appears, succeeded in again balking those New York City politicians and real estate interests which tried to slip through a 10 cent subway fare. For everyone understood that for the few who came to City Hall to protest, there were thousands in the shops and at home who were keeping their eye peeled on City Hall—thousands who knew that a 10 cent fare meant an extra \$60 to \$100 cost per family yearly. They knew a 10 cent fare meant an automatic decrease of real estate taxes for the already profit-fat landlords, even though the basic realty tax in New York City (\$2.86 per \$100 of assessed value) is the lowest of any major city in the country.

The masses of the people of New York were therefore totally opposed to the fare raises; they saw, further, that the only groups which testified for the 10 cent fare were the real estate lobbies, banks, and phony "citizens" groups composed of landlords and banks. They made it clear that any politician who voted for a 10 cent fare was committing political suicide; that was why Mayor O'Dwyer, who started the whole ruckus to begin with, slid back to base by suggesting he was against the fare rise too.

The arguments in favor of the rise were strictly phony, of course; not even the proponents of a fare rise took them seriously. For the fact is that the subways work at a profit: the operating revenue each year exceeds operating costs.

The reason for the deficit is that the subway sys-

tem is saddled with the burden of the original cost of construction and the interest rates on that cost—total payments for which have by now far exceeded current operating costs and which have merely gone into the coffers of the banks that lent the money for the subways' construction. Were an interest moratorium declared—a measure that deserves the support of the people of the city and which would save millions each year—the subway system could operate on a 5 cent fare basis and still have enough left over each year to modernize the entire system.

What has happened now is that the issue has become a political hot potato, which each major capitalist party tosses gingerly to the other. O'Dwyer has tossed it to the Republican politicians in charge of the state administration, and they have indicated that they'll toss it right back to him. Talk of a referendum on the issue is obvious bluff, for everyone knows that the people of New York City would overwhelmingly oppose a fare rise.

So the question arises: why was the issue raised again this time? There were no new arguments; no new considerations. It was just that the real estate lobbies and banks thought they could slip it by. But they have met with the opposition of the masses of people who find the present high standard of living sufficiently intolerable without paying \$60 to \$100 more a year in subway fares.

But vigilance must be maintained. Smash the move to raise the fare! Urge an interest moratorium as a means of cutting the subway debt! Defend the interests of the people, rather than the financial leeches who mulct the straphangers each year by millions of dollars through interest charges!

# Landlords Set for Big Kill Under 'Hardship' Loophole

FEBRUARY 12—An interval of silence has descended on Washington after the confusion created by the last minute switch in governmental directives on the rent situation (reported in last week's LABOR ACTION). General Fleming, the official responsible for rent control, has been playing possum after his embarrassing stay on the rent increase limbo—which was cut under at the last minute by President Truman.

There are indications, however, that once again the real estate lobby will apply its powerful pressure in order to push through a general in-

crease in rent levels. The rent subcommittee of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee is scheduled to meet this week, when it will probably recommend legislation for a blanket rent increase. The chairman of the subcommittee, C. D. Buck (R-Del) predicted also that recommendations will include lifting of ceilings on new houses.

Besides Buck, the committee includes Senator Bricker of Ohio, an aspirant for the Republican presidential nomination, who is in favor of a rent increase, as is Democratic Senator Fullbright of Arkansas.

In the meantime, landlords were preparing for a kill under the loophole created by the government order permitting landlords to apply for rent increases in cases where they were suffering "hardships." Though no figures were released on this score, rent control offices were being swamped with communications from landlords applying for such increases.

What appeared likely was that President Truman had burned his fingers on the rent situation—the fiasco of mixed-up directives made him appear ludicrous—and intended to lay low for a while on the matter. But the "hardship" provision gave the landlords plenty of opportunities to fatten their profits. The struggle on the rent situation, then, continues not merely along the lines of preventing general over-all increases and fighting to maintain ceilings; it is also now on a local level with tenants organizing to prove that the "hardship" claims of the landlords are strictly phony.

It would be tragic if the long, involved and tortuous development of this rent situation would result in making tenants indifferent to new events, thereby allowing the landlords to slip one over in the dark. Constant vigilance is required. Tenants must continue organizing in order to prevent lifting of ceilings and of rents.

## WHAT YOU CAN DO ON RENTS

- 1) Organize a tenants' committee in YOUR house and on YOUR block. Such committees should defend the interests of tenants as a group where individual action is futile.
- 2) REMEMBER THAT EVEN IF WASHINGTON PERMITS A RENT INCREASE, THAT INCREASE IS NOT MANDATORY. If such an increase is permitted, then tenant committees should fight to make certain it is not granted in their houses.
- 3) In your local union or neighborhood group or consumers' group, raise the question of rents. Propose demonstrations at rent control offices, city halls, etc.
- 4) Don't allow the "hardship" clause to be used by your landlord. Remember his hardship isn't as great as will be yours if rent is increased.

# Tenants Organize in New York To Keep Lid on Rent Ceilings

By DOROTHY HOLDER

Like tenants throughout the country, the tenants of New York's Lower East Side are busy organizing into groups to fight against blanket rent increases and the lifting of rent controls.

On Wednesday, February 5, the Delegated Council of the East Side Tenants' and Consumers' Congress, representing tenants and consumers on the East Side, held its first meeting at the Congress' headquarters, the Madison House, 226 Madison Street. The Congress, formed several months after the emergence of many small neighborhood tenants' groups in the area, will coordinate the activity of all the groups in the struggle to maintain controls on rents and against rent increases. In addition to delegates from tenant and consumer organizations, there were represented veterans' groups, settlement houses and political parties, all of which pledged the support of their memberships in the fight against the landlords and real estate lobbies.

The meeting was disappointing to those who came prepared to discuss plans for a militant program of action which will rally around it tenants who are determined to resist another big increase in their living costs. Discussion concerned itself with a parade which is scheduled to take place in a few weeks involving the whole of New York City and cooperation with the New York Emer-

gency Committee on Rent and Housing, which is sending a delegation to Albany on February 18. The importance of petitions, telegrams and letters sent to Congressmen and State Assemblymen was also pointed out. However, the Delegated Council quickly dispelled any hope that the program of action would go beyond such petitioning, letter writing and delegations to various government agencies.

## CLEAR PROGRAM ABSENT

It is true that this over-all organization will encourage the formation of tenants' groups. And the established tenants' groups have a program which will aid tenants in keeping the landlords toying the line as far as services such as painting and repairs are concerned. However, the absence of any organized plan to withhold rent if and when rent increases become effective indicates the cautious program these people will be satisfied with.

There is a reason for this. The leading spirits of the East Side Tenants' and Consumers' Congress are Stalinists or Stalinist sympathizers. As usual, their program doesn't necessarily stem from the real needs of the rank and file members of the organizations they enter or help form for their own purposes.

Today the Stalinists are being attacked on all sides, in the labor movement, in veterans' organizations

and in other liberal groups. They are afraid to antagonize certain "liberal" Congressmen, who have been forced to take a position for rent control, and liberal organizations which shy away from a truly militant program of action. Thus they are forced to play down the one effective means of fighting the attack of the landlords and real estate groups—the RENT STRIKE. It would antagonize the liberals whom the Stalinists hope to keep as friends.

## EFFECTIVE ACTION

However, any organization that expects to be effective in this fight must not allow itself to become involved exclusively in sending telegrams and filing petitions, but must prepare NOW—and should have begun immediately when these tenants' groups were formed—to organize block by block, house by house, for a mass RENT STRIKE which will force real estate groups and landlords to retreat in the face of such a militantly organized tenants' opposition.

A clear-cut and open stand on the rent strike issue must be taken now to rally tenants who are rightly pessimistic about the effectiveness of more letters, more petitions and more delegations.

We must not and cannot lay aside our only real weapon—THE RENT STRIKE.

By DAVID COOLIDGE

Up to the time that this edition of LABOR ACTION went to press the CIO had not yet replied to the communication of the AFL calling for organic unity between the two great trade union federations. There can be no doubt that the leadership of the CIO is giving very careful consideration to this proposal of the AFL leadership. They SHOULD give this proposal the most careful consideration, for it is the most important and significant development in the field of inter-union relations since the formation of the CIO eleven years ago.

It is the opinion of the Workers Party, and has been now for several years, that the AFL and the CIO should unite. The Workers Party has expressed this view in LABOR ACTION again and again. We have given all the reasons why the two federations should merge into one. During the war we said that merger was necessary in the interest of the whole working class and for the purpose of defeating the efforts of the employers and the government to regiment the labor movement, to beat down wages and depress labor's standard of living.

## CMU Junked By Stalinists In Maritime

NEW YORK, Feb. 11.—The Committee of Maritime Unity, better known on the waterfront as the "Committee of Maritime Disunity," today came to the end of its brief existence. A Statement signed by Harry Bridges, Ferdinand Smith and Joseph Selby laid the blame for dissolution of the CMU on the shoulders of Joseph Curran, who recently resigned as co-president of the organization.

The CMU was organized as a bureaucratic outfit by the Stalinists, ostensibly to present a united front of the various seamen's labor organizations against the government-shipowner coalition. Its announced intention was to present a common set of demands and to cooperate.

In actual fact, however, these avowed intentions were a mask concealing the real purposes of the Stalinists. They hoped by this maneuver to strengthen their position as agents of Russian imperialism on the American waterfront, and to unite their forces in the different unions to combat the rising tide of resentment of the rank and file in these unions. Lastly, they intended to use this body as a bludgeon in the jurisdictional rivalries on the waterfront against the AFL affiliates.

## CURRAN DELIVERS BLOW

The committee, which was formed early last year, quickly demonstrated its ineffectiveness as an instrument in protecting the vital interests of the seamen. Instead of giving militant guidance in the strike crisis last June, it led the seamen a merry chase around the negotiating tables of the Washington bureaucracy. As usual, when this kind of procedure is relied on, instead of the militant action of the seamen themselves, they

(Continued on page 8)

Industrial Unionism

What the Workers Party has been saying is substantially what the AFL says in its letter to the CIO. There is one aspect of the position of the AFL, however, which renders the proposal suspect. It seems to be the position of the AFL that the only alternative to organic unity at the present time is the interlocking strike which now embroils the two organizations. The AFL communication rejects the proposal of the CIO for concrete and practical immediate collaboration between the two unions. On this point the AFL letter says: "The holding of periodical meetings such as you suggest in your letter... for the purpose of dealing with attacks upon organized labor, means that cooperation may be followed for a day while division and discord continue. We cannot present a united front by pretending to be united today, and being divided tomorrow."

In the concrete situation such a position is the sheerest nonsense and can only contribute to the continuation of "division and discord."

The AFL position seems to be "all or nothing." This is the real way to get nothing. How can the AFL ignore the fact that even if committees from the two organizations come together for negotiating a merger, in the end the committees might find it expedient to recommend a period of practical collaboration? The negotiators will be compelled to face certain brute facts. One fact they will be compelled to face is that there is "discord and division." They have to face the fact that the two organizations, nationally and locally, from international to international, from local to local, have been at each others' throats. They will have to face the all-important consideration that the AFL is a dyed-in-the-wool craft organization and that the CIO is based on and firmly committed to the principle of industrial unionism. It is this fact which above all is at

(Continued on page 8)

# Urge Labor Paper To Replace "Record"

By F. HARPER

PHILADELPHIA — The Newspaper Guild strike against the Philadelphia Record and the Camden Courier & Post continues as it has continued since November 7, when the 580 employees of the two papers took to the picket lines to win wage increases in line with those granted elsewhere.

The recent sale of the two papers by Publisher David Stern to the conservative Evening Bulletin and the suspension of publication has not swerved the members of Local 10 from continuing the strike. They are out on the picket lines at newsstands distributing free copies of their own publication, the Real Record, to present their story to the public.

Public support is strong for the Guild and their publication. Subscriptions are pouring in to Guild strike headquarters to cover mailing costs of the Real Record. Letters to the editor express the hope that the Real Record will be continued as a pro-labor paper. Union members are talking enthusiastically about the prospects of having a union daily paper in rock-ribbed Republican Philadelphia.

Westinghouse Local 107, UE-CIO, has set the pace for other local un-

ions by passing a resolution calling for the continued publication of the Real Record on a permanent basis provided by the combined union effort in the city embracing the CIO, AFL and the Brotherhoods. Other local unions are following suit. The Guild itself is considering "extending the service" of the two strikers' papers.

The most recent issue of the Real Record quotes national Guild President Milton G. Murray as charging that suspension of the newspapers "represents a tragic failure of collective bargaining."

"It is tragic," he said, "to the 580 courageous employees who went on strike to achieve economic goals which have been won without conflict in other cities."

"It is also tragic to the citizens of Philadelphia and Camden, who see two of their newspapers engulfed in the increasing trend of American newspaper monopoly."

The Real Record goes on to charge that Stern, who presumed to speak for the pro-labor and liberal elements in the community through his newspaper "sold out the members of the mechanical unions, most of them members of the American Federation

(Continued on page 7)



NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

# Corn Grows High at Seattle Conference

By VINCENT S. WHEELON

SEATTLE—Armed with a program that hints vaguely of independent political action unless the Democratic Party swings back to the New Deal line, Stalinists corralled 170 delegates from organized labor, veteran's organizations, political parties and the Communist-led Old Age Pension Union in the Moose Hall here on Sunday, Feb. 2, and set up the First Congressional District Peoples Legislative Conference. Similar meetings are being held in various parts of the state.

This action implemented objectives of the national Progressive Citizens of America which has been taking shape during the past few months in a series of conferences held by leaders of the CIO, PAC, National Citizens PAC, Independent Committee of Arts, Sciences and Professions, Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, National Farmers Union and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. This amalgam of "progressives" has the support of Henry Wallace, Harold Ickes and Henry Morgenthau.

### FLIRT WITH THIRD PARTYSIM

In a keynote address, filled with enough corn to elicit chuckles from oldsters, ex-Congressman Hugh DeLacy declared: "real Democrats wanted Roosevelt to stay in office forever. But since we have lost his golden voice, the Democrats are not able to reach the people" (who are being sucked in by reactionary propaganda). "Therefore, we must build an organization in order to reach them." After serving one term, DeLacy was swept out of office by the Republican landslide in November.

In striking contrast to the hard-hitting, positive program of the Workers Party, the Stalinists produced a platform that demands "defeat of all attempts" to pass reactionary measures now before Congress, but poses against them, with few exceptions, nothing more progressive than what Democrats promised before election. By declaring "we seek unity among progressives," the Stalinists merely carried out their policy of fusing labor with "left" elements of capitalist parties for the purpose of preventing workers from breaking through to independent political action.

Indicating that they will settle for nothing stronger than a "third" capitalist party if the government cannot be rescued from "men of shocking bigotry and striking ignorance," the preamble of the PCA reads in part:

"The Democratic Party has repeatedly served the progressive cause. But today the Democratic Party is notoriously tainted by Jim Crow reaction and machine greed. It is not clear now whether that party will recover its progressive tradition or surrender to its own brand of ignorance and bigotry. We want to be clear on one thing. If the Democratic Party woos privilege and betrays the people, it will die and deserve to die. We cannot, therefore rule out the possibility of a new political party, whose fidelity to our goals can be relied upon. We, the people, will not

wait forever—we will not wait long for the Democratic Party to make its choice."

### ANOTHER BOSS FORMATION

A "third" party, as the Stalinists know very well, can be nothing more than another capitalist political formation—an instrument of the employers, industrialists and the opportunist politicians. Antagonism between wage earners and wage payers is so sharp today that there is no middle ground on which these confused and disoriented progressives can operate. While their program is based on demands that place them in direct opposition to the employing class, the fact that they have chosen to base themselves on the prevailing capitalist profit system means that as the struggle between classes deepens, "progressives" will find themselves in the contradictory position

of trying to win concessions from the same class they support. Only a Labor Party—a thoroughly working class political formation—can battle effectively for "progressive" measures because the workers alone stand in direct opposition to the capitalists. For deliberately perpetrating this treachery, the Stalinists will have to answer.

Support and manipulation of the Progressive Citizens of America by local Stalinists indicates the growing militancy in even the unions they dominate is forcing them to make at least a feint of swinging to the left. Although DeLacy declared after his defeat in November that he saw no need for third-party action, this "progressive" tendency has been accelerated since the conservative wing of the Democratic machine in Washington closed ranks at a post-election state convention and removed from

the party apparatus all those who play the Stalinist line.

### LITTLE ENTHUSIASM

But Workers Party observers who attended the Sunday meeting agree that there was no enthusiasm for the PCA. No matter how loud the speakers shouted invectives at the National Association of Manufacturers and the Republicans, the applause rose no higher than that heard at a private recital of a budding pianist. Interest in the meeting cooled after delegates learned that the program had already been drawn in detail and the personnel of the various committees named, including the chairman.

What those attending witnessed was merely a mechanical manipulation of the whole affair by Stalinists who exchanged wide grins now and then as if they were saying: "this is a pushover. I didn't think it was so easy to take these suckers."

# Reuther Goes to UAW Ranks In Buffalo on Internal Fight

By DON MURRAIN

BUFFALO—Feb. 9—Walter Reuther was the main speaker at a meeting on the state of the union held here tonight. In contrast with the caucus meeting that George Addes held a few weeks ago, at which fifteen were present, this meeting packed the hall with about 150 present and this with very little publicity on the meeting.

The first speaker was Ed Gray, sub-regional director, who spoke on the need for a wage fight to overcome the decline in real wages due to the rise in the cost of living and on the need to form a Labor Party to counteract the vicious anti-labor drive of both the Republican and Democratic Parties.

He stated that "the argument of now isn't the time doesn't hold water because now a Labor Party is needed more than ever before." He said that "that argument means it will never be time."

