

Work for a Workers World;  
Join the Workers Party!

# LABOR ACTION

OCTOBER 20, 1947

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF SOCIALISM

FIVE CENTS

## Landlord Lobby Opens Guns on All Control:

# NEW RENT RISES THREATEN!

## Stalinist Gang Defeated by NMU Delegates

NEW YORK, Oct. 14—Stalinism in the American labor movement received its most decisive blow in years at the National Maritime Union convention, now in its fourth week here in New York. In this vitally important maritime union, which the CP has for years manipulated like a robot in accord with the Stalinist line, an enraged membership finally turned against the Stalinist wreckers.

The stalemate that had stalled the convention was finally resolved in favor of the anti-Stalinist forces, and Curran is now able to command an effective majority at the sessions. Nevertheless, the Stalinists still continue their stalling tactics and make every effort to hinder the efficient functioning of the delegates.

Last Friday, Joseph Stack, a leading Stalinist in the union, whose suspension from his post as vice-president has been previously reported in LABOR ACTION, made his appeal to the membership. After a full day of deliberation, the membership voted on Saturday to reject his plea by a majority of 353 to 351. By this slim margin the previous decision of the membership was upheld.

The Stalinists counter-attacked against the Curran forces by bringing unsubstantiated charges of discrimination against Harry Alexander and R. J. Sullivan, union officials of Port New Orleans and Curran supporters. The delegates rejected these charges by a vote of 389 to 308.

Progress was made in the militant development of the union when a resolution was passed recommending that clauses barring work stoppages be eliminated from contracts with the shipowners. These clauses, which appear in the NMU's agreements with the employers, were the product of the Stalinist leadership's class collaboration policy during the war. With the passage of the Taft-Hartley anti-labor law, the no-strike clauses put the union in a particularly vulnerable position. Joseph Curran, president of the union, declared that elimination of the clause would place the NMU "in a free-wheeling position" to fight the enslaving labor legislation.

It appears probable that the convention will complete its work this week. Next week's LABOR ACTION will carry a complete analysis of this highly important convention.

## WP Candidate In Detroit Polls 4,639

DETROIT, Oct. 11—Herman Benson, candidate of the Workers Party for mayor, polled a total of 4,639 votes in the October 7 primary elections. This represents 1.8 per cent of the total vote of 250,000. Benson was the first candidate ever run by the Workers Party in the city of Detroit, where it has had a branch for about five years.

The three main capitalist candidates, Jeffries, Van Antwerp and Cornell, who were all heavily financed by business and conservative elements, which made it possible for them to buy all forms of publicity, polled 228,536 votes. The votes of the other candidates follow:

Gerald E. Adams	5,380
Herman Benson	4,639
Howard Lerner	4,469
Joseph J. Mogor	2,479
E. D. Lembessis	2,256
Alfred C. Semande	1,864

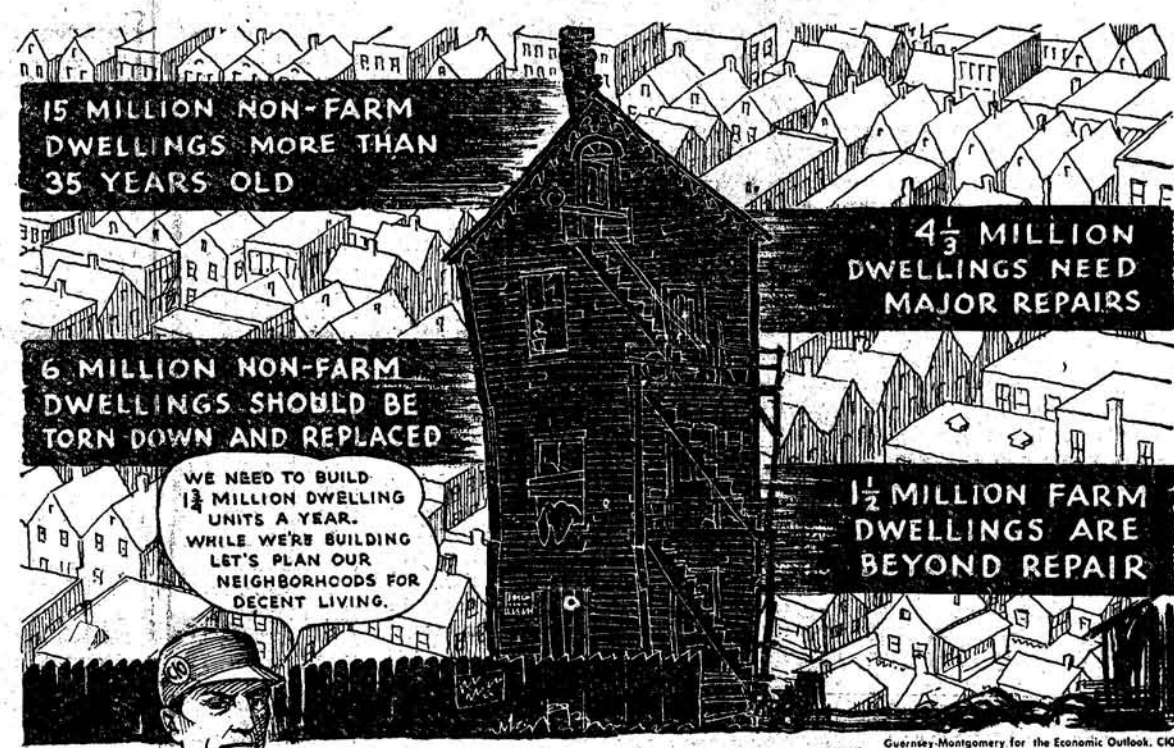
The campaign of the Workers Party centered around the slogan "For an Independent Labor Party," and criticized sharply the present political policy of the CIO and the AFL which supports so-called liberals in the Democratic and Republican Parties.

Calling for rent control, a moratorium on evictions, enforcement of laws against discrimination and for full social, political and economic equality for Negroes and all minorities, the platform and campaign material of the party attacked the leadership of the local labor movement for its bankrupt political policies.

The CIO, which had bitterly fought Jeffries for the past four years, ran no candidate against him and in fact gave him passive support. The AFL, which had endorsed him in 1945, threw its support to Van Antwerp, who initiated his campaign by a call for increased police violence against the striking garage mechanics in the city.

Benson spoke twice over the radio, addressed a public meeting sponsored by the party and participated in an election forum sponsored by Briggs Local 212. The leaders of several local community organizations supported his campaign actively. The party issued 15,000 copies of its election platform and sold several thousand copies of a special election pamphlet entitled: "Stop the Enemies of the Working People."

The Socialist Workers Party, which has collaborated closely with Stalinist elements during the elections, rejected a proposal for a joint election campaign with the Workers Party. Lerner was its candidate.



The need for housing has already become an "old story." One thing is long evident: private capitalist enterprise is incapable of meeting housing needs. High rents or low rents, control or decontrol—it will make no difference. The private real estate and building interests with their archaic technology and their "bloodsucking" aims will never provide housing for the needy millions. They have only one interest: getting all the profit they can from inadequate housing, poor housing and slums. The conditions depicted in the above illustration are of long standing and will remain so unless the housing problem is taken out of the hands of the real estate gang and their friends, and replaced by large-scale public housing such as demanded by the program of the Workers Party and LABOR ACTION

## HCL Investigators Offer Nothing at Philly Hearing

By JACK RADER, WP Candidate for City Council, Fifth District.

PHILADELPHIA—The congressional committee investigating the high cost of living held an investigation here last week. Spokesmen from labor and consumer organization presented facts and figures to prove that the people's living standards were being driven into the ground by runaway prices. The CIO spokesmen proved that wages were NOT the cause of higher prices, and that, in fact, wages were so far behind price increases that workers were faced with cutting their expenditures all along the line for clothing, food and rents.

How bad is the price situation? How badly is it affecting people's lives? The Philadelphia hearings brought out some remarkable facts. Increases in groceries like lard and butter have ranged, in the last six weeks, from 20 per cent to 212 per cent. Eggs are now selling at from 79 to 99 cents a dozen, against 71 cents a month ago. A very large number of workers and middle class families are turning to margarine because butter is out of reach. Meat is disappearing from people's diets. Housewives spend hours trying to figure ways and means of saving pennies on food. Because of the very

high food prices, most families are not buying winter clothes. They are doing their best with last year's.

Consumer groups testified that the cost of living in Philadelphia had doubled since 1939. But most frightening was the rapid increase of 41 per cent, in the one year since 1946, with no stop in sight. Putting the relation of wages to prices into dollars and cents, it was reported that it now costs \$3,575.64 a year to keep a Philadelphia family of four in a condition of a "minimum of health and decency." This minimum is very slim, indeed. And yet very few workers earn the \$70 a week necessary to meet this minimum budget.

It was pointed out that "even during the war (when many workers worked long overtime hours) this figure was never attained by a large proportion of American workers." This was reported by Professor Claude G. Bowman of Temple University.

A statistical study submitted to the congressional committee showed that an increase of less than 2 per cent in prices could have absorbed all of the wage increases since the end of the war.

After all of these facts were presented to the committee it became clear that the committee had no pro-

gram whatsoever for bringing prices back. To the plea for restoration of OPA and of price ceilings, the committee replied with an expression of helplessness. They could not legally roll prices back. And OPA had proved a failure. Therefore... "supply and demand would settle price levels." That is the identical excuse given for the killing of OPA last summer by the Chamber of Commerce.

The Workers Party was not permitted to present its program for the reduction of the price level, despite the fact that we had applied for a hearing several weeks in advance. The excuse was that no political groups were permitted to appear. Of course, this is mighty weak camouflage. The members of the committee are themselves politicians, and all of the witnesses who appeared had political opinions, which many of them expressed.

If the Committee is looking for a program to keep prices down, then what does it matter who presents it? The excuse is farcical. The truth is that the Republicans and Democrats are already well represented on this committee and in Congress. It is part of the maintenance of the political monopoly of the capitalist parties

(Continued on page 2)

## Government Board Aids Rent Gouge

The National Association of Real Estate Boards, representing 28,000 brokers throughout the country, has announced the opening of its campaign to end all rent controls when the present law expires on February 29.

This will not come as a surprise to the millions of people who are renters. The last session of Congress, in voting the present bill, had already put the knife to rent control.

The NAREB, which was named in a federal indictment "charging a criminal conspiracy in Washington to peg fees and restrain trade in housing," has large sums of money to carry out its campaign "to bring about the expiration of controls as now specified by law." It gets plenty of help from Washington.

