



Truman-Congress-NAM Won't Do It:

PRICE CONTROL UP TO LABOR!

Miners Stand Fast, Defy Boss Barrage

By MIKE STEVENS

The 400,000 soft coal miners began the sixth week of their strike showing no sign of yielding to the terrific pressure and propaganda from the government and coal owners.

President Truman issued a lengthy report in which he called the soft coal strike a "national disaster." This report listed industry after industry which allegedly will be forced to close down in a few hours unless the miners end their strike. Truman obviously issued this report to keep the organized workers in this country from solidarizing themselves with the striking miners. With this report, Truman hopes to create the feeling among the workers that this strike must be settled quickly or else the whole country will be ruined. In other words, this report of Truman's is only a forerunner for real strike-breaking action by the administration if the mine workers do not give up their struggle.

This strategy by Truman is intended to give the impression that he has no other alternative but to take steps to break the strike because the country is going to wrack and ruin. He wants to break the strike and receive the workers' blessings for doing it. But he is not kidding any workers with these maneuvers.

A new low was reached (if that's possible) in the anti-union propaganda of the coal mine owners and in the editorials of the capitalist press. This most inhuman industry that snuffs out the lives of thousands of men every year because of its selfishness and greed has the nerve to make speeches in the press and on the air pretending a passionate interest in the health and welfare of the people.

OPERATORS' ARROGANCE

This industry which has a strike on its hands right now because it refuses even to commit itself to making the mines safe for human beings to work in, now has the nerve to tell the miners to return to these man-killing mines without so much as a clause in the contract that the mines will be made safe.

The capitalist press is trying to give the impression that the United Mine Workers have presented only one demand thus far in the negotiations—the demand for a royalty on each ton of coal mined to go for health and welfare purposes. This is a lie. The union has made a series of demands covering wash houses, store discounts, house coal, safety, equipment and explosives, house leases and

sanitation. All of these demands have been turned down by the mine operators during the current negotiations. Every single one of these demands is important to the miner and his family, and that is why he is out on strike. Just what each of these demands, which were turned down by the owners, means to the miners can easily be seen by a rapid review:

(1) **SAFETY COMMITTEES AND PRACTICES.** Reasonable rules and regulations to protect the person of the miner. Every mine to have a safety committee elected by the local union. This committee is to inspect the mine and equipment. If the committee finds conditions which endanger the life and bodies of the miners, it is to report its findings to the company, and when immediate danger threatens, the committee shall have authority to remove all the miners from the unsafe area.

(2) **WASH HOUSES.** The owners are to provide and keep in repair wash houses, convenient to the mines, and adequate for the accommodation of the workers for washing and changing their clothes.

(3) **STORE DISCOUNTS.** All miners to have a 10 per cent discount on all goods purchased at the company stores. Work clothing and equipment to be used in the mines, 20 per cent discount.

(4) **HOUSE COAL.** All coal pur-

chased by the miners for their own homes shall be sold to them at actual cost of production.

(5) **EQUIPMENT AND EXPLOSIVES.** All explosives, powder bags, cables, detonators batteries, fuses and other accessories used in blasting; hats, goggles, special shoes, rubber boots, tools, and other safety equipment shall be union-made and furnished to the miners without charge.

(6) **HOUSE LEASES.** All present leases, oral or written, to be declared void. Relationship of landlord and tenant to be established. State laws to apply, and under no condition shall a miner and his family be evicted from the house he occupies upon less than 30 days' written notice.

(7) **SANITATION.** It shall be a violation of the union contract if any coal operator permits contamination of drinking water used by occupants of company houses through drainage from urinals, closets, privies or stables. Before Thanksgiving 1946, all operators at their own cost shall install in all houses adequate systems of running water, bath facilities, garbage collection and sewage disposal systems.

Although a detailed exposition of each of these demands is impossible in one article, nevertheless, the fact that they are made shows to some extent the condition that exists and what the miners have to gain.

New Feature by Carlo Will Appear Every Week

LABOR ACTION's skillful and renowned cartoonist, Carlo, has executed a series of drawings which he labels "A Boss's Dictionary," the first of which we print herewith.

Carlo, who has been with LABOR ACTION and the Workers Party since their foundation in 1940, has powerfully enhanced the attractiveness of our paper with his unparalleled ability to translate by a few deft strokes of his crayon the class and socialist desires of the oppressed and exploited. His cartoons and caricatures of prominent people in the world of labor and international politics have often been picked up by other labor and socialist papers, not only in the United States, but in many other countries.

A Boss's Dictionary Selfishness:



Carlo's art is indeed a weapon in the class struggle—a weapon that he uses skillfully, mercilessly and tirelessly in the service of the working class in its struggle to build a new society of socialism—free from exploitation, unemployment, starvation and war.

Beginning with this issue, LABOR ACTION will publish each week one of the series of "A Boss's Dictionary" and will continue them indefinitely. We are confident our readers will enjoy this feature as much as do the editors.

By SUSAN GREEN

The issue of price control before the workers and consumers is a broader one than saving the remnants of OPA. It is the problem of how the people can take price control into their own hands.

Inflation prices are no joke. They reduce the standard of living of all of us who live on wages and salaries, and for the lowest paid groups skyrocketing prices bring dangerous deprivation. The solution is not, of course, that of the profit-seeking National Association of Manufacturers and their like who want all price controls removed. But it is also not in the OPA nor any other agency of the capitalist government, which finagles prices in the interest of private profit—making a mockery of price control.

Shachtman Book On Socialism Comes off Press

"The Fight for Socialism," a presentation of the Marxist program and principles of the Workers Party, written by Max Shachtman, National Secretary of the Workers Party, has just come off the press.

The book is ideal for use by Workers Party teachers who have long lacked a suitable text for elementary classes in socialism.

Every member will want to get it into the hands of contacts and sympathizers of the party to answer the questions they have on the ideas and program of the Workers Party.

Attractively bound, the book is 176 pages, and can be ordered from Labor Action Book Service, 114 West 14th Street. The paper edition is \$1, the hard cover, \$2.

While this faking and finagling have been going on in every industry, nowhere are they more apparent than in the price increases granted the giant General Motors Corporation.

MORE GRAVY FOR GM

On April 30, OPA gave General Motors boosts on its various cars from \$16 to \$60 above existing retail prices. The report from Washington bringing the glad tidings said: "The increases reflect the recent wage increase granted to General Motors workers."

However, the price increases do NOT reflect wage increases. This is dust in the eyes. And here is the proof:

The findings of the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion, dated October, 1945, showed that manufacturing industries could increase wages 24 per cent without reducing profits and without advancing prices. The Department of Commerce on November 1, 1945, released a report to the effect that hourly wages could be raised 25 per cent without denting profits and without upping prices. The United Auto Workers, before the General Motors strike, submitted a brief to the corporation proving that wages could be raised 30 per cent with an INCREASE in profits and a REDUCTION in prices, and the union challenged the company to open its books and show if the union is wrong. By refusing the challenge, the company admitted the union was right.

The wage increase granted the auto workers was not 30 per cent. It was not 25 per cent. Neither was it 24 per cent. The modest 18½ cents hourly raise was a meager 16.8 per cent advance—well below what industry, by the government's own figures, can "afford" to pay. Yet OPA grants this powerful industrial monopoly price boosts of \$16 to \$60 on a car. This imposition on the consumer obviously does not reflect wage increases. It does reflect the assumption on the part of the capitalist government and capitalist industry that

(Continued on page 3)

(Continued on page 4)

Army Prisons Run Like Concentration Camps

By JOSEPH HAUSER

The Army trial of operating personnel charged with cruelty at the Lichfield, England, prison camp, is still making news on this side of the ocean, and is shedding some light on the methods used by the American Army to carry out the second "War for Democracy." The courts martial system of the Army itself is so unfair, and released GIs have been making such a squawk about it, that both Congress and the Army are planning to revise trial procedure to give the accused GI a better break.

The Articles of War are the official laws of the armed forces, and soldiers convicted by general court martial of violation of any of these (except for violation of the 96th A.W.—covering various offenses not specifically listed) get a minimum of one year's imprisonment, dishonorable discharge, and total forfeiture of all pay and

allowances due and about to become due (which means that neither they nor their dependents get any pay at all).

During the war most men convicted were found guilty of black market operations, AWOL, or desertion, with the last two providing the real bulk of the cases. The difference between AWOL and desertion is technical, so we can say that by far most of the men were brought to trial and convicted of not being with their proper organizations at the specified time.

One of the biggest problems facing the generals in the war was keeping the men in the line. Thousands and thousands of men in all theaters just couldn't keep up with the terrific mental and physical hell of battle; others got fed up with unfair officers, incompetency and discrimination; some just got bored with endless monotony and isolation from normal

life and its pleasures; whatever the reason, they "took off" in large numbers. The threat of imprisonment, dishonorable discharge and total forfeiture of pay was not enough to keep them in line. Therefore the Army devised an added punishment. Prison camps instituted all sorts of barbaric conditions for their inmates, and actually helped spread around the word that this hellish treatment faced anyone daring to take off.

The Lichfield prison camp is getting most of the publicity. Gripes of former soldiers have forced trials of the guards at this camp for cruelty to inmates, but all the evidence brought to light so far would indicate that involved here were not individual cases of brutality but a regular policy initiated at the top. The Lichfield commander, Colonel James A. Killian, is scheduled for trial, too,

but policy comes from a higher source than him.