### DISCUSSES MAIN PROBLEM

Regional Director Martin Gerber introduced the main problem of the meeting—factionalism in the International Executive Board. He stated that he did so regretfully in that this period of anti-labor offensive and falling standard of living produced the need for unity but that there was no choice. The Thomas, Addes, Leonard group had forced on them, the minority, the necessity for going to the membership and telling the truth. He said that they will not air their affairs in the boss press but would keep them an inner-union fight.

Gerber said Reuther's program of wage increases without price increases, which had been denounced and sabotaged by the rest of the leadership, was now CIO policy. He also spoke on the AFL proposal for unity which, he said, the AFL had offered before with strings attached. He was for an honest unity even if

it hurt the positions of many swivel chair sitters.

Reuther spoke at great length and was well received. He repeated Gerber in saying he wouldn't go to the capitalist press even if it got him publicity (reporters were barred from the meeting). He denounced Thomas for going to the newspapers and branded his statements on Allis-Chalmers as lies, and as serious charges lightly made. He said that he had never had secret meetings with the company but had met the company with the full knowledge and authorization of Thomas, the local leadership and the Policy Committee of the IEB.

Reuther further pointed out that a program of trade union principles was necessary, and offered the following program:

(1) A national united labor conference of the CIO, AFL and independent unions to adopt a basic legislative program; (2) a united defense fund; and (3) to solve jurisdictional disputes within the labor movement.

Added to this three-point program were wage increases without price increases and a company paid for pension and health insurance program on the grounds that if companies pay for maintenance of machines and have pension funds for company executives, they can and must take care of maintaining workers' health and provide security for them instead of dumping them in the industrial scrapheap. Reuther did not discuss how to carry out the program of such a united conference nor the failure of PAC and the need of a Labor Party.

Reuther has finally come to the membership and seems to realize that he can't beat the Thomas-Addes-Leonard group and the CP by a bloc with Murray but must rally the membership on a program. His program, though good as far as it goes, is inadequate and his fight against Stalinism, while progressive, is made ambiguous by his reference to "politics" versus trade union principles, as if he knows of no other politics than CP politics.

He denounced the Communist Party for its trade union policies and at the same time attacked red-baiting and the use of red-baiting labels. Among other things, Reuther cited the record of the Stalinists in supporting the no-strike pledge after the war. (He could not go all-out on this as he supported it during the war!) He also made reference to the CP's support of incentive pay and the sabotage of the GM strike by the US leadership and by the CPers in the UAW. On this point he was more

than vague and thus raised the fear among some UAW members that his remarks might lend themselves to red-baiting. Because he was unable to examine the nature of the CP's political line, which involved support of the war, he left his remarks open to the dangerous interpretation that any political line and political group conflicts with labor's interests.

### OFFERS PROGRAM

Reuther further pointed out that a program of trade union principles was necessary, and offered the following program:

(1) A national united labor conference of the CIO, AFL and independent unions to adopt a basic legislative program; (2) a united defense fund; and (3) to solve jurisdictional disputes within the labor movement.

Added to this three-point program were wage increases without price increases and a company paid for pension and health insurance program on the grounds that if companies pay for maintenance of machines and have pension funds for company executives, they can and must take care of maintaining workers' health and provide security for them instead of dumping them in the industrial scrapheap. Reuther did not discuss how to carry out the program of such a united conference nor the failure of PAC and the need of a Labor Party.

Reuther has finally come to the membership and seems to realize that he can't beat the Thomas-Addes-Leonard group and the CP by a bloc with Murray but must rally the membership on a program. His program, though good as far as it goes, is inadequate and his fight against Stalinism, while progressive, is made ambiguous by his reference to "politics" versus trade union principles, as if he knows of no other politics than CP politics.

He denounced the Communist Party for its trade union policies and at the same time attacked red-baiting and the use of red-baiting labels. Among other things, Reuther cited the record of the Stalinists in supporting the no-strike pledge after the war. (He could not go all-out on this as he supported it during the war!) He also made reference to the CP's support of incentive pay and the sabotage of the GM strike by the US leadership and by the CPers in the UAW. On this point he was more

## WILL CELEBRATE 27TH ANNIVERSARY OF MUTUAL AID

NEW YORK—Twenty-seven years of continuous service to men and women in the labor, liberal and progressive movements facing emergencies will be celebrated by the League for Mutual Aid with a dinner at the Murray Hill Hotel, 40th Street and Park Avenue, on Saturday, February 15.

Louis Dolivet, author of The United Nations, international editor of Free World magazine, international correspondent and lecturer, will speak on "The World Bill of Human Rights and the United Nations."

Former Municipal Justice Dorothy Kenyon is to be chairman.

Henry Cowell, modern composer and pianist, will play some of his own compositions. Having lately returned from a tour to the West Coast, he is now conducting courses at the New School.

No appeal for funds will be made at the dinner, which is to begin at 6:45 p.m. Reservations are \$3.75, including gratuities.

National in scope, the League for Mutual Aid is non-political, non-partisan, and draws no line of color or creed. It grants loans without interest or red tape, finds jobs without a fee, gives reliable vocational advice, wangles essential overcoats, helps individuals in a great variety of economic difficulties. It was founded in 1920 to cope with problems facing workers in that post-war period of depression.

The League's office at 104 Fifth Avenue is in charge of Adelaide Schulkind, executive secretary. Its executive board includes John Nicholas Belfel, chairman; Alice Mary Kimball and Isaac Radinowsky, vice-chairmen; Leroy Paterson, treasurer; Le Roy Bowman, Solon De Leon, Marc Epstein, Allen A. Kennan, Sadie Hall Lemon, Solo Linder, Becky Loomer, Nathan Marer, Irving Novick, Rose Pesotta, Sophia Steinbach.

# TAPPING THE WALL STREET WIRE

By JACK RANGER

### WE COULD DO IT BETTER

Capitalism in its youth serves to free production from the restrictions of feudalism; but as capitalism ages it forges new fetters of production. Not a day passes but what this Marxist charge against the profit system is supported by new illustrations from the inefficient operations of this Big Business-controlled society. Today let's talk of eggs and natural gas.

Poultry raisers, hatchery operators, produce merchants, and the Department of Agriculture, are worried stiff about what to do with the billions of surplus eggs in sight for late 1947 and 1948. (Of course there is no real surplus of eggs, in the sense that there are more eggs than people want to eat. Capitalism distorts the meaning of words as it distorts everything which it touches. When a capitalist uses the word "surplus," he means there is more of a thing than people can buy at a price.)

In recent years the Department of Agriculture has been holding up egg prices by buying the "surplus" production, and shipping powdered eggs to England. The English are just about fed up with powdered eggs and by the fall of 1947 will be getting enough shell eggs so they can turn their backs on the powdered kind. A Chicago produce dealer has suggested that the surplus dried eggs be dumped in Italy, Yugoslavia or elsewhere at a cut rate, which would mean either the farmers or the government would take a loss. Incidentally, the Department of Agriculture's program to bolster egg prices costs the consumer about 10 cents a dozen.

Just now, some of the stupid things done under this program are coming to light. Back in 1944, according to the Wall Street Journal, 28 cars of iced, grade A eggs came into St. Louis. There was no storage space available. The people of St. Louis couldn't afford to buy them at the price asked. The eggs—all 28 carloads of them—were fed to the hogs. In southern Indiana a government agent bought 6,000 cases of eggs, could find no cold storage space for them. The eggs spoiled and maggots were crawling out of the cases. Thousands of other cases were used for fertilizer.

Says the Wall Street Journal: "The cost of supporting egg prices in 1944 has never been reported. Neither has anyone totaled up the number of eggs that spoiled. But the dollar cost ran into the millions and the egg loss was in the billions."

A socialist society would always know how to arrange things so that surplus food and hungry people would become friends. Not so capitalism. Just recently, the press showed pictures of mountains and fields of "surplus" citrus fruit in Texas and California—grapefruit and oranges, just the thing for growing children—rotting under the sky.

### WHY THE OIL PIPELINES RUST

Now for natural gas and the pipelines. The pressure of the recent war finally brought about the building of the so-called "Big Inch" and "Little Inch" pipelines, from the South to the East, whereby oil could be piped east to keep the war machine running. The government built the pipelines at a cost of \$146 millions, and the lines paid their way during the war. (For decades the coal-carrying and coal-owning railroads had blocked construction of this obviously economical form of transportation.) Since the end of the war the pipelines have been rusting away. It has been estimated that they are depreciating at the rate of \$10,000 a day, and costing the government \$60,000 a month for maintenance.

Why aren't the pipelines put to use? The natural gas producers down in Texas want to use them to pipe natural gas to the east. They say that enough heat goes to waste daily in "flare gas" fires to light and heat the city of Detroit. These fires are permitted to burn simply

because there's no other use for the gas—under the profit system.

A socialist system would know how to pipe this source of heat and light through the pipeline to people who need heat and light. The capitalist system doesn't know how or care to achieve this. The pipelines continue to rust away. The flare-gas fires in Texas continue to heat the heavens.

In a few days the government will open new bids from would-be purchasers of the pipelines. But the congressmen from Pennsylvania—all trusted servants of the coal trust—say they won't let any sale go through. Part of the pipelines, which run from the Texas oil fields to New Jersey, run through Pennsylvania. The coal trust is threatening to whip a law through the Pennsylvania state legislature to prevent the pipelines from ever being used to carry natural gas. Any potential buyer of the pipelines who proposed to pump gas through them to the east coast would face litigation all along the 300-mile right-of-way within that state.

Oh, the Great American Way of Life is the Most Efficient in the World, as the capitalist orators never tire of telling us. In a pig's eye it is.

### PROFITS KEEP RISING

Everyone knows that it is Big Business that is running the world. And everyone with half an eye can see that the businessmen are running the world in their interest, not in the interest of the people. Here in the United States the people suffer from high prices, poor housing, high taxes, insecurity. But the capitalists are doing right well by themselves.

Here are some recent profit statements from enterprises owned by America's 60 Families: The country's leading oil companies report earnings for 1946 approximately 25 per cent above 1945, and estimate another rise of 10-15 per cent in profits for 1947. . . . Procter & Gamble Co., one of the country's largest soap makers, showed earnings in the half year ended December 31 equal to \$2.53 a share, compared with \$1.46 a share in the like 1945 period. In addition, the company set aside \$14.5 million for a possible decline in inventories in the first six months of its fiscal year. Its net profits for the past six months total \$16,300,000, compared with \$9,456,033 in the same period in 1945. . . .

U. S. Steel reported for the year 1946 net earnings of \$88 million, equal to dividends of \$7.27 on its common stock, compared with earnings of \$58 million in 1945, equal to earnings of \$3.77. Current assets rose \$29 millions during the year, to \$629 millions. . . . Bethlehem Steel in 1946 reported net earnings of \$41 millions, or \$11.79 a share, the largest earnings since 1940 and far above the \$9.52 a share earned in 1945. Despite such profiteering, Mr. Grace, president of Bethlehem, is very firm about one thing. "Any demand for increased pay, if granted, will mean higher prices for steel," he says. It would never occur to Mr. Grace to cut down his exorbitant profits.

That is what unions and a labor party are for. To make Big Business do things it would never dream of doing. . . .

Even the five-and-dimes coined money last year. F. W. Woolworth & Co. reported 1946 net income of about \$40 million, equal to \$4 a share, compared with \$2.43 a share in 1945. . . . Inland Steel reported net income of \$15 million in 1946, equal to \$3.18 a share, compared with \$9 million and \$2.01 a share in 1945.

Quite naturally, Big Business believes capitalism is the best of all possible systems. It is—for Big Business. But it is hell for the people. Or haven't you had enough yet? If you have had enough, and are looking for a program to fight capitalism intelligently, join the Workers Party.

# Bliss Labor Aids Moss Strike

By JACK MEADE

BROOKLYN—Provoked by the Moss Co. management, workers at the company's 58th St., Brooklyn shop, who were being organized by the AFL Brass Polishers Union, walked out on strike. They immediately contacted their fellow workers in the Moss 53rd St., Brooklyn, shop who were being organized by the CIO United Electrical Workers Union. The CIO union men immediately went out on strike with the AFL union men.

The CIO union officials immediately contacted the AFL, and came to an agreement with them on joint negotiations with the Moss Co. The union officials contacted the Moss Co. to bargain for a contract. The company management refused to bargain with either union. A short time later, the company informed the union that they had hired a negotiator named Walters and made arrangements for negotiations. The unions agreed to send the men back to work during negotiations. However, when the workers reported back, the company fired the leading union men and called off the negotiations.

### AFL-CIO STAND TOGETHER

The unions immediately called a strike. This time not as many workers went out as originally. However, the leading militants of the AFL and CIO stuck together and picketed the Moss Co. side by side. Both unions, agreeing to stick together, filed claims against the Moss Co. with the NLRB. It may take a year before this case comes before the NLRB, because of the inadequacies of the NLRB.

In the meantime the CIO received a letter from Walters (the company negotiator) as a union business agent. This same company negotiator Walters had applied to District 50 of the United Mine Workers for a charter for the men who did not strike. The UMW granted him a charter. In Walters' letter to the legitimate unions he told them to call off their pickets because the shop is now unionized. The AFL and CIO naturally refused. Walters is suspected of being a petty gangster and is being investigated.

### BLISS WORKERS HELP

In the meanwhile, the Bliss day shift workers, leaving their jobs at the same hour as the Moss scabs, were hissing and booing at the scabs.

The police department consequently increased the number of cops guarding the Moss property and scabs against the threat of the Bliss workers who number about 1,000 on the day shift.

At the same time the second shift Bliss workers wanted to find out what they could do to help the Moss strikers. When the Bliss workers had a union meeting they demanded to know the facts on the Moss strike and what they could do. The UE business agent informed the men of the story and suggested that they picket with the Moss strikers before going to work, which they promptly did every day from then on.

### PICKETS DEFY COPS

Last Friday things almost came to a head on the Moss picket line. Many of the Bliss workers left the line to go into work. Some remained with the Moss strikers to picket awhile longer. A scab truck pulled up to Moss to pick up some material. The

police immediately got between truck and pickets and prevented them from walking the full length of the Moss property. This infuriated the pickets, who shouted at and began arguing with the cops, insisting that the police were infringing on their democratic rights.

The pickets made statements to each other and to the police that there was no sense picketing if they couldn't prevent scabs from working. Some also said that the workers would never win a strike if they could not stop the scabs. Such statements as "we need the whole local membership down to bottle up the place and effectively beat the cops," "They can't throw 20,000 men in jail (total local membership)," "We know that the cops are on the side of the bosses." In general, the pickets showed that they had no illusions as to whose side the law was on. These men also showed that they knew that solidarity and their numbers could beat the company, its stooges and the police.

## NEW JERSEY WINDBAG RACE-HATERS ORGANIZE NEW TOTALITARIAN GROUP

By PHILIP ROMANO

IRVINGTON, N. J., Feb. 8—Economic uncertainty plus the struggles of the labor movement, has given rise to another red-baiting group in this city. The Loyal American Group, which represents itself as anti-communistic, held a rally at Moose Hall last night. Ostensibly the meeting was held to attack Premier Joseph Stalin, the enslaver of the Russian workers. In reality the meeting was an attack against minorities in the country.

The familiar tactics of the varied fascist organizations in the United States was evident. A former New York senator has characterized the group as a "loud mouthed totalitarian minority" when he heard that the local mayor had refused to attend on being informed that the meeting would attack him as well as racial, religious, and labor minorities in the country. At the meeting, the audience of 75 persons heard an address by a former member of the America First Committee. Under the pretext of denouncing the communist activities in the country, the object of the group is clearly to enslave the working class.

It was here in Irvington that some years ago the Nazi Bund organization had itself set-up. It is very likely that many of these former bundists, or fascists, are the present membership of this so-called Loyal American group.

Another speaker was the past state commander of the Catholic War Veterans. It is interesting to note that the stamp of this veterans group has appeared on a red-baiting, labor-baiting rag printed in New Jersey. This vicious and crude sheet has found its way into various factories. It is called "Think Weekly." However, it has gained no foothold among the workers.

Workers should notice these insidious, anti-working class elements and recognize them for what they are. These wind-baggers of today could well be the storm troopers of tomorrow.

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

**NOW OFF THE PRESS!**

First Complete Edition of Leon Trotsky's Brilliant Essay

Order from: Workers Party Publications, 4 Court Square, Long Isl. City 1, New York

Introduction by ALBERT GATES

LEON TROTSKY

35¢



## The Militaristic Overtones Of Marshall's Foreign Policy

By HENRY JUDD

Last week, in an interview with 150 press correspondents in Washington, the new Secretary of State General Marshall restated his understanding of U. S. foreign policy. While this declaration was essentially a reaffirmation of previous policy, certain characteristics in the Marshall statement are worthy of note. Above all, the militaristic overtones of his remarks (his broad use of military terminology as, for example, his reference to Europe as "the European theatre") must be pointed out.

General Marshall covered a whole variety of subjects in his talk: America's role in the United Nations; the problem of the atom bomb and disarmament (disarmament under General Marshall!); the question of Europe and Germany; the Far East and South America, etc. Above all, he restated the unambiguous intention of American imperialism to continue its widespread activities in every part of the world; to participate actively in all developments and events; and to bolster and maintain the full economic, naval and military power of the American world-wide system. Let us briefly examine some of the highlights:

The United States, Marshall said, will "avoid unilateral disarmament." To emphasize his point, he called again for universal military training to be adopted by Congress and put into immediate effect. But, he said, any implementation of the general resolution on disarmament passed by the recent session of the United Nations must be based upon a preliminary acceptance of the American proposal (Baruch plan) for atomic energy control. This plan, as is known, is stalemated by the dispute between the American and Russian governments over its terms. Thus, disarmament even of the dubious kind proposed by the United Nations, becomes an impossibility in the given circumstances.