Despite the lamentations of the Administrator, Housing Expediter Frank Creedon passed favorably on a recommendation of the Louisville control board granting landlords a blanket 5 per cent increase in rents. Interestingly enough, the Louisville board is composed of members connected with the real estate interests.

The NAREB campaign will undoubtedly result in another "little" victory for the profiteers. It was this body which originated the 15 per cent "voluntary" rent increase clause contained in the present law. Creedon's boast that such rent-boost leases were signed by only 1,282,253 tenants out of 15,700,000 renters overlooks the fact that this is 1,282,253 tenants more than would have signed such leases had the rotten bill passed by Congress been vetoed and the veto sustained.

Supported by outstanding senators and representatives and the big business press, the NAREB is emphasizing its hypocritical campaign with the statement the removal of all controls will "do away with wasteful use of housing (3)" and "the quicker will disappear the hardships now being suffered by many of our veterans."

These real estate liars can be halted in their tracks by an intensified campaign for stricter rent control and large-scale public housing.

Timidity will never overcome the rich and powerful real estate lobby. What is needed is a vigorous mobilization of the mass of people behind a militant program such as is advocated by the Workers Party and LABOR ACTION:

- Organize tenants' committees.
- Fight for legislation to declare a moratorium on evictions.
- Fight to prevent evictions of any of your neighbors.
- Don't pay more rent!
- Fight for a nation-wide public housing program to meet the needs of people!

## "Business as Usual" Governs AFL Parley

By WILLIAM BARTON

SAN FRANCISCO, Oct. 11—The 66th national convention of the American Federation of Labor has been in official session for about a week. It is, as yet, too early to comment on what promised to be the most important AFL gathering since the momentous 1935 convention that resulted in the formation of the CIO. So far there have been a small series of organizational steps, a great deal of top-scale maneuvering, all kinds of speaking by guests, the death of Counsel Joseph Padway and an indicated stand of some interest on political action on which we shall report next week.

Despite the recent NLRB decision that it was not necessary for the AFL Executive Council to file "anti-Communist" affidavits for the component unions to receive official recognition as bargaining agents, the Council has decided to abolish all its vice-presidencies in order to make certain that "federal locals" (those unaffiliated with international unions) are given that recognition. The purpose is apparently to prevent any similar experience as when John L. Lewis refused to sign the anti-Communist affidavit and thereby supposedly injured the entire Federation's chance for continued NLRB utilization. Naturally, this move is regarded as a setback for the mine union chief, although his victory in forcing the switch in NLRB policy appears to have the greater significance.

Lewis' reputed ally, Bill Hutcheson, of the carpenters, has been given a recommended jurisdictional award against the stage hands' union in the Hollywood dispute. The final decision on this issue will rest with the convention, and a lively battle is expected.

### BUSINESS AS USUAL

The invited speakers have alternately expressed two themes. One group, comprising people like Secretary of Labor Schwelmbach and Minneapolis Mayor Humphrey, emphasized what a horrible deal the Republican Congress had given labor and urged that the AFL do something about it. Another contingent has included General Mark Clark and Legion National Commander O'Neil, who insisted that the AFL abandon its traditional position and come out for compulsory military conscription. The most significant

speech is still awaited, that of German Social-Democrat Leader Kurt Schumacher.

What does this first week of oratory and off-the-scenes activity indicate for the entire convention? First and foremost, there will likely be no serious attempt to answer the pressing needs of the labor movement and the entire population. The Taft-Hartley Act is law, prices are still steadily rising, the government has clearly revealed its anti-labor bias, the housing crisis remains, fear of coming depression is in everybody's mind—and the national leadership of the largest and oldest labor federation seems bent on business as usual.

There will undoubtedly be some statement on political action and possibly something like the CIO's PAC set-up. But no one even dares speculate on a break with the old parties.

The largest wing of the Federation, led by Tobin of the teamsters, is all set to comply with the Taft-Hartley Act, confining its opposition to a mild battle in the courts. Hence it is obvious why Lewis, despite the all-out attacks upon him from all corners, remains the symbol of militancy—Lewis, the political co-worker of Tom Dewey! How ironic that the ultra-reactionary Hutcheson should almost appear as an independent "left winger" in opposition to the other die-hards. At least he is reported as considering ignoring some of the provisions of the national Taft-Hartley Act.

### CROSS CIO LINES

Even the old issue of the '35 dispute has not been settled. Severe jurisdictional disputes, like the one in the Hollywood studios, still wrack the organization. The industrial union set-up, pushed in 1935 by those who later formed the CIO, is alone capable of putting a crimp in these ridiculous conflicts. Much of the AFL is now organized by industries instead of crafts, but the old outmoded set-up still prevails in too many spheres.

While the AFL leaders call for organic unity with the CIO, AFL unions in the convention city this week crossed two CIO picket lines. (See West Coast column on page 2.)

In every way, the boys entrenched in the top positions of the AFL are showing themselves to be more and more incapable of solving any of the essential tasks of their membership. Maybe something worthwhile will come from them in the coming week, but this observer seriously doubts it.

## Hall Debates Scheitinger on UAW Caucuses

Buffalo UAW Militants Hear Detroit WP Organizer Argue Union Issue with Ades-Thomas Representative

By JIM DONNA

BUFFALO—Sunday night, October 5, the Buffalo Branch of the Workers Party most successfully revived a practice which, once recognized as an integral part of labor politics, has been too long ignored in this city: the public debate.

Under the title, "Which Caucus for Militants?" Ben Hall, Detroit organizer of the Workers Party, spoke in support of the Reuther Caucus in the UAW, while George Scheitinger, an international representative of the UAW, spoke in behalf of the union's Ades-Thomas faction.

Leading off, Scheitinger questioned the motives of the Workers Party in supporting Walter Reuther, finally reasoning that the Workers Party is politically "grasping straws" and "siding with anyone who opposes Russia." Next he attacked the position of Reuther on the clause in the UAW constitution referring to the exclusion from union office of Communists, Nazis and fascists, saying that he opposed "second-class citi-

zenship" in the UAW. "Since the Workers Party people say they are the true communists," he said, "will they be forced some day to appeal to Reuther not to throw them out of the union for being communists?" He then recalled several incidents in various locals where Reuther had full information on the activities of admitted communist UAW members but took no action against them. This proved, he maintained, that the "commie issue" is being used by Reuther as a "red herring."

He stated emphatically that the Ades-Thomas faction wholeheartedly supported the GM strike. As opposed to this type of union spirit he offered as an example the Allis-Chalmers situation, where Reuther "put politics before the picket line" and covertly "sought support" from "just plain scabs." In support of these charges he quoted from the Wage Earnings, organ of the ACTU, and referred the audience to the minutes of the 1941 convention wherein Victor Reuther stated his support of the

right wing of Allis-Chalmers local. Asserting his unequivocal opposition to the Taft-Hartley bill, Scheitinger warned of the dangers to the labor movement that lie in the signing of the anti-Communist affidavits. In the recent meeting of the UAW International Executive Board in Buffalo, Reuther, he said, "juggled the question of the affidavits" by speaking in favor of signing and voting against signing. "Emil Mazey, the militant," he continued, "voted for signing. Can the Workers Party support this?" he asked.

The first of the remaining three major points of Scheitinger's presentation dealt with the question of incentive pay, which revolved about his interpretation of the incident where Reuther's name appeared on an NPA statement—a statement by Reuther to the effect that he was "in favor of an increase in productivity"—and the fact that Reuther's own local in Detroit had a percentage of piecework jobs. Secondly, while defending the right of free

worship, Scheitinger asserted that the ACTU composes the numerical majority in the Reuther Caucus and called attention to the provision in the ACTU constitution which states that the archbishop shall be the final determinant in making ACTU policy. "In this case," he asked, "is Reuther against outside interference?" Finally, he spoke of the support now coming to Reuther from the big business press, such as the New York Daily News, and read a letter written by Gerald K. Smith which contained Smith's admission of secret support to Reuther as against the Communist Party and the statement that "Reuther is alive to the Jewish issue."

Hall was then introduced and immediately set the tone for his side of the debate. "In this debate," he said, "we are speaking of and dealing with union militants and must debate on this basis: which type of worker is attracted to which caucus—and why." He followed, "I don't want this to be bogged down with

recriminations, gossip, petty incidents and analysis on the basis of purely episodic events."

In order that a number of the charges made by Scheitinger be dispelled in short order, he reviewed the smear material outlined in the "Ades agitators' handbook" (circulated only among leading Ades-Thomas supporters) and compared it to the material contained in the formal, public statement made by the Ades-Thomas group, dated October 3. He pointed out that Ades-Thomas, desperate though they are, were forced to delete the greater amount of fabrications and distortions aimed at Reuther for the public statement because the charges being circulated semi-secretly were completely unfounded and could not be openly and officially defended.

Here Hall established his approach to an investigation of the real differences between the two contending groups in the UAW. Beginning with the 1942 convention and the question

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NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

# Ohio Labor Candidate Nets Big Vote

By JOE HAUSER

CLEVELAND—Cleveland's main independent labor candidate made an excellent showing in the September 30 primary, placing third in a field of ten candidates. John A. De Vito, a militant leader of Fisher Body Local 45, UAW-CIO, drew a total of 1279 votes out of 8871 ballots cast in the 32nd Ward councilmanic race. According to Cleveland law, elections this year are "non-partisan" and candidates have no party designation on the ballot. Primary elections are held the end of September, with all nominees placed on this ballot. The two nominees polling the most votes for each office are then the candidates in the regular November election.

Since De Vito placed third in the primary, he is now out of the running for councilman. However, he was only 91 votes behind the second place man, which means that he missed being placed on the November ballot by just over one per cent of the votes cast. This fine showing is sure to make an impression on those Cleveland workers who have been told that independent labor candidates cannot compete against the old-line party machines.

De Vito was up against powerful opposition in this campaign, the leading candidate being Anton Vehovec, a former councilman, a member of one of the railroad brotherhoods, and a well known figure in the 32nd Ward. The second place man is William M. Boyd, a former state senator and representative, a former steel worker and, according to his own literature, "labor's staunchest advocate in politics."

### STOOD ON LABOR PROGRAM

The 32nd Ward (Collinwood) is a heavily industrialized and working class residential area, and most of the councilmanic aspirants claimed to be labor candidates of one sort or another. Besides Vehovec and Boyd, who said they were friends of labor, the following were in the running: Pat Rannallo, business agent for Local 436, AFL Teamsters; Dominick Ciulli, national representative for the MESA; and Joseph Poznik, former executive committee member of Local 70, UAW-CIO.