LICHFIELD SCANDALS

During the Lichfield trials so far, the following facts have been brought to light and published in the press. Men were forced to double-time in all movements, even men with combat wounds on their feet. Those who faltered were clubbed across the shins by the guards. Negroes in mess halls were forced to crawl and bark like dogs before they were fed. Men found with cigarettes were forced to eat them. Men asking to go to the latrine were dosed with castor oil.

During the trial of Sgt. Judson H. Smith, one of the guards, a prisoner testified that Smith asked another prisoner where he had been wounded and, when shown, Smith rammed a club into the sore spot. Col. Killian,

called to Smith's defense, stated that he regarded this guard as a "model" non-commissioned officer. During this same trial, Major R. E. LoBuono, onetime provost marshal at Lichfield, testified that he got his orders (concerning brutalities) from Col. Killian. Major LoBuono also testified that Major General Albert E. Brown, chief of the Ground Force Reinforcement Command, told him that treatment at the guardhouse was too soft. This general, he also stated, told Sgt. Smith, "You are not tough enough on these men."

Yank magazine wrote up the Bologna, Italy, Disciplinary Training Center last fall and seemed rather proud of the extremely rigorous discipline demanded of the inmates there. Pup tents housing two men and permanently mired in the mud,

Sub Drive Tops Goal - - On to the 8 - Pager!

By REVA CRAINE, Press Manager

The LABOR ACTION SUBSCRIPTION DRIVE ended on the evening of May 1 in what turned out to be a neck-and-neck race between two members of the New York Local of the Workers Party for high score. Comrades were actually out collecting subscriptions until the very last minute, and when the final results were announced at the New York May Day meeting, Comrade Sara Coleman of the Harlem Branch had obtained 110 subs, the highest reached by any individual in the city. She was awarded a set of the "Collected Works of Lenin" and a copy of the new Trotsky book, "Stalin." Vic Burns, also of the Harlem Branch, ran a close second with 91 subs and was presented with a copy of "The First Five Years of the Communist International" and "Stalin," two new Trotsky books. The branch of which both these comrades are members scored highest in the city and was given a complete set of the bound volumes of LABOR ACTION for its library.

In other parts of the country similar contests were held and comrades presented with prizes at the May Day rallies. In San Pedro, Comrade Lucy had run up 81 subs and in Los Angeles, Comrade Ricky had obtained 77 subs. In New York, 26 members of the Workers Party obtained over 30 subs each and 10 obtained over 50 subs each. In one afternoon, Comrade Shirley Waller, national secretary of the Socialist Youth League, obtained 30 subs and thus won a private bet which netted her a copy of "Stalin."

Subscriptions kept rolling in from the country for a few days after the official close of the drive, to bring our total up to 5929—929 over the goal we set ourselves three months ago. H. S. of Brooklyn, who had entered the contest on the total number of subs by naming the final figure at 5900, came closest and a bound volume of LABOR ACTION together with a copy of the new Workers Party book, "The Fight for Socialism," by Max Shachtman, are on their way to him.

The Subscription Drive is now officially over. The goal we had

set ourselves of boosting the circulation of LABOR ACTION by at least 5000 new regular readers has more than been achieved. We are proud and happy at the results. But we are not content with resting there. We have new tasks before us. In the coming weeks our main job is to complete the LABOR ACTION Expansion Fund Drive, to put that over the top so that we assure the appearance of the new eight-page LABOR ACTION, something which is of utmost political importance to the ideas for which LABOR ACTION and the Workers Party stand. Every reader, every supporter of LABOR ACTION, every subscriber, is asked to pitch in to complete this drive as well.

Subscription-getting for LABOR ACTION does not come to a standstill with the completion of the Subscription Drive. On the contrary, during the course of this drive new fields have been opened up to us—more and more our new readers are showing and distributing LABOR ACTION to their friends and fellow workers and we are confident that subscriptions will continue to pour into our offices. On the closing day of the drive, J. M. B. of West Virginia wrote us:

"Yesterday three of my friends and I delivered the LABOR ACTIONS which you were good enough to send me to the mining camp at Pursglove, W. Va. We saturated the area and found good response from those of the men who were at home. Pursglove has the reputation of being the most militant and socially conscious mine in this vicinity. A few of the miners offered to pay for their paper but we informed them that we should return next week with another distribution and the following week we should seek subs."

We have also been assured by readers of LABOR ACTION that from now on subscription gathering for the paper will be a regular activity on their part. Workers Party branches will be concentrating from now until the next sub drive on obtaining renewals on expired subscriptions.

Although the Philadelphia Branch did not complete its quota in this drive, it made an excellent showing nevertheless. We know that subscriptions from that city are going to continue to pour in, especially in view of this recent communication which we received the other day:

"Last Tuesday we distributed LABOR ACTION's May Day issue to a meeting of all UAW locals in and around Philadelphia. The meeting was called to hear Walter Reuther, newly elected UAW president, report on the convention and the Chicago GEB meeting. The meeting was not too well attended. However, almost every one of the 700 or so workers attending received his LABOR ACTION. And I do mean RECEIVED. LABOR ACTION was well known to most of the people. They asked for the paper by name, came back for it if they were missed in the distribution and talked about it familiarly, mentioning the names of leading LABOR ACTION writers like Max Shachtman, David Coolidge and Susan Green. Many workers said they had subs and others had seen or heard of it at the Atlantic City convention and other distributions. The paper was read closely."

In winding up the Subscription Drive, the staff of LABOR ACTION and all the comrades associated with it wish to commend the branches of the Workers Party for having done so excellently in obtaining the 5929 total and to extend our warmest thanks to the many readers of the paper who pitched in and helped put the drive over. We also welcome again the new readers and friends of LABOR ACTION and cordially invite them to join the ranks of LABOR ACTION BOOSTERS by distributing the paper among their friends and boosting its subscription lists.

We face the completion of our next job—THE NEW EIGHT-PAGE LABOR ACTION—with confidence because we know that WE ARE GOING TO HAVE AN EIGHT-PAGER—and in this way double the voice of labor's most militant spokesman—double the fight of LABOR ACTION and the Workers Party in the class struggle

with the end of winning out against all forms of exploitation and oppression and lighting up the way to a new and sane social order—socialism.

FINAL SCOREBOARD

Branch	Quota	May 1	Total	Per Cent
Akron	200	11	216	108
Baltimore	10	1	7	70
Boston	10	5	68	680
Buffalo	200	2	84	42
Chicago	350	48	439	125
Cleveland	100	6	29	29
Columbus	25	...	11	44
Denver	25	...	25	100
Detroit	1000	29	749	74.9
Hibbing	100	...	181	181
Los Angeles	250	...	254	101
Louisville	25	4	62	124
Muskegon	50	...	28	112
Newark	150	2	270	180
New York	2000	148	2157	107
Oregon	10	2	11	110
Philadelphia	500	5	312	62
Reading	75	9	100	133
San Francisco	200	7	254	127
San Pedro	250	10	261	104
Streator	25	...	34	136
Seattle	200	...	210	105
St. Louis	25	...	33	132
Socialist Youth League	75	30	50	67
Youngstown	25	...	44	160
Miscellaneous	44	...
Totals	...	319	5929	118.5

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Branches Hold Spirited May Day Meetings

NEW YORK

NEW YORK—Over 325 members and friends of the Workers Party celebrated May Day here at a spirited and enthusiastic rally in which they rededicated themselves to the task of building a mighty socialist movement in this country.

In the opening speech of the evening, Howe traced the background of May Day as an international workers' holiday. He spoke of the courageous stand of our Fourth Internationalist comrades in Europe and paid tribute to those members of the Workers Party who have fallen in the second world war.

Jackie Robbins, representing the Socialist Youth League, spoke briefly of the situation of youth in a capitalist world, and urged the many young people at the meeting to join the SYL.

The main speaker of the evening, Ernest Erber, gave a comprehensive review of the present world situation. He compared this, the first May Day after the war, with May Day, 1919, the first after the previous world war. He showed the devastation which the continuation of capitalism has caused in the world: in hunger, in misery, in destruction of nations and peoples.

A feature of the meeting was the awarding of prizes to those members of the New York branch of the Workers Party who had secured more than 50 subscriptions for LABOR ACTION in its recent drive.

AKRON

AKRON—An interesting May Day Celebration meeting was held by the Akron Branch of the Workers Party on Wednesday, May 1. The meeting was chaired by J. Hess, of Youngstown, who delivered a short address on the origin and history of May Day as an American holiday recording the great struggle for the 8-hour day.

The principal speech of the meeting was given by Albert Gates, editor of LABOR ACTION, who traced the development of the labor struggle in this country and showed its continuity from the beginning of the 8-hour day struggle to the present fight of labor for security against

capitalist unemployment and declining living standards.

Two great events, the speaker said, preceded the present wave of struggles. They were the deep crisis of the Thirties which established the inability of capitalism to function progressively, and the war which proved that the only way capitalism can operate industry and maintain full employment is by production for war and for destruction.

The end of the war, he pointed out, brings back all the problems of the Thirties for all workers, but in a more acute form as indicated in the General Motors strike, where the workers were compelled to raise demands which touched at the heart of the private enterprise system of profits for a few and poverty for the mass of people.

READING

Fifteen workers, most of them steel workers, attended the May Day meeting of the Reading, Pa., branch of the Workers Party and heard a talk by James F. Fenwick, columnist for LABOR ACTION.

Comrade Fenwick dwelt first on the historic background of May Day, which had its origin in the struggles of the American working class for an eight-hour day. He pointed out the changes in the social thinking of the American workers as revealed in the GM formula of "Open the Books." Showing how the American working class must base its tasks especially on the international position of American capitalism, Comrade Fenwick outlined the nature and roots of the international domination by American imperialism and the forces leading to a new atomic war.

