Workers Party Launches \$15,000 Fund Drive!

By NATHAN GOULD

Organization Secretary, Workers Party

months of December, January and February; 91 to be exact. These will be important days in the life of the Workers Party and LABOR ACTION. For the duration of this three-month period the members of the Workers Party and the readers of LABOR ACTION will make an all-out effort to raise \$15,000. On the outcome of this fund raising effort depends in good part the effectiveness of a number of important projects outlined

in a Program of Action adopted by the recent Active tions is also contained in the Program of Action of the Workers Conference of the Workers Party.

An energetic campaign, against the reactionary DECEMBER—There are approximately 90 days in the Taft-Hartley Act, against the price and rent gouge, against racial discrimination, against capitalist and Stalinist politics, and against the preparations for a new imperialist slaughter, is at the heart of this Program of Action.

> The Program envisages a broad front of activities centered around the fight for higher wages, for adequate housing, for FEPC and for an independent Labor Party. Preparation for participation in the 1948 elec-

Workers Party. The \$15,000 fund which we hope to raise in the next three months will be used exclusively to help finance this extraordinary effort.

The implementation of this program involves such plans as two national speaking tours to be conducted in January and February; an organization tour scheduled to begin at the end of February; a pamphlet publication program, including pamphlets on the "Negro and Labor," "For a Labor Party" and one on "Russia and Stalinism in America." The Program details plans of expansion of local activities of the Workers Party

branches, and the building of new branches, and provides for a stabilization fund for LABOR ACTION.

In the allocation of the quotas for the fund drive, fully \$11,500 is expected to come from members of the Workers Party, most of whom will contribute one week's wages to the drive. The remaining \$3,500 will come, we hope, from readers and friends of LABOR ACTION. It is these latter to whom this article is main-

If you are a supporter of the program of LABOR ACTION, if you want to help the Workers Party grow (Continued on page 4)

Work for a Workers World; Join the Workers Party!

LABOR ACTION

DECEMBER 8, 1947

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF SOCIALISM

FIVE CENTS

Palestine Partition Highlights Need of Arab-Jewish Unity

By AL FINDLEY

After a week of constant shifting of position and maneuvering, the General Assembly of the United Nations, by a vote of 33 to 13, recommended a political partition of Palestine, with economic unity.

The news of the UN vote was received with great joy by the Jews in DP camps and throughout the world. In Palestine, British soldiers joined the Jews in the celebration, hoping that partition will help them get home sooner.

No spokesman for the present Palestine partition plan accepted by the UN has claimed that it is a good plan or a desirable one. The best that can be said for it is that it provides some kind of solution which is possibly better than no solution and continued British rule, and that it does recognize, in its own way, the national rights of Jews and Arabs.

The UN plan divides the small country of Palestine into eight parts, one of which is to be the free state of Jerusalem—to be ruled by the UN Trusteeship Committee. The rest of the country is divided into three connecting Jewish areas and three connecting Arab areas, with Jaffa as an Arab enclave within the Jewish

Under this arrangement the Jewish state will have approximately 5,500 square miles and a population of 538,-000 Jews and 390,000 Arabs. The Jewish state will have little grains or cereals for feeding its population, but rus plantations, which account for a large portion of Palestinian exports. Most of the industry is also in the Jewish area.

The Arabs will have 4,500 square miles with a population of 800,000 Arabs and 10,000 Jews. The Arab area contains most of the fertile and grain-producing land, as well as the potash plants on the Dead Sea.

BRITISH MANDATE ENDS

The British mandate is to end by August 1, 1948. The date was chosen to coincide with the announced date

of British evacuation. The two states are to become independent by October 1. Until then, a UN commission with no authority is to be in Palestine. This commission is to establish provisional governing councils and local militias to take over control when the British leave. The UN resolution asks the British to evacuate a part of the area by February 1 to allow for immigration.

As to the economic union, the plan calls for continued imperialist rule over both Jews and Arabs. A joint economic commission composed of Jews, Arabs and UN arbitrators (read "controllers") is to rule the economy of the two new states.

The present plan is sure to give rise to "irridentist" feelings in both nations and to lead to friction and violence. However, it is doubtful if there will be a concerted Arab war against the Jewish state, mainly because of the conflicting aspirations of the rulers of the various Arab countries. There is, however, a distinct possibility that King Abdullah of Trans-Jordania will attempt to annex the Arab portion of Palestine. He will probably have the support of the British, with whom he has a treaty allowing them to station troops in his country. This will enable them to have troops near the Suez Canal, i.e., southwestern portion of Pales-

HAILED BY ZIONISTS

While the Zionist leaders, in their more serious pronouncements, recognize the many faults of the present partition plan, they hail it in their propaganda broadcasts as the beginning of the "millenium" and as THE solution of the Jewish problem.

The Jewish Morning Journal goes so far as to say that it is a "compensation" for the extermination of 6,000,000 Jews during the last imperialist war. In all statements hailing the recommended establishment of a Jewish state, the Jewish leaders express their gratitude to the great powers and especially to America and

(Continued on page 2)

Quaker City Cops Shoot Two in Anti-Negro Drive

By JACK RADER

PHILADELPHIA -- In another outbreak of police brutality, two Negroes were fatally shot here last week. The two men, Raymond Crouser and Charles Fletcher, were murdered on the same day by trigger-happy, raceprejudiced cops. Neither of the men had any past police record. They were shot to death "on suspicion"police jargon for the fact that these men were shot because of their color in the first place.

The police involved in the killings have not been indicted or subject to any charges or official criticisms, so far as is known. The Philadelphia police department is a particularly cruel and vicious one. These killings are only the most recent events in a whole series of acts of violence against Negro communities and labor organizations. For example, it is well known and has been openly protested that police vice raids have been directed so completely at Negro hotels that it has become dangerous to live in them. Liquor raids of the past two weeks have likewise been directed at the Negro communities.

This is the same police force that beat up, kicked, horse-charged and clubbed dozens of General Electric strikers last summer. These same cops stood idly by three weeks ago when hoodlum gangs broke up a

PAC rally in Independence Square. So widespread have been the police attacks on Negro communities that the NAACP has sent out a call to "hundreds of thousands of Negroes in this city to band themselves to-

the alarming rate of brutality against Negroes by police here."

The Workers Party supports such action and urges that this banding together take an active, militant and popular character. The labor movement, which is victimized by the same police and has a vital interest in defending its tens of thousands of Negro brothers, must be involved. The "banding together" for real effect should take the form of organized defense groups, linked together with the labor movement. The Workers Party will participate in every possible way in this fight against brutal police activities.

gether in a fight to a finish against

SHORTAGE IS REAL

CHICAGO PROTEST MEETING ON ARREST OF POLISH SOCIALISTS SET FOR DEC. 16

socialist and labor leaders by the Stalinist Quisling government in Warsaw will be held in Chicago on Tuesday night, December 16. The meeting, called by a United Front Committee, will be held in the Ashland Auditorium, Ashland and Van Buren Streets.

The Joint Committe for the Freedom of the Imprisoned Polish Socialist and Labor Leaders, which is sponsoring the meeting, is composed of representatives of the following organizations: Workers

CHICAGO - A mass meeting to Party, Socialist Party, Social Demprotest the imprisonment of Polish ocratic Federation, Polish American Labor Council, Young People's Socialist League, Workmen's Circle, Youth Division of the Workmen's Circle, and Women's Educational League of Chicago. A speaker representing each or-

> ganization will be present. In addition to the mass meeting, the committee is planning to picket the Polish Consulate in Chicago on Saturday, December 13, at 1:30 p.m. Readers of LABOR ACTION in Chicago are urged to support both undertakings.

French Gov't Orders Army Against Strikers

Steel Industry Plans Scarcity To Boost Profits; Fights Control

By SUSAN GREEN

Congress fiddles and refuses to take up the burning question of price control and rationing of scarce commodities. In the meantime winter is upon us. The human body expends more energy and needs more food, but people buy less because of prices. Homes must have fuel for heating. In face of a fuel shortage, many families

Most working people understand the urgency for price control and rationing of such obviously important things as food and fuel. However, by and large the public is not aware of the pivotal position of steel in the whole production structure, including the production of food and fuel. The fact is that steel enters into nearly everything, directly or indirectly. Another fact is that today the steel supply is the bottleneck that limits many lines of production, and chances are that the shortage of steel may continue for another two years. Allocation, priority and inventory control of steel as well as price fixing must not be delayed. Delay is to the detriment of all of us.

As an illustration of the urgency of controls for steel, let us refer to Mayor O'Dwyer's recent warning of an impending fuel shortage. There will not be enough coal, fuel oil, natural gas. On looking into the coal situation we discover that there is plenty of coal at the mines. However, there are too few railroad cars to carry the mined coal, and too little steel to build new cars quickly. As for fuel oil, a greater demand has necessitated more machinery for drilling and more oil carrying pipe lines, both of which are curtailed by the steel bottleneck. When it comes to natural gas, the situation is appalling. Much of this good and cheap fuel is wasted. In fact, as much natural gas is wasted in this country in a year as could provide all the power generated in all of Britain. The full utilization of natural gas as a fuel depends as much upon steel for pipe lines as it does upon ending the murderous competition from producers of

Steel is indeed the major ingredient in the caldron of modern production. It goes into freight cars and pipe lines that determine the distribution of fuel. Building and construction depend on steel. Auto production ebbs and flows with the supply of steel. A slack in the output of farm machinery because of lack of steel contributes to the food scarcity

and to high plices. Such little things as nails, barbed wire, baling ties, so big and important for a hundred and one uses, become scarce and high priced with the scarcity of steel.

The shortage of steel is not the figment of the imagination of "cranks who hanker after price control and rationing." It is as real as seven million tons of steel sheets, strips and bars can be. Estimates are that the supply this year will be about 62,-000,000 tons while the demand will

By MAX SHACHTMAN

runs to maybe 69,000,000 tons. Sheet and strip steel is almost unobtainable for many buyers. Tubular steel needed not only for oil drilling and oil carrying, but for such homely things as wells on farms, is also scarce. The winter months may see a falling off of even the present steel supply because in the cold weather the movement of scrap iron to furnaces slows

What is the result of this situation? (Continued on page 2)

Two Policies in UAW

Driven to strike action by their desperate needs, today more than 2.000,000 French workers and hundreds of thousands of workers in Italy are marching the picket lines. Industry after industry has been shut down as the fast-moving strike wave reaches its climax and the two countries are virtually in a state of economic paralysis and political chaos.