To further dash any naive or pacifist illusions that general disarmament would not begin (didn't the United Nations—hope of the world—just vote for it?), Marshall added that "the tremendous issues of the peace settlements must be solved before any real disarmament, or even any substantial reduction of armaments, can take place..." General Marshall, meanwhile, has a solicitous and friendly eye on the size of the military budget for 1947.

On other important problems of American foreign policy, Marshall bluntly reaffirmed the gen-

eral policies of his predecessor, Byrnes. America will have a worked out plan to advance its interests during the coming Moscow negotiations over the treaties for Austria and Germany; a middle-of-the-road policy will be pursued in China and Asia (Marshall took a crack at the French for their role in Indo-China), but meanwhile the Kuomintang reactionaries and Chiang Kai-shek will get lead-lease in China. In South America, Secretary Marshall reiterated the "importance of forging a hemisphere security system among the twenty-one American nations." He was conciliatory, in line with the new policy, toward Dictator Peron of Argentina.

The first great test of Marshall in action will come in March, at the Moscow conference, when he crosses swords with Molotov over the prostrate body of Europe and Germany. But it is clear that Marshall represents a hardening of American policy all along the line, with respect to Russia. This does not mean that American imperialism is planning or preparing an immediate war with its rival, Russian imperialism. It means that the long and complex task of preparing the basis for such a war, or carrying out successful maneuvers at the expense of Russia, continues.

## U. S. Makes New Bid to Win Dictator Peron's Support

By ANTHONY FERRARA

RECENT developments indicate that one question which has been troubling the ruling circles of American imperialism, the debate on Argentine policy between the "tough" Spruille Braden line and the "friendly" Messersmith point of view, has been settled in favor of Messersmith's approach. The State Department has hushed the charges it was making only a few months ago that Peron was pro-Nazi and totalitarian even though Peron continues to throttle political and civil liberties. In addition the United States has obligingly complied with Peron's demand that it deliver up 700 million dollars worth of gold belonging to Argentina. Until recently,

the United States had refused to yield this gold on the grounds that the Peron-Parrell clique running Argentina was befriending the Nazis.

Peron, in turn, has indicated his willingness to do business with the United States. Recently one American engineering firm was hired to help lay out and execute the plans for developing Argentine industry. Another American firm, Armo Argentina, local affiliate of the American Rolling Mills, has just been commissioned to build a steel plant with American equipment for the Peron government. Another factor making for peace between Buenos Aires and Washington is, Peron's readiness to pay adequate compensation for whatever American properties he nationalizes. American properties in Argentina were valued at close to half a billion dollars before Peron began his program of nationalizing foreign holdings. The president-dictator of Argentina has also indicated a willingness to permit a certain amount of new American investment in the development of industry despite his reiterated threats to drive all foreign capital out of Argentina.

Undeniably, the desire to capture Argentine markets had a considerable influence in softening American policy toward Peron. However, this is not the whole explanation for the 180 degree turn executed by Washington. In any such trade relationship, proud American imperialism must play the humiliating and secondary role of shopkeeper to the ambitious Peron. Washington knows that if he so desires it Peron can clamp down an embargo on further American imports. Tomorrow, Peron can expropriate more American firms, and can bar the further investment of American capital in Argentina.

### IMPERIALIST ANXIETY

American imperialism understands that it has no exclusive rights in Argentina. Peron recently negotiated an agreement with England which gives private English firms exclusive rights in the aviation sphere. English capital has been given the job of renovating Argentina's railroads. In the next five years, Argentina has promised to spend at least 125 million dollars on English railroad equipment. Washington understands that Peron intends to play American and British imperialism against each other in an attempt to win a considerable degree of political and economic independence.

Whatever the twists and turns of American strategy, her main aim is to find some means of checking Argentina's "independence." It is this necessity which dictates American policy toward the Peron government. The United States is bent on frustrating Argentina's ambition to become the leading power in Latin-America, the economic and political center of the southern half of the hemisphere.

With increasing anxiety, American imperialism has watched Peron

negotiate trade agreements with half-a-dozen South American countries, Chile, Bolivia, Peru, Venezuela, Brazil, all traditionally tied to the United States. Washington sees foreshadowed in the trade agreement just concluded between Argentina and Chile, an economic pattern which can upset the existing political and economic relationships in South America which favor the United States. Under the terms of this agreement, Argentina displaces the United States as a primary influence in Chile's economy. Argentina is lending Chile, now faced with a financial crisis, 175 million dollars with which to purchase food. An additional credit of 25 million dollars extending over a period of two years has been opened for Chile in Argentina's central bank. In return Chile is to provide raw materials for Argentina's expanding economy. She is also to provide Argentina with a free port on the western side of the Andes, opening greater trade possibilities for Argentina. A mixed Argentine-Chile corporation has been formed to develop Chile's hydroelectric and mining resources. In the offing is the real probability of a customs union between the two countries.

### WASHINGTON'S NEW POLICY

The United States has already objected to certain features of this agreement which grant Argentina concessions not accorded other nations. But no matter how much Washington objects, economic logic is on the side of Argentina. American imperialism cannot destroy a fundamental bond—the complementary division of labor that exists between Argentina and her neighbors. Argentina's growing industry needs their raw materials, they need Argentina's food. And Argentina intends to exploit this advantage to the full.

The last eleven months have taught Washington that a new and explosive chapter in both Argentine and Latin-American history opened when Peron and his clique came to power. Argentina can no longer be treated as a semi-colonial dependency of the great powers. World War II gave a tremendous impetus to Argentina's already growing industry. In ten years, the Argentine proletariat, an accurate reflection of industrial growth, has doubled in size. Numbering less than half a million in 1935, Argentina's working class stood at more than a million in 1945. Argentina also piled up enough profit from her wheat trade during the war to achieve financial independence of foreign capital. Today Argentina is no longer a debtor nation. It was on this program of establishing Argentina's industrial bourgeoisie as master of its own house and furthering the development of industry that Peron came to power. Peron's victory at the polls last year brought about the downfall and disintegration of the traditional "democratic" parties, the political agents of American and British imperialism, whose history is one of corruption and rule by dictatorship and fraud. That is why the

United States had to abandon the Spruille Braden line of "democratic" opposition to Peron.

Washington's new policy is aimed at exploiting the difficulties which will beset the Peron regime from now on. Argentina does not possess the raw materials such as iron ore and coal which are necessary for the development of heavy industry. Either Peron must pay for them at full value which will set an impossibly high cost on the process of industrialization, or he must resort to a policy of coercion backed by the threat of military force to dictate terms favorable to Argentina. To continue the expansion of industry Peron must find markets for Argentina's goods. The internal market which is the fundamental prerequisite for the development of capitalist industry demands the existence of a prosperous peasantry. But Argentina's agriculture is owned by a few hundred families. Peron has made no basic inroads on their property rights. It can be predicted he will never dare come in serious conflict with this powerful sector of Argentina's ruling class. Argentine agriculture and industry must find their major markets outside of Argentina.

Against this background we can understand why the Argentine bourgeoisie dreams of creating the "Austral bloc," a political and economic union of Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, Chile and Bolivia, with Argentina at the head. The creole bourgeoisie dreams of industrializing the country and raising it to the status of the first power on the continent at the expense of its neighbors. The ambitious Bonapartist, Peron, has every intention of realizing this reactionary blueprint by means of political, economic, and, above all, military pressure. That is why Peron places such a high premium on the acquisition of American arms.

### USING PERON

Reactionary American imperialism is ready to befriend Peron, to help him build a heavy industry which will serve as the direct foundation for the largest and most powerful military establishment in South America. It is no accident that Peron devotes more than 50 per cent of his national budget to the armed forces. Since the construction of a steel and armaments industry must take an extended period of time, American imperialism is willing to satisfy the military needs of the Peron regime in the interim period. All these measures of friendly cooperation have but one purpose—to bind Peron with bands of steel to Washington.

A fundamental feature of American policy is revealed in this dangerous game which Washington is playing with Peron. The United States can no longer nakedly and directly intervene in the affairs of the various countries to the South. Therefore, the United States must maintain Latin-America in a Balkanized condition, play one country off against another in order to maintain a balance of power in which hers is the dominant position. That is why the United States armed Brazil, (Continued on page 5)

## Georgia's "White Primary Bill" - A Step in the Tradition of Hitler

By ALAN CHARLES

ATLANTA, Ga.—Lost in the news of the rape of democracy in Georgia by Herman Talmadge's Ku Klux Klan elements is an equally ominous menace to labor. This new threat, the so-called "White Primary Bill," is even MORE vicious and undemocratic than the title suggests.

Even on the surface, every thinking union member, as well as all honest advocates of democracy, would oppose this bill designed to prevent Negroes from enjoying their right to vote. But this bill, House Bill 13 in the current Georgia Legislature, involves even more than this. It makes the infamous poll-tax system look highly democratic by comparison and demonstrates the depths which Jim Crow politicians will sink to so that Negroes and poor whites in the South may be denied their elementary rights.

What are the provisions of this bill, supported by both the Thompson and Talmadge wing of the Democratic Party in Georgia? The bill provides that primaries, which are the real elections in the one-party South, will be run by the party, not the state.

### OLD LAWS REPEALED

Because of the recent Supreme Court ruling upholding the right of Negroes to vote in Texas, Georgia's anti-Negro and anti-labor rulers are attempting to evade legally the Supreme Court decision. In so doing, they are robbing EVERYONE in Georgia, black or white, of what small semblance of democracy they possess.

This is how it is done. ALL laws in Georgia which heretofore might have insured some measure of democracy (to those who were AL-

LOWED to vote) are repealed. The complete control of primary election machinery will be in the hands of the state committee of the Democratic Party—and the Governor controls the committee! Could Hitler or Stalin have devised a better system?

Here are some of the specific provisions of the White Primary Bill:

- The law granting citizens the right to vote in primaries is repealed. The Democratic Party will draw up its own registration lists and the party committees in each county will decide who is eligible to vote.
- The bill opens the door for reestablishment of the recently abolished poll-tax in Georgia.
- The bill repeals the law requiring a private voting place, and the right to mark a ballot in secret.
- The bill repeals the law requiring ballots to be given only to registered voters at polling places.
- The bill repeals the law requiring a limit and an accounting of campaign expenditures.
- The bill repeals the law requiring ballot boxes to be empty before voting begins.
- The bill repeals the law requiring that ballot boxes be locked during voting.
- The bill repeals the law that ballots must be counted publicly.
- The bill repeals the law that voters' registration be checked before they can vote.
- The bill repeals the law that provides for records of elections to be kept.
- The bill repeals the law providing for appeal machinery in case an election is contested.

There are other equally notorious provisions, but the sum and substance

is that the last vestige of democracy in Georgia is thoroughly destroyed in order to keep Negroes from casting a ballot.

### CAPITALISM BEHIND CRIME

It is true that many of the laws slated for repeal have been consistently violated. It is true that even though they were not repealed, and were enforced, Georgia would be far from a democracy. Nevertheless, this bill, which will become the pattern for the South if successful, must be fought tooth and nail by labor.

Clearly demonstrated here is the small regard capitalism and its politicians and political parties have for democracy. In their frantic efforts to keep the working people, black and white, of the South divided and down, they are trying to add this completely totalitarian measure to the already hateful county unit system, which allowed the late Eugene Talmadge to become governor with a minority vote.

And let no one be deceived into thinking that anything besides capitalism is behind this crime—and not just Southern capitalism, either. Arnall, the most prominent "liberal" in Georgia, represents the native capitalists. His fight to lower Southern freight rates was a fight for Southern capital against Northern capital. The Southern bosses would like to push Northern capital out so that THEY can climb onto the backs of the farmers and workers instead. To gain the support of the people in this effort, Arnall supplied a few small reforms. But he dared not really sweep the people, for fear they would sweep him and his friends out along with the slavemasters from the North.

It is true that Talmadge and his unsavory ilk represent the older part of the Southern ruling class—the

planters and large landowners, as well as some capitalists who did not see eye to eye with Arnall. But these same planters and landowners are tied tightly to NORTHERN capital. They feed the textile factories, pulp mills and industries of the North with raw materials.

### JOB FOR OPERATION DIXIE

But the Talmadges are tied even more directly to Northern capital—that is, big, monopoly, dominant capital. Northern capital does NOT want Southern industrial competition—unless they own it. Northern capital DOES want a reservoir of cheap labor and a breeding ground for Jim Crow prejudices. Financial support to the Talmadges is a slap at the both-ersome Arnalls; as well as a stab in the back to Southern—and Northern—labor. It is interesting to note that The Statesman, hate-sheet newspaper put out first by Eugene and now Herman Talmadge, carries advertising for Bell Telephone and for products manufactured in Michigan, Ohio, Illinois and New York.

As an afterthought, the resounding silence of Truman and the political "friends of labor" in Washington must be noted. This makes only more clear the task ahead for American labor.

Operation Dixie must be pushed ever more vigorously. The capitalist parties which either annihilate democracy in Georgia or stand idly by must be broken with once, and for all. Labor must build an independent party of its own, designed to win the power of government for the majority of the people. In Georgia, as everywhere, such a party can banish the Talmadges, Thompsons and Arnalls, the Klansmen and Columbians, the white primary and the poll-tax for all times.

### An Inside Report by a Housing Specialist:

## How the Truman Administration Scuttled Veterans Housing

By ANALITIKOS

(Continued from last week)

THE original Wyatt program had been endorsed by all the veterans' organizations and by both the CIO and AFL. The American Legion, however, the most powerful of the veterans' organizations, never gave the program more than lip service and almost from the beginning prepared to put the skids under Wyatt. Even the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the other large veterans' organization, was extremely mild in its support. Only Amvets and the American Veterans Committee gave Wyatt real vocal support, but their lack of numbers more than offset their press releases. The reason for the divided position of the veterans' organizations is to be found in the nature of their memberships. Many members of the American Legion, for example, are builders or engaged in the real estate business. As such, they naturally did not favor any program that placed a limit on their ability to make large profits out of the housing emergency. With the veterans' organizations apparently divided, the administration was able to discount this factor as indecisive in arriving at its political conclusions.

So far as organized labor is concerned, the support of the AFL, particularly due to the strong position of the building trades, was at best lukewarm. The CIO, largely due to

concern over other issues and the failure to realize the importance of the housing issue, contented itself with a few general platitudes in support of the housing program. Inept politics on Wyatt's part further reinforced the already aloof attitude of the unions. They, too, could safely be ignored when the vital decisions were made.

Many facets of different issues penetrate the complicated maze of Washington maneuvering in connection with the housing program. The New Dealers made their last stand against letting the "natural" forces of supply and demand solve the housing problem. The White House largely determined its position by the volume of mail received. The organized business lobbies, such as the real estate groups, the National Association of Home Builders, and the building materials producers, were extremely effective in presenting their case against continuing government controls. Those who stood to gain from the program, the veterans and labor, were divided and the leaders of these organizations were able to ignore the desires and interests of their memberships.

The die was really cast before Wyatt feuded with several government agencies over the use of the directive power. On this issue, the prestige of the White House itself was at stake. Truman had no choice but to decide against Wyatt. While

the administration still speaks of the Veterans' Emergency Housing Program, it is clear that only a few of the trappings are left. The substance is gone and the monopolists and profiteers have won another victory. The Wyatt program failed to meet the housing emergency, but it did plant a few seeds which, if they sprout successfully, may be of great significance in the years to come.

### INDUSTRIAL HOUSING

One of the major issues contributing to the crisis in the VEHP was the fact that Wyatt's original program called for a bold attempt to apply to housing the technological advances that have been made in other industries. In setting a goal of 250,000 prefabricated dwellings in 1946, Wyatt made a serious mistake. Even had he been granted all the necessary tools to speed up the manufacture of factory-built houses, it was physically impossible to reach this volume in so short a time. Designing and engineering cannot be compressed into a period of less than two years if we are talking about genuine mass production. And Wyatt's goals could not have been reached without applying to housing the mass production methods that were successfully used during the war.

As is well known, housing is still a handicraft industry and has made virtually no advances since the in-

roduction of modern plumbing. This, combined with the small-scale nature of most home building and the archaic building codes supported by both building contractors and the building trades, has resulted in the impossibility of the home building industry producing houses to meet the needs of the average American—either in terms of providing technologically adequate living facilities or in regard to price. As a result, housing in this country has proceeded under what is termed the "filtration" theory.

Since decent houses can only be built at extremely high costs which restrict marketability to high income groups, the number of houses produced is usually quite small (about 400,000 a year) except for rare periods at the peak of the building boom. These houses or apartments are then occupied by the well-to-do who relinquish their previous quarters for the homeless and low income groups. In this way practically everyone gets housed and the effective demand for new housing is limited to those who can afford to pay for it.

Under this theory we have managed to reach a total of some 40 million dwelling units, over one-third of which are sub-standard by any definition. The theory, in fact, has directly contributed to the widespread existence of slums in every

city in the country. Unfortunately for the proponents of the theory, however, not only was the pressure of demand so great at the end of the war that many veterans could not afford to wait until the filtration theory operated, but whatever filtration occurred for the most part was upwards.

As soon as the Wyatt program for industrialized housing, i.e., the mass production of houses in factories at relatively low cost and generally out of materials not traditional to home building, was announced there was immediate opposition expressed by home builders, real estate boards, building materials producers, and other vested interests. Nevertheless, so long as the program remained confined to paper the opponents of industrialized housing were content to let the program proceed. Once Wyatt, however, after all other measures had failed, desperately sought to stimulate the development of industrialized housing, these vested interests mobilized all the pressure they could bring to bear to torpedo the program.

This was the real issue in the Lustron case. Lustron is a new corporation formed by the Chicago Vitreous Enamel Corporation to produce porcelain enamel steel panel houses. Like all large new industrial undertakings, sizable amounts of capital are required. There is, naturally, a considerable risk involved,

particularly in the initial stages. Two of Wyatt's chief powers were the ability to guarantee the market up to ninety per cent of the manufacturer's sales price for a factory-produced house, and the ability to direct RFC to lend the necessary capital to an industrialized house producer certified by the Housing Expediter. Without the RFC loan, the market guarantee is of little value. When Wyatt lost his battle with Allen his last trump card had been played and lost.