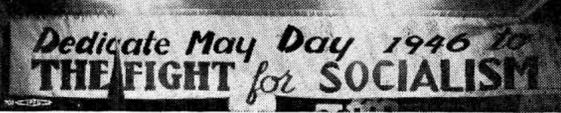
Indicating that American workers must oppose and fight against the reactionary, political aims of American imperialism and must come to the aid of our class brothers in the rest of the world, the speaker described the choice before us as between socialism and atomic destruction.

Comrade Fenwick ended up by declaring that the next step of the American working class is the organization of an independent Labor Party which should proceed to organize a workers' government. "A workers' government must be a socialist government that will wipe out the roots of war." On this note, Comrade Fenwick ended his lecture.

A lengthy and interesting discussion period followed in which all present participated.

BUFFALO

BUFFALO—Over twenty-five members and friends of the Workers Party branch attended a May Day meeting at which David Coolidge, Labor Secretary of the Workers Party, spoke. Coolidge traced the history of the workers holiday and spoke of the present political situation. He stressed the importance of the recent GM strikes as indications of the militancy and readiness to struggle of the American working class. He further showed the need for a socialist solution to the problems of the American workers and called upon those present to help build the Workers Party as a means of reaching that goal.



PHILADELPHIA

PHILADELPHIA—The Workers Party Local of this city had a successful May Day meeting last week. About sixty people, most of them workers from electrical plants, shipyards and other large industries, came to celebrate this first post-war May Day.

Emanuel Garrett, editor of LABOR ACTION, was the principal speaker. He was introduced by the chairman of the meeting, a recently returned veteran from the Philippines. Garrett presented the program of the Workers Party and recalled its record of militant struggle during the war. He pointed out that the Workers Party alone did not haul down its banner during the war. It alone continued to fight for the political and economic rights of the working class in the shops, unions and press.

A representative of the Socialist Youth League of Philadelphia spoke on the place of youth in the struggle for socialism. These speeches were followed by a successful collection and by socialist songs.

BALTIMORE

BALTIMORE—Approximately twenty members and friends of the Socialist Youth League (youth section of the Workers Party) celebrated May Day in this city. Both the militant spirit of the young comrades and the colorful posters on the walls gave testimony to the great holiday.

The speaker, Shirley Waller, national secretary of the SYL, briefly told of the history of May Day and the significance of this holiday to the working class movement. This was followed by a moment's silence in which all present pledged their solidarity with the working class struggle for socialism.

LOS ANGELES

LOS ANGELES, May 3—Friends and members of the Workers Party branches here celebrated May Day tonight with a dinner, dance and special May Day program which crowded the Cooperative Center's dining hall to capacity in one of the most successful Workers Party events of recent years in this area.

The success of the occasion was all the more gratifying in view of the fact that this morning saw the beginning of a strike on the street car and bus lines in this sprawling city which almost completely paralyzed public transportation and forced the people to arrive by devious means from hitch-hiking to taxis, in addition to private cars. It goes without saying that the best wishes of the crowd went out to the strikers!

Highlight of the evening, following the excellent dinner, was the May Day program staged by members of the city and San Pedro

branches. Cast in the form of a radio March of Time program, "The March of May Day" presented both the history and political meaning of the workers' holiday in dramatic flashes from the story of labor's struggles and sacrifice, spotted with four original songs written by "Benvenuto" and sung by a quartet as a hit of the evening. The dramatic sketch merged into a stirring talk by Organizer Hal Draper on "May Day, 1946" to conclude the program.

Proceeds of about \$100 went to the fund to establish the permanent eight-page LABOR ACTION.

DETROIT

DETROIT, May 4—Over fifty members and sympathizers of the Workers Party attended the May Day meeting sponsored by the Detroit Branch. Chairman of the meeting was Ben Hall, organizer.

Max Shachtman, national secretary of the Workers Party, related this labor holiday to the tasks of the American labor movement and its growing social consciousness, particularly exemplified by the heroic General Motors strike and the militant program put forward by the auto workers.

S. Williams, organizer for the Detroit Socialist Youth League, spoke in behalf of the youth affiliate of the Workers Party. The enthusiastic May Day rally was accompanied by music and closed with singing of the "Internationale."

CHICAGO

CHICAGO—A spirited crowd of 150 members and friends of the Workers Party jammed into the Midland Hotel in Chicago's Loop on May 1 to hear and enthusiastically applaud Max Shachtman, National Secretary of the W. P., who addressed them on the 60th anniversary of May Day.

In paying tribute to our immortal comrades, the martyrs of Chicago's Haymarket Square, Shachtman told how at that time "the ruling classes relaxed in relief. They felt that the upsurging working class had been crushed, the tide of rebellion stayed and their own class privileges preserved indefinitely. And so it really seemed. For years afterward, the labor and revolutionary movements lay paralyzed and dormant. It looked as if the day of working class freedom would never come. Yet those who remained loyal to their ideals were vindicated again and again. The working class, here and everywhere in the world, showed inexhaustible powers of recuperation and drew on its endless springs of strength. And so it turned out that what once seemed to be a crushing defeat, was only a setback—so momentary, so slight, that it now taxes the memory to recall it.

Speaking of the European workers who today seem to be at the mercy of Stalinist tyranny and American imperialism, Shachtman exclaimed: "The crisis of capitalist society is deep, abiding and insurmountable. It is a futile war, futile for the masses, futile for the vanquished, but futile also for the victors! The futility of the

war for the masses who aspired so passionately for freedom is summarized in one sentence—after their liberation, they are starving in bondage or semi-bondage. The futility of the war for the vanquished is symbolized by the fact that their Fuhrers and Duces went to nameless graves accompanied by the curses of all mankind. The futility of the war for the victor lies in the fact that he stands as the bewildered conqueror of the greatest heap of ruins of all time... Capitalism stands self-condemned. It is rotting on its feet. To try to make it work for the people is like trying to work out some useful social purpose for the bubonic plague.

"The same applies to Stalinism, which also seems to have triumphed. The first victims of the Stalinist victory everywhere are the workers and peasants; the first martyrs, socialists and the labor movement. It is not Russia we should defend. It is the millions of slaves and victims of Stalinism we must defend and will defend. This new Fuehrer will have no more luck than his predecessor. The war showed this epoch is one of collapse of old empires, not an epoch of consolidation of new ones. When class exploitation is multiplied by national oppression, the result is social revolutionary dynamite, which will explode Stalinist Europe and Stalinist Russia."

The GM strikers demands to control not only wages, but prices and profits—said Shachtman—indicate a first tentative step towards the future socialist revolution. "It was the most significant vote of non-confidence ever cast by a big group of U.S. workers against capitalism... How much of a step will it be from this program to the demand that if the present capitalist government does not nationalize industry, that the workers get for themselves—and by themselves—a government that will nationalize industry and run it for the benefit of all instead of for the profit of a few?"

"We revolutionary socialists merely give conscious, organized, systematized expression to the aspirations of the working class itself... To this goal and purpose, we of the Workers Party rededicate ourselves this May Day, with the new confidence and courage we draw from the inspiring spectacle of the advance of the American working class. That it will triumph in the end, and bring with it the triumph of the working classes of all lands—is our unshakable conviction. Its victory will be our greatest vindication, and the vindication of the legion of men and women who have fought for generations in the noble cause."

Prolonged applause and a collection of \$78.75 came from the audience at the conclusion of Shachtman's speech. It is quite clear to all party members and sympathizers that the Workers Party is on the threshold of a period of real recruitment and expansion of its local activities as a result of this excellent meeting.

To confirm this, three days later, on May 4, the WP held a Cabaret Night with 80 comrades and contacts present, with an ambitious and elaborate program of food and entertainment. Those present responded with the most gratifying comments and assistance to the tune of approximately \$70 towards Chicago's quota in the National Fund Drive.

While in Chicago, Max Shachtman spoke on May 3 to 100 University of Chicago students on "Socialism or Barbarism."

Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor...

Finds Subscribers for WP-SWP Unity

Dear Editor: I am one of the people who have recently left the Socialist Workers Party to join the Workers Party. Since coming into the Workers Party I have attended a few sub drive mobilizations. First of all I should like to say that while in the Socialist Workers Party, I looked upon the sub drives to The Militant as an assignment, whereas the spirit in the WP is such that I eagerly look forward to selling LABOR ACTION and acquainting people with its genuine and sincere socialist answers to their problems.

In the course of knocking on doors, I have met several people who, after looking at LABOR ACTION said that they have subscriptions to The Militant and that both papers seemed so much alike, they saw no reason to subscribe to both. I told them quite frankly that LA and The Militant were very similar and asked them what they thought about unity. Everyone was in emphatic agreement that unity would be wonderful and as soon as they found out that LABOR ACTION supported and put forward such a program, immediately took a sub and promised to let The Militant know where they stood on the question of unity.

For me, I am sincerely pleased that the verification of the Socialist Work-

ers Party Minority's proposal of unity have come so soon from life itself. I can only say the workers have the floor.

In conclusion I should like to relate the story of a woman who seemed skeptical about taking a sub to LA but took one issue to look over. A few minutes later she came running down the stairs after the LA salesman saying she decided to subscribe. "I have looked at the paper," she said, "and I see that it is really a Socialist paper. I would like to receive it in my home."

Comradely yours, —SELMA BROOKS, April 28, 1946

For Food Rationing Under Worker Control

Dear Editor: I for one am disturbed at the attitude of LABOR ACTION (perhaps lack of attitude would be more correct, in spite of your space limitations) towards two of the major problems of 1946: Starvation and the Jewish Question. (LABOR ACTION agrees that it has not dealt sufficiently with these problems. We intend to improve this situation.—Ed.)