It is estimated that 60 per cent of French industry is at a standstill while the coal mines have ceased production, the railways have largely stopped running, the ships are lying idle and unloaded in the harbors, and power, gas and electric workers are shutting down one area after another. Proceeding in a series of expanding waves, the strikes have affected the country's economic life with a creeping paralysis.

The fact that the leadership of the French and Italian Communist Parties, together with the Stalinist leaders of the trade unions in both countries, have deliberately launched these strikes with the aim of promoting the foreign interests of the Russian

> government which they serve —this fact does not conceal the terrible economic needs of workers, which made it so easy for the Stalinists to swing their support to the strike movements.

> The miners, dock workers, railroad men, teachers, civil service workers, etc., now on strike have taken this action because it is impossible for them to live with their present wages and under the present inflationary conditions: The severe rationing of food and fuel, together with the prevalence of the black market for the rich, have created an atmosphere of desperation, anger and hatred against the government and those responsible for these conditions.

> The masses of French workers today are hungry, cold and tired. They are weary of the struggle to live, and want to destroy the black market before it destroys them. This is the ground force behind the strike movement. This is the explanation of why millions have struck, despite the avowedly Stalinist leadership and despite the widespread knowledge that the Stalinists have far different aims in mind than the fulfillment of the workers' entirely necessary and legitimate demands.

BLOODY REPRESSION

These strike movements have called into opposition every force of reaction and anti-working class power (Continued on page 4)

Two groups contested for control of the United Auto Workers-CIO at its Atlantic City convention. It was a big and important fight and it is not yet

at an end. Big as it was, we venture to say that the contest between the Workers Party and the Socialist Workers Party over the policy to be following in the UAW, was more important.

can you mention in the same breath the dispute be-

An objection will be heard immediately: "How

Two dogs stood before a stream and a pool.

One said to the other: "Don't go into that pool;

it is full of stinking fud and is a menace to the

public health." The other replied: "You know

nothing about working-class strategy. There

may be a speck of mud at the bottom but the

water is clear and refreshing." The first dog

then went into the stream that was really clear

even though there was a bit of scum at the

edge. The other dog plunged precipitately into

the mud-pool and came out dripping with the

foul stuff. "You see!" said the first dog. The

second dog scowled, shook himself as well as

he could with all that mud sticking to him and

then spat out these words (he thought that a

proletarian dog always spits when he talks):

"Go on, you filthy Stalinophobic mutt!" This

was very colorful language, but it did not clean

off the mud. One moral is: A dirty dog, you

would think, should call a clean dog anything

but a dirty dog.—Modern Fable.

in the UAW deals with problems and answers to problems that, in our view, are of the very greatest and most decisive importance to every militant in

Plausible as the objection may sound, it cannot

be considered valid, certainly not in this case. The

conflict between us and the SWP on this situation

tween two tiny political groups and the fight for

control of so powerful and significant an organiza-

tion as the UAW? Isn't that the acme of sectarian

conceit? Do you really expect the hundreds of thou-

sands of UAW members to be more concerned with

your petty squabbles with the SWP than with such

a dominatingly vital fight as took place between

Reuther and Addes? The real world doesn't revolve

around you, you know!"

WHAT ARE THE ISSUES?

the labor movement. These problems did, it is true, come before the convention in the Reuther-Addes fight. But by the very nature of these two groups and the form their fight assumed, the problems were not expressed with one-tenth of the clarity, precision and instructiveness with which they were formulated in our "sectarian" dispute. The same holds true of the answers given to these problems at the convention. Far from being a "family affair," our dispute is of direct concern and interest to the union militants, to those who are the heart and brain of the labor movement and who have nothing less than its whole future to decide.

Now, what was the conflict between us and the

(Continued on page 3)

Meyers: the Fish That Got Hooked

Major General Was Caught, But You Ought to See the Big Ones That Got Away...

By JAMES M. FENWICK

"I am afraid," said Maj. Gen. Bennett E. Meyers-holder of the Distinguished Service Medal and the Legion of Merit, officer and gentleman by act of Congress, and common crook by his own toil-speaking before the Senate committee investigating war graft, "that I have to drop to a new low, even lower than the accusations that have been brought against me in these hearings." This was unquestionably the most truthful statement made by Meyers during his whole testimony.

"I still have a little chivalry in me, if nothing else," continued this brazen product of the army moral climate, "so I dislike having to inject" the name of any woman here. But Mrs. La Marre was my girl friend for a period approximately from 1936 to 1940. She was my friend with Mr. La Marre's knowledge, approval and acquiescence....The whole reason...for forming the company ...

was to get Mrs. La Marre back to Dayton.'

This cowardly piece of ham theatrics by which the general tried to invest his money lust with the tragic theme of the world - well - lost-forlove fittingly brought down the curtain on the little drama of military and capitalist corruption which the public has been permitted to witness.

INVESTIGATION'S SIGNIFICANCE

What did the investigation reveal? First, and less importantly, it revealed a great deal about the operation of the military easte, whose decisions are matters of life and death for millions of men, women and children all over the world. It revealed the very sordid reality that underlay the patriotic slogans of World

Maj. Gen. Bennett E. Meyers, second in command, no less, of Air Corps procurement during the war, has been revealed as nothing more than a common crook, with the typical stupidity, ruthlessness and unchecked power which makes the transition are proving to be pretty big ones. from the role of army officer to criminal so easy.

The evidence, among other things, showed him guilty of the following: • The establishment of a plane parts company to which he diverted conand on which he raked in a profit of at least \$190,000.

on margin, an act of speculation utilizing the people's money that netted him \$90,000 profit. The ownership of stocks in com-

The purchase of government bonds

panies from which he procured matériel for the Air Corps. The acceptance of bribes in the form of "loans."

ARNOLD SOUNDS OFF

H. H. Arnold, former commander of the Air Forces during the war, sought to calm public suspicion when placed on the stand by stating that Meyers, after all, was an exception. This, of course, is just what has to be proved. The "exceptions," also,

The total inability of the Air Corps to-shall we say-uncover the Meyers scandal, and the very dubious role of Arnold himself, guarantees that Meyers will remain an exception-if the matter is left in its hands. The tracts totaling over a million dollars other pitiful argument of Arnold, that the Air Corps grew so rapidly as, presumably, to permit the incorporation in its ranks of doubtful elements like Meyers is equally insulting. Meyers has been a regular army man since 1918.

There is plenty of evidence that others were involved. The extent of Meyers' operations would guarantee it in itself. It is interesting that many persons accused by Meyers were not questioned on important points by the committee. Many simply read statements or issued blanket denials through the press. Arnold himself was involved in the Hughes' recon plane dispute. It would similarly be very useful to place Ira Eaker, the former chief of staff for the Air

(Continued on page 4)

Steel Industry Plans Critical Scarcity In Vital Product to Boost Big Profits --

(Continued from page 1)

You don't need three guesses - one will do, as the song goes. With a frantic demand for steel, with a scarcity of supply, with no price fixing and no controls, naturally the black market in steel flourishes untrammeled and undisturbed. It is a black market in which the big rteel producers participate quite freely. They choose to sell where profits are best, and profits are best in the black market. Big producers simply refuse to supply firms that process steel and the latter must get what they can through "brokers" at black market prices. Thus steel does not go where it is most needed-not necessarily enterprisers" in the world. Figura-

(Continued from page 1)

Russia-forgetting completely that it

was these same powers which did

nothing and which thereby aided and

abetted the slaughter. One-third of

What did the great powers do dur-

ing the time of the slaughter and ex-

termination? From 1933 on, Russia

and the U.S. kept the doors to their

vast countries closed to the helpless

refugees fleeing Hitlerism. Britain

did her bit by closing the doors of

Palestine. When the Stalin-Hitler

pact helped start World War II, and

the Russians cheerfully divided Po-

land with Hitler, they doomed one

and a half million Polish Jews. When

over a million Jews in Russian oc-

cupied Poland refused to accept So-

viet citizenship, they were, within a

ten-day period, packed into cattle

cars and shipped to Siberia. One hun-

dred thousand Jews died this way,

Early in 1943 when the American

diplomatic service confirmed the re-

ports of the extermination of the

Jews the U. S. had many opportu-

nities of saving hundreds of thou-

sands, according to the memoirs of

Henry Morgenthau. Nothing was

done, Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin

were informed by representatives of

the Jewish Bund of the heroic War-

saw ghetto uprising, but did nothing

No! The Jews have no reason for

gratitude to the imperialist rulers of

the world. Their present action is a

result of power politics for imperial-

ist interests, not for the interests of

the Jews. Russia wants one thing

above all else: to weaken the Anglo-

American military position in the

Near East. For years Russia and the

Stalinist parties the world over op-

posed Jewish immigration into Pal-

estine. During the war they changed

their position to one of favoring Jew-

ish immigration. Then in November,

1946, they again opposed Jewish im-

migration to Palestine. Only when

Russia decided that its immediate in-

terest was to get England out of Pal-

estine did they adopt their present

The U. S. too, although officially

always favoring Jewish aspirations

in Palestine, played a double game,

as proved by Bartley Crum in his

to help or even take notice of it.

AN IMPERIALIST PARTITION

according to most reports.

the Jewish people of the world.

pipe lines for conveying fuel, nor into farm machinery to increase food production. It goes to the manufacturer who will pay the black market price, no matter how unimportant his

CONTROLS ARE VITAL

Palestine Partition --

It is obvious, therefore, that controls must be set up in steel, as well as in food, fuel, clothing and housing. Without controls in steel, the whole price control and rationing structure -if created that is-would collapse. United States Steel, Bethlehem, Republic and the other steel corporations are among the staunchest "free

the U. S. blew hot and cold. What

decided U. S. policy was Republican

and Democratic rivalry for Jewish

votes, and an attempt to get rid of

the heavy financial burden of sup-

porting the Jews in DP camps! Not

the least among U. S. motives is a de-

sire for greater influence in the stra-

Unlike the Stalinists, who flip-

flopped on the question of Jewish im-

migration to Palestine, now opposing

it, then favoring it, then again op-

posing it, according to the dictates

of Stalin's foreign policy, the revolu-

tionary socialists have maintained a

firm and consistent policy in favor

Jewish immigration into Pales-

Marxists recognized the simple fact

that both the Jews and the Arabs are

peoples oppressed by imperialism.