De Vito was truly an independent labor man, having no desire for either Democratic or Republican support, being the candidate of the 43rd Ward Joint Labor PAC, and being endorsed by the Cuyahoga County PAC-CIO, the Cleveland Central Body of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen and many locals of the USA, UE, UAWA and IAM. The Fisher Body Local contributed heavily in finances, and forces to help De Vito, who is their chief shop steward and member of the Executive Board.

De Vito did not use his union connections just for vote catching, but stood on a union program. As he stated, in some of his campaign speeches, his rivals were "friends of labor," while "the WAS labor."

With this campaign experience behind them, many of the workers in the Collinwood area realize the need of a permanent organization to run independent labor candidates, and plans are being made to keep the Ward PAC alive and growing force in the neighborhood.

Cleveland's second independent labor candidate was Robert A. Sivert, of the IAM, running as the PAC candidate for councilman in the 22nd Ward. Due to the newness of this PAC Club and the lack of any large or influential unions in the ward, Sivert placed last among five runners. Plans are being made to build the RAC Ward Club and to profit from this year's experiences in the next elections.

There were three in the running for mayor of Cleveland: Burke, the present mayor, Democrat; Ness, Republican; and Pucel, Independent Democrat. Burke has had labor support in the past but has done much to disillusion his followers. He has blamed the labor movement for this country's "troubles," and has particularly gained the dislike of Fisher Body workers for vetoing Council-approved permission for a tag day in behalf of GM strikers in the last big strike.

### STEP FORWARD

Ness is openly the candidate of the open-shop industrialists, and will not be forgotten as the safety director who led the cops in armed battle against Fisher Body strikers some years back. Pucel is a councilman who has built up a record in recent years as being pro-labor. He consid-

# HCL Committee--

(Continued from page 1)

to keep independent labor political groups from recognition. That is the meaning of the committee's refusal to hear the Workers Party program.

There is another reason and that is the program of the Workers Party itself. In comparison with the other ideas presented to the committee and the ideas expressed by the committee itself, our program is the only one that can make any sense to the majority of workers. The heart of our program is that the people themselves have the power to institute and enforce control of prices.

Union price committees, democratically elected by the workers themselves, could police prices at the point of retail sale. From the factory to the consumer, labor and consumers can control prices.

We are for restoration of OPA and

price ceilings, but OPA, when it did exist, did not keep the lid down. The law itself must be enforced by labor and consumers' committees. The capitalists always find loopholes in laws they don't like.

The Workers Party is for immediate wage increases to defend the people's standard of living, these wage increases to come out of profits; wage increases without price increases, the program of the General Motors workers last year.

### OFFENSIVE NEEDED

Above all, an active militant labor offensive against high prices is necessary. Labor must make clear that it will not go hungry amidst plenty and at a time of full production and employment. Escalator clauses in union contracts, which give wage increases with price rises, would act as a restraint on the profiteers.

Such a labor offensive should have as its logical outcome workers' control of the food industries under government ownership. Since the profiteers cannot supply the people with food, they have no right to the control and profits of these industries. Only labor, representing the people, can provide a world of plenty for all.

This is the program against which, the congressional committee has established a conspiracy of silence, the program of the Workers Party.

### MINE WORKERS SEEK POLITICAL ACTION AVENUE

By G. McDERMOTT

WEST VIRGINIA, Sept. 30—Mine workers are looking for a method of fighting the bosses politically.

This was shown recently at the West Virginia State AFL convention in Charleston when rank and file delegates from United Mine Workers locals attacked the "horse and buggy" political policy of the state AFL and called on the AFL to set up a Political Action Committee.

This motion, opposed by most of the AFL higher-ups, was defeated. A substitute motion called for the defeat of West Virginia legislators who supported the Taft-Hartley bill. This motion passed.

The West Virginia labor movement is up against a problem here. Some West Virginia congressmen voted against the Taft Hartley bill, but these same congressmen had supported the President's injunction against the mine strike. Actually, no Republican or Democrat has a record acceptable to labor. A solution to the problem would be for working people, who are the majority of the people in the state, to run independent labor candidates.

imperialist rule from another segment of the world.

It is well to note that some Trotskyists in Palestine are for partition and proposed a concrete plan to the UN whose boundaries do not differ too greatly from the majority committee boundaries. (Of course, it did not call for a free city of Jerusalem.)

The position of revolutionary socialists, in my opinion, should be immediate independence of both the proposed Jewish and Arab states of partitioned Palestine, economic unity with no outside controller and the further unity of both states in a Socialist Federation of the Near East.

Comradely yours,  
Al Findley.

### Winthrop Aldrich And "Freedom Train"

Editor:

This is a continuation of my letter in the September 15 issue of LABOR ACTION dealing with the Freedom Train. Using the Freedom Train in this particular epoch isn't mere coincidence—it has subtler implications. It is banal, but nevertheless necessary, to point out once again that when public figures such as those who dedicate and will continue to dedicate Freedom Train at each stop of its journey use terms such as democracy, free enterprise, the American way of life, etc., they are insidiously selling the vast mass of Americans on the idea that America is synonymous with capitalism.

Let's take a look at one of these purveyors of good, solid, dyed-in-the-wool, honest-to-God patriots who sound off on occasions such as Winthrop W. Aldrich, chairman of the American Heritage Foundation, which sponsors Freedom Train, is a case in point. In truth, his is a case history of what lies at the root of all feverish flag waving, chest thumping patriots who take the stump in public and proclaim their undying love for God, flag and country.

Speaking at the Train's opening in New York, September 24, Mr. Aldrich (it wouldn't be a bad idea to capitalize the last four letters in his name) deported himself in this fashion: "It is the keeping of our freedom that concerns us today. Not only does time dull the luster of the brightest faith, unless it is refreshed—but strange and alien doctrines have sprouted like weeds in our midst. There is in the world today a tremendous conflict of ideas."

Also on the rostrum with Aldrich was another would-be status quo

guardian, one Theodore Kiendl, corporation lawyer. (Isn't it beyond all comprehension that those who stand highest on the social ladder are always the ones who tell poor little you and me that WE are in danger? Little you and me, collectively, were shipped by the boatload overseas into all sorts of danger, and when we arrived home and found housing out of reach, food prices ascending and spirals all along the line, not a word of OUR danger did we hear from these highly stationed personages.) Mr. Kiendl waved his flag thusly: "Our citizens must and will be inspired to resist attempts from whatever source to undermine or weaken the American way of life." Note the constant inference about the American way and other interpolations brought into play here by these two great Americans. But let's take a look at Mr. Aldrich in action, where he makes his living, and with whom he judges he can make a good horse trade. That's more to the point.

We have it from former Ambassador Dodd, who in his diary recently published, annotated, under the following date, these delicious items:

"August 11 (19), Friday. Winthrop W. Aldrich, president of the Chase National Bank, New York, came at 11:30 to express satisfaction with the German financial plan under which repudiation of German bonds sold to Americans WOULD NOT BE ANNOUNCED. He was not completely satisfied, but measurably so. He said: 'How unfortunate for us were those loans!' But he was on his way to Hitler's headquarters with Reichsbank President Schacht and the Minister of Economics, Schmitt. He would let me know what the Reichskanzlers (Hitler's) policy was." Further:

"September 1 (1933), Friday. Henry Mann of the National City Bank spoke of the conversation he and Mr. Aldrich had had some ten days before with the Chancellor (Hitler) at his summer place. The ideas advocated by Hitler were the same as those he had advanced to Professor Coar. He is a fanatic on the Jewish problem. He has no conception of international relations. He considers himself a German messiah. But, despite Hitler's attitude, THESE BANKERS FEEL THEY CAN WORK WITH HIM."

It is edifying sometimes to see fellow capitalists indict one another in their pursuits. However innocently they do it, it still substantiates what factions, which they refer to as "crack-pots," have long been depicting and citing. Indeed it is from

ers himself an insurgent Democrat and, while leaning heavily on the unions for support, he has done nothing to disassociate himself from the old line capitalist parties.

The Cleveland Industrial Union Council and the PAC-CIO county organization voted to support Burke and Pucel for mayor. In the primary, Burke and Ness ran first and second, thereby becoming nominated for the November election. Pucel polled about 23 per cent of the ballots, but is now out of the race.

Despite the fact that there were only two independent labor candidates in the primary and even though neither gained a nomination, and despite the official union leadership's support of Burke and Pucel, Cleveland labor has taken a step in the direction of building a Labor Party and has learned some important lessons. In a forthcoming issue of LABOR ACTION an analysis will be made of the role played by various elements in the primaries and of the De Vito campaign in particular.

Amnesty Demonstrators at Freedom Train Arrested; Freed as Cops Grope for Reason

The 19 amnesty demonstrators arrested at the Freedom Train September 25 were tried at the Mulberry Street Court by Magistrate Harry G. Andrews, who dismissed the defendants when the trial brought to light that an agreement with the police as to the time and place of the demonstration had previously been made.

Theodore Diamond and Carl Rachlin, attorneys for the Workers Defense League and the American Civil Liberties Union, listened attentively as the first witness, Assistant Chief of Police, Inspector Frank Fristensky, made his statement. Fristensky charged that "buses were unable to discharge their passengers" and that "demonstrators entirely obstructed traffic." He further stated that he tried to get the group to move to the south side of the street where there was "more room," and that the defendants had "asked to be arrested."

Patrolman O'Brien, when questioned specifically about one of the group, Bayard Rustin, did not know

# Notes on West Coast Labor Movement...

By WILLIAM BARTON

SAN FRANCISCO, Oct. 10—The "Mamas OPA" fight against rising dairy products begun by San Francisco housewife-consumers groups has received the unanimous backing of the large Local 10 of the CIO Longshoremen and has forced the Health and Welfare Committee of the Board of Supervisors to request a "consumers' price hearing before the State Bureau of Milk Control."

As spokesmen for the Sunnydale Project Shoppers announced that their week-long boycott of all dairy products was "99 per cent effective," a coordinating city-wide Consumer Conference on Skyrocketing Prices was scheduled for October 13, to spread such actions as the boycott and to plan testimony for the visiting congressional sub-committee on price increases.

Milk distributors have answered the charges of exorbitant milk prices with the usual wall that prices for other commodities have gone up much more. However, none have denied that there is an unusually large surplus, available. In fact, City Supervisor Christopher, a dairy distributor himself, had this to say:

"I have been offered three to four thousand gallons a day. There must be a surplus. I see no reason why this cannot be disposed of at a central location a few cents cheaper than it is in the stores. The Farmers' Market would do, or even the plants themselves."