It is really enough to point out to your readers why 500,000,000 people are going hungry, and let it go at that, after pointing out that only a Labor Party and a Workers' Government could solve the food distribu-

tion problem? By the end of this year, millions of the best people in Europe and Asia will have died from starvation, long before a third party will have become a major force in the political arena. I say the best people because those who are starving are the honest poor and the uncorrupted working classes, those who cannot or will not traffic with black market swindlers and occupation army hoodlums. It is the moral duty of LABOR ACTION, as an American workers' newspaper, to come forward with a program now to aid our fellow humans in Europe and Asia.

Instead of tagging along behind, LABOR ACTION should be in the forefront of every honest endeavor to get food in a hurry to the hungry. Resumption of rationing under workers' control: that is a slogan that comes immediately to my mind, a slogan that means that the American working class is eager to help its brothers abroad, and is ready to take over administration of the program from those cold-blooded capitalists of Washington and Wall Street who are unwilling or unable to carry it out. The AFL, the CIO, Committees of Housewives, Workers, Farmers, should at this moment be clamoring for the opportunity to help feed Europe, and the responsibility of running the job by themselves without interference from the Hoovers, LaGuardias, etc., who place their cheap politics above the sanctity of human life. The people are willing to do this.

Look how generously they are contributing food and money to every organization that is active in alleviating hunger. They want leadership and it should be the job of LABOR ACTION to give them that leadership, to show them how to make their sacrifices count, not for the benefit of the profit-gorged American capitalists, but for their starving brothers abroad.

My second point is simply a protest against LABOR ACTION'S continued ignoring of the magnificent battle that is being waged by the Jews against British Imperialism throughout Southern Europe, from Italy to Palestine. True, you have begun what is evidently to be a series of articles on anti-semitism; but that does not constitute recognition of the gallant battle that began in the bloody sewers of Warsaw against the Nazi beasts, and continues to this day in the sands of Palestine against the crumbling English imperialists. Surely nothing since the Spanish workers' struggle of a decade ago has been as inspiring as this tenacious, desperate, unyielding fight of the remnants of European Jewry against our common world enemy, imperialism. Young Jews, veterans of the Partisans, the Maquis, the underground of a dozen European countries, and the horror camps of the Nazis, are today marching in a general strike arm in arm with their oppressed Arab brothers. Day and night, without any letup, they are waging war on imperialism

on a dozen fronts, and their struggle, more consistent, more conscious, more determined than that of any other colonial people, is one to arouse the admiration of workers everywhere. Should LABOR ACTION not tell their story to its American readers, and hold it up as a shining example of how a people, emerging from the most awful persecution in history, carries on with undiminished vigor a struggle for ideals common to us all?

I feel most strongly that a forceful statement by LABOR ACTION on these two issues would help immensely in strengthening its position with the growing body of its readers, and fulfill what should be one of its ideals: to become the voice of the conscience of the American working class.

Fraternally, H. W.

NEWARK FORUM:

NATHAN GOULD Chairman, Workers Party Veterans Committee, will speak on: "A PROGRAM FOR VETERANS"

SATURDAY, MAY 18, 8:30 P. M.

Admission: 35c—Refreshments Auspices: Newark Br., Workers Party

WORKERS PARTY Pre-Convention Discussion...

The articles that appear below are DISCUSSION ARTICLES published as part of the pre-convention discussion in the Workers Party. Because our space is limited, it will be impossible to devote more than two columns per issue to this material. Contributions will therefore have to be brief, not exceeding 750 words. Pre-convention discussion articles are also appearing in The New Internationalist and in the Workers Party Bulletin. Copies of the latter may be obtained by sending 25 cents to the Workers Party, 114 West 14th Street, New York 11, N. Y. Readers will understand that these articles represent neither the views of the party nor of LABOR ACTION, but are written with a view toward establishing policy at the coming convention of the WP.

On the Issue of Factory Committees

Propaganda for factory committees should play an important part in the propaganda and agitation of the Workers Party in the coming period. The education of workers in the meaning and significance of these rank and file shop committees serves two important functions.

First, it would make clear and control the meaning of our basic demands. Socialism, nationalization of industry and the like remain vague concepts associated with bureaucracy and control from above if we do not make clear that they rest directly on the working class organized in the factories. The workers state is nothing more than the assumption of the powers of government on a national scale by factory committees (and farmers' committees, soldiers' committees, etc.)

Recently in Detroit the UAW opposed the handing over of a naval arsenal from private to government management because the transfer would result (as it did) in lower wages and a weakening of the union shop. We can only oppose such nationalization with the demand that control of production and working conditions in the plant be in the hands of the union, that is, that the union committee take on the functions and characteristics of a factory committee.

The second aspect of the question is even more important. Propaganda for factory committees helps to move workers in the direction of workers power while struggling for immediate and concrete demands. There are at least two important examples to indicate how appropriate this is today. One is the issue of prices and inflation. The demand that workers and housewives committees take over directly the enforcing of price controls, if not received with universal support, will surely be understood by

most workers and will be accepted by the more advanced. In Buffalo, this very thing was proposed to CIO members by an official representative of OPA. In Detroit, the UAW, together with a consumers' cooperative, has laid plans for boycotts, picketing and other actions to keep prices down in the event that OPA is smashed. This last is being organized bureaucratically from above and may not be carried through, but it is our duty to raise the question in the unions.

IN RELATION TO SPEEDUP

The second issue which makes possible the introduction of the idea of factory committees in a concrete and understandable manner is the speedup in production which is being universally attempted. One of the results of the recent strike settlements has been the granting of wage increases in return for increased discipline in the factory and increased production from the workers. This is meeting with universal resistance in the shops, a fact which is highlighted by the unanimous decision of the Briggs workers in Detroit to strike on this issue only several weeks after their new contract was adopted. What could be more appropriate in such a situation than the proposal that no new production schedule go into effect without prior approval from the stewards or shop committee and, further, that the shop committee control production in the plant? Will every one approve the idea? Probably not. But they will understand it and when the pressure of the company increases they will remember it for it has the advantage of being concrete and can be acted on by the workers directly.

This observation is born out by the experience in my own shop where the speedup is an important issue. When I presented the idea that a department meeting should be held at which we would set our own productive standards, disregarding the demands of the company, it was universally accepted. Yet other questions, such as the Labor Party, which do not effect the worker so immediately, do not get such widespread support.

Thus, in the struggle around concrete issues, it is possible to introduce factory committees—which we called "dual power in the factory." It is very possible that in the next period many workers will make the transition from the union pure and simple which recognizes the full authority of the boss over the factory, to the factory committee which challenges this authority and does not limit itself to bargaining for concessions.

The need for such an approach in the United States is presented to the Workers Party in the resolution of Comrade Johnson on the American Question.

MARTIN HARVEY

California Labor Faces Need Of Beating Down KKK Menace

SAN FRANCISCO — The Klu Klux Klan is currently conducting a membership campaign in the San Francisco Bay area with the aim of raising its ugly head again in California as it did after the first World War.

Ten thousand Klansmen are reported organized in the Bay Area (1781 in San Francisco, 8014 in the East Bay), with eleven branches of the KKK in the Bay area altogether. Their immediate objective will be to start another migration southward of the Bay Area's new Negro population. It would be a suicidal mistake for white workers to fall for this campaign.

San Francisco's Negro population increased from 4,846 in 1940 to an estimated 32,000 at the present time, has been largely limited to temporary war employment, and in numerous occupations Negroes are once again the first to be fired.

As long as the war was on, the Negro was given work at the bottom of the economic pile, when there were no longer unemployed white workers to fill those jobs. Now that American capitalism has completely eliminated two more world competitors, the bosses expect the Negro worker to give up his wartime security (such as it was) and return to the "normal" state of affairs under our Jim Crow economic system. Unfortunately for the bosses, however, the Negro worker doesn't see it that way.

But among white workers there are too many of the kind who figure: "If only we can keep the N - - - s out, there'll be enough jobs." This, of course, is exactly the line that the bosses want the white workers to fall for. (What those white workers forget is that in the last depression—and all previous ones—both white and colored workers starved.) Since racial discrimination keeps the workers divided among themselves, it weakens their fight for higher wages and security.

The struggle for security is the struggle of ALL workers; the color line is one more barrier in that struggle. It is the elementary duty of the Bay Area unions to smash the KKK drive!

DEAR READER:

Among other items, there is noticeably missing from this issue of LABOR ACTION the regular column by J. R. Johnson, "One-Tenth of the Nation." It dealt with that new and exciting move of the CIO into the South—"Operation Dixie." Why did not this column appear? Reasons of SPACE. To avoid such things and to cover many things we can't in four pages—is the reason for our projected eight-page LABOR ACTION. Send in your contribution now, to assure the success of the eight-page LABOR ACTION The Editors.

LABOR ACTION 114 West 14th St., N. Y. 11, N. Y. SUBSCRIPTION: 35 Cents for 6 Mos. 60 Cents for 1 Year Good Only Until June 15. Includes form for Name, Address, City, Zone, State.