The only logical conclusion was to

draw up a program for a united

Arab-Jewish struggle for a Free Pal-

estine that would guarantee the

freedom and the national rights of

Unfortunately, the semi - feudal

Arab leaders and the Jewish leaders

helped the British to divide the two

peoples and prevented a joint anti-

imperialist struggle. Confronted with

the chance of getting half a loaf, the

majority of Jews are now strongly

in favor of a separate national exist-

For the Jews, especially the Social-

ist-Zionists, the establishment of a

Jewish state opens a new era. The

Zionist goal - a Jewish state - has

been realized; but the Jewish prob-

exist in Palestine, but the danger of

extermination still faces ten million

Jews who cannot be absorbed by

should mean a shift to a greater

unity with the revolutionary forces throughout the world. For all Jews,

workers and middle class alike, must

be made to realize that their only

hope for survival is the destruction

of the breeder of fascist barbarism-

capitalism. For the Jews, socialism

is not an ideal, but is a stark per-

sonal necessity. The coming capital-

ist depression will give rise to a

great waves of barbaric anti-Semi-

tism. The continued existence of cap-

For Socialist - Zionist Jews this

remains. A Jewish state will

ence in a partitioned Palestine.

JEWS FAVOR PARTITION

both peoples.

Palestine.

tegic and oil-rich Near East.

share their wives than have steel allocated on a priority basis, have steel inventories limited against hoarding and have prices fixed. But the pigheaded self-interest of the steel corporations does not make the need for steel nor the urgency for controls any less. It does mean that controls must be set up in such a way that they will not be circumvented.

Controls in OPA style are no good. Who can forget OPA's capitulation to the steel magnates by its repeated raising of price ceilings on steel? Because the steel industry is such a hard nut to crack and so expert at circumvention, the new system of controls must be from the bottom up. The unions in the steel industry have valuable and expert know-how. Union committees and shop committees must administer controls to make them of any value. And, as stated above, the longer the delay, the greater the hardship the little people will suffer.

What must be emphasized at this point, however, is that no matter how effective a system of price control and rationing can be worked out, this can never be more than a stopgap measure. A longer range point of view must envisage the socialization of the steel industry, of course under workers' control, as such a point of view must envisage the socialization of all industry.

PLANNED SCARCITY

The indictment against the steel industry is very easy to sustain at this stage of the game. Why, for instance, the shortage of this basic commodity, the demand for which can be so readily determined? First of all, the capitalist explainers point to labor - strikes, don't you know? Undoubtedly when workers strike, production stops. But why didn't the corporations grant the wage increases to meet the rising cost of living without the workers having to strike? Then, of course, we are told about higher exports, amounting to ten per cent of total production, due to the situation abroad. Again, military demands are higher than peacetime normal. And, naturally, the post-war shortage of houses, of freight and passenger cars, of automobiles and trucks, has made the market for steel unprecedented. However, all these additional demands on the steel industry could be foreseen and were foreseen. They called for adequate and unceasing expansion of the industry. What happened was that the

industry did not come across. Originally, the steel industry planned such a post-war pace of construction of new mills that by the middle of 1947 there would have been a men." three-million ton increase in capacity. Then Big Steel reconsidered. Why should it lay out a lot of money when ton increase in capacity by July, 1947, there was only a one-million ton Whatever can be said to "explain" the reluctance of the capitalists to invest in expansion, the fact remains that the profit system of private enterprise does not feel obligated to

supply peacetime needs. Basic to what the steel magnates do is their social outlook. You and I crave a better and more abundant life, and are willing to struggle for it. We think in terms of modern and more comfortable homes for all, of great, well-equipped hospitals and clinics, of spacious schools and libraries and parks, of gay playgrounds and clubs for growing boys and girls. You and I think in such terms, but not so those who own the industrysteel-without whose expansion the dreams of the people cannot be realized. THE CAPTAINS OF THE STEEL INDUSTRY STAND FACING

At a recent hearing before Con-

into homes, nor into freight cars and tively speaking, they would sooner gress, Mr. Fairless of United States Steel Corporation and Mr. Grace of Bethlehem stated that "PAST CON-SUMPTION is the best guide to future needs of steel." You and I know that "past consumption" was not good enough, it did not provide what we needed. But Mr. Fairless and Mr. Grace figure they can make enough profits that way, so why take "risks" on the future? Instead of a fearless program for meeting the almost unlimited needs of the people for everything requiring the use of steel, these big shots think that when the world is again "producing steel at the prewar rate," steel capacity in the United States may turn out to be larger than steel demand "as in the average prewar year."

PRICES IN HARLEM

"Code of Ethics."

TEXT OF CODE

advertised price.

Ethics:

Street merchants in Harlem. The

ing the merchants' division of the

Uptown Chamber of Commerce. The

outcome of these conferences is a

ten-point program called the "Har-

lem Retailers' Code of Ethics." We

think it important to give in full this

"As a guarantee of fair play and

courteous treatment of its customers,

this establishment hereby agrees to

operate under the following Code of

"1. A fair and equitable price pol-

icy will be maintained, and every

reasonable effort will be made to

meet the competition of other New

York shopping sections. All merchan-

dise will carry a price tag showing

the ACTUAL selling price. Install-

ment houses will impose no charges

or conditions except those permitted

"2. No merchandise will be adver-

"3. Signs announcing sales will not

be displayed unless a bona fide sale

is in progress. Signs indicating that

merchandise is being offered for sale

'as advertised' will give the name of

the medium in which it was adver-

advertised item is limited, the adver-

tisement will expressly say so.

"4. If the quality on hand of any

"5. No statement or illustration

will appear in any advertisement

which might mislead a prospective

soiled or substandard merchandise,

commonly known as 'seconds,' will

be plainly marked and sold as such.

true and officially tested scales.

"7. Full weights will be given from

"8. A statement of our policy cov-

"9. We will not employ 'pulling-

"10. In any dispute with a cus-

tomer over a transaction, this store

will be bound by the decision of a

Shoppers' Mediation Board appoint-

ed jointly by the Uptown Chamber

of Commerce and representatives of

consumers' organizations in Harlem."

ering refunds and exchanges will be

prominently displayed in the store.

in' methods to lure passersby into

"6. If offered for sale, damaged,

We socialists have, for a long time now, showed that capitalism has ceased being progressive. It is now a ball and chain on the feet of progress. Steel proves this again, Socialization under workers' control is the goal toward which the working people must strive.

For NOW there must be adequate price fixing, rationing and other controls-these controls to be administered effectively by committees from the unions, from the shops and factories, from consumers. By public demonstrations we will have to let Congress know that its fiddling is out of tune with the temper of the

WDL Expresses Hope "Dope" Story on Amnesty Is False

NEW YORK CITY (WDL)-Following publication in the Scripps-Howard newspaper chain of an "it-waslearned" story by James G. Lucas asserting that the President's Amnesty Board would not grant amnesty to the majority of Selective Service Act violators, the Workers Defense League wrote President Truman expressing hope that the story is erro-

"If the President's Amnesty Board's recommendation is as reported by Mr. Lucas, we hope that you will disregard it and will not permit another Christmas to go by without granting a general amnesty," Rowland Watts, national WDL secretary, wrote the President. "All of the testimony before Justice Owen J. Roberts and other members of the Amnesty Board should have convinced them that, at least insofar as conscientious objectors and other who defied the Selective Service Act as a matter of principle are concerned, there is no justification to further punish these

By E. R. McKinney 'business, of "free enterprise," it is a capitalist \$100 fur coat for \$150 certainly of some significance that a is sheer robbery added to the high A committee of Negroes acting for group of "businessmen" admit in efthe Baptist Ministers Conference of fect that they have been gypping Greater New York has been holding their customers, that they have been sessions with representatives of 125th taking customers' money without giving them the same value for the merchants' committee was represent-

money received which the customer

could have obtained if he had

shopped in another section of the

One-Tenth of the Nation

These merchants admit that they have been selling "seconds" as first quality merchandise and charging first quality prices. They admit that installment houses in the area have been violating the law. They admit that they have been displaying articles which they do not have in stock at the advertised price. They confess that they have announced sales when there was really no sale. They admit that their advertising has been misleading.

These 125th Street merchants admit that they have given short weight and that they do not use "officially tested scales."

They admit that they have used the obnoxious and insulting practice of "pulling-in" in order to get customers into their stores.

tised or displayed in show windows CUSTOMERS ARE NEGRO' unless it is carried in stock at the

We set this forth in its brute form because that is what the situation is. These Harlem merchants have used the most reprehensible, the most dishonest, the most shyster and crooked tricks known to rob and cheat unsuspecting customers who come into their stores and shops. These customers happen to be Negroes in an almost solidly Negro neighborhood: Harlem in New York City.

This story, however, can be told of every large city in the country: shyster practices, robbery and cheating. Second and third grade merchandise sold at first grade prices. Shoddy palmed off as virgin wool and at virgin wool prices. Paper soled shoes sold for real leather. Old eggs sold as fresh, tainted meat, poultry which was dead on its feet before being killed, cheap and shoddy rayon sold as "real silk," flimsy cotton sold as high grade material, the shoddiest animal fur sold as something a woman should be proud to own and

Capitalist business enterprise at its best, that is, capitalism holding itself within the framework of capitalist Better Business Bureau decency is bad enough. It's bad enough to have to pay \$5.00 for a capitalist \$5.00 shirt, but to be tricked into buying At this late date in the history of a capitalist \$3.00 shirt for \$5.00, or little shopkeepers.

capitalist profit. Furthermore, it is hard enough on Negroes to pay ninety cents for 16 ounces of meat. But when the ninety cents is paid for 14 ounces of the same meat weighed on fixed scales reading 16 ounces, that is robbery again.

The 125th Street merchants say they will make "every reasonable effort...to meet the competition of other New York shopping sections." They will do no such thing unless the Negroes in Harlem force them to do so. They will continue to sell their shoddy merchandise, their tainted meat and their wilted vegetables at first class prices so long as they can get away with it.

This type of merchant goes into Negro areas for a specific reason: He can charge higher prices than is asked elsewhere and thereby increase his profit. He thinks that he can operate any kind of an old dump, thereby reducing his operating costs and increasing his profits. He can sell lower grade merchandise and get the same price that a first grade store gets for standard merchandise. Also, he can operate a crooked and intricate installment plan which keeps the victim in debt for a house full of junk, which falls to pieces long before it is paid for.