The extent of this struggle by San Franciscans was revealed last week by a picket line set up by children in one area against a five-cent increase in the price of ice cream cones.

Arthur Miller, arbiter in the current waterfront dispute, has ordered the reopening of the Los Angeles and Long Beach ports, closed by the waterfront employers as part of their struggle against the strike of the walking bosses affiliated with the CIO Longshoremen.

Latest reports also announce that Miller has likewise insisted that longshore pickets be removed from the struck vessels of the Luckenbach Steamship Company. The official reason is that the picket lines represent "collusion" between the walking bosses and the stevedores. Longshoreman President Harry Bridges has apparently "reluctantly" accepted the decision.

The strike had already been dealt a serious blow by a section of the labor movement when officials of the Sailors Union of the Pacific announced they would no longer honor the picket lines, since they were part of a "phony beef."

Speaking of AFL-CIO relations, the AFL teamsters in San Francisco, upon the presumed personal orders of Dave Beck, have begun to deliver goods to the stores and warehouses of Sears-Roebuck, struck by the CIO warehousemen for several weeks. What effect this will have on the AFL clerks, who have refused to cross the CIO's picket line, is as yet unknown. When Teamster International President Tobin, in town for the AFL convention, was asked about this scabbing by his union, he replied that it was a local matter about which he knew little. Guess the big shots have too many weighty problems of rivalry and maneuvering to consider at their conclave to bother about such trivial items.

Read and Subscribe to The New International

Ask Support For Barberia In SF Vote

In the coming municipal elections in San Francisco there is one candidate for mayor who deserves the support of all working people. This candidate is Frank Barberia, who, in this legally non-partisan election, is running as a Socialist.

Barberia is running on a platform which on all matters vitally affecting the working people, such as housing, sales tax, the transportation system, discrimination, etc., is thoroughly progressive. Even more important, in his campaign he is emphasizing the necessity for labor to organize its own independent political party (Labor Party) free of any ties with the Democratic and Republican Parties of big business. In his campaign, Barberia is making no attempt to promise all things to all men, but appeals directly to the working men and women of the city to vote for him as a man who stands for independent, militant labor politics and socialism.

The Workers Party has no member of its own running in this election. Though we disagree with Barberia on many important questions, we do not feel that these disagreements have or should have any bearing on the support of readers of LABOR ACTION or of workers generally for his candidacy in this election. Barberia is also supported by The Militant.

LABOR ACTION is well aware of the fact that the leadership of the labor movement in San Francisco has again prevailed on their membership to support a candidate who stands for "company unionism" in politics, that is, for capitalist politics.

We urge the readers of LABOR ACTION to disregard any claims that Havenner, or any other candidate, is really a candidate of labor. The only real candidate of labor, whether he be endorsed by the trade union bureaucrats or not, is Frank Barberia, because he stands for a labor program and an independent Labor Party.

Be sure to go to the polls. Vote for Frank Barberia for mayor.

San Francisco Bay Area Branch, Workers Party, October 11, 1947.

# Read and Subscribe to The New International

Read and Subscribe to The New International

# Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor...

## Presents His View On Palestine Issue

Ed Findley's article on the UNSCOP (LABOR ACTION, Sept. 29) correctly rejects both the majority and minority reports as now formulated. He correctly points out that the minority report in no way satisfies the minimum needs of the Jews nor does it eliminate "outside" control of the country. He rejects the majority because of its complete imperialist control during the "interim" period and for the fact that it places an outside "arbiter" (read "controller") over the economic union.

Where Ed Findley is wrong is in rejecting the principle of political partition plus economic partition—if not in principle, then as completely unfeasible and unacceptable.

There is no doubt that democratic Arab-Jewish cooperation, guaranteeing the national rights of both, is a preferable solution to partition. However, a large section of the Jewish population desires a Jewish sovereign state in Palestine, although a partitioned one.

Our attitude to the partition of Palestine can "in principle" be no different from our attitude toward the partitioning of India. In India, too, we did not advocate partition but said that if the Moslems—who are by no means a nationality—desire separation, Marxists must support the demand, if the Moslems so want.

As revolutionary Marxists we must recognize the right of any national minority to separate itself from the majority and form its own independent state. True, we don't always urge them to employ this right.

In Palestine, the Jews seem to desire to exercise that right NOW. Such a bold course would immediately alleviate the burning need of the Jewish DPs and would satisfy the yearnings of many Jews for sovereignty and independence. In addition, they recognize the weakness of the Jewish position in present-day society that can only go from bad to worse in capitalist society and that partition is the most they can realistically hope for.

Economic unity at the same time would preserve all the main advantages that accrue to a united country. Anybody denying the possibility of Jewish-Arab economic union is in a poor position to propose any solution, that requires greater mutual trust and Jewish-Arab cooperation.

Partition, too, means immediate independence for the Arab portion of Palestine, and removal of direct

these very sources that a good deal of the material is gleaned.

Does all this seem strange? There is no reason that it should. After all, in free enterprise you are free to work the dollar whenever and wherever that dollar will work for you.

Winthrop W. Aldrich, the chairman of the committee which sponsors the train, is a banker, a brother-in-law to John D. Rockefeller and son of the late Senator Nelson Aldrich.

Norman Johnstone.

## Winthrop Aldrich And "Freedom Train"

Editor:

This is a continuation of my letter in the September 15 issue of LABOR ACTION dealing with the Freedom Train. Using the Freedom Train in this particular epoch isn't mere coincidence—it has subtler implications. It is banal, but nevertheless necessary, to point out once again that when public figures such as those who dedicate and will continue to dedicate Freedom Train at each stop of its journey use terms such as democracy, free enterprise, the American way of life, etc., they are insidiously selling the vast mass of Americans on the idea that America is synonymous with capitalism.

Let's take a look at one of these purveyors of good, solid, dyed-in-the-wool, honest-to-God patriots who sound off on occasions such as Winthrop W. Aldrich, chairman of the American Heritage Foundation, which sponsors Freedom Train, is a case in point. In truth, his is a case history of what lies at the root of all feverish flag waving, chest thumping patriots who take the stump in public and proclaim their undying love for God, flag and country.

Speaking at the Train's opening in New York, September 24, Mr. Aldrich (it wouldn't be a bad idea to capitalize the last four letters in his name) deported himself in this fashion: "It is the keeping of our freedom that concerns us today. Not only does time dull the luster of the brightest faith, unless it is refreshed—but strange and alien doctrines have sprouted like weeds in our midst. There is in the world today a tremendous conflict of ideas."

Also on the rostrum with Aldrich was another would-be status quo

guardian, one Theodore Kiendl, corporation lawyer. (Isn't it beyond all comprehension that those who stand highest on the social ladder are always the ones who tell poor little you and me that WE are in danger? Little you and me, collectively, were shipped by the boatload overseas into all sorts of danger, and when we arrived home and found housing out of reach, food prices ascending and spirals all along the line, not a word of OUR danger did we hear from these highly stationed personages.) Mr. Kiendl waved his flag thusly: "Our citizens must and will be inspired to resist attempts from whatever source to undermine or weaken the American way of life." Note the constant inference about the American way and other interpolations brought into play here by these two great Americans. But let's take a look at Mr. Aldrich in action, where he makes his living, and with whom he judges he can make a good horse trade. That's more to the point.

We have it from former Ambassador Dodd, who in his diary recently published, annotated, under the following date, these delicious items:

"August 11 (19), Friday. Winthrop W. Aldrich, president of the Chase National Bank, New York, came at 11:30 to express satisfaction with the German financial plan under which repudiation of German bonds sold to Americans WOULD NOT BE ANNOUNCED. He was not completely satisfied, but measurably so. He said: 'How unfortunate for us were those loans!' But he was on his way to Hitler's headquarters with Reichsbank President Schacht and the Minister of Economics, Schmitt. He would let me know what the Reichskanzlers (Hitler's) policy was." Further:

"September 1 (1933), Friday. Henry Mann of the National City Bank spoke of the conversation he and Mr. Aldrich had had some ten days before with the Chancellor (Hitler) at his summer place. The ideas advocated by Hitler were the same as those he had advanced to Professor Coar. He is a fanatic on the Jewish problem. He has no conception of international relations. He considers himself a German messiah. But, despite Hitler's attitude, THESE BANKERS FEEL THEY CAN WORK WITH HIM."

It is edifying sometimes to see fellow capitalists indict one another in their pursuits. However innocently they do it, it still substantiates what factions, which they refer to as "crack-pots," have long been depicting and citing. Indeed it is from

# Stalin's Poland

An analysis of the political and economic structure of Poland helps throw light on the problems of all the Eastern European countries and Stalinism in general.

LABOR ACTION and THE NEW INTERNATIONAL (its companion theoretical monthly magazine) have carried more articles analyzing the events in Poland than any other publications in the United States.

Here are just a few of the articles that you have missed if you haven't been a subscriber to LABOR ACTION and THE NEW INTERNATIONAL:

POLISH RESISTANCE AGAINST STALINIST RULE—Portrait of a "Country on Wheels" by Andrzej Rudzinski (Labor Action, 8-25-46)

THE PROBLEMS OF THE POLISH REVOLUTION, by A. Rudzinski (The New International, August, 1946, Part I—September, 1946, Part II)

THE CLASS NATURE OF THE POLISH STATE, by Ernest Erber (The New International, July, 1947, Part I—August, 1947, Part II)

ANTI-SEMITISM AND POLISH LABOR, by A. Rudzinski (The New International, January, 1947)

THE TRADITIONS OF POLISH SOCIALISM—The Influence of Rosa Luxemburg, by A. Rudzinski (The New International, February, 1947)

THE REFERENDUM IN POLAND,

by A. Rudzinski (Labor Action, 9-2-46)

A LETTER FROM A READER ON POLAND—A Reply by Irving Howe (Labor Action, 2-3-47)

THE THIRD FRONT OF SOCIALISM IN POLAND, by A. Rudzinski (Labor Action, 5-6-47)

WHO HEADS THE STALINIST QUAILING GOVERNMENT IN POLAND?—GPU Agents Masquerade as Life-Long Revolutionists, by A. Rudzinski (Labor Action, 3-4-47)

A TRAGEDY THAT BLEEDS—Katyn Massacre, by A. Rudzinski (Labor Action, 6-30-47)

We have listed only ten out of 32 articles that have appeared in LABOR ACTION and THE NEW INTERNATIONAL since the beginning of 1946. You can obtain a complete list of these articles by writing to our office. They are for sale: New International, single copies, 35 cents—Labor Action, single copies, 10 cents.