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

Published Weekly by the
Labor Action Publishing Ass'n
114 West 14th Street, New York 11, N. Y.
CH. 2-9681 (Third Floor)

Vol. 10, No. 19 May 13, 1946

EMANUEL GARRETT, Acting Editor
ALBERT GATES, Editor **MARY BELL, Ass't Editor**

Subscription Rate: 60c a Year; 35c for 6 Mos. (75c-40c for Canada, Foreign, New York City, Bronx)
Re-entered as Second Class Matter, May 24, 1940, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y.
Under the Act of March 3, 1874

**WORKERS PARTY PROGRAM FOR ORGANIZED LABOR
IN THE RECONVERSION AND POST-WAR PERIOD**

FOR THE UNEMPLOYED AND VETERANS

1. Full Unemployment Insurance

Full unemployment insurance beginning with \$30 a week for single men and women and graduated upward for dependents to all workers for whom government and industry do not find jobs.

2. Less Hours—More Pay

Absorption of all workers thrown into unemployment during reconversion by reduction of the work-week with no reduction in weekly take-home pay.

3. Jobs and Full Opportunities for Veterans

Two years' base pay grant to all demobilized veterans, with the option of trade school and higher educational facilities at government expense, guarantee of adequate family maintenance and guarantee of decent jobs.

FOR THE POST-WAR WORLD

4. Jobs For All at a Guaranteed Annual Living Wage

A job for every worker with a guaranteed minimum annual wage of \$2,500 per year. A rising standard of living, by means of government planning to insure the highest national production and income.

5. A Planned Rise in National Income

A guaranteed \$5,000 annual income to all workers' families by means of a planned rise in the national income and a thirty-hour maximum work week.

6. For a Democratic Peace

Against peacetime military conscription of American youth! For a truly democratic peace, which means no land-grabbing under any pretext; no reparations; no slave labor. Complete independence for all colonies and subject peo-

ples and the right of all people to decide democratically their own future.

7. Full Social, Political and Economic Equality for Negroes

Complete democratic rights. The right to vote, to run for and hold any elective or appointive office, North or South. The right to equality in employment; to hold any job, skilled or unskilled. The right to be free from insult, segregation and Jim Crowism; anywhere and in any place, North or South.

THESE AIMS TO BE ACHIEVED THROUGH

8. Slum Clearance

A \$250 billion five-year program to provide decent housing for all, extensive public works, rural electrification and modernization.

9. Nationalization of Big Business

Nationalization of the banks, big industrial monopolies and transportation systems, and handing over of government-built and owned plants and facilities to private ownership.

10. Taxing the Profiteers

A 100 per cent tax on all war profits above a five per cent maximum on invested capital; a \$25,000 ceiling on total individual income, and a graduated capital levy on all accumulated wealth over \$50,000 to cover war costs and provide post-war security for labor.

THIS PROGRAM TO BE CARRIED OUT BY

11. Workers' Control of Production

Control of production by democratically-elected workers' committees.

12. An Independent Labor Party and a Workers' Government—For a Socialist America with Plenty for All!

Make the machines that now produce only for war and capitalism produce for the needs of all the people!

MacArthur Applauds Reactionary Victory

Japan Election Solves Nothing

By WILLIAM BRAD

General MacArthur has expressed considerable satisfaction with the results of the Japanese election of April 10. And well he may, for the formal result was a victory for the reactionary and conservative parties, disguised under labels that fool no one: the Progressive and Liberal Parties.

These parties between them won 210 seats out of the 466 in the Diet (House of Representatives). Another 74 or so seats went to the so-called Independents, most of whom are local landlords or old-time politicians. The Socialists captured 92 seats, most of them from the large working class areas such as the second district of Tokyo and the industrial areas of Osaka and Yokohama. The Stalinist Communists, having succeeded in discrediting themselves in advance, got three seats.

ISSUES SUBMERGED IN ELECTION

The results of the election are not as they literally appear. The policies of the parties were not the real issues of the election. Between the Progressives and the Liberals there are no real differences. Both are parties of the discredited and hated Zaibatsu, the Four Families of Japan who control everything in the economy that can be squeezed dry to yield a profit. The pre-Tojo parties were publicly known as the corrupt political agents of Japan's Morgans and Rockefellers, the Mitsubishi and Mitsui. The present parties are merely reshufflings of these old political machines that paved the way to power for Tojo. One newspaper, for example, reports "that at most polling places the (election) workers were the same ones who held such jobs when the militarists were in power."

Yet it is the victory of these parties, which is a victory of reaction, which MacArthur hails as satisfactory. For the crying, desperate needs of the Japanese people these parties presented no solution. They relied on MacArthur and based themselves on his promises and support. Through the widely publicized purges and election screening, scores of candidates of these parties were eliminated as ultra-nationalists and anti-American. The candidates who remained were thereby given a clean bill of health by MacArthur. The widely understood implication of this was that those remaining were the candidates having MacArthur's support. Just to drive this point home in unambiguous fashion, this great "teacher of democracy" announced that he would recognize the election results only if they accorded with his desires.

MacArthur had actually succeeded in driving the Japanese into a political trap. The two key political questions were removed from the election entirely and decided upon dictatorially by MacArthur and the collaborationist wing of the Zaibatsu now in office. These were the question of the Emperor and the new constitution. The people were not given any means to express themselves on these questions, the answers to which will form the framework of political activity for years to come.

Through control of shipping and fuel, MacArthur has actual control of the life and death threat of famine that weighs so heavily on the working class of Japan. MacArthur has intervened in the valuation of the yen and through his orders for issuance of a new yen has actually intensified the inflation. He has assumed responsibility for this second crucial question. His edicts for land reform, which are inadequate and whose administration is in the hands of the landlords and bureaucrats, are the only public policy statement on this vital problem. Thus MacArthur assumed responsibility, as military dictator of Japan, for all the vital social questions.

It was not for the Progressives and Liberals that the Japanese voted, but for MacArthur, because the party candidates were his approved "fronts." MacArthur had really trapped the people into a plebiscite. Just emerging from the Tojo oppression and the unspeakable horror, destruction and fear of atomic war; caught in a growing famine, inflation and black market; their country occupied by foreign troops, the Japanese could only affirm MacArthur's plebiscite. They have not yet found the means of breaking with his foreign military dictatorship.

While this is true of the peasantry and middle class, the working class has shown amazing energy and intelligence. It has organized hundreds of unions, conducted strikes and demonstrations on a large scale and on a high social plane. It is daily proving itself as the only class capable of developing a political and economic program for the Japanese masses.

In the elections of April 10 it gave office to ninety two Socialists as the political expression of this growing power. The Socialists control most of the trade unions and were instrumental in their initial rebirth. However,

this party is politically rotten. It stands for retention of the Emperor and for reforms gradually achieved through agreement with the Emperor. Its leaders desire that American occupation continue indefinitely. They rely more upon MacArthur than on their own working class.

The Socialists are split three ways. The Right Wing, which controls the party leadership, led by Kagawa and Abe, supported the Tojo dictatorship and has now flipped into open collaboration. The so-called "Left" Wing is chiefly distinguished for its support to the Stalinist demand for a popular front and collaboration with the Stalinists. The Center, one of whose leaders, Chazaburo Mizutani, received the second highest Socialist vote, keeps one obedient eye on MacArthur while the other winks at the Stalinists.

The Stalinist Communist Party is chiefly concerned with embarrassing MacArthur in order to provide diplomatic fuel for Stalin's ambassador to the Allied Far Eastern Commission. Their election line was identical with Moscow's ravda, declaring the elections fraudulent in advance. To give substance to this charge they engaged in a series of provocative actions, supported by the Socialist left wing. MacArthur refused to bite and the provocations failed, discrediting the CP and confusing many of the advanced workers. The CP is as yet mainly an intellectual and middle class group without much working class support. Its chief slogan was for some kind of popular front—an amalgamation of both capitalist and working class parties.

THE TASK OF THE WORKING CLASS

It is doubtful if the election has resolved any of the basic problems of Japan. A governmental crisis is at hand. A new government organized by the Liberals, which is now the largest party, would bring no change in policy but might strengthen the more conservative wing of the Zaibatsu. Hatoy Aha, leader of the Liberals, is an acknowledged pro-fascist. There is great competition among the Japanese reactionaries for the job of being MacArthur's quisling.

Only the working class has emerged out of this election as the class capable of finding a new socialist road for Japan. However, this class is as yet tied to the Social Democrats, although its revolutionary energies are already manifest. The first step toward taking the leadership of the nation must be for the Japanese working class to break with all dependence upon MacArthur and proclaim its right to determine Japan's destiny.

The slogan of the Indian Revolution is applicable to the American troops in Japan: Quit Japan! In this struggle they should receive the support of the American working class, whose counterpart for their slogan is: Bring the Soldiers Home!

Such a program would differentiate the revolutionists from all other political groupings which are falling all over each other to serve the new imperial master of Japan.

They Must Have Food!

An Editorial

Among many American workers there is a growing disquiet on the question of the shipping of huge quantities of food abroad, to the starving nations of Europe and Asia. Many openly, and even belligerently, resent the whole idea and curse Hoover, LaGuardia, Truman and Lehman, whom they accuse of being more interested in Europe than their own country. "The hell with Europe"; "they started the war, didn't they?" These and other sentiments are common.

The causes of this resentment are not hard to find. It is not that the American worker is lacking in generosity and is unwilling to share what he has with others who have nothing. The causes are a combination of serious concern about his own future, and a serious attitude of suspicion toward those who are directing the relief program.

Our living costs are leaping upwards day by day; the OPA is in process of emasculation by the reactionary Big Business Congress; efforts to prevent Black Marketing are feeble and tied up by red tape procedure; the price line on all food staples (bread, milk, butter, eggs, etc.) is breaking down every day. No sooner does the government announce a 25% cut in the flour supply (to help Europe) than the big millers announce a demand for a 1 cent increase in the price of the new, smaller loaf of bread! Workers, struggling to make both ends meet, are naturally disturbed by it.