VIGILANCE NECESSARY .

The cure for the situation in Harlem and other cities is not some fake "Code of Ethics," but greater vigilance in shopping. Refusal to buy from these shysters may entail some inconvenience but it will pay off in dollars and cents. So long as one must contribute to the welfare of capitalist business enterprise in order to live, it is only good sense that Negroes spend their dollars where they get the value which other people get for

The mass of Negroes should learn what others have learned: to pay more attention to quality in relation to price. They must watch the scales. It would be well if they had scales at home to check up on the weight. They should demand that merchants who want to get their money should carry standard merchandise and not just any old rubbish and left-overs which could not, for instance, be sold in the first class shopping sections.

A little alertness and caution will do far more to eliminate these sharp practices than any "Code of Ethics' which has to be forced out of these

should it lay out a lot of money when profits were the biggest in history anyway? Instead of a three-million of a three-million of the capacity by July anyway? Instead of a three-million of the capacity by July of the capa

increase. Even the three-million ton PHILADELPHIA - Inaugurating the tual Third World War require a continued, the one significant troduced at the UAW convention by fall series of Labor Action Forums, docile working class. E. R. McKinney, national secretary of the Workers Party, spoke to an audience of some thirty people on November 16 on the problems facing the labor movement.

> Comrade McKinney pointed out that none of the recent union conventions-AFL, CIO, National Maritime Union, United Automobile Workers, etc.—arrived at an effective means of combatting the Taft-Hartley Act because the members of these organizations do not yet see this repressive legislation as an attempt to restrict the labor movement in a period in which the ruling class has to deal with Russia on the one hand and with the assorted crises of American and world capitalism on the other. For example U. S. imperialism requires full production to bolster Greece, France, England and whatever countries lie in its orbit. Further, the preparations for an even-

Thus, trade unionists are faced with more than an exceptionally anti-labor Congress, one that can be softened up by a little Political Action Committee (PAC) pressure. Rather, they face a ruling class which is seeking to clip the independent economic (and potentially political) power of the working class in order to proceed with its own national and international plans.

DISCUSSES POLITICAL ACTION However, the policy of the unions remains as it was before: support to the political representatives of the ruling class. At the UAW convention. said Comrade McKinney, a great deal of time was spent on relatively unimportant issues-election of minor officials, salaries of union officersbut a resolution on independent political action was not brought to the floor. In that connection, the speaker

the defeat of the Addes-Thomas-Stalinist caucus, because it frees the union from the domination of a group which subordinates the needs of the working class to those of the totalitarian state which it serves.

Comrade McKinney concluded his remarks with the argument that the union bureaucracy will not of itself initiate and organize the movement for an independent Labor Party, but that this movement must come from the rank and file of union militants and in particular from those who are revolutionary socialists.

Answering a question, Comrade McKinney pointed out that even Emil Mazey, the only major UAW leader who supports a Labor Party, does not engage in action which will promote this end; namely, building support for the Labor Party among the rank and file. In answer to a question concerning a resolution in-

achievement of the convention was the Addes caucus for immediate wage increases, presumably by strike action, the speaker observed that in the circumstances the resolution must be viewed as a purely demagogic appeal introduced for factional reasons.

NEXT IN SERIES

Other forums in the series are:

DECEMBER 5 - Max Shachtman. national chairman of the Workers Party, will speak on "The Fight Against World War III"-an analysis of the struggle between Russian and American imperialism, the nature of the Russian state, America's struggle for world empire, the fight of the Third Camp of world labor.

DECEMBER 19-Henry Judd, recently returned from a visit to Europe and author of "India in Revolt," will speak on "The Chaos of Post-War Europe and the Politics of Im-

Amer. Comm. for European Workers Relief CHAISTMAS BAZAAA Place: 130 WEST 23rd STREET

book. Behind the Silken Curtain. italism may mean the literal exter-

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Rate Increases and Friendship Train

The following letter came to my attention, and I think it of interest to you now re the "Friendship Train." This was distributed to all RR lines from San Francisco to New York.

Philadelphia, October 20, 1947. President

"The Pennsylvania RR Co.

Assoc. of Amer RRs. Transportation Bldg. Washington 6, D. C. "Dear Mr. F:

"This acknowledges your joint letter of October 18.

"The Pennsylvania RR would be glad to participate in running a Coast to Coast train which is supposed to dramatize America's contribution to European relief.

"We should also use this train to dramatize the railroads' contribution to the American economy which makes possible not only this contri-

bution to Europe, but to all the

"Mr. Pearson has an opportunity to do something for the railroads. He should know we are desperately in need of our rate increases and he, with his flare for the dramatic, can see that our rate situation is worked in a little in the background as he gives that full credit to the railroads which he desires to give. Signed,

W. M. CLEMENT."

It would be interesting to note whether Pearson "works in" a little about rate increases. Fraternally,

Justice: Blind Or Obedient?

Judges are supposed to be impartial individuals who are beyong the heavy hand of "political pressure." However, an article in the Baltimore Afro-American indicates that there room door, the lawyer tossed over his

are, at the very least, exceptions to

Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor.

During the week of November 22, Magistrate Harry Kruger of the Housing Court called the case of Mrs. Minnie Fox, a white property owner who had failed to comply with the housing code. Adequate and proper facilities had not been provided for her colored tenants.

A white lawyer answered for her but declined to accept the consequences. The testimony of the officer indicated that the landlord could have done better by her tenants had she been willing.

The magistrate's refusal to accept the attorney's promise to correct the deficiency riled the latter, who became huffed and abusive. This irked the magistrate, who said: "Issue a warrant for Minne Fox and bring her in here."

· To this the red-faced attorney replied in a loud, irate voice: "I'm surprised at you Harry (the magistrate's first name) and I'll tell Jack about this." Storming his way to the courtshoulder: "You can issue a warrant for me, too."

A fearless judge would have accepted the lawyer's challenge, especially after the threat followed by what was unquestionably contempt of court by the lawyer, who should have known better. Incidentally, one of Baltimore's strongest political figures is a JACK-a Jack Pollack.

HAL EVERETT,

Baltimore.

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Speaker: HENRY JUDD

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A Discussion of the WP and SWP Positions

Two Policies in Auto Workers Union

(Continued from page 1)

Our party proclaims itself revolutionary social position. ist, and is often called "Trotskyist." The same holds for the SWP. Our party, which is part and parcel of the working class and the labor movement and has no interests separate from it, believes that one of the most important forward steps to be taken is the assembling of an independent group of militants in the unions to work for bringing the labor movement to the position of class struggle and socialism. No other positon faithfully and fruitfully corresponds to the needs and interests of the working class. Anything short of this is useful and progressive, in our opinion, only to the extent that it serves the speediest realization of this goal. So, although we continue to work for this goal, or rather, because we work for this goal, we are decidedly interested in those events, movements and struggles that are "short" of our goal.

Which movement shall we support and urge others to support? If we support a movement, then in what way? Which position shall we take in a given struggle? These are questions of importance not only to us but to everyone else in the labor movement. Everyone has a right to know the position advocated by the revolutionary socialists in the events and conflicts that concern his daily life. Everyone has a right to see for himself, in practice, whether or not the revolutionary socialists are correct in saying that they stand. at all times for the best interests of the whole working class, that they are truly part and parcel of the working class and its organizations.

We have not yet succeeded in winning to our ideas a group of militants large and influential enough to lay claim to the leadership of a union like the UAW-or any other union. We are still far, far removed from that. We have no more reason for concealing our weakness than for concealing our aims. In the UAW, for example, there are only two groups, or combinations of groups, that can lay claim to leadership, Reuther's and Addes'. Their fight for leadership has no importance for us if it is merely personal or if it involves only a handful of officials. But it is and has been much more than that. It has involved hundreds of thousands of members and been of interest to millions outside the UAW. In our opinion, neither group offers the leadership, the policies for the union, or a political program in the broadest sense, which is adequate to meet the needs of the workers. But it does not follow from this opinion, that we, or any militant in the UAW, can be indifferent to which group acquires or retains control of the organization.

WHY SUPPORT REUTHER GROUP?

From the beginning of the struggle for control of the UAW between the Reuther and Addes camps, which is many years old, our party and LABOR ACTION have consistently taken the position that the militants in the UAW should support (or continue to support) the Reuther group against the Addes group. Why?

First, because the great bulk of the most advanced and progressive militants are to be found -and not by accident-in the Reuther camp. These militants are not yet revolutionary socialists, but they represent the vast majority of what is unmistakably the left wing of the UAW. There is more than enough concrete evidence to prove it. On virtually all the important political issues that have arisen in the years of the fight between the two groups, it is these militants who fought for the correct or the more nearly correct position, as against the Addes faction which fought

Editorials

rrench S. P.

Democracy.

In all the confusion and contradictory reports

coming out of France today, one thing, at least,

is clear. The French Socialist Party is playing a

treacherous strike-breaking role, both on the po-

litical and trade union front, quite familiar to

those acquainted with the history of the Social

formed rightist government of Robert Schumann

the man who is mobilizing all the available

forces of violence against the strikers-the So-

cialists are sitting together with him in his cabi-

net. They have already voted for one part of his

strike-breaking measures—the section calling up

additional troops. They are prepared to vote for

the rest of the powers he demands. Without So-

cialist votes Schumann would not be in office to-

day, without their votes he could not remain in

office. Whatever one may think of the Stalinist

leadership of the strikes, there can be no other

description of the Socialists' political action in

supporting the French capitalist class as against

the French working class than by labeling it a

are fostering a move to split the unions and to

do "everything in our power" to get the workers

back to work. Leon Jouhaux, now a Socialist

Party leader and a familiar labor skate in

France, heads a minority (Force Ouvrière) which

openly plans to split the labor movement, and

settle with the government on its own terms. In-

stead of struggling against the Stalinists and

challenging them for leadership over the work-

ers, the Socialists are mobilizing strike-breaking

forces (they have already fought side by side

with the police in the coal mining areas) and

are preparing to accept the impossible conditions

the way guaranteed to maintain the adventuristic

Stalinist control over the unions. In their hour

of greatest need for socialist leadership, the work-

This is not the way to fight Stalinism; it is

In the union movement itself, the Socialists

policy of treachery and betrayal.

laid down by the government.