But why don't you get all these articles, and makes certain that you will not miss future ones? Simply SUBSCRIBE FOR ONE YEAR to LABOR ACTION AND THE NEW INTERNATIONAL at the regular rates and we will send you a complete set of all 32 articles.

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In Defense of Arrested Polish Socialists

# For International Action Against Stalinist Reaction

By A. RUDZIENSKI

The GPU has proceeded to the arrest en masse of the Polish Socialists who are in opposition to the regime. Among them are to be found the most prominent leaders of the PPS (Polish Socialist Party) before the war and during the German occupation: Puzak, ex-secretary general of the PPS, member of the resistance government, prisoner of the Czar and Stalin; A. Zdanowski, leader of the Polish unions; A. Obarski, leader of the Warsaw local of the PPS; Szturm de Sztrem, economist and theoretician; Ludwik Cohn, president of the Central Committee of the Socialist Youth; Wilczynski, Misiorowski and Zbrozyna, leaders of the workers' movement in the period of the German occupation. A cynical communication from the "Bezpieka" (security police) accuses the prisoners of acting as spies and agents for Anders (chief of the Polish army in exile and a tool of Britain—Ed.) and imperialism, and declares them guilty of "betrayal of the Polish nation." The prisoners are to be tried before a military tribunal, as in Russia, and it is expected they will be sentenced to death.

Let us decipher the political key of bloody Stalinist justice. After the famous Stalinist elections, the GPU cleared the way for the political liquidation of the peasant opposition. Wide spread arrests of peasant activists, among them the most prominent collaborators of Mikolajczyk, Augustynski and Mierzwa, prepared the way for the destruction of the democratic peasant movement. General Paszkiewicz, old persecutor of the Communists and "pacifier" of the Ukrainian population, now a creature of the regime, accused Mikolajczyk in the puppet parliament of having organized, together with General Anders, the assassination of General Sikorski. The GPU has a very black conscience with regard to Sikorski's death and tries to hurl accusations at others. The trial of Mikolajczyk is expected in Poland, but it is impossible without the destruction of the workers' opposition.

REVENGE FOR WORKERS' STRIKES

In the year 1946 and the spring of 1947, Poland experienced a wave of strikes against misery, hunger and the Stalinist administration. In spite of the direct intervention of the police, in spite of the massacres (as in the port of Gdynia) and the reprisals, the strikes continued, the Stalinist administration showing itself impotent to stop them. The working class declared itself against the regime of hunger, misery and persecution and refused to be deceived by the phrases of the regime concerning the "socialist" nature of industry, the "workers' state and other Stalinist lies. In the majority of cases, the Stalinists had to yield before the workers' pressure. The industrial areas, old strongholds of the CPP (Polish Communist Party) took the lead in these struggles.

At the same time, prices and the cost of living skyrocketed. The Stalinists wanted to reply with draconian measures; confiscation of the peasants' grain, police control of prices and reprisals against everybody. The fake PPS (set up by the Stalinist quislings) feeling the pressure of the masses, opposed the administrative measures, recommending the intervention of the cooperatives in the market. This initiated a crisis between the Stalinist PPR (Polish Workers Party) and the fake PPS. The Stalinist officials demanded the "unity" of the "workers' parties" in order to counterpose the iron fist of a one-party dictatorship to the worker and peasant opposition. But fearing the loss of their present position, the bureaucrats of the fake PPS resisted the pressure for "unity."

Now the GPU is taking its revenge for the workers' strikes and the "audacity" of the pro-Stalinist reformists. The victims are the leaders of the opposition, considered by the GPU to be the authors and chiefs of the strikes and opposition to the regime. Without eliminating the anti-Stalinist opposition, there is neither the possibility of putting a stop to the strikes nor of absorbing the fake PPS, nor of annihilating and de-

stroying the democratic peasant movement. The arrests are aimed at the workers' leaders, against the peasant leaders, against the underground resistance movement represented by the WIN (Liberty and Independence), against the Catholics, in fact against everybody. The Central Executive Committee of the unions prohibits strikes with the threat of severe punishment, while the police proceed to the destruction of the workers' opposition.

DEMONSTRATES INSTABILITY OF REGIME

The drastic measures against the Social Democrats, the use of the military tribunal and the threat of the death penalty, demonstrate the crisis of the Stalinist regime in Poland, that it has still not succeeded in solidly establishing itself and lacks an adequate social base. The opposition has demonstrated that it is strong, powerful and capable of replacing the regime. The GPU accuses those arrested of being "spies" and "agents of fascism," branding the WRN group in the PPS (Liberty, Equality and Independence) as rightists.

In reality, standing beside the leaders of the right wing of the PPS, like Arciszewski, we see Zarembo, Ciolkosz, Zulawski, etc.—representatives of the left wing of the party, fighters against the dictatorial regime of Pilsudski, against the Nazis and among the oldest fighters against Czarism (Arciszewski, Kwapiński, Puzak). The opposition of the PPS to the regime acquires more and more revolutionary features as each day goes by. The declarations of the only anti-Stalinist Socialist in the Warsaw Parliament, Zulawski, contain brilliant passages, which are worthy of a revolutionist. This brave workers' leader voted, by himself, against the police and war budgets. Not even Mikolajczyk dared to do this. Politically, the opposition of the PPS opens the road to a new and superior phase for the workers' movement, for victory along the road of destruction of Stalinism.

Though inconsistent, it represents the left wing of the workers' movement and holds the elements of the future revolutionary uprising against the Stalinists. It constitutes proof that the most powerful and viable opposition to the regime is that of the workers and peasants. The lack of an authentic Marxist and revolutionary nucleus, heir to the banner of Rosa Luxemburg, explains the inconsistency and the ideological backwardness of this movement. But our task is not to preach sermons to those who fight, but to join them in the struggle and to show them the road of the socialist revolution.

The situation in Poland is a laboratory of history in which new methods of struggle and new Marxist theory are germinating. The defeat of the peasant movement made possible the attack against the workers' opposition movement. In that first stage, the Germans and Franks (articles by Germain and Frank have appeared in the "Fourth International"—Ed) and all the other unfortunate theoreticians gave all their support to Stalinism in its struggle against the democratic workers' movement. Now the GPU begins to butcher the workers and Socialists, the potential Trotskyists. What will be the position of the Fourth International? Will Frank and Co. aid the GPU in the assassination of the leaders of the workers' opposition in Poland because they are reformists or centrists, and do not belong to the holy church, or, more truthfully speaking, the sect of Frank and Co.?

MUST DEFEND WORKERS' OPPOSITION

It is our duty as revolutionary Marxists to support and defend the workers' opposition in Poland, although it may not yet have declared itself a section of the Fourth International, because the struggle of this opposition is ours and that of the whole working class. It is this opposition which clears the way to a higher stage for the independent workers' movement, to a victory over Stalinism and capitalism. The Stalinist attack proves to the hilt the correctness of the position of giving support to the democratic movement of the peasants in Poland.

The international working class must defend the Polish Socialists, who are threatened with assassination by the GPU. All parties, whether reformist or revolutionary, must form a united front against the Stalinist reaction. A very wide international workers' campaign must be initiated against the Stalinist terror in Poland for the immediate liberty of the socialist and working-class prisoners in Poland.

Meetings and working class demonstrations must be organized in New York, Paris and London against the hangers on the GPU. Protests must be staged before the Soviet and Polish embassies in the United States. Stalin's lieutenants in Warsaw, Bierut, must be flooded with cables of protest and demands for the immediate liberty of the socialist prisoners. This is the only language the GPU understands. This is the only way to bring the Stalinist reaction to a halt.

# WORLD POLITICS

## The Stalinist, 1947 Model

In 1943, the "Communist" International of 32 member nations was formally "dissolved" by its Kremlin masters. One week ago the same masters "revived," without formality, their creature. The world press has had its period for fulmination and hysteria in denunciation of this act; the Stalinist press has had its period for explaining away and hypocritically belittling the event. Let us therefore now attempt soberly and realistically to appraise its significance, its possible consequences and see whether anything has been revealed about the inner nature of the world Stalinist movement.

All agree that the secret meeting of the nine top Stalinist leaders at Hermann Goering's ex-hunting lodge in Polish Silesia marked a new stage in the steadily progressing division of our world into the opposed Russian and American camps. There are other evident and direct consequences generally agreed upon.

The international Stalinist movement will continue and step up its barrage against U. S. imperialism. From the voice of Vishinsky in the United Nations to the faintest echo of an obscure Stalinist hack in remote Bulgaria, the anti-American line, sometimes subtle and clever, most often crude and chauvinistic, will be pounded. In Western Europe, where Russia fears most of all a successful working out of the Marshall Plan, (in the sense that it may stimulate actual economic and industrial revival), Stalinism will manipulate every possible weapon at its command to slow up, sabotage and stymie U. S. penetration into Europe through the Plan.

A POWER BLOC OF NATIONS

The limited "revival" of the Comintern is likewise a measure in the Russian terror "war of nerves," principally directed at the conservative and middle class elements of Western Europe, and seeking to blackjack them into a position of neutrality out of fear.

A joint fear of war and fear of "communism," imposed in the Russian style, rates high in the aggressive propaganda program now being launched by Stalinism. The text of the resolution issued by the conference, with its mixture of pseudo-Marxist phrases, demagoguery and radicalism, sets the tone for the future. Finally, Stalinist political slogans and proposals will appear to be far more leftist and "revolutionary" than for many years, with Russia pointed up as the world center of peace, democracy and champion of the peoples everywhere.

All this is clear and obvious. Yet there are other questions involved, more obscure and whose implications will only be seen in the evolution of events. In an immediate sense, this event has been sensationalized and dramatized by interested parties far beyond its importance. Their motives are transparent. Yet there is more to the Polish Conference than meets the eyes.

The difference between the Comintern-1947 and the "dissolved" Comintern-1943 is as great as that between the Comintern-1943 and the revolutionary Comintern-1917 of Lenin and Trotsky. The alleged Comintern of 1947 is as much the creature of the Stalin regime as was the organization that was "dissolved" in 1943, but this new spawn differs in radical ways from the former. It is the creation of the mighty, emergent Russian imperialism; a world power with a veritable empire of its own; a nation of vast power whose interests reverberate in every part of the world.