The profiteering of American farmers, millers, railroads and export jobbers is well known. Subsidies, more subsidies and still more subsidies is their program. Every bushel of their wheat and flour is heavily underwritten by the government (that is, by the masses of people, in the form of taxes). The greater the need, the louder the cry of desperation from Europe and Asia—the more mercenary do these thrivers on the hunger of others become. Much of this is known to American workers. It only adds to their distrust.

And finally, there is the deep suspicion of the various relief organizations, including those of UNRRA, and the President. What happens to all this goods we ship over? Who gets it? Is it sold again only to people who can pay? Is it used for political purposes by interested parties? How long will this whole business go on? These, and a dozen other questions—all indicating the utmost distrust in the capitalist politicians who handle the matter—are asked.

It is not difficult to grasp these causes, underlying the distinct lack of enthusiasm and feeling on the matter aiding the people of the world. There is no question that help must be given. We don't mean the sort of "sacrifice" made by Mrs. Truman, who informs us that the bounteous Presidential table will now give up wheat foods, twice a week! Nor do we mean the sort of thing urged by the President, who says we should go on a hunger diet two days a week. You first, Mr. President!

The distrust and suspicion is more than justified, but the fact remains that tens of millions of European workers, families of poor toilers, women and children are facing starvation. Elementary working class solidarity demands we help them, by all means in our power, or else the American working class will be looked upon by these people with as much hatred as is the American military government, armies of occupation and officialdom. Let us never forget that America, through its years of bombardment, blockade, destructions by artillery and battle, is to a large part responsible, particularly in Europe, for the inability of these people to lift themselves up and get their economic production going again. Food to Europe and Asia, yes, and in a far better and more coordinated manner than that of the politicians.

The American labor movement must come forward on the whole issue and propose its own program. The task of feeding these hungry people must be removed from the hands of the capitalists, profiteers and politicians, and put into the hands of the labor movement and genuine, non-profit organizations. Price control here must be vigilantly watched. The food shipped abroad must be distributed without any discrimination whatsoever, among the peoples of the various countries.

World Politics

On the French Referendum

By IRVING HOWE

The most significant event in Europe last week was the referendum in which the people, by a substantial majority, rejected the constitution which had been offered to them by the Gouin government and supported vigorously by the Stalinist party and half-heartedly by the Socialists. The vote was, at latest count, 10,552,478 against and 9,323,709 for the proposed constitution. Though there is not yet enough information on which to attempt a thorough analysis of this event, a few preliminary remarks may be made.

It must be soberly recognized that the capitalist class of France has won an important victory, its most important victory since De Gaulle, with the aid of the Stalinists, derailed the Paris resistance from revolutionary into capitalist legal channels after the withdrawal of Hitler from Paris. We say this not primarily because of the formal issue involved—that is, the constitution itself—but because the referendum had obviously become a test of strength in which the parties, the Catholic MRP and the Radical Socialist Party of French capitalism, bent every effort to defeat a constitution which they labeled "communist." De Gaulle, despite his "retirement," gave support to the movement to defeat the constitution. It became clear that the referendum was a test; and the Right won.

Proof of this is furnished by the undisguised glee with which the results have been received in Washington. In the New York Times of May 7, 1946, James Reston writes about the new prospects of France getting a loan from America: "While officials do not like to concede that French internal politics affect their consideration of the French loan, it may safely be reported that the conservative vote has certainly not hampered France's chance of getting the aid desired for the modernization of French industry."

And a report in the Chicago Sun for the same date by Alexander Kendrick lists as one of the possible domestic French results the "possible scrapping of the government's nationalization program by the Assembly." The United Press further reports that "French stocks and bonds spurted up noticeably Monday and black market francs soared in value." This much is clear: the parties of the Right, that is, of big business, made a test of the referendum; and they won. Why?

WHY THE RIGHT PARTIES WON

The major reason for the victory of the Right can be found, we believe, in the record of failure and ineptitude of the Socialist-Communist-MRP coalition government. For months now this government and that of de Gaulle before it—in both of which the "parties of the Left," the Socialists and Stalinists, played decisive roles—have been unable to solve the most simple and elementary problems of the French people. They have failed to smash the parasitic black market. They have applied their previously announced program of limited nationalization of industry in a timorous and hesitant fashion; so much so that the French capitalist class has had the opportunity to make a partial recovery and regain some of its old self-confidence (as witness the rumors of "plots" by de Gaulle to establish a Bonapartist government).

The masses, formerly so full of a renewed revolutionary energy as a result of the successful partisan struggle against the Nazis, have sunk into relative apathy once more; they have had talk, promises, but little action. The government in which the Socialists and Stalinists predominate, has failed them.

Yet a breakdown of the referendum vote indicates that in the heavily industrialized cities there was a majority in favor of the new constitution. That is, the workers by and large seem to have continued to support the Socialist-Stalinist leadership during the referendum though—and here is a crucial point—without sufficient enthusiasm

to roll up a sufficient majority to overcome the conservative vote of the rural areas.

It was apparently the middle class which was excited and stirred by the parties of the Right to defeat the constitution. In the elections of the Constituent Assembly in October, only 60 per cent of the eligible electorate voted; in this referendum the very high percentage of 85 per cent voted. Since most of the increase in votes took place in rural areas, it would seem that the middle class turned out in full force to vote against the Socialist-Stalinist constitution. But during the past period, large sections of the middle class had given their support to the "parties of the Left." Why this present shift?

It is possible to suggest several reasons for this shift in middle class sentiment, which have an intimate connection with the causes of decline in working class enthusiasm. Parts of the urban middle class and the peasantry had for the first time in French history given their support last October to the Stalinists and Socialists out of a sense of desperation, a desire for serious and drastic action to clear up the terrible economic and social mess in which France found herself. But no such action had been taken. As always, the working class can win the middle class to its support only by decisive and bold measures; a policy of hesitancy will drive the middle class back to the Right.

Another important reason for the middle class shift was the fear—in many ways quite legitimate—which they had and which was exploited by the MRP and the leading French capitalist politician, Edouard Herriot, that the continued growth of the Stalinists represented a threat of totalitarian dictatorship in France.

REFERENDUM A TEST OF CLASS STRENGTH

Formally, the issue was: Shall the new French legislature be a single house without the cumbersome "checks and balances" of an indirectly elected Senate and a powerful executive and judiciary which the Right wanted? But the formal matter of a unicameral legislature—which we Socialists have always considered desirable—was soon obscured by the test of strength between classes and the fear of totalitarian domination. For instance, during the debate on the proposed constitution, Herriot was able to pose as the defender of a free press against the "Left," which shamefully urged press restrictions. The ineradicable totalitarian brand which is stamped on Stalinism was skillfully utilized by the politicians of the Right to corral votes against the constitution.

And, finally, an additional reason for this result is that it was a vote motivated by considerations of international politics. The sharpened split between Stalinist Russia on the one hand and Anglo-American imperialism on the other resulted in a reflecting internal cleavage in France; and there can be no doubt that the referendum result is a victory for the latter bloc as against Russia and its puppet French Communist Party. The tragedy of the situation is that the legitimate desire of the French people not to fall under the domination of Stalinism forced them in this case to cast a vote which has given sustenance to the Anglo-American bloc and the parties of French capitalism. The criminal policies of the "parties of French Left" are directly responsible for this result.

Though we have not yet received the relevant issues of the paper of the French Trotskyists, we have been informed that they, our French comrades, urged the workers to vote "Yes" in the referendum. Without necessarily indorsing all the provisions of the constitution, they felt that the test of strength between classes which this referendum represented far transcended the formal constitutional issues.

Where this new development leaves the French workers and what are the new tasks they now face as a result of the referendum, we shall discuss in a future article.

Army Concentration Camps

(Continued from page 1)

plus 18-hour work days seemed to Yank's writer merely to show that the inmates there could take hard living. A more humane medical corpsman who was part of an inspecting party at Bologna described the place to me as a "concentration camp on our side."

A recent issue of the Army and Navy Bulletin carried a front-page affidavit from a former Lichfield guard and officer. This man stated that he was ordered to guard duty in the hospital and directed to shoot to kill any man crossing the threshold of the ward; that he saw on many occasions 50 to 75 men marched to the shower room wearing only shoes and pants, and run through the showers five men at a time while the remainder stood at attention in the bitter cold December, and men coming out of the showers were placed at the end of the line to await the processing of the entire group. This guard cited other examples of brutality, including beatings with clubs and fists. He finished with the statement that all of the prisoners he talked with were veteran combat men in the stockade for minor infractions, such as over-staying pass in London after release from the hospital.

BLACK HOLE OF LE MANS

The Black Hole of Le Mans was well known to many soldiers. The Loire Disciplinary Training Center was located at Le Mans, 100 miles from Paris, a favorite spot for war-weary men. According to published reports, brutality and mass punishment were carried on to such a degree that men would prefer combat duty to imprisonment. Tear gas was used frequently and men rioting in

protest at the conditions were shot. Favorite tortures there were exposure on a windy hill in freezing weather and confinement of 15 men for 36 hours in a six by ten foot hole where they could neither sit nor stand erect.

An education officer stated in Time magazine for Feb. 4, 1946:

"You can imagine what a man thinks about while he is in the hole or on the windy hill, or even in the cages trying to keep warm. Most of them think, 'Damn the Army, damn Truman, damn the U. S.' They get to hate their own country and their own people. They say, 'I hope we get into another war. I want to fight on the enemy's side.' I've heard men use these words. These are the men we are supposed to be teaching the principles of democracy."