Instead of breaking openly with the newly-

for the wrong and often outright reactionary other hand, believe that capitalism can only work

Thus, whatever fight was made against the notorious no-strike pledge was fought by the militants in the Reuther group (not by Reuther himself!), while the pledge received its most consistent and unrelenting support from the entire Addes combination. The same holds true for the fight to get off the infamous War Labor Board. The same holds true, to an even more marked degree, for the fight against the Incentive Pay plan, in which Reuther himself joined, against the entire Addes group. The same holds true, in less marked but still significant degree, of the fight for an independent Labor Party, the bulk of whose supporters or friends or "tolerant neutrals" are found in the Reuther group, not among the Addesites. The same holds true for the bold-in its implications, revolutionary—"GM Program," proclaimed so sensationally by Reuther, then advanced by him so timidly, now put into the background entirely, but, let it be remembered, resisted and vehemently opposed by the whole Addes group.

Second, because Reuther, as a type, represents the indigenous reformist labor officialdom, as against Addes who has always not only been allied with but been politically dominated by the Stalinists, who represent a reactionary totalitarian power and whose victory or even partial victory is a decisive step toward the complete corruption, paralysis and finally the total destruction of unionism and democracy—to say nothing of socialism-in any form. We are not speaking of course of the rank-and-file Stalinist militant who is passionately devoted to socialism and freedom as he understands them. He is only an innocent victim and tool whose idealism has been cynically subverted and perverted to the most abhorrent purposes. We are speaking of Stalinism as an organized political movement, with an objective aim of its own. And this objective aim is incompatible with the existence of any form of independent working class organization and action to exactly the extent that reactionary totalitarianism is incompatible with it.

Anyone who does not understand this is blind, deaf, devoid of taste and smell and more than necessarily stupid, at least if it is assumed that he knows one-tenth of what is to be known about Stalinism in Russia, China, Yugoslavia, Poland and elsewhere. For Stalinism, the working class movement is an easily expendable pawn in the fight to preserve and expand the power of the only genuinely totalitarian state in the world today. That is why Trotsky so harshly but accurately labelled Stalinism as the syphilis of the labor movement. And that is why Stalinism today is the greatest, best organized, most persistent and poisonous danger to the labor movement. Only those who confuse it with the truly revolutionary communist movement that preceded it (and which it utterly destroyed) can still think of it in terms of the "left wing" of the labor movement. Nothing of the kind is in any way true. It is a reactionary totalitarian agency operating within the labor movement. And whoever is allied with it, or helps it out of its difficulties, or covers it up, is giving aid and comfort to reactionary totalitarianism

Reuther-and we speak not so much of the individual but of the type he personifies - is bound, willy-nilly, to the labor movement. His fortunes as a labor leader are inseparable from the fortunes of the labor movement he leads. He is a Social Democrat, that is, a labor reformist who believes capitalism can be "reformed," made to work in the interests of the people. We, on the

rs of France find this so-called Socialist Party

clearly aligned with their most bitter enemies-

the government and the capitalists. Whatever the

outcome of the strike movement may be, the So-

cialist Party leaders of France will emerge more

discredited and despised than ever among the

workers of their country. These Socialists bear

their share of responsibility for the fact that so

many French workers still, unfortunately, are

As the heads of the movie industry decided

to remove from their payrolls all those it con-

siders "Communists," a further indication of the

increasing threat of film censorship was seen

last week when the Loew's movie chain refused

to book Charlie Chaplin's "Monsieur Verdoux."

This decision was reached after a great deal of

pressure had been put on Loew's by the reaction-

The ostensible reason for the Catholic War

Veterans' opposition to the Chaplin film was that

Chaplin was not an American citizen and "took

American money." (They did not specify where

he took it to...nor did they state whether they

considered it a matter of policy to ban all films

not made by Americans.) A more likely reason

for the Catholic Veterans' position is that "Mon-

sieur Verdoux" contains a scene in which its

doomed hero refuses the ministrations of a priest.

pressure, were tight-lipped about their policy and

refused to state whether or not they would play

the Chaplin picture. The likelihood was that

munist" drive reached a climax when ten writers,

directors and producers were fired because they

refused to answer the Thomas committee's ques-

tions about their political beliefs. While it is true

that a number of those dismissed are known as

Stalinist supporters, their dismissal is nonethe-

less a very serious violation of civil liberties and

an indication of the trend to reaction in Holly-

wood. For the grounds on which the ten were

dismissed could readily be applied to genuine rad-

icals or even liberals and the atmosphere of hys-

teria in which the entire matter has been devel-

oped substantiates this opinion. (One movie pro-

ducer, Bryan Foy, has already announced his

intention to get rid of all "pinkos"-by which he

means anyone who has any kind of radical lean-

In Hollywood, the preposterous anti-"Com-

many of them would follow the Loew's lead.

Other movie chains, sensitive to Catholic

Movie Purge

under Stalinist control!

ary Catholic War Veterans.

itself into a grave or work all of society into a grave. But precisely because he is a reformist labor leader, he is compelled to fight for the continued existence and even strengthening of the reformist labor movement he leads. He fights for it very poorly, and timidly, and inconsistently, and in such a way as to assure, in the long run, that the unions will be paralyzed and even destroyed-along with himself and his proud position of leadership. But, as a labor leader, he has no other base of operations or strength than the labor movement and the democratic rights (capitalist democratic rights, to be sure, but democratic nevertheless) which are indispensable to the existence of the labor movement. If those go, he goes! The labor movement and democracy are useful to the Stalinists, but not indispensable for their existence or power. In fact, they are in intolerable contradiction with Stalinist power!

That is why our party decided, years ago, to support unhesitatingly the authentically reformist and even conservative labor leadership for control of the labor organizations as against the Stalinist leadership, that is, in all those cases where the contest was practically confined to these two and where it was practically impossible to organize and fight for the victory of a genuinely progressive or socialist leadership. In doing so, we do not for a single instant give support to a political program or a policy which is not ours or which we consider false or dangerous. We continue our criticism of even those leaderships we support. We continue to advocate our own program and policies. All this-without concealment and without apology (there is nothing at all to apologize for). All this—to explain why we use the formula, for example, "We are not Reutherites, but we support Reuther."

IN CONTRAST: THE SWP LINE

The SWP has a different position. In fact, it has more than one position and it does not seem to have found the time to try to bring them into harmony with one another. If it has one policy on this vitally important problem, it is the policy localized, unthought-out, unanalyzed, haphazard opportunism, from which a heavy dose of adventurism is not absent. In some unions, it opposes the Stalinist group and supports conservative and even chauvinistic groups. In other unions, it supports the Stalinist groups against the anti-Stalinists. In still other unions, it abstains disdainfully on the ground that both groups are equally bad. And in one and the same union it will support one group one month and another the next and then turn around and support the first one all over again. This has been notoriously the case with its course in the UAW.

It acts as if the problem of the struggle for control of the unions between the Stalinists and their opponents were not a national (and international) political question, but rather a series of uncoordinated, locally isolated struggles without common features which are decisive in every

It is in connection with the fight in the UAW that the conflict between us and the SWP has come most clearly and sharply into the open. On the eve of the Atlantic City convention of the UAW, the SWP and the Militant, its organ, decided to come out in opposition to Reuther and in support of Addes. There were ample and timely warnings against this turn inside the SWP itself, but they were not heeded. The last-minute change in policy proved to be a first-rate disaster. The SWP came out of its alliance with Addes and with the Stalinists (the word alliance is used out of charity) covered with the mud of humiliation and discreditment. Instead of taking sober and serious stock of itself, the SWP leadership, or rather that section of it which imposed the new policy on a bewildered party, decided to brazen it out. What better means could it find than to start an abusive attack upon us? It is a mighty poor means but no better could be found; it is skimpy consolation but it seems better than none. In any case, to shout real loud against us may reduce the volume of protest against the policy which has risen in the SWP membership itself.

The first blow against us was one which we will manage to survive. One of the columnists of the Militant, a poor, witless soul, was wheeled into position to fire his peashooter at us. Tickling himself into humorless hilarity, he announced that our friends at the UAW convention-although, mind you, they played no role and could not by all the laws of God and man play any role the UAW-were known (hold your sides, now!) as "Reutherettes." They sat (ha-ha) in the convention balcony (ho-ho) and formed a veritable cheering squad (he-he) for (this you'll never believe but it's the honest truth) Reuther. A more pithy and exact summary of Workers Party policy and behavior in the UAW fight could not be asked for, at least not from the writer we have quoted. He lives cozily in his shell which, oddly, remains hollow for all the fact that he inhabits it, and he is content to communicate with the outer world by repeating on the inside the messages that are carefully tapped out for him on the outside. In this protective integument, he rolled into the convention hall and then out of it. He can hardly be blamed for not having seen anything that actually went on and making up for it by tapping out the fevered visions that flickered before his eyes for reproduction in the Militant. Our attitude toward this citizen continues to be lenient even when he permits himself to speak of us as "finger-men" at the UAW convention, because we know that rural idiocy is not confined to the countryside. We simply ask ourselves: What can he mean by this? Against whom did we presumably point the finger? That is, whom did we expose for what they really are? Is it possible that this talent is trying to say that we called the Stalinists Stalinists? Alas, it is more than merely possible. A hose without a petcock will sometimes run off at the mouth. But isn't this hose a Trotskyist, and isn't it the policeagents of the Daily Worker who are trained to call the Trotskyists "finger-men"? Yes and yes. Then what? Just this: it seems there are some "Trotskyists" who are not sure whether they are writing for the Militant or for the Daily Worker. A dismal conclusion, but what else can you say?

But let us leave this parenthetical subject and proceed to one who is not much more pleasant but at least makes it possible to be more instructive and fruitful. The second field piece turned against us (there will be more, no doubt) is not a columnist but an editor of the Militant. In the December 1 issue, George Breitman mounts a more sizable attack on our policy as "Stalinphobia" and attempts, with all the courage of despair, to defend the policy followed in the UAW by the SWP. It is to Breitman's article that we will return in the next issue.