### HOUSING OUTLOOK FOR 1947

It is not at all impossible that one million new dwelling units will be started in 1947 as called for by Truman. These dwellings, however, will for the most part be high-cost units. No longer are there any price ceilings on new houses constructed for sale. Even under the ceiling the average single-family house started in 1946 was scheduled to sell for \$7500, more than the average veteran could afford to pay. Without price ceilings, under the sole restriction of a 1500 square foot maximum size, the average house built in 1947 will probably sell for something in the neighborhood of \$9000. Even under this restriction, non-veterans will be able to build 15,000 houses.

As for rental units, there will not be too many of these—at the most, 15 per cent of expected starts. In a period of high costs there is not

much incentive to build rental housing, which is much more of an investment than a speculation. In sales housing, the buyer takes the risk. Not so in the case of rental housing, where the builder or financial backer loses when prices decline after the apartment is built. Moreover, critical materials shortages will continue throughout 1947, particularly such materials as cast iron soil pipe, millwork, hardwood flooring and other essential parts of a house. It is precisely in the field of these critical materials that the government's decision to abandon controls will cause greatest difficulty. Without assurances of an adequate supply of all building materials, a rental project is extremely risky.

Although ceiling prices have been retained on new rental units, the regulation has been changed from an \$80 maximum to an \$80 average per month. This means an increasing number of apartments at \$90 and \$100 a month, when even \$80 a month is already far above what the average veteran can afford to pay. The crying need is for rental units under \$50 a month and for sales units under \$6500. There will be very few of these started in 1947. In spite of the wrecking of the VEHP, there will still be approximately one million dwelling units completed this year. This is inevitable regardless of what is done or not done in Washington, the reason (Continued on page 5)



## A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

Published Weekly by the  
Labor Action Publishing Ass'n  
114 West 14th Street, New York 11, N. Y.General Offices: 4 Court Sq., Long Island City 1, N. Y. Tel: IRonsides 6-5117  
Vol. 11, No. 7 February 17, 1947EMANUEL GARRETT, Editor  
EDITORIAL BOARD

ALBERT GATES IRVING HOWE HENRY JUDD

Subscription Rate: \$1.00 a Year; 50c for 6 Mos. (\$1.25 and 65c for Canada, Foreign). Re-entered as  
Second Class Matter, May 24, 1946, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y.  
Under the Act of March 3, 1874

## WORLD POLITICS

## The Elections in Poland

By IRVING HOWE

Enough time has passed since the elections in Poland to form an estimate of what happened in that Stalinist-dominated land. Since we have, in past columns, tried to offer an analysis of the Polish situation, and LABOR ACTION has printed the highly informative dispatches of A. Rudzienski, we shall here restrict ourselves to a few points:

The extent of the totalitarian farce, the open and cynical disregard for the most simple democratic procedures, becomes clearer after a perusal of the dispatches from Warsaw. The Stalinist-dominated government published "election results" which allowed the opposition a little more than 10 per cent of the total vote cast. Yet it was a generally accepted estimate that the opposition had the support of the overwhelming majority of the population. Proof of this is best seen in the dispatches of even those correspondents most sympathetic to the Stalinist government. As starry-eyed fellow-traveler as Stephen Laird of the *New Republic* wrote in that magazine that "... a number of observers, including some high neutral officials, say that though the Peasant Party might have won 85 per cent of the votes three months ago in a free election, today it would have won no more than 70 per cent." Let us grant that; but let us also notice that between the 70 per cent it would have won in a free election and the 10 per cent it was allowed by the government there is a rather considerable difference....

If further proof of the totalitarian nature of the election is desired, we can turn to the pages of the British *New Statesman* and *Nation*, a Stalinoid magazine similar to the *New Republic* in this country. Its Warsaw correspondent, Doreen Warriner, who falls over herself with clumsy enthusiasm for the Stalinists, is still forced to write that "Mikolajczyk, though far less popular than he was a year ago, still has a large following; and, if all governmental pressures were removed, would probably get a majority."

(The Laird dispatch, incidentally, contains an interesting interview with Mikolajczyk, Peasant Party leader. When Laird asked him if he agreed that as many government followers were beaten up by his supporters as were his people beaten by government agents, Mikolajczyk replied: "This is possible, but the difference is that our people are beaten up in jail.")

By allowing the opposition a mere 10 per cent of the vote, the Stalinist government was openly flaunting its

determination not to take democratic procedures seriously; it was as if it were saying that it intended to maintain its rule regardless of what the Polish masses desired.

What was the actual vote cast in the elections? It is impossible to say, for thousands were forced to cast "open ballots." Workers in factories were marched en masse to the polls and there government ballots were distributed to them. Since in such situations the government is very often his direct employer, it requires more than a little courage for a worker to vote against it.

It is interesting to note that wherever the opposition was permitted watchers at the counting—only a small minority of election booths—the results were favorable to it. Sydney Gruson reports in the *New York Times* of January 24, 1947, that "in thirty-five booths where watchers witnessed the entire day's voting and counting, Mikolajczyk's party gathered 33,669 against 20,809. The coincidence of a majority for the PSL (opposition Peasant Party) in almost every booth where they had watchers seems too strong to dismiss lightly."

Under the circumstances the statement of Zygmunt Zulawski, veteran Socialist leader who has remained in opposition to the Stalinist régime, that the government bloc's election methods were comparable with "those used by the fascist régime" (*N. Y. Times*, Feb. 9, 1947) is a masterpiece of understatement.

But it is unnecessary to belabor the obvious. As must be the case with any election held by a Stalinist totalitarian government, the elections were a complete farce. Now that this parody has been finished, the Stalinist leaders in Poland have made it plain that they intend to tighten the governmental reigns and crack down even harder on any opposition that threatens their rule. They are continuing to label all oppositionists as fascist though, as A. Rudzienski's article in last week's LABOR ACTION demonstrates, that is by no means the case. A statement by the Stalinist leader, Hilary Mine, threatening severe measures against any continuation of opposition, clearly indicates an increasing totalitarianization.

Yet it seems unlikely that the Stalinists will quickly or easily succeed. The Polish food situation remains very bad. The magazine *World Report* estimates that "Food shortages may become serious in Poland this spring after UNRRA ends its work. The autumn harvest of 1946 was expected to make Poland generally self-sufficient in food, but recent reports from agricultural areas have been less optimistic. Crop estimates are being scaled down."

## JAPAN:

## How MacArthur Broke Labor's General Strike

By JACK BRAD

General MacArthur has directly intervened to break the Japanese general strike. Three hours before the strike was due to begin the chief leaders of the national unions involved—the governmental employees union, communications union and railroad union—were called to American occupation headquarters. There they were treated as common criminals, screamed at and ordered about. They were held incommunicado during this time. They were not even allowed to consult together. Each leader was treated to the same procedure in isolation and not released or even permitted to speak to his colleagues until he had signed an order revoking the strike call. The doors were kept locked between rooms. General Marquall, MacArthur's chief assistant, conducted the fascist-like proceedings. MacArthur himself was directly involved.

MacArthur and his aides have had long anti-labor experience against American veterans asking for a bonus in 1931 and in the Philippine Islands. He is now introducing these methods into the Japanese labor movement, with the full support of the U. S. government in the name of teaching democracy.

On the same day that MacArthur terrorized the union leaders into calling off the strike, his quisling premier, Yoshida, reorganized the cabinet with a further shift to the right. Negotiations with the Socialists were dropped. Finance Minister Ishibashi, who together with Yoshida is the symbol of reaction in the cabinet, was not retained but was given in addition the post of head of Economic Stabilization, the key economic post in the country. The new cabinet has self-styled itself as a government of "defense" against labor. There can be no doubt but that these moves were carried through under MacArthur's supervision. It is part of his attack on the labor movement from the government basis.

## THE BACKGROUND

The Yoshida government owes its origins and existence to MacArthur. From the beginning the labor movement opposed it. As far back as May Day, 1946, the working class of Japan was demanding an end to the Liberal-Progressive coalition of Zaibatsu, bureaucrats and Imperial Court sycophants. Since then there have been hundreds of demonstrations demanding an end of the government of reaction and inaction—demonstrations ranging from a few hundred up to three and five hundred thousand and extending to all the major industrial cities like Tokyo, Osaka, Yokohama and Kyoto.

The organized working class has grown from a few hundred thousand early last year, when MacArthur perpetrated the first elections which established a reactionary majority in the parliament, to about five millions in two major federations. The workers have been forced into extra-parliamentary actions from the inception of their mass organized strength since at the very moment of acquiring this strength MacArthur has fixed about their throats the parliamentary noose of the reactionary majority.

That is why the present government has been unable to take a single serious effort for reconstruction. It has been thoroughly occupied with fighting the growing power of the working class. Several months ago this government was revealed to have only 18 per cent of popular support while the Socialists had a majority. That is why the workers have been forced to use the strike as a means of demanding the downfall of the minority Yoshida government and to demand new elections. It is MacArthur and his quislings who forced the workers into extra-parliamentary activity by making a mockery of the parliament. An end to the Yoshida government and new elections are a primary demand of the entire labor movement and of this general strike.

## LABOR'S DEMANDS

The unions were demanding a 200 per cent increase in pay. They proved thoroughly even to the government labor board, that such an increase was the minimum essential for food alone. The inflation has passed bounds of control on many items. Clothing is so scarce that stripping of persons by bands of black market hoodlums has become commonplace—so much so that Tokyo police admit an inability to cope with this. A pair of second hand shoes sell for 1500 yen at the huge black markets that operate along all the main thoroughfares. The present monthly wage for a fairly skilled worker is about 2000 yen. The price of cigarettes has gone up 1000 per cent. General food prices about 750 per cent. Wages have gone up about 130 per cent. These figures symbolize the misery which forces the Japanese workers to strike.

The labor movement of Japan is now faced with the obstacle of MacArthur and the American occupation. In spite of the pettyfogging of the Social Democratic leadership and the confusions sown by the Stalinist Communist Party, the workers must begin a struggle against the occupation. This is the sine qua non without which all other steps fall short of success.

## LEON TROTSKY'S

## "THE NEW COURSE"

Get this historic essay on Russia, together with Max Shachtman's study of the development of Russian totalitarianism.

NOW ON SALE: \$1.00

(paper bound) 265 pages  
Originally \$1.50

Order from:

Workers Party, Publications  
4 Court Square  
Long Island City 1, N. Y.

## Editorials

## The Eisler Case and the Role of GPU

Several things come immediately to mind in an examination of the hearings in the Eisler case before the House Un-American Activities Committee. First, the House Un-American Activities Committee, the FBI and other government bodies cooperating in the Eisler investigations are concerned with Gerhardt Eisler and his activities only to the degree that the interests of United States imperialism are involved. Second, the working class has, or should have, an intense interest in a thorough investigation of the REAL crimes committed by Eisler and his masters, co-workers and subordinates in the Stalinist GPU murder machine!

Properly to appreciate the second, we must understand the first. Why is the government pursuing the Eisler matter? It has evidently had information of his activities for a long time. The answer lies in the arena of international politics. Russian-American imperialist relations are, to say the least, in a tenuous state. At stake are sharp differences in imperialist interest over atomic control, peace treaties, division of the world, and so forth. Like the atom-bomb spy story in Canada some months ago, the Eisler case, which in some sections of the press is getting its full quota of sensational "atomic" treatment reflects imperialist rivalries.

## WE MUST PUBLICIZE THE REAL CRIMES OF EISLER

But there is something more involved here. The GPU is more than the agent of the Kremlin in inter-imperialist affairs. It is the Gestapo of the Stalin régime which commits its REAL crimes against the working class! It is all the more dangerous because it pretends to serve the interests of the world working class, while actually engaged in crushing its revolutionary fibre. It is a gang of assassins and its job is to cut down, by intimidation and murder, the revolutionary vanguard. To disclose these facts before the working class, whether they pertain to Eisler or, more generally to the agents of the GPU in the leadership of the Communist Parties, is the special responsibility of revolutionary socialists.

Everyone knows what the attitude of worker-militants, and above all of revolutionary socialists, is to such reactionary institutions as the House Un-American Activities Committee. Like the Dies Committee which preceded it, it is a despicable institution, designed primarily to harass the labor movement. In the case of Eisler, they will seek to smear the labor movement and revolutionary socialism with irrelevant revelations about Eisler.

## EISLER'S ROLE IN THE MURDER OF LEON TROTSKY

Whom has the GPU killed? It is impossible to list its victims. Just to cite the names would require many times the size of LABOR ACTION. We will name a few: Ignace Reiss, killed in Switzerland; Rudolph Clement, killed in France; Andres Nin, killed in Spain; Leon Trotsky, killed in Mexico. Every one of these was a revolutionist, for these are the first victims of GPU terror. There are many, many more of its known victims: Ehrlich and Alter, Polish socialists, and the thousands of Russian revolutionists, Bukharin, Zinoviev and virtually every man or woman who was of the generation that made and led the magnificent revolution of the Russian workers in 1917. And there are many who died in circumstances that pointed the finger of suspicion at the GPU; for example, Leon Sedov. If Eisler or any other known GPU agent had anything to do with any of these crimes, we would like the facts published so that every working man and woman in the world might read them.

There is a special connection in this Eisler case with the assassination of the great revolutionist, Leon Trotsky. Trotsky was killed in Mexico by a GPU agent in 1941.

Very likely every single one of the charges made against Eisler in the committee hearings is true. But, frankly, we are not much concerned with them. The affairs of the imperialists are the affairs of the imperialists, and of such GPU mouthpieces as the *Daily Worker*. They are the normal pattern of imperialist spying. Every imperialist nation maintains spies. No doubt Stalin's GPU is after as much information as it can get on the atom bomb. We suspect that American intelligence agents are equally trying to ferret out the truth about atomic activity in Russia. And we would not be altogether surprised if it were disclosed that British agents are operating here. They all do it. And they all use much the same methods of phony passports, secret contacting and the like. If American-Russian relations were friendlier at the moment, there would be little or no fuss made over the Eisler disclosures. And Joseph Starobin, *Daily Worker* scribbler in whose name Eisler wrote special articles, would be in Brazil reporting conditions there. They are not friendly, hence the stew. And were it only a question of one set of scoundrels acting to protect itself against another set of scoundrels, we would give little space to the whole business save for those disclosures which indict both.

It is therefore important that the real crimes of Eisler, which will NOT be publicized by the House Committee, be broadcast among the workers. The proper place to try Eisler, and all like him, is before courts of the working class. Eventually he will be. In the meantime, and in the absence of such courts, we would like to see the facts about the GPU exposed before whatever body it may be, and we say that without giving a grain of support to the infamous purposes of the House Un-American Activities Committee.

We note with dismay the reluctance of some revolutionary socialists, who detest Eisler and everything he stands for, to speak out. There is here involved some kind of assumption that in some way the GPU is related to the working class movement. But the only relation of the GPU to the working class is as an enemy. It is not a case of protecting an individual's right to hold political beliefs, or joining an organization. It is a case of pillorying before the world the GPU record of assassination. To give aid and comfort to American imperialism is one thing, and it is wrong! To protect the working class from its enslavers is another thing!

## NEXT WEEK:

## THE EISLER CASE

By Albert Gates

## International Socialist Notes

A few months ago this column reported on the rank and file strike movement that had arisen among the longshoremen in Belgium. The movement was temporarily set back when the Belgian Stalinist leaders put pressure on Stalinists on the strike committee to torpedo the movement, in which up to them had shared leadership with Trotskyists and militant trade unionists.

In December the 15,000 longshoremen of Antwerp went on strike again for a living wage. The strike was not recognized by the bureaucrats of the Transport Workers Federation, which meant that no strike benefits would be paid to the strikers' families. After three weeks of this outlaw strike, the Belgian PCI (Trotskyists) intervened with leaflets calling for a mass meeting and calling for organization of the strikers through a democratically elected strike committee. This galvanized the

union leaders into calling a union meeting just eight hours before the scheduled time of the PCI rally. At this union meeting some 8,000 dockers booed the reformist fakery and cheered the fighting speech of the rank and file leader, Doremans, active Trotskyist on the docks for the past twenty years. The result of the meeting was a reluctant decision by the union leaders to recognize the strike!

That evening the Antwerp branch of the PCI was surprised by an attendance of 1,000 at its rally, dockers who had come to hear Doremans and Georges Vereecken, PCI leader, drive home the lessons of the strike struggle. One week later the strike ended with substantial gains, although still below the demands of the more militant section of the dockers. At the ratification meeting, the union leaders prevented Doremans from speaking against the set-

tlement, and attempted to eject him physically, whereupon 5,000 dockers out of 12,000 present walked out of the meeting. The remainder voted 5 to 1 to accept the proposed settlement.

A heartening feature of the strike was the support received from previously apathetic sections of the Belgian working class. Many regional federations of the FGTB (General Federation of Belgian Workers) officially endorsed the strike when it was still outlawed by the Transport Union. These same regional congresses demanded direct action against the wage freeze and rising prices in the country, strongly condemning the policies of the Socialist-led coalition government. A definite wedge has opened between the provincial union leaders and the parliamentary leaders of the Socialist and Communist Parties.

## Books You Should Know...

ALL THY CONQUESTS, by Alfred Hayes, Howell, Soskin, publishers; 295 pp.; \$2.75.

Reviewed by N. JOHNSON

This story of the Allied occupation of Italy four months after VE Day is off the beaten path of the usual, facile war and post-war novels. The author served as infantryman through the North African campaign up the boot of Italy, to find in Rome: "Victory." Using character studied and episodes in the lives of the Italian citizenry and the American occupying forces, the story unfolds itself.