The absolute bankruptcy of capitalist war ideology is thus revealed. Unable to produce discipline by convincing the soldier in the line that he was fighting for a democratic cause, that he was to free the world from concentration camps, human degradation and mass brutality, the brass hats resorted to these very same inhuman practices to force the soldier to remain in the fighting lines.

The alternatives were: fight or face our own concentration camps. And how could the brass convince the men that they were fighting for democracy when they saw in their own Army racial discrimination and segregation, inequalities of privilege, favoritism and a rigged-up system of justice?

The court-martial system, prison camps and mass brutality are necessary accessories to the capitalist war machine. As long as capitalism exists there will be war and its attending evils. Those who have survived the war and lived through or observed the various aspects of human misery derived from war should dedicate themselves to ending the system responsible for these conditions.

CHICAGO LABOR ACTION FORUM:

"Is War With Russia Inevitable?"
Speaker:
GORDON HASKELL
MAY 22 8:00 P. M.
188 West Randolph St., 29th Floor

NEW YORK WORKERS PARTY

DANCE

SUNDAY, MAY 26, 7 P. M.
CARAVAN HALL
110 East 59th Street
ORCHESTRA • PRIZES
REFRESHMENTS
Admission \$1.20 (tax included)

DEFEND THE "31"!
Arrested in Columbia, Tennessee charged with attempted murder for the "crime" of defending themselves and the Negro Community.

Come to
The New York Workers Party Defense Meeting
SUNDAY, MAY 18, 1946
8 P. M.

IMPERIAL HALL
160 W. 129th Street (near 7th Ave.)
Room No. 1

SPEAKERS:
DAVID COOLIDGE, Labor Secretary,
Workers Party
NATHAN GOULD, Chairman Veterans
Committee, Workers Party
PROMINENT GUEST SPEAKERS
Admission 25¢ — Proceeds to NAACP
Defense Committee

NEW YORK FORUM:
BOURGEOIS CRITICS OF MARXISM

May 17, 9 P. M. Guest Speaker: F. FORREST

THEODORE DREISER—HIS PLACE IN AMERICAN LITERATURE

May 24, 9 P. M. Guest Speaker: JAMES T. FARRELL
LABOR TEMPLE
Second Avenue near 14th Street

Anglo-American Diplomats Produce A Monstrosity in Report on Palestine

By JESSIE KAAREN

In an effort to steer a middle course between the policies of British and American imperialism, the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on displaced Jews and Palestine has produced, in its report, a bastard child which no group wants to own, although some like it better than others.

The United States is mainly concerned with ridding itself of the problem of 100,000 homeless Jews in the occupied territories of Germany and Austria—Jews who have no possibility of returning to pre-war homes. The American State Department is anxious to head off pressure for immigration to the United States. It also wishes to placate the large body of American Jews who form a large electoral element.

On the other hand, American diplomacy is not as deeply concerned as are the British with placating the Arabs. The American government feels well enough protected by the British army which is now American imperialism's first line of defense in the colonial world, whether or not the British army likes its new role.

The British Empire, on the other hand, is less concerned with the displaced persons' camps. They are America's war babies. But it is vitally interested in maintaining a huge arsenal of men and equipment in the Middle East. Palestine being the only logical place for a military base, now that British forces have been withdrawn from Iran, Syria and are soon to withdraw from Egypt, it must be maintained as a backward, feudal country.

AN INCITEMENT TO ARAB-JEWISH WAR

So the committee made its gesture toward the United States by recommending that the 100,000 stateless Jews be admitted to Palestine. It then bows to Great Britain with a recommendation that the British army remain in Palestine. It states that it is opposed to any constitutional form of government or to national independence: "If British forces were withdrawn, there would be immediate prolonged bloodshed, the end of which it is impossible to predict."

The committee throws a few crumbs to the Jews. It says that the Jews in the camps must be removed at once. But it is very vague on what is to happen to the hundreds of thousands of other Jews who feel they must get out of Europe. It very weakly suggests that other countries in the world open the immigration door just a crack.

The committee report tries to calm the Arabs. It tells the Arabs that it is opposed to the creation of a Jewish state. The report also suggests that large agricultural and industrial development in Palestine in consultation with neighboring Arab states would help raise the Arab standard of living.

Regardless of whether or not the committee intended it to be so, the report is an incitement to war between Arabs and Jews. The British government welcomed the report by offering a bargain to the Jews and to the United States. American troops should be sent to Palestine. Bevin asks the

Jewish underground army to give up its arms. The British know that these are two impossible conditions.

The report gives the Arab feudal leadership the weapon it needs for stirring the masses out of their lethargy and whipping up a lynch spirit. The Arabian reactionaries can point to the paragraph stating that Arabs are incapable of ruling themselves. The British colonial office, for all its genius, could not have written a more provocative paragraph.

Though the Zionists are pleased with the prospect of another 100,000 Jews in Palestine, they are bitter about the committee's denunciation of a Jewish state in Palestine and they are worried lest the report cancel the promise contained in the Balfour mandate.

SITUATION CHANGES FOR THE WORSE

The British army newspaper, Mid-East Mail, reflects official British opinion when it says that Truman's approval of the report is a vote-catching plan. Arab sources intimate that the Grand Mufti, now under house arrest for his pro-Nazi alliance, is about to be returned to Palestine. If the British government can do this favor for the Arab reactionaries without going too far out on a limb, they will be glad to do it. Even the invitation which the Arab Higher Committee is extending to Russia to ally itself with the Arab cause, looks like a phony British gesture to frighten American imperialism.

Palestine has been kept in a state of virtual martial law for many months, with six o'clock curfews, arrests without cause, searches without warrants, abrogation of civil rights, deportation to Africa, etc. British colonial agents are adept at keeping up the war of nerves. Nevertheless they were not successful in whipping up Arab-Jewish riots. Until now the guerrilla warfare or terrorist acts of the Jewish bands have been directed against the British army.

Though the Arab masses genuinely fear Jewish domination in Palestine, they were not too sold on the Arab Higher Committee because it had no program for the masses except anti-Semitism.

With the issuance of the report, the situation on both sides has changed for the worse. The small Arab parties that formerly refused to go along with the Arab League on a number of issues are now united in the call for a war against the Jews. The Hagana (Jewish underground), formerly cautious in its attitude toward the Arabs, now issues a warning: "If the instigators succeed in their attempts to rouse the Arabs, they will learn that the upper hand will be ours. Beware! We have warned you."

It is the tendency of most liberals and even radicals to over-simplify the Jewish-Arab problem. The tragedy that has overtaken the Jews in Europe is so overwhelming that colonial independence for the Arabs is ignored in favor of Jewish immigration. The role played by British

and American imperialism is under-emphasized. But even viewing the problem from the Jewish angle alone, thorough analysis of the Jewish-Arab conflict must convince any sincere thinker that there can be no solution while imperialism has the upper hand.

ARABS AND JEWS HAVE SAME INTEREST

If there is to be mass Jewish immigration to Palestine, and there is no doubt that hundreds of thousands of Jews in Europe regard that as their only salvation, it can be achieved only after a "holy war" is waged in which Jews and Arabs fight side by side against British and American imperialism. IN TWO RECENT AND SIGNIFICANT STRIKES, RAILWAY AND CIVIL WORKERS, JEW AND ARAB WORKED SIDE BY SIDE.

Such an Arab-Jewish rapprochement is not utopian or far-fetched. Both groups have a great deal to offer one another. The Jewish left-wing militants are more mature politically. They understand that the misery and poverty of the Arab masses can only be ended in a Palestine that is free of British troops as well as free of Arab feudal lords. The Jewish labor movement in Palestine is one of the most militant and socially-minded in the world. If it were not so blinded by Jewish nationalism and so fettered by its own right-wing leadership, it would long ago have inspired the development of an Arab mass party that would be a powerful lever of opposition to the Arab League, which is nothing more than the creation of a British-feudal coalition. Basic socialist thought requires that the Jews be champions of Arab freedom as well as Jewish freedom.

In return for their support, the Jews could logically expect guarantees from the Arabs. Palestine is a tiny section of the Arab world. Were the Jewish resistance fighters and left-wing elements to offer friendship to the Arab masses and give leadership in a fight against imperialism, they could logically demand that Jewish rights and interests be respected.

Unfortunately, the labor movement and socialist parties throughout the world have sided with the Zionists and have failed to extend a helping hand to the Arab masses. Thus the cleavage grows wider between two forces which could logically become welded in an anti-imperialist union. Too little thought has been given to formulating an Arab-Jewish program by the advanced elements outside of Palestine. International solidarity could be a powerful factor in this situation.

But in order to convince the Jews of Europe and of Palestine of their sincere interest, the unions and labor parties of the United States, Great Britain and other countries would have to put up a vigorous fight for a policy of open immigration within their own countries; they would have to support the Arab desire for independence; and they would have to bring pressure on the Jewish labor movement and the militants in Palestine for a break with its super-nationalistic leadership.

Price Control Up to Labor Movement - -

(Continued from page 1)

the masses are short on memory and long on gullibility

This latest shameful capitulation to the demands of private profiteers results in a "second round" of increases in the price of automobiles. Walter P. Reuther, UAW president, points out that OPA had already applied its "reconversion formula" and had already allowed prices which averaged \$150 to \$250 more than for 1941 models and \$40 to \$140 more than for 1942 models.