WORLD POLITICS

FRANCE AND THE LONDON CONFERENCE

That there is a strong relationship between the Stalinist campaigns in Italy and France and the current London meeting of the Big Four Foreign Ministers is apparent. The problem is—what is this connection? How does it fit into the over-all picture of Russian strategy and aims? Some aspects of this matter are evident enough; other aspects are still unclear and even puzzling. It appears likely that by the time of LA-BOR ACTION's next weekly issue things should stand in a much clearer light than they do today. The strike movement in France, for example, is rapidly approaching its climax and we shall see precisely how far the Stalinists are prepared to go in the campaign of adventures they have launched. By next week we shall also see what, precisely, if anything, can be accomplished by the Big Four imperialists at the London conference and, more important, what their respective aims are at this stage of events.

The strike wave in France, now embracing 2,000,000 organized workers, is at its crucial point. The entire force of capitalist and rightist reaction in France, aided and abetted by the treacherous "Socialist" leaders who now sit in the government of Robert Schumann, leader of the semi-de Gaullist wing of his MRP Party, has prepared blows of violence and brute force against the workers' movement of France. The capitalist press of America is cheering on Schumann's efforts to smash strike actions by decree measures and laws. It is only natural that LABOR ACTION, regardless of its opinion of the Stalinist criminals who instigated this movement, takes its place in elementary support of and solidarity with the millions of striking workers.

Harrassed by endless inflation, living under miserable conditions at very low levels, the entire struggle of the French worker against his capitalist government is a justified one. That the situation, tragically, is such that he can be manipulated by the Stalinists has nothing to do with this fact, nor does it dampen in the slightest the genuine character of his demands, nor excuse the treachery of the Socialists who support those measures of Schumann which could easily mean the end of working class rights in France. It is precisely because we stand solidly with the French working class in its crucial struggle of today that we must denounce simultaneously the Stalinist leaders who are conducting this class straight to defeat.

ITALY, FRANCE: PARALYZED COUNTRIES

The effectiveness of the strikes is in doubt. One thing is sure. France today, and Italy to a lesser extent, are both paralyzed countries which have slipped back a long way in their desperate efforts to revive economic life. The first blizzard of winter has roared over Europe and the first snows have fallen. The dreaded 1947-48 winter is here and will last four months, until early April weather. In all events, it would have been nip-and-tuck, but now it will be worse. If a part of the motivation behind the Stalinist campaign was to so disrupt and disorganize economic life as to put a serious crimp into the Marshall Plan before it got under way, then it must be recognized they have succeeded. Probably new Plan estimates will have to be made, due to losses in coal, steel and iron production. There is serious evidence that the workers understood this, that they were (and are) reluctant to strike at this time, but also that their food and living conditions have become so desperate that they took the only means and methods available to express their sentiments. They struck half-heartedly and in many instances not at all.

The problem is-what shall come out of this? The eactionary regimes in Italy and France wish to administer heavy blows not merely to the Stalinists, but particularly to the workers themselves. The mobilization of armed forces is but one stage of this process. The Stalinists wish to push matters as far as possible—that is, to bring about the greatest amount of disruption, sabotage and chaos co-existent with their continued existence as political movements.

This means that at a certain point-probably within the next week or ten days-they will begin a major retreat, attempting to hold their forces together (for the next stage of the anti-Marshall Plan struggle conducted under Moscow's orders) and to salvage something out of the ruins.

REVOLUTIONARY POLICY IN FRANCE

It is possible that, during this retreat, the Socialist leaders will attempt to split the French CGT trade union movement and to reorganize a new trade union center of those workers disillusioned and disgusted with Stalinism. Reaction in France and Italy, backed by American imperialism, will naturally attempt to use this period of retreat for inflicting still heavier blows upon the workers' movement as a whole.

Thus, in our opinion, the job of revolutionists still renains essentially the same—a strengthening of the economic and social struggle of the workers, accompanied by a merciless fight to tear the leadership of the union movement out of the hands of the Stalinists and the organization of the inevitable retreat in such a fashion as to prevent it from being a rout. The French and Italian working class can emerge out of this sorry mess without too great losses, if the Stalinists are properly fought and an independent way is opened up.

As the London conference moves forward into more and more controversial fields, the Stalinists will attempt to whip on to new and loftier heights their Western Europe campaign. It seems clear that these two affairs, both strategic aspects of Russia's world-wide struggle with its American rival, are highly co-ordinated. Stalin believes in playing many cards at one time; the better and most impressive method, in his opinion. The diplomat Molotov is not alone at the London conference. By him are seated strike-fomenter Thorez and chaos-producer Togliatti. The words of Politburo member Zhdanov-founder of the new Cominform -summarize Moscow's aim in this co-ordinated plan: "The USSR will put all effort in seeing that the Marshall Plan is not realized." All effort means (1) the winning of Germany for Russian imperialism; (2) the production of economic chaos in Western Europe. We

have already discussed (2). Effort (1) is revealed most clearly in London.

MAJOR ISSUES BEFORE BIG FOUR

The first week of the London conference was spent in a mutual reiteration of previous positions and a mutual feeling out of one another's weak and strong points. So despairing of any agreement was the American press that it hailed the agreement of the Ministers on the agenda as a stride forward! Now the conference is first approaching the real issues, and it can easily break up without any progress. However, more likely is its continuation and its completion in some form. Already, the MAJOR motivation and propagandistic aim of Russia at the conference is clear. It involves a contemplated drive of major importance for support in Germany and control over that still key

Mastery of Germany is a key stake in the struggle between the American and Russian imperialists. When Stalinism has made its inevitable retreat in Western Europe (a retreat bound to be accompanied by serious decline in morale and loss of membership and influence), it will shift to Germany as the next central arena in its fight against America and the Marshall Plan. In fact, it is no exaggeration to say that Stalin considers France and Italy of secondary importance to Germany, from the point of view of Russian expansionism. This is why he so readily and easily sacrifices so much of what has been built up by his cronies in those two countries. Just as Germany, with its Ruhr area and its potential capacity for economic productivity, is of prime importance to American imperialism for the working of the Marshall Plan, so is Germany of prime importance to Stalin in extending his grip over Europe, using German resources and productivity for his own purposes and constructing a protective bulwark between himself and Americandominated Western Europe.

Thus, at the moment, the diplomatic struggle at London consists in the struggle for the kind of set-up which will most easily enable the rivals to run that stagnant, cut-up and unhappy land. Neither is likely to yield on this issue. Therefore, both attempt to present proposals and plans most likely to facilitate appeals for support among the German people themselves.

Molotov's text on "A Soviet Plan on Germany" is a key document of this type. Not meant seriously as a diplomatic document, its real intent is for mass distribution and circulation among the German people. Molotov proposes the immediate "formation of an all-German democratic government." This is to be done before a peace treaty for Germany is drafted, and such a treaty "must be signed by the German government and presented by it to the German parliament for rati-

In other words, in this clever scheme, Molotov and Russia present themselves as advocates of German unity. for withdrawal and for recreation of an "independent, sovereign" Germany! When the conference is over they will no doubt describe themselves in this light, and launch a strong campaign for mobilizing ALL nationalist forces (it matters not one whit to Stalin whether his support comes from Pan-German, chauvinist nationalists of the most reactionary types), regardless of their politics, behind the Russian banner.

Stalin's unification concept is based upon his knowledge that his organized party (the SED), with a violently nationalist program, can far more easily penetrate into Western Germany than his opponents can into his Eastern Germany. This will be the major theme song of Molotov at the conference and of Russia thereafter. It is a diabolically clever scheme, bound to affect the situation, even though Stalin's motive in making use of Germany is clear enough.

NO DECISIVE CHANGE IN SIGHT

The other powers, of course, oppose this and will reject it. They demand the imposition of a peace treaty upon Germany FIRST, before the creation of any central government. They also favor a loosely federated Germany, as distinguished from the resurrection of a centralized government favored by the Russians. This has already put them in a position w barrassing retreat has had to be made on the plans to organize a Western Germany WITHOUT the Russian zone. On the German question, Molotov has them on the defensive. Marshall has denied the obvious intent (that is, until now) to organize a trizonal government after the accepted failure of this conference and to sign a separate treaty with it, as proposed by former Secretary Byrnes. He has had to withdraw this plan because of the demagogic success of Molotov, whose scheme, clearly, has a much greater appeal to the German people. But this denial does not mean abandonment of this phase of the Marshall Plan as a whole.

Will this conference settle anything? Can it even arrange a temporary truce in the struggle over Germany? This is most unlikely. Germany is a No-Man's land between the two great power blocs, and a No-Man's land can never be divided up or harmonized by agreement. To do this would be to destroy its function of keeping the enemies apart until the proper moment for battle has come. And since war between America and Russia is still in the distance, fortunately, Germany must remain what it is. There will be no decisive change in its position; there will be no decisive arrangement or decision made at London. But since the moment for war is not yet here, neither will the doors be shut with any finality.

The Allies will not organize a separate state in Western Germany (although they will certainly strengthen their economic unification, as part of the plan for revival of Ruhr economy); nor will the Russians take the final step of "sovietizing" Eastern Germany. Matters will drag on again, and again. The London conference, in this sense, is not a final or decisive conference any more than Stalin's campaign in Western Europe is a final or decisive campaign. Both actions, set in this perspective, appear as stages and events in the "cold war"-that is, that preparatory period before diplomacy and strike action are replaced by the speaking of the guns and the dropping of the atom bombs.

Henry JUDD.

Ask Truman to Grant Amnesty

Four hundred and eighty persons, including leading ministers, professors and authors from all parts of the country have adressed a joint letter to President Truman urging him to declare a general amnesty for conscientious objectors and other Selective Service violators without further delay.

The letter was released today by Mrs. Dorothy Canfield Fisher, honorary chairman of the Committee for Amnesty. Among its signers are Professor Albert Einstein, Princeton University; Emily Greene Balch, 1946 Nobel Peace Prize winner; Pearl Buck, author; Professor Rexford Guy Tugwell, University of Chicago; Dr. Harry Emerson Fos-

dick, Riverside Church, New York; Deems Taylor, composer; Dr. Ray Lyman Wilbur, president, Stanford University; the Rt. Rev. William Scarlett, Episcopal bishop of Missouri; Stanley High, Readers Digest: Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, Free Synagogue: Arthur Garfield Hays.

"It is a matter of deep disappointment to us," the letter declared, ties by foreign governments, the let-"that more than two years after the eter to the President states: "The end of the war and seven months final responsibility for amnesty unafter the expiration of the Selective der our system of government rests Training and Service Act of 1940, no amnesty has been granted conscientious objectors, Jehovah's Witnesses, of our nation that here men who and other persons convicted of vio- suffered for conscience' sake should lating that law. Seven hundred men at this date still be imprisoned and remain in prison, while thousands deprived of precious rights"

already released are still without valuable civil rights. Hundreds continue under the restrictions of probation, parole and conditional release."