Particularly powerful are the scenes depicting the trial of a fascist. His thoughts are given; and, reading them, one wonders what is to be expected of him and his type other than anti-democratic feelings. Being a member of the Fascisti, and having lived entirely under the rule of Mussolini, how could other than people of this type be produced?

One of the leading characters is Giorgio, erstwhile bartender, who lost his job through voicing his sentiments about the fascist régime to his fascist employer. He is an itinerant guide and philosopher, who, notwithstanding his convictions, is caught in the web of circumstances and willingly confiscates any of the equipment or personal belongings of his customers that he has a chance to. Later scenes find him endeavoring to re-establish himself in the good graces of his employer. Seeing his substitute throwing drinks together with the skill and abandon of a mortar mixer, he thrusts himself behind the bar to show the proprie-

tor that he is the only one to be entrusted with making these delicate drinks.

Business is booming with ready American money being spent upon dubious pleasures with high class prostitutes. No one cares what they drink, nor how it is concocted. Wild abandon reigns.

Another character, descriptive of the milieu in which he travels, is the Marchese. A pederast, whose boredom stems from having and doing everything without the satisfaction of any tangible pleasure, he is married to the daughter of a Badoglio general, who is writing his memoirs of the once proud Ethiopian campaign. The Marchese pines for the company and blandishments of his Greek refugee boy in Switzerland. Pepi is much more desirable than his slattern voluptuary wife. To wreak vengeance on this state of affairs, he informs the occupation authorities of his father-in-law's true leanings, telling them of his archives that will sentence him to sure punishment.

A confined feeling of restriction dominates the lives of all the characters. The inhabitants as well as the vanguard of the occupation troops find more red tape and more barbed wire than when they had freed the city. Subtle implications of the black market are shown when the love affair of an American Army officer is welcomed into a home for what he can procure toward the living conditions of the occupants. Even the girl's intended husband is sorry when the officer is sent to a different area, for he now will have to go without his smoking tobacco. The girl, who

is pregnant, is at her wits' ends in trying to cover up her condition, as well as find her lover.

The culmination of the trial finds a throng around the courthouse, where justice, Allied justice, is to be meted out to the fascist leader. They cry for blood, and the ineptness of the authorities to cope with them is witnessed as an Allied officer is shouting, imploring the mob to disband. His Italian interpreter is striving diligently to match his desperate plea in his native language. Violence prevails and the hapless man is left to the mob's mercies. With his eye half gouged out and one arm broken, he is tossed into the Tiber and with seemingly super-human strength makes for the opposite shore and freedom. A boat is dispatched after him and his end comes with the boatmen poling him into unconsciousness and death into the black waters. This scene is reminiscent of Ernest Hemingway in *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, where the fascists are thrown from the town into the chasm far below.

The over-all feeling of the book leaves one wondering just what to expect from a conquest where men's best instincts are drowned in cynicism, hate and frustration after they have seemingly attained what they had been willing to give up their lives for.

The Shakespearean passage which may have inspired the title is not addressed to an ancient Caesar, but to the average thinking reader: "Are all thy conquests, glories, triumphs, spoils, shrunk to this small measure?"



# ITALY STAGGERS UNDER "PEACE TREATY"

By JACK ARTHURSON

PARIS, Feb. 4.—Ten days before the Italian peace treaty is to be signed in Paris on Feb. 10, the biggest political event in embattled Italy is the abolition of the British and American Allied Commission, polite name for military occupation. After the treaty is signed, for the first time since the heated and still boiling hot surrender terms of Sept. 3, 1943, Italy will come out from under "the general supervision and direction of the Italian armed forces heretofore exercised by navy, land and air forces under the Commission," said the outgoing Commission.

With the Allied Commission definitely gone and the Peace Treaty on the verge of being signed, Italy's party strife, vicious and complicated, with mass actions and church struggles, and murders and character assassinations, has been released a little from the controls which up to now have capped the volcano of the Mediterranean from exploding into civil war.

With Allied military pressure released no party in Italy could take the historic and mortal responsibility of signing the hated surrender treaty which strips Italy of colonies, fleet, influence. This governing factor in current Italian stiletto-ish politicking is the probable immediate cause for Catholic Premier Alcide de Gasperi's January resignation, characterized by right and left as a "little coup d'etat."

## DE GASPERI'S TACTIC

Resignation is not a new tactic, to force badly split opponents into coming to the support of a temporarily ascendant center force. De Gasperi who had gained a \$100,000,000 American loan, not to the State but to Italian industry—apparently to insure the loan got into the hands of financiers and industrialists and not a possible SP-CP régime—returned to find the SP split wide open both in parliament and in unions. His coup d'etat may yet turn out to be his means of forcing all parties to share the heavy responsibility for signing the peace treaty which weighs over all parties like a sword of Damocles.

No party dared accept the Foreign Ministry from which Socialist chief Pietro Nenni, head of the pro-fusion with CP wing, had resigned wif-

ly in January. A non-party man is being sought for the post, a major liability which may go to 75-year-old Count Carlo Sforza, long-time anti-fascist aristocrat and one-time lecturer at Columbia University in the U. S. Bowing out of any governmental responsibility and itself not yet fully formed, the rightwing Socialist grouping of Giuseppe Saragat has formally rejected participation in the government. Other parties too may refuse to compose a government until after the treaty is signed. Thus, the political crisis continues in Italy. It is a permanent crisis growing out of the general situation of European capitalism, pointing once more to the alternative: capitalist barbarism, Stalinist totalitarianism or Socialism.

While the jockeying and cat-calling over posts continues Italy's economy is sinking in the icy bog of winter's paralyzing power. Electricity, reduced to 50 per cent of capacity, has forced shutdowns of another one-third of industry, bringing to a halt almost 50 per cent of all industry. Unemployment is now 3,000,000, which at an average of 2-3 persons dependent on each worker means almost 7,000,000 people are in serious want, without heat, with little food, in ragged clothing in the mountainous peninsula.

The lire went through a semi-devaluation rising from the old rate of 225 to the American dollar to 375, or midway between the old official and black market quotations. However so weak is the State that import-export merchants who receive dollars from tourists, business investments, maintenance and remittances to Italians, and from sale of products to dollar holders, are required to turn over only 50 per cent of their dollars to the state. With the other 50 per cent they are permitted to purchase materials from other merchants within 90 days at other than the legal rate, a semi-legalization of the black market in lire.

De Gasperi's mission to Washington where he obtained another \$100,000,000 loan for industry raised total U. S. loans to \$1,000,000,000 said U. S. government officials. But not all groups in Italy considered these loans as gifts. For in addition to the billion dollar loans American capital investors have planted almost \$1,500,000,000 into

Italian industry which makes the U. S. stockholder the largest single owner of Italy.

## THE POLITICAL SITUATION

Posters have appeared throughout Italy denouncing American loans and investments. One stated "New York bankers" were stripping Italy of her independence, stifling Leftists, reducing the country to a U. S. colony and preparing Italy's boot as just another Atomic Age kicking off point—"an airport for the Third World War." This was a reference to the huge Foggia airfield, one of the world's largest.

A country whose major parties—SP, CP, demo-Christians—are openly fighting one another in the Constituent Assembly and in the trade unions, which they jointly control since Resistance days, continues to rock under the powerful pressure of neo-fascist Qualunquists from the right who want a government of "order" and the explosive mass actions from below.

If Italy does not have more strikes, demonstrations, protests, street fights, land seizures, guerrilla warfare and bombings than any other country in Europe, it is no fault of a powerful proletariat, 50 per cent of which is unemployed, the remainder of which works only part time and all of which is hardened by the leaven of millions of ex-soldiers well versed in the use of arms and driven by the whip lashes of cold and hunger.

The "first rehearsal for revolution" in the Naples general strike of Dec. 19, and the "second rehearsal for revolution" in the Bari strike of the next week, have inspired a series of isolated mass actions whose hallmark is lack of a national directing body, inability to link up partial actions and, before the impotency of the state, a halting of actions before fear of the Allied Military Commission.

Now the Allied Commission is gone, the Italian state cannot feed more than three-fourths of the population at 1,000 calories a day. With so weak a state power whose armed forces of just over 100,000 have little control over a proletariat with a growing tradition of violent struggle for bread, the stage is being set for greater eruptions of red lava from the busiest volcano in the class struggles in Europe.

# Veterans Housing Program --

(Continued from page 3)  
being that almost half of these represent units started but not completed in 1946.

While the relaxation of controls satisfied to some extent the vested interests, they will not rest until all controls have been removed. Already Creedon, Wyatt's successor as expediter, has been the recipient of this pressure. Once the spring building season gets under way this pressure will be renewed and undoubtedly will succeed in destroying the last vestiges of the VEHP. Thus, in spite of all the promising opportunities, the surface of the housing shortage will hardly have been more than scratched.

There will unquestionably be an attempt to pass the Wagner-Elender-Taft bill, with its support for a limited amount of public housing, its financial incentives to stimulate rental housing and its long-range program for research and development. It is most unlikely that such a bill will pass, although parts of it might conceivably get through Congress if the Republicans are smart enough to realize that housing will be one of the important domestic issues in the 1948 presidential campaign.

## A WORKERS' HOUSING PROGRAM

A conservative estimate indicates that there is an immediate need for at least 15 million new dwelling units. This tremendous amount is required to replace existing slum dwelling units that are a danger to public health and safety and an eyesore on the landscape, as well as to provide living accommodations for at least three million families that at present are living doubled up with relatives. It is absolutely clear that under capitalism not even a dent can be made in this vast social problem. Slums and expensive dwellings for the wealthy are profitable; decent low-cost housing for the vast majority is not profitable. Moreover, if the typical methods of conventional home building are to be relied on, it will be absolutely impossible to produce anything like the number of dwelling units for which there is an effective demand, much less those that are needed but for which the applicant lacks the ability to pay.

A genuine program to solve the housing shortage must be divided into two parts: (1) public rental housing; and (2) public encouragement of low-cost industrialized housing.

Various surveys show that there is a minimum need for five million rental units in the under \$40-a-month category. This gives us a measure of the size of a public housing program. It indicates a need for \$25 billion of federal funds to be ex-

ended over a ten-year period. This would constitute a frontal attack on the slum problem and would really provide decent living quarters for the low income groups that cannot possibly afford to buy their own homes.

The other large element in a program designed to solve the housing problem is a program of aids calculated to result in mass production of some 10 million factory-built houses over the next decade. Such a program, assuming that it is to be privately financed, would still require intensive government support and encouragement. The most important tool needed would be a large-scale developmental program designed to speed up the engineering and designing of metal and other types of houses readily adaptable to mass production, particularly those that can be produced in our large aircraft plants, most of which are now operating at 25 per cent or less of capacity. At least \$100 million would be needed as a research and development fund. In addition, government loans up to a maximum of \$1 billion would be required to finance the large-scale capital investment in plant and equipment that is needed. Where necessary, there should also be government aid in obtaining scarce materials and equipment.

After the first year of experimental and developmental work, it would be possible for an industry to be launched which within a short time could produce a million houses a year at an average price to the consumer of no more than \$5000. These houses, in addition to being low-cost and made out of the most advanced materials and by the latest and best production methods, would be superior in comfort and living conveniences as well as comparable in size to the average conventional dwelling. For them to be accepted, however, would require modernization of all building codes throughout the country and acceptance for insurance by the Federal Housing Administration. Only direct federal intervention can solve these problems. And, if private industry is unable or unwilling to undertake the development of this new industry, then the government should use some of its war surplus plants and itself manufacture industrially made houses on a mass scale.

With a program of this kind which on an annual basis would require an investment of two and one-half to three billion dollars, we could solve the housing problem in this country in ten years. A large-scale public rental housing program and a publicly encouraged low-cost industrialized housing program would mean decent housing for the first time for the vast majority of workers and their families. It would leave the conventional home building industry free, operating at relative capacity,

to build custom-made luxury models for those who can afford to pay \$10,000 to \$100,000 for a house, and to take care of normal maintenance and repair and the normal increase in the population.

A housing program of this kind, it is obvious, will be bitterly resisted by those who successfully scuttled the relatively mild Wyatt program. It should be remembered, however, that housing is an extremely important factor in the economy. A program of the kind indicated above would afford direct employment for millions of workers in the construction trades and in manufacturing. As a matter of fact, labor requirements would far exceed the present supply of available skilled and semi-skilled labor. Indirectly, through all the supporting and contributing industries, it would provide employment for many millions more.

In its international implications its effects would also be far-reaching. For if the United States has a housing problem, the rest of the world is suffering from an acute housing crisis. According to a recent report of the United Nations, there is a need throughout the world for 100 million dwelling units. At present peak rates of production, it would take most of the rest of the world almost a full century to solve the immediate phases of the housing shortage. The methods and techniques developed in the United States can be successfully transplanted to other countries. In fact, genuinely mass produced houses could even be exported.

There is no question about technical ability to solve these problems. This, if nothing else, has been demonstrated by the experience of the Wyatt program. What is needed is the social and political organization designed to carry out these technically feasible economic objectives. Only a program of this character can eliminate the usual boom-bust that characteristically occurs in the housing industry. This program, adapted to the needs of each locality, is the only hope of housing program worthy of the support of the workers and their organizations.

## Chicago Readers:

Support the Goldman-for-Mayor Campaign!  
Circulate petitions!  
Distribute socialist campaign material!  
Contribute financially to Radio Speech Fund!  
WORKERS PARTY CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE  
1501 W. Madison Chicago 7, Ill.  
CHESapeake 5798  
Office Hours: 2 to 5:30 p.m. daily

# A REVIEW OF THE FILM "SISTER KENNY"

By SUSAN GREEN

Amid the welter of unthrilling whodunits, nauseatingly noisy and elaborate musicals, the saccharine romances, the film story of Sister Kenny, Australian bush nurse and discoverer of a revolutionary treatment for infantile paralysis, seems out of another movie world.

For many years this reviewer happens to have followed Sister Kenny's progress. My reaction to the film was that the production under review is basically true and not overdramatized. Director Nichols deserves praise for presenting Kenny's self-sacrifice, simply and acceptably. The love affair between Sister Kenny and her army captain whom she wants to marry but does not, is without maiden overtones.

It is certainly not the usual run of things in capitalist society for an individual to give up personal happiness and success for something bigger than the individual. Drafted soldiers may rationalize their plight by believing they are sacrificing themselves for something bigger, or a few individuals, deluded into an idealistic response to the propaganda of the ruling class, may volunteer their lives in war. It is entirely different for a lone woman, a nurse in the Australian bush, who has by her own wits, restored a paralyzed child to health after being assured by the most eminent orthopedist in Australia that there was no cure for polio,

to devote her life to the inch-by-inch struggle for recognition of her method.

The film's presentation of Kenny's battle against orthodox orthopedics, especially in the person of Dr. Brack, provides some dramatic scenes. One is where Dr. Bracks "recovered" patient appears all trussed up in braces, while Kenny's patient, a little girl who had been paralyzed in both legs and in the back, appears wearing no braces and able to turn cartwheels. Another good scene is where Kenny confronts Dr. Brack as he is demonstrating a polio case before a group of doctors, with ensuing fireworks.

It is not only because what Kenny discovered is not written in the books that the Dr. Bracks have fought her so savagely. Imagine a mere nurse, a bush nurse, being successful with simple methods, when they, with their complicated trusses and braces, have failed. Again and again Dr. Brack is shown reminding Kenny that she is a nurse, that she has taken an oath to help doctors and not to teach them.

Philip Merivale, cast in the role of Dr. Brack, gives an excellent performance of a sincere-enough stuffed shirt, the victim of his orthodoxy and self-importance. Rosalind Russell as Sister Kenny succeeds in portraying a real personality. She is said to have spent a great deal of time with Sister Kenny before making the picture. Alexander Knox, cast as the Australia-

lian doctor between whom and Kenny there is a deep friendship, does an understanding job and wins the sympathy of the audience as representing the type of doctor whose investigating mind helps to establish new methods of treating disease.

## OF CONTEMPORARY INTEREST

Such films as "Pasteur" and "Madame Curie" are of the past, so to speak, while "Sister Kenny" is of the present. The plague of polio has still to be fought. An audience realizes this while watching the film and is impelled to take sides for or against Sister Kenny. A reasonable reaction to the film is that Sister Kenny's ideas should have been received with scientific objectivity instead of a prior opposition. True scientific inquiry would have called for a thorough investigation of all the patients Kenny had cured in the epidemic that struck her community in the Australian hinterland. Instead, every obstacle was placed in her way and she was barred from treating new cases, where her methods are most effective. Still she cured and improved many children given up by the orthopedists as incurable. These are really facts, not Hollywood fiction.

While there is still much to be learned about polio in order to control and prevent its ravages, today more and more general practitioners and pediatricians employ the Kenny treatment, having given up the or-

thodox methods as unsuccessful. The same is true of hospitals. The "Kenny packs" and Kenny's ideas are used, even though Kenny is not given the recognition she has earned. In deference to orthodox orthopedia and to the big-business power of conservative medicine, Kenny's horn is not tooted too loudly by the profession. As one whose family has benefited by Kenny's revolutionary though simple treatment, this reviewer welcomed the film version of her life.

# HUNGER, COLD, ILLNESS DRIVE GERMAN WORKERS TO DESPERATE DEMONSTRATIONS

By JACK ARTHURSON

PARIS, Feb. 4.—Over 10,000 Ruhr miners and heavy industry workers demonstrated at Essen's town hall on February 3 against food shortages. This and other coal strikes in the Ruhr arising directly out of the food shortage which has reduced caloric consumption to about 1,000 calories a day (about five slices of bread), have brought down on union leaders' heads a stern warning. British occupation forces said union leaders must end the strikes, though these leaders said strikes take place without their knowledge or support.