Thus, in one respect, the neo-Comintern is not so much an organization of Stalinist political parties, operating in hostile countries, as it is a power bloc of nations, of governments and regimes bearing striking resemblance to the geo-political setups the Hitler regime often sought to create. It is, at the moment, a Moscow-

Warsaw-Belgrade axis seeking to exert, in a variety of ways, determining power over Europe. The New York Times editorial is correct in stating that the "new Comintern... knows nothing of an international proletariat" but rather seeks to enlist Europe under the leadership of Communist-dominated governments against the United States." In this sense, it is the first presentation of the New Stalin Order for Europe.

STALINIST POWER SEEN WANING

But the two most important Stalinist world organizations—the parties of Italy and France—do not hold state power in their countries. They do not even share in their respective governments! Yet they were present at the conference and, in fact, their presence was not only indispensable but perhaps the most decisive matter of all. Here we touch upon another aspect of this event, part of the analysis of which must be speculative in nature.

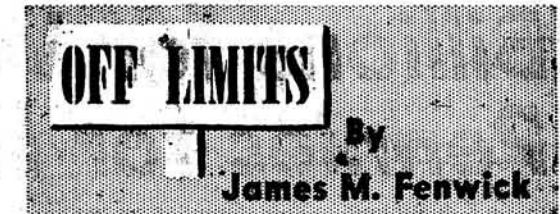
The colonies of present-day Russian imperialism are not decisive in strength or power, not even within the diminished arena of ruined Europe. Italy and France, together with Germany, are essential for the operation of Stalin's plans. The parties of these countries, particularly the former two, have tended to develop their own "independence," their own collectivist desires and aims. Generally, these do not conflict with Russian imperialism, but at times the tendency for such conflict is strong. It is notorious in Europe that, for instance, the top French Stalinist leadership did not want to leave the French coalition government (within whose apparatus it was carefully thrusting itself) and then bent every effort to get back into the government. But now Russia has called a halt to this strategy. It is bringing its parties to heel, placing in the forefront once more their strategic task of serving Moscow (even at the possible expense of momentary loss of influence). The Polish Conference, we can speculate, laid the law down to the nationally ambitious Thorez and Togliatti.

Like so many important events, it will take a certain time before we can clearly see this even in proper proportion. Much will happen now in the nations of Western Europe. We believe, however, that the real trend of these events will be almost entirely in the direction of permitting us to draw the happy and fortunate conclusion that Stalinism, in Europe, its heart and core, is on the downgrade; that the waning of its historic power has begun. For it has two fatal weaknesses, neither of which the revived Comintern can overcome.

First, its proved incapacity to take power now, within the context of the existing situation, in those countries of Western Europe where power really counts; secondly, its incapacity to appear as anything but a destructive force, in the social and economic sense, in those same countries.

The test and the proof of this conclusion will lie in the living evolution of the Stalinist parties of France and Italy over the next year or two. These are the negative factors of the decline; unfortunately, the equally important positive factor needed to speed up this decline—the existence of clearly oriented revolutionary parties—does not yet exist.

Henry Judd.



WALL STREET'S NEW WAR

In a letter just received from a friend in Europe we are informed that the house in which Karl Marx, the founder of scientific socialism, was born was reconstructed earlier this year after having been sacked by the SS in the closing phases of the war.

That amid the Pompeian ruin which is present-day Germany such a project could be carried out is testimony to the sacrifices which an understanding of the scientific validity of Marx's work is capable of inspiring among the working class and among the best elements of the intelligentsia.

How vain, how stupid was the work of the Nazi vandals! Each to his own method. The SS was doing in its fashion only what persons somewhat higher on the intellectual ladder are doing in theirs.

A case in point is provided by that most timid and elusive of the fawns quaking in the academic thickets—the professor of economics whose sole protection against a very rude world consists of a headstrong opposition to Marxism and a complete inability to make head or tail of the capitalist economy.

GULLIVER AMONG THE BROBDIGNAGIANS

It is a little amazing in these rousing times to take a graduate course in economic theory and find oneself once again in that wind-still land of Rationally Acting Economic Men, risk, and the mysterious but obviously important Mr. Robinson, who, in the historic past, caught fish with his bare hands, smoked them, and stored them away, thereby proving something about working capital... I think. How little economic theory has changed since we were taught it in high school by the football coach—twenty years ago, alas!

It has to be said that the coach did a better job. The reason must be that the government did not intervene in business to any significant extent in those palmy days. At least that is the reason given by the professoriat today for not being able to make a science (which is basically the ability to predict) out of economic theory. Government intervention, you see, destroys the normal operation of what is known seriously as the "free enterprise system"—and hence destroys normal analysis. And the analysis of politics is hardly permissible because—is it not evident, dear students?—politics is outside the realm of economics.

This concept of the government as a third force alien to both capital and labor is, of course, denied by Marxism. That the government is the representative of the capitalist class is a commonplace in Marxist analysis. As capitalism declines and is submitted to ever more severe economic, political, social and military crises, the intervention of the government becomes more direct.

CAPITALISM AND THE COMING WAR

The outstanding fact of political life today is preparation for war against Russia. Over the preparation for and prosecution of this war the capitalist class intends to maintain the firmest controls. This is not so manifest in Congress, whose members, as Jack Ranger so neatly showed in a recent issue of this paper, were formerly lawyers, doctors, teachers and similar rather unimportant non-working class toadies.

Where it is clearly manifest is in such institutions as the cabinet, the State Department, the consular corps and similar bodies which are largely appointive and over which there is little electoral control. The influence of big capital is particularly obvious in governmental bodies having a direct hand in the prosecution of the war and in its preparation.

We don't share with Henry Wallace the simple-minded, if not dishonest, belief that the Republican Party has always been the party of Wall Street and that since the death of Roosevelt what the New York Times calls "representatives of large financial interests" have taken over key posts in the Truman administration and corrupted the Democratic Party. Both parties are and have been parties of Wall Street. Nor do we concur in Wallace's whitewashing of Russian imperialism. Both of these facts, however, do not prevent Wallace from making some very accurate observations as to who controls the government:

"Working with a military-trained Secretary of State in formulating foreign policy, we find:

"The Under Secretary, Robert Lovett, a former partner in the Brown Brothers-Harriman banking firm.

"The Assistant Secretary, Charles Lovett, a former vice-president of the New York Stock Exchange.

"The Ambassador to England, Lewis Douglas, chairman of the board of the powerful Mutual Life Insurance Company.

"Then there is the Defense Secretary, James Forrestal, on leave as head of the Wall Street banking firm of Dillon, Read Company; the Secretary of Commerce, W. Averill Harriman, chairman of the Brown Brothers-Harriman firm, and the Secretary of the Treasury, John Snyder, a banker from St. Louis. Another product of Dillon, Read, Maj. Gen. William Draper, has just returned from Germany to become the Assistant Secretary of War. Even the World Bank chief is a Wall Street lawyer, John McCloy."

When Wallace states "The present foreign policy of the United States defends reaction in the name of freedom" and that "it is a policy for war, not peace," we can only say "quite so" and that such a policy is inevitable under the profit system, of which Wallace is such a faithful supporter.

But whatever the confusion of Wallace, we must say that he comes closer to the truth than do the current off-season crop of professors of economic theory with their friends, the rationally acting economic men and the mysterious Mr. Robinson who had such a way with the smoked fish.

# Ceylon Trotskyist Comes Close To Winning Over Prime Minister

COLOMBO, Ceylon—One of the highlights of the general election in Ceylon, in which the BLPI, Indian section of the Fourth International, won five seats in Parliament, was the contest between Comrade Edmund Samarkadi and D. S. Senanayaka, the leader of the United National Party. It was a victory for Senanayaka, the Prime Minister, and everybody in the island knows what means it was achieved. Senanayaka is the Nehru of Ceylon. He won against the BLPI candidate only by a handful of votes.

It is hoped that BLPIers in the Lower House will elect Comrade Edmund to the Senate if only for the purpose of moving for its abolition at the very first session.

It seems fairly clear that nearly a half million votes were polled by the BLPI and other leftists. Most of the successful candidates of the BLPI come from urban and working-class areas.

The Samasamaj group, which was formed as an independent group after a split in the BLPI, contested nearly 26 seats, including in its candidates "sympathizers." They won ten seats, which includes at least five "sympathizers" not members of the party.

The Stalinists contested 14 seats, out of which they could win only three and these only by a shameful alliance with the bourgeois UNP.

Among the five members returned to Parliament by the BLPI is the former general secretary of the party, Comrade R. De Silva. The BLPI campaigned squarely on the issue of the complete independence of Ceylon from imperialism.

The infamous Soulbury Constitution, under which the elections were held, really offers nothing to Ceylon, except perhaps the husk of independence. The Trotskyists have fought it tooth and nail. They are concentrating more and more on extraparlimentary mass struggle for overthrowing the Soulbury Constitution.

The BLPI did not mince matters on the all-important issue of India immigration in Ceylon. It stood for the immediate grant of complete civic and political rights for Indian workers in Ceylon, whereas the attitude of Stalinist and other parties was equivocal on the question. For the purpose of election in petty bour-

geois Ceylon, nothing is more fatal than an internationalist position on the question of the immigration of Indian workers in Ceylon. But the sound instinct of the workers of Ceylon is exemplified by the success of the BLPI, through which Ceylonese workers forged their solidarity with their class brothers in the mainland of India.

The BLPIers in Ceylon have made it clear that Parliament is a talking shop. Only a government of workers and peasants means real independence for the country, and this cannot be brought about by the masses of Ceylon without the aid of their class allies in India. They never made a bid for a parliamentary majority. It is clear that they could win a dozen seats in Parliament if they had whittled a little off their program of liberation.

The successes of the Samasamajists, who have won ten seats in Parliament, are largely due to an election program which satisfied the broad "radical" elements in Ceylon. They did not campaign on the question of immigration of Indian workers. They broke with the BLPI on the issue of immigration and ran as a separate party.

The UNP (United Nationalist Party) is neither united, nor national,

nor party. The bourgeoisie in Ceylon never had the popular support of their kind in India. It never launched any struggle against imperialism. Its cringing servility to the British distinguished it from the bourgeoisie in other colonial and semi-colonial countries. The fact that it commands 42 seats in a house of 95 merely indicates the extent of the Tammany Hall methods to which it resorted on a colossal scale.

The crucial issue before Ceylon is the immediate grant of complete independence. The UNP has already negotiated a dirty deal with the imperialist brigands, under which Ceylon is to attain the status of a dominion with foreign affairs and defense still remaining with the British.