Reviewing how the President's Amnesty Board, appointed last Christmas, has delayed in reaching a decision, despite numerous amnesupon you. . . . It is an injury to the cause of democracy and the prestige

LABOR ACTION A Paper in the Interest of Socialism

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EMANUEL GARRETT, Editor Henry Judd, Irving Howe Business Manager: Paul Bern

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ican capitalism. That is why it is ridding itself of any dissent, whatever its nature, within Hollywood. Civil liberties have been struck a blow and the result will undobtedly be a new crop of

The movie industry is being prepared for an all-out propaganda campaign in behalf of Amerflag-draped super-specials which will bore audiences from coast to coast.

Philly City Council Plots New Tax Grab From Labor

creases for city workers.)

new tax grab. In compiling the city budget for 1948, the Republican machine, which completely controls City Hall, has discovered treasury deficits totalling \$6,500,000. Just before the election campaign, Mayor Samuel boasted that the city had a \$6,000,000 deficit. The other half million was evidently added during the election campaign.

How does the Council propose to make its tax steal? Who will pay for it? The proposal being quietly considered is to raise the tax on wages by one-half per cent. This would take about \$13,000,000 out of the pockets of wage earners.

Philadelphia is the only city of comparable size with a wage tax. It was originally put over as a "temporary expedient" five years ago. This year it was the means of pickpocketing \$26,000,000. In fact, it has clearly been so successful that the machine would like more of it.

MONEY FOR WHAT?

What will they do with the money? First, it will NOT go to raising the salaries of firemen, park guards and policemen. Councilman Egan, who is in charge of the budget, has already said that wage increases for the above "cannot be granted." Second, school appropriations, which are now lower per pupil than in any Northern city of 50,000 or more, will NOT be increased. Third, the inadequate pay for the city's school teachers will NOT be increased. Fourth, veterans will benefit to the extent of having the allocate for the Veterans Center

SLASHED by \$18,000. ____ ___ But there will be salary increases for Council members and the Mayor. Mayor Samuel is scheduled to get another \$1,800 a year in token of the excellent services he has performed for the Pew interests. And the 22 councilmen are due to get an added \$2,500 a year. Further, the machine is anxious to pad its payroll by putting more drones on at City Hall. THAT'S WHAT THE MONEY IS

The labor movement must organize against this projected steal. Every cent of the anticipated \$13,000,000 is expected to come from labor's wages. Thus the measure is plainly an attack on labor's living standard. It must be fought in self-defense!

More money is indeed needed! More money for a municipal housing program, for slum clearance, for

Mexicans Are Freed From Struck Ranch

BAKERSFIELD, Cal. (WDL) - Following protests from the AFL, the Workers Defense League and liberal organizations and individuals throughout the country, the Department of Agriculture has withdrawn 130 Mexican nationals from the Di Giorgio ranch, where the National Farm Labor Union, AFL, is on strike. The government agency, which had brought the Mexicans in as emerthere as strike-breakers.

The Department of Agriculture's action was strongly opposed by the Associated Farmers, vigiltante organization representing the corporation farm interests. For the first 40 days of the strike the Mexicans had been held on the giant ranch under threat of deportation. The State Department had issued instructions which would have permitted them to join the walkout immediately, but the Agriculture Department had failed to act.

PHILADELPHIA-The City Council new schools, for badly underpaid them under the control of the workof this city is surveying means of teachers, for sivil service employees. ers, who know best how to do so. reaching into labor's pocket with a (The AFL Central Labor Union has The proceeds from these enterprises voted to support a fight for wage in-

> And the money is available! It is available through taxation of the big real estate interests, the department stores and corporations of the city which are piling up enormous profits. It is available through taktransportation systems and operating an independent Labor Party.

could help build a city in which decent, modern living conditions pre-

It-is necessary to organize protests against the budget and tax steal, to force public hearings. Above all, it is necessary to summon political pressure; specifically, by organizing laing over the city's gas works and bor's strength in this city NOW into

French Strikes - -

that exists in the world. In the forefront, of course, is the newly formed semi-de Gaullist government of Robert Schumann, actively supported by the French "Socialist" Party. The entire capitalist state machinery of France and Italy is being built up and prepared for a bloody intervention against the workers in an effort to crush their strikes and force them back to work at any price, except that demanded by the workers.

The capitalist press of America, deliberately concealing the real reasons why so many workers have responded to the strike calls-that is. concealing the desperate nature of the living conditions in Europe now -has concentrated exclusively on the Stalinist leadership. According to the American press, nothing is at stake but the issue of "communism." This is untrue. The problem of Stalinism certainly exists, but side by side with that is the fact that, with the cold and snow of winter already here, millions of workers are fighting for a chance to live and survive! It is this struggle that deserves the sympathy and support of every American worker, without condition. It is the working class of France and Italy fighting back against the mobilized forces of reaction which commands our atten-

Troops, police, tear gas attacks, shootings, shutting down of labor headquarters, press censorship, unleashing of strike - breakers, etc .these are the methods being employed by the French and Italian governments to break the strikes. France has already mobilized 100,000 extra armed forces for this job. Reports from leading cities in Italy and France give descriptions of virtual pre-civil war conditions, with armed patrols and curfews at nights. The American government has delayed withdrawal of thousands of American troops in Italy in a clear attempt to influence the situation and bolster up by a show of force the de Gaspari government.

SCHUMANN'S MEASURES

Most drastic action of all is yet to come, in all likelihood, when the French National Assembly, with support from the "Socialist" Party, wil adopt the proposed anti-strike measures of Schumann. These drastic measures to shackle the labor movegency farm labor, had held them ment have even aroused doubts among the Socialist Party leaders! They include:

> (1) Penalties of six months to five years' imprisonment and fines up to \$4,200 for "preventing" workers from

(2) Heavier penalities for action against strike-breakers and scabs.

(3) Dismissal of government employees for advocating strike action.

ship, with a gag on aritcles supporting strike action or urging radical activities.

The main demand of the Stalinistled French union movement (CGT) is for blanket wage increases of about 1,300 francs (\$10.00) per month. The government has offered an increase of 300 francs per month (\$2.50!) to those workers who were not out on strike! This terminated the negotiations between the CGT and the government, and was followed by the action of Schumann in mobilizing his military forces and introducing the anti-strike legislation outlined above. At the same time, an open split in the CGT leadership took place, headed by Leon Jouhaux and the Socialist Party unionists, who wished to continue negotiations and go back to work at the same time, hoping for a gesture of generosity from the reactionary government.

SUPPORT FRENCH WORKERS

At the present stage, the Stalinist leaders are doing their utmost to extend and continue the strikes as a part of their campaign to stage a huge mobilization against America in Russia's interests. Undoubtedly a climax will be reached within the next week, for a nation such as France or Italy cannot continue indefinitely under such conditions, particularly under the pressure of hunger and cold. The government, at the same time, is doing its utmost to break the strikes by using the dual methods of violence and mobilization of scabs, together with an effort to split still wider the CGT and set up a new trade union federation that will come to terms.

But the real decision as to the strike movement's outcome still rests in the hands of the millions of workers who are bearing the real burdens. They are the ones who require the support of the American labor movement in their combined struggles against an increasingly reactionary and brutal rightist government and against the criminal Stalinist leadership which tries to use their struggle for its narrow political purposes. We propose to American work-

AND ITALIAN WORKING CLASS IN ITS FIGHT FOR BETTER LIV-ING CONDITIONS.

ALL OPPOSITION TO THE DIC-TATORIAL AND FASCISTIC STRIKE - BREAKING MEASURES EMPLOYED BY THE ITALIAN AND FRENCH GOVERNMENTS AND APPROVED OF BY THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT.

ALL OPPOSITION TO THE US-ING OF EUROPEAN WORKERS AND THEIR LABOR MOVEMENT BY THE STALINISTS FOR THE SINISTER PURPOSES OF RUS-(4) Reinstitution of press censor- SIAN FOREIGN POLICY.

Who Profited from Concentration Camps?

mitted to provide food, shelter and clothing

By IRVING HOWE

An interesting and revealing sidelight on the social nature of the Nazi regime in Germany was cast last week in a "war crimes" trial held by the U.S. occupation forces. On trial were various officials of the gigantic armament and chemical trust, I. G. Farben-

Revealing Testimony at Trial of Farben Officials

The first important fact dug up by the prosecutors was that the leading officials of G. Farben were aware of all the atrocities being committed by the Nazis in the concentration camps. This may not seem sensational news, but it does offer definitive refutation of the idea that the Nazi atrocities were the special work of a group of deranged or devilish "nethermen." The truth is that all the leading officials of Germany's largest capitalist concern knew about the activities and approved them. German capitalism was not merely implicated in but was an integral part of the Nazi horror

But more: I. G. Farben on its own initiative was responsible for many of the concentration camp's atrocities. Prisoners in the Buchenwald concentration camps were deliberately infected with typhus, typhoid, dysentery and other diseases. The SS camp physician, Waldemar Hoven, testified that:

"The SS did not number any notable scientists among its members. It was obvious the experiments were carried out in concentration camps with I. G. Farben preparations and were undertaken in the interests of I. G. which was eager to use every means to determine the efficiency of its preparations, or rather have the SS do its dirty work in concentration camps."

FARBEN GETS SLAVE LABORERS

At these hearings affidavits were submitted, according to a New York Times report of November 20, "explicitly proving that Farben had held controlling interest in the Furestengrube and Janina coal mines in Oswiecim (a concentration camp better known as Auschwitz-Ed.) and that the cartel was com-

In return Farben used the slave labor of the concentration camps for its own profit-making purposes. So intent was German industry to find replacements for drafted workers during the latter part of the war that it even conducted large-scale raids in occupied countries to shanghai additional slave laborers.

A young French chemist, Joki Pierre Frossard, who was forced to come to Germany and to work in the Farben buna plant in Schkopau, testified that "Farben representatives had conducted an extensive 'manhunt' in occupied France in May, 1944, with 250 Frenchmen seized on the streets" (New York Times, No-

So brutal was the treatment of slave laborers and war prisoners in those concentration camp projects run by I. G. Farben that "even the notoriously merciless SS issued repeated warnings and protests to Farben officials, and conducted hearings against the supervisors immediately responsible" (New York Times, November 20).