Cold spell number three of this winter has forced an over-all shutdown of almost 50 per cent of German industry, the closing of schools for an indeterminate period and the shutting of many bakeries for lack of fuel and power.

Hamburg was so badly frozen that of 80,000 water pipes leading to houses, 16,000 are burst or frozen. Burst pipes cannot be repaired, and water supplies are falling. Total deaths from frostbite during mid-January's cold spell were 63. Most were old people so underfed and weak that they remained in bed in their windowless rooms to freeze to death.

Others did not remain in bed to die. Police arrested 284 coal "plunderers" at Hamburg. They reported that 300 persons had stripped half of a sugar load from a railway car. These mass "robberies" continue on coal trains, more than 30 per cent of whose load is stolen in transit.

Official German resentment reached the stage where the Hamburg City Council resolved that the coal crisis "is not only a consequence of the Hitler war but also reveals grave faults and negligence in the policy of the occupying powers."

Cologne's City Council said that in the indescribable want and cold, "morale is collapsing, the people despair of any improvement, all confidence in the young democracy and in the occupying powers threatens to disappear, and the best possible conditions are being created for dark political forces to conduct destructive agitation." Occupation authorities have ignored the Council's fuel and power proposals.

Strikes by German employees in U. S. Army installations are occurring more frequently. Cassel's prison had to be emptied because of cold. Prisoners were allowed to seek heat elsewhere while remaining in technical custody.

The word "democracy" has become a new target for German resentment,

say reports. When a street car reserved for U. S. military personnel passes a Frankfurt stop near-empty while hundreds of Germans wait in bitter cold for overcrowded cars, the Germans say, "that's democracy."

In the bitter cold of winter that has produced suffering worse than the chronic food shortage, democracy and occupation have merged into an ugly morass of famine, cold and death.

## U. S. New Bid for Peron's Support

(Continued from page 3)

Argentina's traditional foe and possessor of rich deposits of iron ore, yesterday, and is willing to arm Argentina today. This is the naked essence of the Messersmith line of cooperation with Argentina's Peron. It is part and parcel of Washington's reactionary scheme to arm all Latin-American countries with American military equipment.

It is American imperialism therefore that stands as the main obstacle, to the political and economic unification of South America. And without such unification, further industrial development on a large scale with all the benefits of a higher standard of living remains impossible.

As for Peron, his plan to integrate the economy of the southern half of the continent for the exclusive benefit of the Argentine bourgeoisie serves again to emphasize a truth that Trotsky taught us. Only the Latin-American proletariat can lead a genuine struggle to the finish to expel the imperialist exploiters and unite the continent in a progressive manner for the benefit of all the peoples and all the countries involved.

NEW INTERNATIONAL  
4 Court Sq., Long Isl. City 1, N. Y.

# Program of the Workers Party

- I. For Price Control by Labor and the Consumers**  
Wipe out profiteering and high prices by action. Only the workers can control prices. Labor must have the decisive voice in determining the prices of consumer commodities. For wage increases without price increases. For popular price control committees.
- II. For a Living Wage**
  1. For an immediate wage increase to meet the rising cost of living.
  2. For an escalator clause in every union contract to provide for automatic wage increases to cover any additional price rises.
  3. For job and wage security through a guaranteed annual wage, providing for a \$5000 annual minimum per family.
- III. Clear the Slums! Build Homes!**
  1. For a 250 billion dollar five-year program to provide decent housing at low rental for all and an extensive public works plan to provide schools, hospitals and other needed community facilities.
  2. For a national plan to begin work immediately on the erection of 25 million permanent low-cost housing units.
- IV. Tax the Profiteers**  
For a 100 per cent on all wartime profits above five per cent on invested capital. For a \$25,000 ceiling on all annual incomes.
- V. Nationalize Big Business**  
For the nationalization of the big monopolies: the industrial establishments, transportation and communication systems and the banks. To be owned by the nation and operated under workers' control.
- VI. End Discrimination Against the Negro People**  
For full social, political and economic equality for Negroes.
- VII. Open the Doors to the Jews**  
For full and unrestricted immigration into the United States by the persecuted and homeless Jews of Europe.  
2. For the right of the Jewish people to unrestricted immigration to Palestine or any country of their choice.
- VIII. For Full Economic and Educational Opportunities for Veterans**
  1. Readjustment allowance, on-the-job training subsidy provided by the GI Bill of Rights, to be based on a wage of \$40 a week for single veterans and \$55 for married veterans, plus \$5 a week for each additional dependent.
  2. For immediate granting of a federal bonus of \$1,000 for each year of service.
- IX. For Peace and Freedom**
  1. For the right of all peoples and nations to decide their own future. For self-determination for all nations. For freedom of the colonies.
  2. For the withdrawal of all armies of occupation. Bring the American troops home. For an end to conscription.
- X. For an Independent Labor Party and a Workers 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:

**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.

---

**ETHEL GOLDWATER**  
Author of "The Independent Woman—A New Course"  
**"Do Women Want Independence?"**  
March 2 8:30 P. M.

Admission: 50 Cents — Series of Four: \$1.50  
ALL LECTURES AT 114 WEST 14TH STREET, NEW YORK CITY



A Review of a New Workers Party Pamphlet Written by Albert Goldman

# A Record of the Unity Negotiations Between the WP and the SWP

By OSCAR WILLIAMS

The publication by the Workers Party of Albert Goldman's pamphlet, **THE QUESTION OF UNITY BETWEEN THE WORKERS PARTY AND THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY** is an important event in the development of the Fourth Internationalist movement in the United States.

This pamphlet contains a complete record of the abortive "discussions" and "negotiations" for unity between the two parties. All the official statements, all the relevant documents are printed here and the arguments of both sides are given in their own words. In short, we have here in one pamphlet all the material that is needed for advanced workers everywhere to examine both parties and decide for themselves which one does act in a democratic fashion, which one does speak out honestly and unambiguously on the questions at issue.

It is not without significance that the only record on the important question of unity thus far should have been published by the Workers Party. The Workers Party tried honestly and out of deep conviction to achieve the unity of the two Trotskyist parties in America, its position on the proposal for unity made by the minority within the National Committee of the SWP was clear and without any reservations. A reading of all the documents leaves no room for doubt that the Workers Party came out four square for unity and did its best to accomplish that end. It is for this reason that the WP has no hesitation about publishing the complete record—its own position and the words of the spokesmen for the SWP.

The SWP then reacted to this proposal by refusing for almost a year and a half to take any position on the question. The leaders of the SWP deliberately evaded adopting any formal position and at the same time in ambiguous terms implied they were for or against unity, depending on the audience they were addressing at the moment. Thus when addressing a statement to the

Trotskyist parties abroad, Cannon and his followers attempted to leave the impression that they were seriously concerned with unity and looking forward to the day when it could be brought about. When speaking to the membership of his own party, Cannon left no room for doubt that he did not intend to tolerate unity between the two organizations. The climax of Cannon's first speech to the membership were his words, "Deepen the split." Although never expressed in writing, his followers understood very well that these words expressed the real attitude of the leadership to the question of unity.

## THE IMPORTANCE OF UNITY

Albert Goldman, the author of this pamphlet, was for many years one of the leading members of the Socialist Workers Party. In his essay, he indicates why it was that the SWP minority found it necessary to leave the SWP and join the WP.

The whole question of unity had a significance that reached beyond the immediate importance of unity. The reaction of both organizations to the proposal of the SWP minority was a realistic indication of the attitude that both groups had toward the question of building a party and told better than any convention resolution just what kind of party they were trying to build. As Goldman states in his pamphlet:

"Rejection of unity by the leaders of the SWP was not the result of an honest conviction that unity is incorrect but rather of a fear of having too many independent revolutionists within the party. The rejection of unity was to us final proof that concepts and methods of organization completely alien to Bolshevism had been introduced by Cannon and his followers and that what they want to build is a monolithic instead of a revolutionary party."

This was the conclusion that the SWP minority reached at the end of its struggle on the unity question. It should be understood that to admit this fact was very difficult for most members of the minority. Can-

non's charge, at the beginning of the factional struggle, that the minorityites were simply agents of the Workers Party, was a pure falsehood in the style of the Stalinists. Goldman does not exaggerate when he states at the beginning of his pamphlet that most of the minorityites had given years of effort to building the SWP and were completely devoted and loyal members. It required the most forceful of events to convince the members of the minority of this conclusion and finally to decide that their efforts as revolutionists could be most effectively spent within the ranks of the Workers Party.

Goldman explains the reasons for the minority proposal. It should be noted that nowhere, in the complete printed record, has any spokesman for the SWP tried to deny the objective benefits to be gained by unity of the two parties.

The SWP leaders could never find any facts to deny the reality that in regard to the entire struggle against American capitalism during the course of the war, both parties had almost the identical program. It was impossible for them to deny that unity would do away with the wasteful duplication of effort entailed in the publication of two weekly newspapers, two monthly magazines. And finally, it was impossible for them to deny that unity would do away with the confusion sown among the workers and caused by the rivalry of two groups presenting the almost identical program.

It is true that there are differences which exist between the two parties. There were and are disagreements on such questions as the evaluation of the Russian state and others. But here the SWP minority and the WP stated from the beginning that such differences are compatible in the ranks of one party. Time and again, the leaders of the SWP refused to answer the question of whether or not such differences as did exist between the two parties were compatible in a unified party.

Instead of answering this very real question, the reaction of the principal leader of the SWP was to tell the members of his party that

the WPers were "renegades" and that it was necessary to "deepen the split." This, it should be noted, was in response to the conservative proposition of the SWP minority that the party should merely go on record as favoring the idea of unity and to investigate the possibilities of achieving it.

The next position of the SWP was to drop, at least publicly, the "deepen the split" policy and to say that it was now necessary to "wait and see" and finally, to have a "thorough discussion where we can probe the differences."

Finally, in April, 1946, almost a year after the question had first been raised, the SWP adopted its motion listing questions which had to be discussed by the two parties which had to be "probed to the bottom."

## WE MOURN JIM LARKIN, IRISH REVOLUTIONIST

By RAY O'NEIL

In comparative obscurity, one of the world's greatest socialists passed away this week in Dublin. James Larkin, "Big Jim" of the Irish labor movement, died quietly at the age of 70, almost forgotten by the outside world. Larkin came to the forefront of the Irish scene in the tumultuous period of 1905-10 when the labor movement grew arm in arm with the nationalist movement. He became closely identified with James Connolly who was later to achieve his greatest stature as leader of the Easter Rebellion. Together these two revolutionists were to Ireland what Lenin and Trotsky were to Russia.

Larkin had an amazing career that began at seven years of age. Before he was eleven, he knew what manual labor was, and unemployment and starvation. He learned many jobs; he traveled to many countries as a deckhand aboard freighters. It must have been on one of his trips abroad that he joined the Argentine Workers' Socialist Party, his first contact with a socialist group.

He worked in Liverpool and

joined the National Union of Dock Laborers of Great Britain, later becoming an organizer. In 1908 Larkin formed the Irish Transport and General Workers Union, soon to become a great force in Ireland. He was imprisoned in 1910 on a framed-up charge, but was released three months later.

The ITGWU began to flourish under the guiding hands of Larkin and Connolly, who had returned from America in 1910 to assist in organizing this "one big union." Both had been organizers for socialist parties, Connolly for the IWW and Socialist Labor Party in the U. S., Larkin for the British Social Democratic Party. Their union grew to such prominence and influence it threatened British imperialism in Ireland, for it fostered class solidarity and national feeling at the same time.

Of Larkin, Lenin once wrote "... the Irish proletariat... is awakening to class consciousness. It has found a talented leader in the person of Comrade Larkin, the secretary of the Irish Transport Workers' Union. Possessing remarkable oratorical tal-

ents, a man of seething Irish energy, Larkin has performed miracles among the unskilled workers..."

In 1913 this "awakened, class conscious" mass faced the frightened Irish-British ruling class. Sections of the Dublin workers struck and the employers answered with a lockout that lasted eight months. This heroic struggle of the Irish workers in 1913 was but a foretaste of the later struggles from 1916 to 1921. But Larkin wasn't to participate in these. In 1914 he departed on what may have been an ill-advised speaking tour of the United States. He wasn't allowed to return as the war began soon after and he was considered dangerous to the British cause.

He spent the intervening years in the United States, speaking for the IWW, the Socialist Party, and later in helping to found the Communist Party in America. In 1919 he was charged with criminal syndicalism and sentenced to five years in Sing Sing. In 1923 Al Smith, then Governor of New York, pardoned him on the grounds that he had committed no overt act against the government,

but had only spoken for its overthrow. Soon after, Larkin was expelled from the U. S. as an undesirable alien.

## FAVORITE OF THE PEOPLE

Space allows only a brief review of Larkin's activities. On his return to Ireland, he became president of the Irish Workers League attached to the Communist International. He was a member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International from 1924 to 1927. By this time the once-powerful and militant ITGWU had already been taken over by the bureaucrats. Larkin lost a struggle to regain control and was later expelled from the union he founded.

In the late twenties he was elected to the Dail Eireann (Irish Congress) but was denied his seat because he was a bankrupt! He was again elected in 1937 on a labor ticket in a surprising upset over a capitalist candidate.

The last years of his life were relatively inactive ones, presumably because of his age. He, nevertheless, left a mark, a deep indelible mark, on the history of the world labor movement. The revolutionary period at the turn of the century produced a number of outstanding theoreticians and many capable activities, but few combined these two qualities to the degree they were found in James Larkin.

# The Story of Jim Crow in Los Angeles - III

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 316 1/2 W. Pico, Los Angeles.

In the November, 1946, election, Proposition No. 11, for a state FEPC was defeated by the reactionary united front, backed by plenty of money. Leading the fight against it were: the Merchants and Manufacturers Association, the Associated Farmers, the Chambers of Commerce, the *Los Angeles Times* and Hearst. Even the fake-liberal *Daily News* came out against it. Prominent in its support were the trade unions, both AFL and CIO, as well as the Negro organizations. Here over the issue of race discrimination was the basic conflict of Capital and Labor.

The Workers Party backed Proposition 11 all the way. But we know that even an FEPC with a couple of teeth in it cannot begin to clean out an economic system which needs race discrimination in order to keep workers divided. The national wartime FEPC showed that.

Roosevelt established the FEPC only at the threat of the March-on-Washington movement headed by A. Philip Randolph, president of the Sleeping Car Porters Union. And then, having headed off this militant revolt for Negro rights, the new FEPC "never received any but token appropriations and never obtained full presidential support" by Roosevelt. This is quoted from the summary made of the FEPC by its own director of field operations, Will Maslow. What is important to remember is that even this concession by the government was made only when the Negro people threatened to take the fight into their own hands!

That's the kind of militant action that opens the road to FEPC and to the death of Jim Crow.

## The Klan Rides Again

The fight over FEPC brought into town that traveling salesman of race hatred, Gerald L. K. Smith, to do his bit for the Big Business campaign against Proposition 11. Smith is only a visitor to town, but his tie-up with the local Ku Klux Klan revival has been proved.

The underworld character named Ray Schneider who was Smith's bodyguard in Los Angeles has also been exposed as the "Grand Dragon" of the Klan. The Rev. Swift, who spoke for the KKK at the Big Bear lodge of the American Legion, openly stated that "Gerald L. K. Smith is our leader." The Ku Klux Klan, whose post-war revival has made a national scandal, is busy at work in Los Angeles! Testimony has been given that it has 100 groups operating in Southern California, under various names.

The first fiery-cross burning in Los Angeles proper took place in May, 1946, on the front lawn of H. G. Hickerson of 134 56th Street, whose family for more than two years has been waging a court battle for the right to live there. They are the only Negro residents on the block and neighbors had brought suits.

Typically, the police belittled the "incident" as a "childish prank," and this has been their standard reaction to Klan outrages. This is nothing but villainous hypocrisy. In the Hickerson case, for example, not a single neighbor appeared throughout the whole commotion made late at night by radio cars, milling men and photo flash bulbs—an amazing lack of curiosity! The police did not care to explain how playful children put together the large, expertly-carpenentered wooden cross. This part of the story goes for most of the 27 cases of Klan activity which have occurred in the city in the past months.

A few days later, fiery crosses burned again—one in Eagle Rock, where Grand Dragon Schneider had his KKK post-office address, and another right on the campus of our old acquaintance, the University of Southern California. Here the police trotted out the pat explanation "a student prank"—a student prank which erected a five-and-a-half-foot cross before the Jewish fraternity Zeta Beta Tau, and branded the letters KKK on the lawn in flaming kerosene and in two-foot letters on the wall of the house. The materials for the cross were definitely traced to another fraternity, but to this day neither the police nor the USC has lifted a finger. The university authorities moved only to prohibit a protest rally on the campus.

In June and July again the "prankish children" of the KKK struck. In case after case their connection with the restrictive-covenant drive was clear to everyone but the guardians of law and order. Two Negroes, Richard Bates and Fred Mills, are knifed, beaten and their homes set afire after threats by a couple of avowed Klan representatives who warn them "We're going to run the Negroes and Mexicans out of this area." A retired Negro police captain, Homer L. Garrott, has the sinister letters splashed on the sidewalk in front of his house—a house in which he lives only because he fought and won a restrictive-covenant case as the only Negro on the block. With 27 years on the force behind him, Garrott also had to listen to the stupid police explanation, "childish prank."

The government from the Mayor down has made it plentifully clear that they are not the least bit interested in getting in the Klan's way. After the first cases, Mayor Bowron blustered, "I shall not tolerate these outrages." But not a thing was done—not one arrest, not one suspect, not one clue in the "baffling" mystery.

By September Mayor Bowron was bold enough to assert that his "investigations" had shown no sign of KKK activity in Los Angeles. Not a sign! This fine gentleman could not do more for the Klan if he donned a white robe and hood for a City Hall reception.