The British capitalists own the tea and rubber plantations on the island. British imperialism must safeguard its interests through their native henchmen. None are better fitted for the purpose than the feeble bourgeoisie of Ceylon.

But the strong showing made by the Trotskyists and the other anti-capitalists indicates that the masses of Ceylon will have some strong words to say in this respect and that British imperialism and its native lackeys are reckoning without their host.

K. M.

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National Chairman, WP

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Detroit WP Candidate

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# Billions for War Weapons... Pennies for Health, Housing

By SUSAN GREEN

Sensible men and women have looked aghast at the expenditure of scientific effort and national wealth in creating and producing the atom bomb. The contrast between two billions for Oak Ridge, and no appropriations and no program for housing, is too great to escape most of us. But how many of us are aware of the fact that the atom bomb employing chain explosions, is, so to speak, itself only the first explosion in the chain of newer and more terrible weapons of war?

The search for cures for cancer and polio proceeds at its unhurried pace. With twelve million farm and non-farm dwellings beyond repair or needing major repairs, with fifteen million dwellings showing the natural decline of old age, and the shortage of even such housing keenly felt by the whole population, private enterprise takes its time and its profits to provide housing. But there are no muddling, no half-measures and no reliance on the initiative of private enterprise when it comes to fashioning war weapons.

On an initial government program of \$1,200,000,000 annually for research ranging from biological weapons to intercontinental rockets, "there is hardly an important university, research laboratory or corporation in the country which is not somehow participating" in the government's war plans.

### SEEK NEW KILLERS

The stupendous undertakings afoot were the subject of a long and comprehensive article in a recent issue of the Saturday Evening Post, by the well-known columnist of the New York Herald Tribune, Joseph and Stewart Alsop. Scientists are probing further into the unknown, new materials and new industries are in the making, fabulous outlays of money are contemplated. The word "cannot" has been banished from the field of war weapons. This the Alsop brothers make amply clear. Only for providing peacetime needs does capitalism erect obstacles to science and production.

The ideal weapon sought for is an agent—atom bomb, radioactive cloud, chemical or biological invention—that will knock out an enemy, land and people, beyond power of resistance. But the effective use of such a weapon or weapons depends on having the means of delivery to the target. The bomber that carried the atom bomb to Hiroshima is already antiquated for this purpose, as too vulnerable.

What is wanted is a guided missile, a rocket or jet, of intercontinental range, able to attack an objective from half a world away, traveling at such speeds that interception will be impossible, bringing total destruction "with the suddenness of a thunderclap." This monstrous killer is what the scientific and engineering brains in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, in the laboratories of Johns Hopkins as

well as of Boeing Aircraft, are concentrating on. And this is true also in Russia, where the rulers are determined to build guided missiles even if the population exists on a starvation level. The race is on. Who will create first these carriers of destruction to whole nations?

Anti-aircraft missiles to be launched from ramps, to rise in a few seconds to 60,000 feet, and guided by radar to strike down the fastest modern bomber, these are the simplest to produce. A second type, the intermediate strategic missile, will be launched from a ship or aircraft, will be of intermediate ranges, suitable to hurtle over the enemies' lines of resistance. But the grand strategic weapon sought after is a missile to be fired from bases on the soil of one nation against targets in another land. The Germans' terrible V-2 was a primitive forerunner of what military scientists and engineers now have in mind. The new monsters will be more terrible, more complex, with ranges up to 5,000 miles, with the speed of meteors—and each costing as much as a B-29.

### SUPERSONIC MISSILE

"To produce such missiles it will first be necessary to ferret out several of the remaining secrets of the universe." One of the unknowns is concerned with supersonic speeds. The rules of the air, when speeds less than that of sound are involved, are well known and have guided the builders of aircraft till now. However, very little, almost nothing, is known about supersonic flight, and a complete set of rules must be learned to design missiles that will fly like comets. But this does not nonplus military men, nor the scientists and the engineers who have dedicated their lives to creating instruments of destruction. They tackle also other problems such as eliminating the effects of tremendous friction, creating metals to withstand 4,000 degrees centigrade heat, concocting new fuels.

It is understood further that map-making throughout the centuries has not been accurate enough for missiles to find desired targets, and a complete revision of map-making has already been begun. But above all and most essential, solving the problem of GUIDING these missiles, at heights into the ionosphere, circling the globe at meteoric speeds, will demand "a quantum jump," which means the discovery of an entirely new principle. Yet the researchers are sure their probing into the unknown will be rewarded with solutions of the problems.

New processes, new materials, new industries will spring into being to perfect this newest barbarity. "When this art is mastered," write the Alsop brothers, "the historians can write the final chapter of the story of war on this earth; thereafter there will be nothing left to write, unless it be the history of the wars between the planets." Yet on they go, the governments, the scientists, the en-

gineers, into the unknown to find the means for human suicide. But to use the well known methods for constructing homes for people to live in them in peace—for this so easy problem; there is no solution.

### FABULOUS EXPENDITURES

The expenditures for this new lethal weapon will leave Oak Ridge far behind. The primitive German V-2 model cost 300,000,000 Reichsmarks to perfect. It embodied the work of hundreds of scientists and engineers, and tens of thousands of workers put millions of man-hours into the project. It took 1500 test firings, and from 60,000 to 65,000 modifications. After this model was completed, which had a range of only 270 miles and was only 50 per cent effective over so large a target as London, it cost as much as a large-size aircraft to manufacture a V-2.

The Alsop brothers state that TEST MODELS of the giant guided missiles of the future will cost from \$6,000,000 to \$7,000,000 each. These are rather expensive toys for scientists and engineers to be playing around with experimentally, so a supplementary method is sought in the erection of tremendous air tunnels where it is hoped to duplicate supersonic flight conditions and thus learn some of the secrets. But a minimum investment in wind tunnels is estimated at \$1,200,000,000, without maintenance charges. Again, testing grounds for models will have to be charted.

For a 5,000-mile-range missile a course will have to be taken out into the unused ocean lanes, radar stations will have to be set up along the course, and so on; this alone to cost several hundred million dollars. All this, remember, is just to perfect a model. What will it cost to manufacture the actual thing? What will it cost to erect bases, from which to fire the actual thing into enemy country? Huge chunks of the national wealth will be appropriated on this newest mechanism for killing, and in record time.

Don't ever let anyone tell you that this or that cannot be done or that there is no money for it. When you ask for nurseries, schools, hospitals and homes, when you ask for cures for cancer, polio, tuberculosis, rheumatism and for freedom from occupational diseases, don't believe it when the bigwigs tell you it cannot be done all at once, because where will the money come from, huh?

Ask them where the brains and the money came from to make the atom bomb, where the brains and money are coming from to perfect the terrible, comet-like guided missile. And when they answer, oh, well, that's for national defense, don't be caught in that trap either.

For the same exploitive systems that never have the means to give the people what they need are responsible for imperialist wars and for the need for so-called national defense.

## Radio Address by Herman Benson, WP Candidate in Detroit

# How Can Labor Advance?

The following is the text of a 15-minute radio broadcast by Herman Benson, Workers Party candidate for mayor of Detroit, over Station WJLB on Thursday, October 2.

The platform on which I am running for mayor does not hypocritically promise all things to all people. It is the socialist program of the Workers Party in the interests of the working class.

In 1936 and 37 the workers of this city, by militant strike action, founded the CIO, defeated the powerful open-shop auto monopolists and made Detroit a fortress of unionism. Ten years have passed. These same workers must now open a new path. The path of independent working class political action. We must issue a declaration of political independence from the false liberal politicians of the Democratic and Republican Parties.

Typical of the political representatives of the capitalist class are men like Jeffries, Van Antwerp and Cornell.

In the last two elections, the CIO resolutely opposed Jeffries. Why? Because, I contend, he preaches and practices union-baiting and racial superiority.

WE SAY: Unions protect the living standards and rights of all. Defend them from all attack. Jeffries prefers to defend the rights of strike-breakers in the mechanics' strike. Van Antwerp and Cornell are no different.

In the 1946 DSR strike, Jeffries said: "...the city will be without transportation only until public opinion is sufficiently aroused to justify the turmoil that accompanies the breaking of a strike." He soft-pedals this note for the moment only because he knows that the people will not permit the turmoil of union-wrecking.

### JEFFRIES' WORDS CONVICT HIM

During the telephone strike this year, the attorney for the National Federation of Telephone Workers said of Jeffries' police force: they "shut the door on the right of citizens to picket."

WE SAY: During this housing emergency, stop evictions, organize tenants' councils to prevent rent increases.

With 150 new evictions cases filed every day, Jeffries, who lives in comfortable quarters, sees no emergency. He prefers to do nothing about evictions or rent control except to pass the buck back and forth with Governor Sigler in a game of political football. Are Van Antwerp and Cornell any different?

WE SAY: Enforce the Diggs Civil Rights law. Abolish restrictive covenants. For full social, political and economic equality for Negroes and all minorities.

Under the administration of Jeffries, government officials wink at and encourage discrimination in public places despite the fact that this is against the law. Jeffries prefers the fascist practice of racial segregation which every sincere believer in democratic rights must detest. In a full-page political advertisement he proudly referred to his miserable record as follows: "I opposed mixed housing then, I oppose it now, and I always will oppose it."

Before the Ku Klux Klan riots of 1943, the Workers Party, whose representative I am, called upon the labor movement to organize Labor Defense Guards to protect the people from the illegal violence of fascist hoodlums. During the riots, the police shot and killed many Negroes but handled the Klanist rioters with touching tenderness until federal troops were sent into the city. Mayor Jeffries said: "The conduct of the police department, by and large, was magnificent."

The whole anti-union social philosophy of this man is summarized in his speech before the Executive Club of Chicago in 1944, when he said: "The labor union is the best example of complete regimentation existing in the country today." And he continued: "...a new species of industrial baron is being created, the men who control the shop committees. Under this system an industrial worker can get ahead only on the basis of seniority." Jeffries yearns for the return of the open-shop red-apple days of cringing before employers and foremen.

Are the practice maneuvers of the police on Belle Isle connected with this philosophy?

Van Antwerp and Cornell differ in no important respect. Both have demanded increased police violence against the mechanics' strikers.

### HOW CAN LABOR'S ENEMIES TRIUMPH?

To those who object that our working class viewpoint is too "narrow," we reply:

The workers of this country who produce the goods of life for all are

the vast majority of the population.

The capitalist class of monopolists is a tiny parasitic clique which owns and controls the decisive sectors of the country's economy. Its ownership of industry enables it to amass great wealth by exploiting the workers. Its great wealth enables it to control politicians and political parties.