This is extraordinary! That the SS, the beast of beasts, the murderers and butchers -that they should feel the need to protest Farben's brutality!

In fact, a running dispute seems to have broken out between Farben on the one side and the SS and the army on the other. A letter sent to army officials by Farben representatives on July 16, 1943, discussed the failure of the starved British war prisoners to produce their quotas of coal and declared:

"It would seem advisable to authorize the guard detachment or the auxiliary guards to take drastic steps energetically and mercilessly if necessary.'

In other words, Farben found the SS insufficiently energetic and excessively "merci-

What is the significance of these extraordinary disclosures?

They deliver the coup de grace, if that is still needed, to several misconceptions about Nazi Germany sedulously spread in recent

The brutalities of the concentration camps were an organic part of the decayed condition of German capitalist society. All sorts of theories were invented in recent years declaring that the behavior of the Nazis represented a break from traditional capitalism; here we see still additional evidence that, on the contrary, that behavior was an integral part of German capitalism's war economy,

FASCISM SERVED CAPITALISTS

The acute labor shortage drove Farben to the use of slave labor, to the ruthless policy of exploiting workers in such an inhuman and exhaustive way that these workers would quickly perish but would in the meantime produce large quantities of coal.

Farben directed several of the concentration camp projects and profited directly from the use of slave labor. This slave labor remained an adjunct of Germany's capitalist economy, forced on it by wartime needs, and was utilized to the direct benefit of Germany's

The brutalities were thus not some inexplicable excess of wild, bestial "robot-men" or at least not merely that; predominantly and in terms of their social purpose, the brutalities were the result of the desperate imperialist policy which German capitalism and the Hitler regime jointly conducted. The seemingly irrational brutality can largely be explained, despite the still-present psychological problems it presents, in terms of the quite rational, though reactionary, policies of German capitalism.

The German capitalist class did not reject Hitlerism or any part of it; on the contrary, it utilized Hitlerism for its own profit and, as the evidence of the Farben trials indicates, was ready to beat the SS at its own game.

This whole story, we think, provides an instructive footnote on the nature of Nazism and its relation to a declining capitalist society.

Meyers: The Fish That Got Hooked --

(Continued from page 1) Corps, on the stand.

Plenty of evidence likewise suggests that there has been a great deal of scurrying around covering up tracks. This is occurring above all at the highest levels. The totally undemocratic structure of the army is a guarantee of it. Since no unit dares make a serious dicision without an OK from the next higher one, all important decisions wind up in the very highest echelons. That the anonymous letter denouncing Meyers should have ended in Arnold's closed file is no accident. That a happilynamed Colonel Smart should have routed it there without investigation is also no accident. The boys look out for each other.

The official excuse given for not investigating the charges contained in the letter was that the "s" was omitted from "Air Corps" in the text. This was assumed to indicate that the letter originated outside the serv-ALL SUPPORT TO THE FRENCH ice and was therefore valueless. For any GI, of course, the illiteracy of the letter would have been strong evidence that an officer HAD written it. It's all in the point of view.

THE CAPITALISTS' GUILT

From the recent turn the investigation of war contracts has taken and the emergence of Hughes as a sort of national sub-hero, the impression has been created that war frauds consisted of hard-boiled army officers shaking down starry-eyed capitalist idealists. Nothing is further from the truth, of course, as even the current carefully controlled investigation has

of Jersey City, N. J., the owner of the Vimalert Co., who - ahem!-"loaned" Meyers \$25,000 - and two weeks later received his first Air Corps contract for \$500,000? Or the staid Cleveland Trust Company, which loaned Mevers enough money to speculate with over \$10,000,000 in government bonds during the war? Or the eminently respectable Bell Aircraft Corporation, which squandered over a million dollars of the people's money buying fuse boxes from Meyers' firm solely on the basis of his suggestion that it was run by "friends"? Wherein lies their moral superiority? Why haven't they also been put through the wringer?

Actually, even the capitalist small fry have been treated tenderly. And everybody in Washington knows that the slightest mischance will produce scandals positively classic in their rottenness. It goes without saying that there is little talk of investigating those huge monopolies which effectively control the economic and political life of the country - and amass their millions by what our twisted age chooses to call normal and legitimate methods.

WHY THE INVESTIGATION?

If there was an investigation in the first place it was due to a little inter-party politicking in Washington which ultimately rested upon the general skepticism about the war effort gained by huge masses of the population during the prodigal days of war construction.

The investigation once started, the art of the thing is to contain it with-

in safe limits and yet satisfy people dirty fingernails, or something equalthat everything is running smoothly in our famous self-adjusting capitalist system. That Meyers happens to be the one that political necessity has decided to give the lumps to is heartwarming to muse upon, even though there is an element of the accidental For a ritual sacrifice has to be

made. The people must be appeased. This fear of the people was well expressed by Senator Tobey: "The millions of little people who were patriotically buying bonds would stand aghast if they knew how the big boys were joy-riding." The masses must be soothed because capitalism has tremendous and bloody jobs lined up for them.

Arnold expressed the same fear: "For its now high importance to our country's future, let not the Air Force suffer beyond its deserts. Let not public confidence in those who served and will serve in the Air Force be destroyed."

There are one or two minor obstacles preventing the quick job being done on Meyers which some people would like to see. A member of the staff of the Senate Banking Committee, for instance, has pointed out that Meyers' dealings in war bonds "were legitimate though frowned upon by the Treasury." Actually such procedure is common practice in the business world. The line between what is criminal and what is legal under capitalism is finely drawn, it seems. W. Stuart Symington, secretary of the Air Force, complained querulously somewhat to the same effect: "It is well known that one of the most difficult jobs in the operation of the capitalistic system is the detection of a financial crook, especially if he has a knack for figures, a record of able service and a thorough training in finance and ac-

We are consoled by the thought, however, that the army being the unique institution that it is, Meyers can be court-martialed and jailed for wearing the wrong size socks, having

WHAT NEXT?

It will be interesting to see what happens to Meyers. He can, according to the New York Post, "be indicted on at least seven charges carrying maximum penalties of 39 years in prison and \$629,500 in fines." We shall keep in mind the case of Ellsworth Odell of Madison, N. J., recorded in a recent editorial in the Newark Star-Ledger:

"Pvt. Odell was found guilty of having gone AWOL after the end of the war to remain with his blonde German sweetheart and of having perpetrated a series of petty thefts. For this Odell was sentenced to 40 years in prison. Since his arrival in this country, the 40-year sentence has been reduced to 15 years-still considerable when his wrongdoing is compared with the crimes of which Meyers stands accused.

There is only one way in which even a measure of the truth concerning the frenzied lusting after profits which went on disguised as a war against fascism can be ascertainedand that is by labor and veterans' organizations in particular blowing up a storm of protest demanding a largescale investigation into the whole war effort.

The formal introduction of the FBI into the affairs of the Air Force, a sinister by-product of the current revelations, is a cure which is as bad as the disease. This development, almost entirely uncommented upon in the press, is a major step forward in the totalitarian control of the armed

It is a platitude of Marxist thought that the army presents in most naked form the characteristics of capitalist society. As long as its capitalist parent exists, the army, with all its corruption, cruelty, boredom, and its subjugation of the human entity, will likewise exist.

The dissolution of the capitalist army will not be the least of the victories of socialist liberation.

Workers Party Launches \$15,000 Fund Drive

and fight for socialism, then you must give us a hand NOW. We ask each of you to send us a contribution toward this fund drive. Your total quota in this drive is \$3,500. Help to fulfill and oversubscribe this quota by sending us a check or money order now. If you can manage a \$100 contribution, or \$50, or \$10, or even \$1.00 or a quarter, send it to us. Make out your checks or money orders to: **WORKERS PARTY**

4 Court Square Long Island City I, N. Y.

MAKE YOUR CONTRIBUTIONS EARLY!

And we ask you not to delay. The money is urgently needed. Send your contribution off immediately, or INCLUDE US IN YOUR CHRISTMAS GIFT LIST. Or send something now and the rest

	4 Court Squa Long Island C	ire	
Enclosed fi	nd a \$	contribut	ion to the
\$15,000 fu	nd drive.	3 = 15	1 10
Name		Date.	
Address			
Çity		State.	

later on. We are counting on your support. We are QUOTAS ASSIGNED TO WP BRANCHES appealing to every friend of LABOR ACTION to Branch send us something toward this fund drive.

Members of the Workers Party have been asked in special communications to make pledges of at least one week's wages. Many will contribute more. We now ask that payment on the pledges be made as soon as possible. Do not wait until February or the last week of February to make good on your pledge. Do all possible to have your pledge all paid up before the end of the first month of the drive. Remember that the campaigns outlined in the Program of Action cannot wait until the end of the drive. They begin at once-and are in fact already in progress. And LABOR ACTION needs help right away!

On this, the first day of the drive, things look very promising. Over half the branches have already accepted their quotas and several have written stating that collections have begun. Several of the branches have indicated that they will oversubscribe their quotas. We are happy to announce that our new branch in Baltimore is among these. The next week or two will give us a better picture. We publish below the quotas of the drive. Those marked with an asterisk have not yet indicated whether they accept their quotas. These of course are therefore subject to change.

Members and Sympathizers of the Workers Party! Friends and Readers of LABOR ACTION! This appeal is to you. Support our fight by supporting our fund drive. Let's hear from every one of you. Soon!

Branch	Quota
Akron	\$ 400.00
Baltimore	100.00
Boston*	60.00
Buffalo	600.00
Chicago	1,500.00
Cleveland	500.00
Connecticut*	50.00
Detroit	800.00
Hibbing*	5.00
Indiana	50.00
Los Angeles*	500.00
New York City	
New York Misc.	20.00
Newark	400.00
North Carolina*	200.00
Oregon*	50.00
Philadelphia	400.00
Pittsburgh*	25.00
Reading	75.00
St. Louis*	60.00
San Francisco	1,000.00
San Pedro*	100.00
Seattle	400.00
Streator*	30.00
West Virginia*	150.00
West Virginia* Youngstown	200.00
National Office	3,500.00
Total\$	15,175.00

*See next to last paragraph in article above.

This Sunday Evening:

NATHAN GLAZER and CONRAD LYNN Speak on

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8:30 P. M.

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