The KKK weapon is vigilante terror. In the nearby town of Fontana last December the entire family of O'Day H. Short, including two young children, was burned to death at home as the result of an explosion and fire which an expert investigator described as arson. This followed shortly after warnings from two deputy sheriffs and a real estate broker that the Shorts were "out of bounds" and a vigilante committee was meeting. The government authorities never even pushed an investigation.

What you see is a united front—police officialdom, government, propriety interests, Klan and vigilante hoodlums—operating in close harmony. They are making crystal-clear that the Negro people and labor must depend on their own forces and action to defend themselves.

## The Police Scandal

That's enough on what the police do NOT do. But the dirtiest story in Los Angeles is the disgraceful record of police brutality against the Klan's chief victims, the Negro population.

Just suppose—

You are driving your car down the street, say, near Main and 101st. Two plainclothesmen stop you—because, they explain later, they think you "look like a suspicious character." Because you are "slow" in getting out of the car as ordered, they set upon you with fists and gun-butts. No charge is laid; you are not even booked; once you've been beaten up, you're released on identification.

This is not an atrocity tale out of Nazi Germany or Mississippi. This is the story of Dr. Joseph A. Hayes, well known Negro physician who served three years in the Army Medical Corps.

Scarcely a week passes but that the local Negro press prints one or more shameful reports of this nature. And those that do get printed are usually only the worst in the week's news. The Hayes case is fairly "mild."

In the very same week another veteran, James S. Carter, is arrested for speeding. He apparently was speeding. He is therefore beaten up in a squad car, charged with car-stealing for good measure, and the cop in the squad car tells him: "What we should do is treat the n...rs here like they do in Georgia. Then we wouldn't have any trouble with you n...rs."

Here's one that's different. Lynford Johnson, who is a white man, is arrested on June 22 because he is walking along Main near 97th with a Negro friend. The police grill him on the property of his association. He is NOT beaten up, just hauled to jail and booked for investigation. After all, he is not a Negro—just walking with one.

Three plainclothesmen break into a house near Central and 42nd looking for a crap game. A crowd gathers to watch the excitement. Finding no crap game, the cops charge into the crowd instead. Muzzling racial insults, one of the officers begins hitting the nearest person with a cane. The victim, Roy Howard, is beaten unmercifully in the sight of all, then shoved into a police car and driven around for an hour and a half while being beaten and cursed. An officer tells him on the "ride": "All I want to do is to take my pistol and whip a n...r to death with it. The only reason I don't is because I might get in a little trouble about it." But relax—justice finally triumphs. The victim, Howard, is freed of charges, even though he lands in a hospital. The officers? Nothing happens to them!

One more case, of an instructive kind. A 13-year-old boy of Mexican extraction, Eugene Montenegro, is ordered to stop by a deputy sheriff, on suspicion of burglary. He runs. The officer thereupon draws his gun and shoots the boy through the back! This is what is meant by the outcry against the cops who get "trigger-happy" when they enter minority-group districts. And we haven't even mentioned mere cases of general "shoving around," discourtesy, rough handling, and so on.

Last January the Mayor's "Committee on Home Front Unity" held a confab with police representatives on the charges of police brutality. All the police could muster was a denial that it is the policy of the department to use brutality against minority groups. This stupid defense is only a cover for the fact that the department tolerates, whitewashes and condones such action!

## TOILET KITS FOR DOGS—WHILE PEOPLE STARVE

PARIS, Jan. 20—Avanti!, the Italian SP paper, in reporting on January 2 how Americans were "eating mad" while Europe starved, commented that a New York company was selling toilet kits for dogs again, while misery embraces the human world.

Not to be outdone, the CP L'Unita on the same day printed a story that Catholic Premier Alcide de Gasperi and other Christian Democratic leaders were present at a dinner given by a Marquis and including among other rare delicacies for Italy, these choice foods:

Paté de foie gras,  
Chicken,  
Caviar,  
Innumerable special pastries,  
Twelve varieties of wine,  
Fine foreign liquors,  
French champagne.

Navy Minister Giuseppe Micheli managed to down "only a few dozen pastries and two bottles of wine," added L'Unita. His subsequent "loss of appetite" led to concern about his health.

Igno Giordani, editor of the Christian Democratic paper, Il Popolo, according to L'Unita, pointed to the heavily laden banquet table and remarked: "To speak of hunger in Italy is exaggeration—look here, thanks to God."

## We Have a LIMITED QUANTITY

of  
"Conception Matérialiste de la Question Juive"  
by A. Léon, with Preface and Postface by E. Germain

A Marxist Study of the Jewish Problem by a Belgian Trotskyist Comrade.

\$1.50

First Come, First Served!

Order from:

Labor Action Book Service  
4 Court Sq., Long Island City 1, N.Y.



# 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, 1601 W. Madison, 2nd floor, Chicago 7.  
Telephone—CHESAPEAKE 5798  
Office hours: 8-5:30 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.

**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 316½ W. Pich, near Olive. Telephone: Richmond 7-3230.  
Office hours: 2 to 5 p.m. daily, except Sunday.

March 16, Sunday, at 8 p.m.—Hear Max Shachtman, national chairman of the Workers Party, on "Socialism in the Atomic Age," at the Embassy Auditorium, South Hall, 9th and Grand.  
All LABOR ACTION readers in Los Angeles are invited to help in our election campaign now going on in the 7th Congressional District. We need your aid. Write or phone the above address (if no answer, phone AX 2-9667) to find out how you can participate. Pitch in!

**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 5 p.m.; Wednesday—12 to 3 p.m.; Saturday—3 to 5 p.m.  
Forums every Friday at 8:30 p.m. at Labor Action Hall, 248 Market St.

## VETERANS OF REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT JOIN CLEVELAND WORKERS PARTY BRANCH

CLEVELAND—Two veterans and experienced revolutionists have joined the Cleveland branch of the Workers Party.

Henry and Elsie Clark, who were formerly members of the Socialist Workers Party, have honorable records of long and devoted service to the class struggle and the revolutionary movement. Clark first joined the IWW in 1914 as a young worker, and served as IWW organizer throughout the western United States and in Alaska. Seeking a group better armed theoretically than the IWW, he joined the Proletarian Party in 1922, serving on the National Executive committee for seven years, and rising to the post of National Secretary.

## DISCUSS SOCIALIST POLICY FOR GERMANY AT PHILADELPHIA FORUM SERIES LECTURE

PHILADELPHIA—"Germany is no longer the key to the future of Europe," Joe Arnold, speaking at the February 2 Labor Action Forum, stressed the fact that World War II and the Allied partition and occupation policies have left Germany dismembered, prostrate, hungry and helpless.

The speaker went on to point out that Germany in 1918 held the key to the fate of Europe, among other reasons because the German working people were socially and politically the most advanced in western Europe. Then Germany held the key but the parties which spoke for the working class failed to provide the leadership for a successful socialist revolution in all of Europe.

However, 1947 finds Germany dismembered into four parts, each one occupied by a different foreign army, the people conquered, the cities, factories, farms and railroads destroyed and the working class unorganized and disoriented. The passage of almost two years since VE Day finds Russian occupied Germany stripped of its factories, machines and manpower and Anglo-American-French occupied areas without sufficient food to maintain existence.

## 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, 1320 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 BOROUGH HALL BRANCH:** Meets every Wednesday at 8:15 p.m. at the Workers Party Headquarters, 276 Fulton St., second floor.

**BROOKLYN-BROWNSVILLE, 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 the 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 Girard Avenue (3rd floor).  
WP branch meets Wednesday at 8 p.m.  
Socialist Youth League meets Friday at 8:00 p.m.

LABOR ACTION FORUMS each Sunday at 8:15 p.m., LABOR ACTION HALL, 1139 West Girard Ave., N. E. corner of 12th and Girard.

**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 13. 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.

# Ceylon 4th Internationalists Nominate Thirty Candidates

The Lanka Sama Samaja Party, Ceylon Unit of the Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India (Section of the Fourth International), has nominated over thirty candidates for the coming Parliamentary elections.

## CLEVELAND TOUR MEETING DRAWS RECORD AUDIENCE

CLEVELAND—"Unless victorious socialist parties are built in our epoch, a Third World War is inevitable." This message was brought to one of the largest crowds in the history of the Cleveland Branch of the Workers Party by Albert Gates, editorial board member of LABOR ACTION and The New Internationalist at a meeting held in Carnegie Hall, February 2.

Gates spoke in place of Max Shachtman, who was forced to miss the early part of his national tour because of illness. Starting with the causes of World War I and analyzing the factors leading to World War II, Gates demonstrated that the same factors were at work in the world today. These can only lead to a third and more destructive war unless the working class intervenes, Gates stressed.

The war-breeding factors still at work today, the speaker pointed out, are imperialist in origin. Imperialism, whether capitalist in the United States and Western Europe, or bureaucratic collectivist in Stalinist Russia, is creating new national problems, suppressing democracy and paralyzing the economy of much of the world.

A vigorous and extended discussion period followed, after which Gates answered questions and replied in devastating detail to members of the audience who considered Russia a workers' state.

Earlier in the day, Gates addressed members and friends of the Cleveland unit of the Socialist Youth League. Although socialist forces are now small, he stated, this is no cause for discouragement. The movement for American independence started as a small handful, he pointed out, and abolitionists before the Civil War were a small minority. In concluding, Gates showed that the objective forces in society today worked for the victory of socialism.

## Where You Can Buy Labor Action and New Internationalist

**AKRON**  
Kallas Cigar Store, 1 W. Market St.  
News Exchange, 51 S. Main St.  
National News Co., 333 S. Main St.  
La Salle Confectionery, 620 S. Main St.

**BALTIMORE**  
Fayette and Calvert Streets

**CLEVELAND**  
Wheatman's Store, 719 Prospect Ave.

**DETROIT**  
Carl's Bookstore, 9109 Woodward, near Clairmont.  
Cas & Warren Drugstore, opposite Wayne University.  
Family Newsstand, downtown, in front of Family Theater.  
Highland Park Newsstand, 13501 Woodward, near Davison.

**LOUISVILLE**  
Eiler's Bookshop, betw. Liberty and Jefferson on 3rd.

**NEWARK**  
91 Barkley Street.  
168 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. E. cor. Broad St and Girard Ave.

**New Internationalist:**  
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. (N. I. only).

**Berkeley:**  
Whelens, Bancroft and Telegraph.

**SEATTLE**  
102 Washington Street.

**Streator Readers:**  
**MAX SHACHTMAN**  
(National Chairman, WP)  
Will Speak on  
"Socialism—The Only Road to Peace and Security"  
**TUESDAY, FEB 18, 8 P. M.**  
Trapp Bros. Hall, 306 E. Main

ing the most important capitalist politician in Ceylon, his candidacy is receiving wide attention. Most political observers in Ceylon regard the contest in this district as the most important and the most heatedly fought-over in the coming elections.

An interesting aspect of the election campaign is the role of the Stalinists, who have announced their support to the capitalist coalition known as "United National Party." They reached this decision, however, only after the most intense internal battle, during which some CP members were accused of "Trotskyism" by the leadership. We have been informed that some of these dissidents have resigned from the Communist Party.

The Fourth International movement in Ceylon is a real mass force. The Fourth International party there—recently re-united after a split which had lasted for a few years—is the recognized leader in the struggle for independence from British imperialism.

## Education Opportunities Limp In Shadow of Liberty Bell

By F. HARPER  
PHILADELPHIA — The nation's third largest city, Philadelphia, has only recently set up a committee to study the establishment of a free city college. On February 4 a resolution calling for the appointment of a sub-committee to study the "whole question" of the establishment of a city college and report on its findings as quickly as possible, was adopted at the first formal meeting of the Philadelphia City College Committee.

The need for the city college is great. There is no state university in the city and the private universities such as Pennsylvania, Temple and Drexel are overcrowded and beyond the financial means of many prospective students. These facts are recognized by at least some members of the committee which was appointed recently by the City Council.

Judge Harry S. McDevitt, a member of the full committee, declared during the parley that "my interest is in the poor boys and girls who won't get a higher education unless we establish a free city college."  
"We spend 10 times as much money for the suppression of crime as we do for education, and I think it is time that we spend at least as

much for education as we do for crime," he said.  
The inadequate facilities for higher education while accentuated in Philadelphia are of serious proportions all over the Keystone state. For example:  
Dr. Robert L. Johnson, president of Temple University, pointed out that at present, the Commonwealth "provides only about \$8,000,000 a year" in aid to institutions of higher learning. He compared this to the approximately \$20,000,000 given by Ohio, and stated that this state's aid "is only about twice that given by Georgia."

## LABOR PAPER - -

(Continued from page 1)  
of Labor, who continued work at the three struck newspapers.  
"He threw them a bone in the form of a Bulletin promise to continue the pay of the employees who continued at work for a period not exceeding ten weeks. After that, as far as anybody knows, they'll have to look for a job."

The Workers Party of Philadelphia recognized this fact that the interest of all labor is involved in this Guild strike when last week it asked the CIO and the AFL to take joint responsibility in publishing a permanent labor paper.

Just what the Bulletin intends to do with the Record remains a mystery. To date they have done nothing

except to publish two pages of the Record's syndicated columns and comics. It seems probable that the papers will be resold. To cover this contingency, President Arthur D. Pierce of the local Guild shortly after the suspension of the Stern papers, made it clear that the Guild would stand pat regardless of who becomes owner of the papers.

The Record strike and subsequent events are attracting national attention. On Wednesday, February 12, the House Committee on Education and Labor investigated the strike. Also the Department of Justice has announced that it has made a "routine request" for information on the acquisition of assets of the Philadelphia Record Co. by the Philadelphia Bulletin Co.

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; at a cost of \$10.00 per package, 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 (\$10.00 each), 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.

# Labor Action Fund Drive Ends Short of Its Goal

FEBRUARY 1—Today is the final day of the \$5,000.00 LABOR ACTION Stabilization Drive. As of this date only \$4,651.50 has been turned in, leaving us about \$350.00 short of the goal set. Response to the drive has been mixed, some branches oversubscribing their quotas and others falling very far behind. Despite the fact that the drive is formally over, we urge those branches which are behind in their quotas to make all efforts to make good their pledges. We also ask the branches, whether their quotas have been realized or not, to insist that every Workers Party member who has made a pledge shall honor his pledge. We ask that the funds be sent in at once as there is great need for it.

We are especially grateful to the Streator branch which comes out on top of this drive; and to Newark, New York, San Francisco, Chicago and Youngstown which fulfilled their quotas. We also express thanks to our readers who sent us a total of over \$200.00 in individual contributions.

Branch	Quota	Contribution	Percentage
Streator, Ill.	\$5.00	\$74.00	280
Newark, N. J.	200.00	217.50	108
New York	2100.00	2179.50	104
San Francisco	300.00	310.00	103
Chicago, Ill.	500.00	505.00	101
Detroit, Mich.	300.00	304.00	101
Los Angeles Area	200.00	200.00	100
Youngstown	35.00	35.00	100
Akron, Ohio	150.00	136.00	90
Boston	35.00	28.50	81
Baltimore	25.00	20.00	80
Buffalo	300.00	219.00	73
Cleveland	150.00	86.00	57
St. Louis	40.00	22.00	55
Philadelphia	250.00	118.00	48
Louisville	65.00	21.50	33
Seattle	200.00	27.50	13
Reading	75.00	2.00	2
Hibbing	5.00	0.00	0
Miscellaneous	65.00	166.00	256
Individual Contributions		40.00	
	\$5000.00	\$4651.50	93



LABOR ACTION MARCH-SUBSCRIPTION DRIVE  
On March 1, LABOR ACTION begins its big 1947 subscription drive for 2,000 new readers. Branches of the Workers Party, collaborating in this drive, have been proposed by LABOR ACTION to accept the following quotas as their goals in this drive. These branches are now discussing these proposed quotas. We are printing below the quotas that have been suggested to the different branches. LABOR ACTION is looking forward to the successful completion of this campaign—a big step in the direction of increasing the paper's circulation.

LOCAL NEW YORK	600
CHICAGO	350
LOS ANGELES	200
PHILADELPHIA	150
DETROIT	120
NEWARK	100
SAN FRANCISCO	100
BUFFALO	100
SEATTLE	50
CLEVELAND	50
AKRON	50
READING	20
BALTIMORE	20
MINNESOTA	15
LOUISVILLE	15
ST. LOUIS	15
BOSTON	10
STREATOR	10
MISCELLANEOUS	25
TOTAL	2000

The following new subscriptions were received by LABOR ACTION during the past week:

CHICAGO	13
Philadelphia	5
Baltimore	2
Los Angeles	2
Newark	2
San Francisco	2
Akron	1
Detroit	1
New York City	1
Seattle	1
Miscellaneous	1
TOTAL	31

I Want to Subscribe to  
**THE NEW EIGHT-PAGE LABOR ACTION**  
4 Court Square, Long Island City 1, N. Y.

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

50 Cents for Six Months \$1.00 for a Year

**WILL CONGRESS SMASH THE UNION?**  
**ALBERT GATES**  
Labor Action Editorial Board  
**SUNDAY, MARCH 2, 3:00 P. M.**  
**ROOSEVELT HOTEL**  
**SEATTLE, WASH.**  
Admission 50c



# Expensive Ballyhoo About Price Drop Can't Be Used to Buy Food or Clothing

By SUSAN GREEN

When the price of butter fell a few cents, a couple of weeks ago, newspapers and radio commentators trumpeted the glad tidings as if all our price troubles were over. But at the same time the A & P stores were charging, here in New York City, twelve cents for a bunch of carrots, eight cents for a pound of green cabbage, thirty-three cents for a ten-cent box of raisins, twenty-one cents for a quart of homogenized milk, and about fifty-nine cents per pound for a decent cut of meat.

Since then there have been a few shifts both up and down, with butter again up, milk a cent down, carrots down but tomatoes up to thirty-three cents a pound, and so on. So where are we?