Those politicians who control the government at every level: the city halls, the state legislatures, and the national administration itself, carry out their own narrow class program—a program which benefits only the big monopolists, the bankers, the

if our standard of living and our rights are being whittled down, it is for one reason and one reason alone. Our great power is made ineffectual by the false, suicidal and bankrupt political policies now being stubbornly and blindly followed by the short-sighted top officialdom of our unions.

### 'LABOR'S FRIENDS' PROVE THEMSELVES

William Green and Philip Murray, Walter Reuther and R. J. Thomas and George Addes, and the followers of the fake Communist Party—all rely upon the so-called friends of labor in the Democratic and Republican Parties. On each election day and between elections they advise us: "Reward your friends and punish your enemies; vote for the lesser of two evils; support liberal Democrats and progressive Republicans." These are simply different variations on the same theme. They advise us to turn the government over to men whom we would not allow to run our unions.

And they admonish us: you must not form your own Labor Party. Where have these policies led us? From bad to worse and from worse to still worse.

In 1944, when Truman was elected with labor's votes and when the Democratic Party won a majority in Congress, the leaders of the labor movement hailed the election results as a great victory. The so-called liberals had won. Progress and prosperity were assured. But a few weeks passed and the question was soon asked: Who really won the election?

This Congress it was that wiped out price controls. This Truman it was who was bitterly denounced by Philip Murray for his role in the strikes of 1945 and 46. This Truman it was who broke the railroad strike by the autocratic threat to draft all workers and force them to work at bayonet point. This administration it was which instituted government by fines and injunctions and had the miners' union fined the unprecedented sum of \$3,000,000 and more.

It was this Congress, this Truman, this administration chosen with the support of the leaders of the labor movement which worked overtime on an anti-labor program and ignored every need of the people.

In the 1946 elections, in protest against the very Congress which they had elected, millions of workers stayed away from the polls or voted Republican. Walter Reuther explained these results as follows: "The 'American people,' said he,



HERMAN BENSON

real estate sharks, the profiteers.

When price controls are removed to allow prices to skyrocket, when the black market prices of yesterday become the respected, legal prices of today—in whose interests is this, if not the profiteers?

When the 20 per cent tax deduction from the pay check of workers, started, presumably as a wartime measure, is continued into peacetime; while tax legislation is passed to benefit the big corporations, and excess profits are obligingly returned to them—in whose interests is this, if not the capitalists and bankers?

When rent controls are weakened in preparation for killing them off completely in March; when Congress legalizes a so-called voluntary 15 per cent rent increase—everywhere except in Washington where the Congressmen live—in whose interests is this, if not the real estate sharks?

When the slave labor Taft-Hartley Act restricts the democratic rights of the workers; when union militants are intimidated by witch-hunts against so-called Communists, in whose interests is this, if not the labor-hating monopolists?

A question arises. How have the enemies of the working people succeeded in passing all these measures to the detriment of labor and to their own class benefit? Are we too weak to resist? Are we too few in numbers? No. Not at all.

That great defender of all the common people, the organized labor movement, is more powerful in numbers and in solidarity than ever before. United into 75,000 local unions of the CIO, the AFL, the Railway Brotherhoods, the various independent unions, we are some 20,000,000 strong! We are capable of unified action and self-sacrifice when necessary on a scale unmatched in any nation, at any time. Witness the inspiring GM strike; the solid miners' strikes and others. Witness the demonstrations of hundreds of thousands in Cadillac Square when virtually the whole working population of Detroit poured out into the streets to demand the continuation of price control and the defeat of laws against unions.

If we are being forced backward,

"voted against what the Democratic Party had done and failed to do—not for what the Republicans promised to do. This election was a revolt against indecision, bungling and appeasement by the 79th Congress and the great capacity of the Truman administration to conform to those policies," he concluded.

### TIME FOR A CHANGE IN LABOR'S POLICY

Now is the time for a change in policy.

By voting for my candidacy for mayor you vote against relying upon fake liberals and you vote for independent action by the people themselves.

You vote for the formation of tenants' councils and union committees to fight for and to enforce price control and rent control.

You vote for the unity of Negro and white workers to act against discrimination and segregation in all forms.

And, above all, you vote for the convocation of a national congress of labor representing unions, tenants' councils, Negro organizations, veterans' groups and all the mass organizations which fight on behalf of the people—for the founding of a new, independent Labor Party without ties to the politicians of the Democratic and Republican Parties.

Such a party can move forward to a workers' government; that is, a government based upon the will of the vast majority of the working people which destroys the tyrannical power of America's Sixty Families. By expropriating big industry and operating it under the control of union committees, we will be able for the first time to utilize the great wealth of this country not for the selfish profit of a tiny class of rulers but for the benefit and welfare of the people.

Miracles of production were possible during wartime for imperialist destruction.

Under a workers' government, miracles of production are possible in time of peace in the interests of humanity.

Regardless of the final outcome of this election, a sizable vote cast for such a platform will warn the enemies of the working people, not only in Detroit but throughout the nation, that the workers are beginning to see through the fog of capitalist deceit and that they intend to take an independent working class road.

This alone will be a great beginning in halting the attacks of big business against the people.

## Will Carry Rader Appeal To State Supreme Court

PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 13 — Judge McDervitt, who has been accused in the past few weeks of being one of the leaders of the corrupt Philadelphia Republican machine, today ruled that the name of Jack Rader, Workers Party candidate from the Fifth District, should not appear on the ballot. In the same ruling, he also ruled off Irene Le Compte, Socialist Workers Party candidate.

Judge McDervitt's ruling was issued in reply to the suit of the Workers Party and Socialist Workers Party for reinstatement on the ballot on the grounds that they had been stricken off illegally and unjustifiably. McDervitt based his decision on the same grounds as the County Board of Elections, the Republican-controlled guardian of the machine's political monopoly in Philadelphia.

The Joint Committee for Defense of Political Rights immediately rejected the decision of McDervitt and filed an appeal direct to the State Supreme Court, through its lawyer, David H. Felix. The committee announced its intention of continuing the legal fight for the sake of the

precedents to be established, which will be necessary for any labor political group to hurdle on its way to the ballot.

Attacking on another front, the Republican machine in the Fifth District has received orders to discredit and frighten those who signed the nominating petitions of Jack Rader. An intense house-to-house canvass has begun by the Republican ward-healers informing signers that the Workers Party is the Communist Party in disguise. This lie and others are being circulated.

Attempts at intimidation occur throughout the district. Signers are threatened with loss of jobs, with FBI investigations and other terrible retributions. All this because an entirely legal democratic right was exercised. This is democracy 1947, American style, in a large northern city with a powerful labor movement. The corrupt political henchmen of capitalism stop at nothing to retain their power. Defense against such intimidation is being planned immediately.

## Debate UAW Caucuses--

(Continued from page 1)

of premium pay and continuing with the incentive pay battle in 1943, the no-strike pledge issue in 1944 and the GM strike in 1945, he clearly drove home the fact that wherever Reuther was wrong, from the point of view of the Workers Party, Addes and Thomas were equally wrong in that they shared his position—and that wherever and whenever the UAW moved in a militant, progressive direction, the initiative and impetus were furnished, if not by Reuther, then by the rank and file in the Reuther camp.

Both groups, said Hall, surrendered premium pay for week-end work in the name of a farcical "equality of sacrifice" program; they endorsed the no-strike pledge; they opposed the formation of a Labor Party, and both accepted the War Labor Board's freezing of wages.

But while they were united by these points, they were separated by many antagonisms.

The lineup over the incentive pay issue was clear. The most seasoned unionists, who had always fought the

piecemeal system as a means of cutting wages in the guise of raising them, supported Reuther in his opposition to incentive pay. The more backward workers, however, who had the least experience in the union movement, tended to favor the institution of incentive pay as a quick and easy way of raising their take-home pay in a period when wages were frozen.

In the rank and file revolt against the no-strike pledge the difference between Reuther and Thomas-Addes groups is further emphasized. From which caucus did the militants come? Did the ranks of the Thomas-Addes caucus split? Did the followers of Addes-Thomas protest the boss program of their leaders and join in the fight against the no-strike pledge? No. They toed the line.

It was from the Reuther Caucus RANKS that the militants came. In the vote on this question, Addes-Thomas maintained their strength. The rank and filers garnered the bulk of the Reuther Caucus, leaving Reuther with only an approximate 12 per cent of the delegates.

The end of the war and the emergence of Reuther's far-reaching GM strike program led to the absorption of the rank and file militants into the Reuther Caucus.

"For the past five years," Hall said, "in every important issue in the UAW, the Addes-Thomas arguments have been directed to and have appealed only to the more backward and conservative elements in the UAW."

In answer to the question of Reuther's sincerity and the possibility that Reuther may not move in a more militant direction, Hall emphasized that the character and personality of a single man—which no one could safely predict in any case—did not basically affect the important, clear-cut differences between the rival tendencies since the real and definitive answer lay in the programs devised to meet the issues confronting the UAW and the action taken by the militants in the UAW on these programs.

"We must give the Reuther ten-

dency a majority on the International Executive Board," Hall concluded, "and, above all, continue to fight, as militants for a progressive program in the UAW regardless of who wins what posts at the coming convention."

### DISCUSSION FOLLOWS

With the completion of the main speeches the floor was thrown open for thirty minutes of questions and discussion, with the chairman specifying that any member of the audience was free to address the meeting, taking any point of view, for a five-minute period. The questions, the overwhelming majority addressed to Schejtinger, came thick and fast. This reporter, noted some twenty questions, each pertinent and provocative, which, unfortunately, cannot be recounted here for reasons of space. Between this barrage, two members of the audience took the floor for the five minutes allowed and spoke for the Reuther tendency.

Since the rebuttal time allowed the debaters was only fifteen minutes, it was obvious that neither could answer even a small percentage of the questions and, at the same time, summarize their basic arguments. Both rebuttals were, therefore, general in nature, with emphasis on the main points previously made.

The composition of the audience was significant and most encouraging. Predominant were well known rank and file militants from the leading UAW locals in the city, several presidents of UAW locals and a number of UAW international representatives.

The interest aroused, as exemplified by the question period, and the fact that fully half the audience of approximately 70 remained in the hall discussing the issues raised by the speakers until well past midnight, proved conclusively that given an important question of the day, presented in a democratic manner, the most militant, advanced elements in the labor movement will gather to judge the programs and ideas of groups within the movement.

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