On January 28 the Bureau of Labor Statistics, whose findings notoriously favor the capitalists, stated that food prices declined an average of one per cent during the prior month. A one per cent decline—when

the price of food is, according to the businessmen's weekly, the United States News, "almost two and one-half times pre-war!" In percentages that's two hundred fifty per cent above pre-war food prices.

Again, when Ford Motor Company announced a \$15 to \$50 cut in price on its passenger cars, Mr. Ford was hailed by the capitalist contingent as a self-sacrificing hero. However, his grandiose claim that the cut was "shock treatment to halt the insane spiral of mounting costs and rising prices," is a fraud. The cut is simply a competitive move to bring Ford prices nearer those of Chevrolet.

As Richard T. Leonard, UAW-CIO vice-president in charge of the Ford division, pointed out, the new Ford prices are still fifty-one per cent above 1941 levels—the much ballyhooed reduction being a mere one per cent. Mr. Leonard further stated: "Needless to say, this reduction in Ford prices does not in any way reduce the disparity between the high cost of living for Ford workers and their earnings." So where are we?

of food has dropped by that picaresque one per cent. The wholesale prices of a few commodities have also declined a couple of points, but this decline has not been passed on to the consumer. However, wholesale prices in general are, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, on a new high level.

### PRICES OF DURABLE GOODS

The still upward trend may have been obscured by the after-Christmas sales to clear off overstocked merchandise, especially furs and luxury items. The rising prices in many raw materials, semi-finished and finished articles cannot be wished away. Spring clothing, furniture, building materials, nearly all durable goods are higher in spite of larger supplies. So where are we?

We were left far behind in purchasing power by the wartime wage freeze as the cost of living went merrily upward. The wage increases labor fought for and won at the end of 1945 were not high enough entirely to remove the disparity. The skyrocketing cost of living during 1946 has still further reduced the purchasing power of wages. The workers were the sacrificial lambs on the altar of wartime profits and continue to be fleeced for record-breaking peacetime profits.

### OUT OF THE HORSES' MOUTHS

We read that the president of the United States Chamber of Commerce struts his stuff that "the American way of sharing the wealth is by reducing prices." But are American businessmen acting that way? Fortune magazine took a poll to find out

what these pillars of industry expect prices to do in 1947 and what they expect to do about prices in 1947. Here is the result of the poll.

Two per cent had no opinion to express. Twenty per cent of the businessmen polled see no change in prices in general, and fifty per cent of this group declare there will be no change in the prices of their own commodities. Thirty-four per cent, over one-third, of the businessmen polled expect further price increases in 1947, and nearly all of this group predict price increases in their own commodities. The largest section, forty-four per cent, of the country's businessmen said they anticipate prices will go down in 1947, but only one-third of these optimistic gentlemen plan to lower their own prices. The motto is: Let George do it!

In the meantime, still quoting from the United States News: "A new house today costs nearly one hundred per cent more than in 1939 to build. A new car costs at least fifty per cent more than it cost in pre-war. Food costs are almost two and one-half times pre-war. Clothing costs often are double pre-war, or even higher than that. Commodity prices, in general, are nearly ninety per cent above pre-war." Nor has the peak been reached, for the "living-cost trend still rises slowly," to say nothing of the break in rent ceilings in spite of official rent control.

Ballyhoo about falling prices will not buy more food, clothing and other needs. The standard of living of the people will continue to decline unless there are adequate wage increases in each industry WITHOUT any further price increases.

### FALSE PROPAGANDA ON PRICES

We are in a situation where the capitalist class is using every means of propaganda to create the false impression that prices are substantially down. The reason for this campaign is to produce a hostile atmosphere for the wage increases already demanded by many unions and to be demanded by more unions in the near future.

How flimsy is the actual foundation for the claim of a drop in the cost of living, is demonstrated in a recent front page article in the New York Sun. The headline read: "Food Buyer Is Having His Day at Long Last." And how was this claim substantiated in the body of the article? The A & P stores were selling five-cent candy bars at two for nine, and another chain was offering with every pound of hamburger—made out of heaven knows what—at thirty-nine cents, an extra pound at one cent. Such freak instances certainly do not support the claim of the headline.

Not talking about what may happen a year from now, but about what the score is right now, and again quoting the United States News—that weekly published for businessmen—we have a "living-cost trend still rising slowly." This is the overall fact even though the retail price

### Some of His Best Friends Are Hungry

At a meeting of the International Emergency Food Council, a sub-organization of the United Nations, D. A. Fitzgerald, director of the Council, said:

"Never before have so many nations cooperated with such a degree of success in the solution of the hard problems of daily living as have those sitting around this table. Our work impinges on the daily lives of hundreds of millions of human beings throughout the world. The size of the daily bread ration of a laborer in Milan, Brussels or Calcutta, the amount of rice available to the people of Ceylon and Hong-Kong is directly affected by our activities."

The well-fed and comfortable director merely neglects to mention that his unprecedented "degree of success in the solution of the hard problems of daily living" is not preventing millions of Europeans from starving.

# WP and Chicago's Election Campaign

FROM A SPEECH BY ALBERT GOLDMAN, WORKERS PARTY CANDIDATE FOR MAYOR, DELIVERED OVER WJJD, SUNDAY, FEB. 2nd, 1:45 P.M.

Today I can give you only the barest outline of the nature of the Workers Party. As its ultimate aim and as the only solution for the problems confronting mankind it advocates the establishment of a socialist system to replace the present capitalist system. Our purpose is to convince the working people of this country of the necessity to take over the power of government in order to build a socialist society.

What is a socialist society? Here permit me to digress a little and emphasize what I consider a very important point. Too many people are under the misapprehension that there is a socialist or communist system in Russia. Such people either do not know what socialism is, or they do not know the conditions existing in Russia. Of course there are people who know better, both in the camp of capitalist reactionaries and among the Stalinists, who speak of socialism in Russia. They simply want to create confusion.

If socialism means anything at all it means a high standard of living for the masses and not for the bureaucrats only; it means the greatest possible equality, freedom and democracy. None of these is found in Stalin's Russia. For the past fifteen years or so there has been a totalitarian regime in that country as vile and as brutal as those which existed under Hitler and Mussolini. There are millions of slaves of the state, in the concentration camps; the Russian workers outside of the concentration camps are not much better off. No greater crime can be committed against a noble ideal than to label that which exists in Russia as socialism.

When the members of our party, the Workers Party, speak of socialism they mean a social order where the factories, mines, railroads and all other means of production are owned not by private owners but by the people and are democratically controlled and operated by the workers. Under socialism goods will be produced to satisfy the needs of the people and not to make profits for the private owners.

Our party, however, is interested not only in the ultimate goal of establishing a socialist order. It is also interested in improving the conditions of the workers under the present system. (By workers I mean all those who make a living through their labor and not through the exploitation of others.) Whenever and wherever there is any oppression or injustice we are fighting on behalf of the oppressed and the victims of injustice.

If you read the platform of our party for this election you will see that we are interested in the immediate problems confronting the people of this city. We do not claim that our program for Chicago can solve all the problems of the people of this city. We cannot build socialism in Chicago alone but we can begin the solution of all these problems in a socialist manner. We cannot only eliminate graft and corruption from the city; we cannot only give Chicago clean streets and alleys; we can also begin to tackle such important problems as the housing and the transit problems in a socialist manner.

Before my time is up I want to give you an idea of the fundamental difference in approach between the Workers Party and myself as its candidate and the Democratic and Republican parties and their candidates in considering a solution for the most important problems confronting the people of this city.

The essential difference is that I and the party I represent consider the welfare of the masses to be above the interests of property and profits. We propose, for instance, that the city requisition all transient hotels to accommodate those people who have no apartments of their own or who must live in fire traps and under abominable conditions. This appears to be a fantastic proposition to those who are interested in the rights of property but to us who are interested in the welfare of the common people this measure is necessary and just. I shall give you further examples of the fundamental difference in approach in my next speech over this station on Sunday, Feb. 10th, at 1:45 P.M.

Remember to write to our headquarters, 1501 West Madison St., for literature and information. Attend our campaign meeting Sunday, Feb. 16th, at 7:30 P.M. at the Hotel Majestic. Thank you and good afternoon.

# CMU Junked - -

(Continued from page 1)

came out of the negotiations with an agreement that failed to satisfy the most basic needs of the time.

When they sought later in the year to gain for their own rank and file the additional concessions which the SIU-SUP had won in a strike against the government, they conducted their own strike with as inept a strategy as has been seen on the waterfront in recent years. When they finally returned to work, they left one of their member unions, the Marine Firemen, Oilers and Watertenders, still pounding the bricks. This was a violation of the agreement among all the unions to stay out together until all their beefs were settled.

As a result, the MPOW left the CMU. The membership referendum in that organization resulted in a five to one approval of this step. Soon afterward the Marine Engineers, also finding it impossible to abide by the rule-or-ruin policies of the Stalinists, resigned from the outfit.

The final blow came with the resignation of Joseph Curran of the NMU. Curran coupled his attack against the Stalinist wreckers in his own union with the despicable role they had played in the CMU. He charged that they had utilized the CMU to further their own ends on the waterfront at the expense of the working seamen. He stated that the CMU had been a complete fiasco as an instrument of maritime solidarity.

### FIGHT AGAINST STALINISTS

The dissolution of the CMU has not in any way taken the fire away from the anti-Stalinist group still embroiled in a struggle with the CP stooges in the leadership of the NMU.

At the NMU membership meeting on February 10, the fierce fight continued unabated, even though the CP is retreating rapidly. The action of Bridges, Stack and the other leaders in dissolving the CMU proved that they could not withstand the criticism of the ranks. It also proved that they realized that without this

action the membership, wherever it could, would have withdrawn and left the Stalinists holding a hollow shell.

Curran, speaking before the membership last night, said "the smashing victory" of the CMU's dissolution aided him and the membership in fighting to force the resignation of Smith, Stack and McKenzie, Stalinist pawns, from the leadership of the NMU. He said that the collapse of the CMU opened the way for unions of all affiliation to achieve "a real unity, without having to pay the price of being dominated by the leaders of the CMU."

In his statement to the press, Curran referred to the conference called by Vincent J. Malone of the MPOW soon to be held in Washington. It is expected that representatives of all the AFL, CIO and independent seafaring unions will attend.

### UNITED ACTION ON AGENDA

Already on the agenda for discussion at the conference is the question of united action against the re-identification of the maritime laws and other anti-labor legislation. Throughout the rank and file of the unions there is the hope that the conference will consider and decide upon a common series of demands in the next contractual negotiations and a joint termination date for contracts throughout the entire industry.

It is feared, however, that the conference will consist solely of piecemeal representatives who would utilize the meeting as an arena for bureaucratic horse-trading rather than dealing with the basic requirements that the present situation calls for. Only representative rank and file delegations can guarantee to the conference a wide scope and militant character to the struggles of the future.

The coming Washington conference should lay the basis for future cooperation in maritime—and thereby pave the way for eventual maritime unity.

### ... Until You Hear Some Facts of Life

When all the screaming was going on last year about the high wages that the miners were allegedly earning, the blow to the national economy which the strikers were delivering, and the harm to the reconstruction of Europe which was resulting, there were one or two things that the operators were not so strangely howling about.

"The preliminary annual statement of the Philadelphia & Reading Coal & Iron Company and subsidiaries," reports the New York Times of February 1, "showed yesterday a net income for 1946 of \$5,510,788 after all charges, including a \$2,889,002 provision for taxes."

The profits for 1946 amounted to \$3.82 a share, in comparison with 1945, when the profits amounted to \$1.03 a share. In the final three months of 1946 alone profits amounted to \$1.44 a share, which is more than the profits for the whole year of 1945.

This money forms a nice, comfortable health and welfare fund for the operators—who find it so difficult to understand why the miners should want a similar one.

Let's keep these few facts in mind when the operators start wailing next March about the fantastic wages that the miners are supposed to be getting and about how poor the depressed mining industry is.

# Labor Unity - -

(Continued from page 1)

the bottom of the main strike between the two organizations.

While this difference in organizational conception is of the utmost importance, we do not believe that this is a valid reason for the organizations to remain separated. But, on the other hand, we do not believe that the CIO should abandon, even in the slightest degree, its industrial union set-up. There should be no compromise with the AFL on this question. There is no valid reason for a compromise. In the present stage of technology, industrial structure and capitalist production, it is the CIO and not the AFL which is the basic organization and the organization with its base in the decisive section of the working class. Any compromise with this, any step away from industrial unionism, would be a reactionary step and should not be countenanced.

While all the above considerations may indicate the necessity for the period of collaboration, there is yet another consideration. It is imperative right now that labor present a united front against the capitalist employers and their government at Washington. The Republicans are preparing to hack away at organized labor, to attempt to stifle the unions and harass the working class. Any and all steps are necessary to defeat these efforts of the most reactionary section of the ruling class. If this can be accomplished, even in the slightest degree (and it can) through joint action, short of merger, or preparatory to merger, such joint action should be arranged and carried through.

The workers in the AFL should not permit themselves to be deluded by any forthcoming bombast from Green, Lewis, Tobin, Hutcheson or Wall. Their records are not good in the matter of proper working class relations between the two organizations. These craft union workers too should begin to understand what the real situation is in connection with craft unionism. It is not on the upgrade. This is not the 80's of the last century. Industrial unionism has arrived and it has arrived because there is a need for this type of trade union organization.

Not only is the industrial union structure indicated for the mass production workers, but should the in-

dustrial unions function in consonance with their structure, they can play the leading role in the trade union field in the struggle against the capitalist ruling class and its government. This factor will become increasingly clearer to craft union members with further developments of technology, mass production techniques and the further demands of monopoly capitalism for lowered production costs and the stabilization of profits. Members of the carpenters' union, for instance, will understand this, better when they are actually faced with pre-fabricated houses manufactured in mass production plants by semi-skilled and unskilled labor.

The workers in the CIO should not allow any bureaucratic interests of their leadership to stand in the way of their decision for the unification of the two organizations. There is a tendency for labor bureaucrats to maintain and perpetuate themselves. Labor leaders learn these things from the capitalist ruling class and from the political organizations of the ruling class. The record of Murray and of the other CIO leaders is not so good either. While they have stood steadfastly for industrial unionism, they have not supplied the consistent militant leadership which was demanded of them. Neither have they conducted certain indicated organizational drives, on time and with the necessary vigor.

When all of this is said, and it is important, the Workers Party resumes its advocacy of the merger of the AFL and CIO. The gains which the working class has made through industrial unionism should not be sacrificed. Further gains which can be made through industrial unionism should not be ignored. The Southern organizing drive should be prosecuted to the utmost and completed.

In our opinion, the CIO should reply to the AFL expressing its desire for the merger of the two organizations. Joint meetings should take place between committees representing the two unions. Pending the complete joining of forces, however, it is imperative that the two federations collaborate with each other in the most friendly and practical way, in a united front against the common enemy.

# Hit Jim Crow In Seattle Skating Rink

SEATTLE, Feb. 8—As a test action against discrimination in skating rinks, 72 Negro and white residents of this city organized a roller skating party under the leadership of the Workers Party, the Socialist Workers Party and the CIO Red Caps. Management refused the Negro members of the party, who waited patiently at the window for an hour, equal service. In an atmosphere of increasing tension, the whole party quit the skating rink in a demonstration against the rink's discrimination policy. The NAACP and CIO Council had exposed the plans of the management, although the management had previously sought to disclaim responsibility. The committee that organized the skating party has announced it will plan further action.

SEATTLE, Jan. 5—At a call for united front action to fight against discriminatory practices by the management of a local roller skating rink, the Seattle Branch of the Workers Party joined with the SWP, CIO Redcaps Union and other interested groups and persons to form the Seattle Citizens Committee Against Discrimination. The committee has been working out plans for securing democratic and legal rights of Negroes to enjoy the use of the skating rink.

This committee was launched after a mixed group of young colored and white boys and girls went to the Bowl and were denied equal privileges. The committee calls for the support of labor in its present struggle and all other organizations which are committed to the fight for minority rights. When the task of eliminating Jim Crow at the Roller Bowl is completed, the committee intends to continue against any similar grievances.

Independent of the Seattle Citizens Committee Against Discrimination, a small group of AFD members and a representative of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People conferred with the Roller Bowl manager about his discrimination policies. As a result of these discussions, the manager agreed to take down his sign which stated: "We cater to white trade only," and to guarantee full skating privileges to colored people.

The Committee Against Discrimination notes that this is the first time that the management has made such a statement, though the NAACP has been working on the case for two years. However, there is reason to believe that the management is not to be taken at its word.

Plans are under way to organize a mixed skating party of sufficient numbers to guarantee safety for all and to test the sincerity of the management's new policy.

**NOTICE**

**The New International**

Subscription rates for THE NEW INTERNATIONAL are as follows: \$1.25 for a six-month subscription \$2.00 for a year's subscription The Special Introductory \$1.00 subscription offer is no longer available and will not be accepted by The New International.

**Special Offer:**

You Can Now Buy

**MAX SHACHTMAN'S "Fight for Socialism"**

176 Pages—Paper Ed. \$1.00

with

**"Plenty For All"**

By ERNEST ERBER

Illustrated—80 Pages Regular Price—2 Cents

**Both for \$1.00**

**Order from: WORKERS PARTY PUBLICATIONS**

4 COURT SQUARE, LONG ISLAND CITY 1, N. Y.

**NOW OUT!**

**The New INTERNATIONAL**

FEBRUARY

**AFTER FRANCO - WHAT?**

An Editorial

**Luxemburg and Polish Socialism**

By A. Rudziński

**Post-Stuttgart Germany**

By Henry Judd and Gertrude Blackwell

**Koestler and Jewish Fascism**

By W. Brooks

**The Marxist Movement in Ceylon**

A Document

ONE YEAR \$2.00

SINGLE COPY 25c