A NEW SWINDLE

These first substantial price advances were supposed to reflect "engineering changes and improvements." About this swindle, UAW President Reuther says:

"Since the nature of the alleged changes and improvements claimed by manufacturers in their applications to OPA is not made public, it appears that they have found a loop-

hole for turning a normal peacetime practice into a profitable racket under government price control. Auto manufacturers always made minor changes in their cars from year to year and frequently made important changes and improvements. Yet it was not their peacetime practice to reflect these developments in higher prices. It was the boast of the industry that competition regularly forced the delivery of a better product to the consumer without compensating increases in prices."

This article highlights the increases in auto prices. But these boosts are symptomatic of a general epidemic. The cost of milk and all food, of wet wash and other services, of clothes and furniture, of electrical appliances and kitchenware, has been boosted by OPA. No wonder the National Association of Manufacturers can make such effective propaganda against OPA!

The General Motors workers who

raised the demand for wage increases to maintain take-home pay WITH-OUT price increases, also pointed the way to price fixing and price control by the workers and consumers themselves.

The General Motors workers, pointed the way with their demand: "Open the Books!" How else can wages and prices be determined except by full knowledge of the estimated costs, sales, improved processes, increase in labor productivity for the coming year or other fiscal period?

But what sense is there in opening the books to the capitalist government that by its very nature evaluates profits as most important? The books of the corporations must be opened to committees of workers who understand the ins and outs of production, and to committees of consumers and housewives at the distribution and consumption end. These are the people's agencies that could fix prices in the interest of the many

and enforce those prices against the profiteers and black marketers.

Afraid to call the people into action in their own behalf, the officialdom of the labor movement still hitches labor's wagon exclusively to the dry, rattling bones of the OPA, which was never really an adequate agency for price control.

Labor must end this nonsense. Inflation is no joke. It has to do with whether we eat much or little, are clothed well or poorly, are healthy or sick. As workers and consumers, the people themselves can prevent inflated prices. The demand to open the books of the corporations to committees of workers, coupled with the demand that committees of workers and housewives be organized to fix and control prices, must be made by organized labor, by unorganized workers, by housewives, by salaried workers, by all whose standard of living is threatened by the looming price boom.

Starvation Stalks the World

UNRRA Barely Dents Food Crisis

By WILLIAM BARTON

(Continued from Last Week)

The perilous European situation is actually small in relation to the even more desperate plight of the Far East. This greatest concentration of people in the world is only receiving some publicity. The information remains limited, confused and disputed.

India, whose Bengal province saw one and one-half to three million deaths by starvation in 1943, may be in worse straits now. In angry reply to broadcasts by President Truman and Secretary of Agriculture Anderson that good winter rains had removed the danger of famine, official Indian sources have claimed that 2,300,000 people in two districts have, at present, absolutely no grain on hand, and that similar conditions are expected later in other areas. If aid doesn't come at once, they say, 5,000,000 more famine casualties may be anticipated.

India has enough foreign credit. Therefore, it is another non-UNRRA-receiving country. It has had to apply to the all-powerful British-Canadian American Combined Food Board (whose operations will be later explained in detail) for 1,400,000 tons of rice. Local Indian officials still have no idea how much has been granted. The deadline for most provisions before resources reach the famine level (unless there are completely unexpected bumper harvests in other areas) is a matter of one to three months. At present, the average consumption for the entire country is estimated at 950 daily calories.

The information from China is very fragmentary. But it is known that urgent requests have been sent to both UNRRA and the CFB, as yet only very partially granted. The Chinese delegate to the recent UNRRA Council meeting in Atlantic City reported 5,000,000 close to famine in two provinces, many eating grass, roots, tree bark and clay. General Chennault is said to be organizing a new airborne unit, this time to deliver emergency supplies to the most stricken Chinese sectors.

Observers have spoken of the "catastrophic famine (that) is to be averted in China." And similar stories have come from Korea, French Indo-China, and the Philippines. Reports from Japan have not been too many, but occupation officers have frequently warned of hunger dangers and MacArthur has reiterated McNarney's demand for "more food or soldiers." Indonesia is probably still considered a war area, so that little has been heard of its plight. Only very productive Burma and Siam have apparently averted this catastrophe, incomprehensible even in terms of contemporary Europe.

Even this does not complete the picture. There's also the Near East, especially Egypt (which reporters have called the most miserable looking spot on earth); French North Africa which formerly sent surpluses to the "mother" country and now has to import its grain; Spain, where the black market is the only place to get a good meal; many countries of Latin America, which will now have to forego much of their usual imports from the surplus-producing American countries.

Italy Demonstration Asks Bread and Work

Reports from Foggia, Italy, reveal that the food demonstration recently reported in the newspapers was of far greater significance than those newspaper accounts seemed to indicate.

The demonstration began on Saturday morning, March 30, with a strike of the bricklayers' union which protested against the increase in the price of bread and pasta, the difficulties in obtaining food and the increase of black market activities in grain. Two other demands of the bricklayers were for action on the unemployment situation and for autonomy from the Provincial Labor Office so that they would be hired from the union office of the General Workers Confederation.

The strikers began their demonstration early in the morning in front of the Provincial Labor Office. A few hours later they were joined by other workers, unemployed, ex-soldiers, women and children. An American flag and signs reading "Bread and Work and Autonomy" were carried by the people. The demonstrators marched to the City Hall and invaded it. They took all the food ration records and cards and burned them in the middle of the square.

The demonstrators then divided up and proceeded to the various food warehouses in Foggia, confiscating bread, flour, grain and pasta. They stopped all trucks, buses, automobiles and carriages entering and leaving the city. From these vehicles they took all the food and brought it to the workers' cooperative.

A large section of the demonstrators went to the railroad station—since it is the railroads which transport large amounts of food and which are centers for black marketers.

The workers attempted to board the train when they were met with gunfire from the racketeers inside the train. Giuseppe Roberto, a member of the bricklayers' union, was killed. Giuseppe Roberto's funeral organized by his union was followed by a procession of thousands. All shops remained closed for the entire day.

Truman and Hoover have repeatedly spoken of a short-term crisis ending with the coming harvest in a few months. This is disputed by former UNRRA Director, Herbert Lehman. As he pointed out at the Atlantic City conference, "The recent deterioration of the food situation in receiving countries has made it necessary to have a greater emphasis on food supplies than was originally contemplated, and as a result, agricultural and industrial rehabilitation have had to be reduced to a considerable extent." Because of this and because of the material destruction and disorganization, it is ridiculous to speak of a "short crisis." Again to quote Lehman: "We have absolutely no right at the present time to plan on any basis rather than that the situation next winter will be even worse than the present crisis." (To Be Continued)

Workers Party Fund Passes \$10,000

By NATHAN GOULD, National Organizer Workers Party

The \$15,000 LABOR ACTION Expansion Drive passed the \$10,000 mark. Twelve branches contributed a total of \$1,101.00 this week bringing our grand total as of this date to \$10,818.24. Four weeks remain to raise the \$4,181.76 needed to fulfill our quota. The drive is running three per cent behind schedule. We are looking forward to a "bumper" crop of contributions next week to put us ahead of schedule. Every reader of LABOR ACTION is asked to make his contribution toward an 8-page LABOR ACTION now. Every branch of the Workers Party should make a staunch attempt to bring the branch up to schedule.

Every branch must make a supreme effort to bring its contribution up to 82 per cent by the next issue of LABOR ACTION. That means that St. Louis, San Pedro, Detroit, Cleveland, Los Angeles, Akron, Reading Louisville and Philadelphia will have to do a very big job. All are considerably in arrears in varying degrees of seriousness. The next issue should show substantial rises for these branches.

Boston came through this week as the fifth branch to join the 100 per centers. The most spectacular rises of the week were made by Chicago, Louisville and Youngstown. Readers of LABOR ACTION will recall that Chicago increased its quota from \$750.00 to \$1,000. Chicago's total contribution to date reads \$710.00 or 71 per cent of its quota. The branch which stood fifteenth on the list last week rallied with a \$260 contribution and advanced to tenth place. Mike Holman, fund drive director in Chicago, writes: "Enclosed find money orders totaling \$260. In one week we held the best meeting (May Day) and the best social in five years. We want to contribute the greater part of the proceeds of these affairs to the Fund Drive. Chicago will go over the top."

Louisville, twentieth on the list last week, sent \$85 to advance to fourteenth place with 55 per cent of its quota fulfilled. But we're not worrying about Louisville. Bob Anderson writes, "The enclosed amount is in partial payment of our pledge. May I add too that our pledge will be realized. As a branch we make a religion of discharging all party obligations." Anderson is right. The Louisville Branch has a well known and a well earned reputation with the Party.

We must not fail to offer highest commendation to Youngstown. Youngstown made a 41 per cent advance with a contribution of \$60. The Youngstown comrades who had doubled their original quota of \$75 have already contributed \$130 toward their \$150 quota. Their response to the drive from the outset is an example to every party branch and to every individual.

A few words are in order on the Detroit Branch, one of the very best branches in the Workers Party. The Detroit branch has suffered some financial reverses and has not been able to keep up with the schedule. Detroit, which originally had a quota of \$1,000, decided despite some uncertainties on the employment front, to increase their quota to \$1,250. Detroit knew that they would have to strain every effort, to tax every member to the very limit, to accomplish this. And they have. Unfortunately they hit several snags which seem to be upsetting their plans. Nevertheless Detroit has made a game effort. Last week they contributed \$136; this week \$100 to the fund. Of one thing we are certain. Detroit will do better than its best.

And New York is almost 90 per cent fulfilled. New York's contribution for the week totals \$227—an unusually low figure for New York—but explained by the fact that half the New York branches did not meet this week because the New York May Day meetings coincided with branch meeting night. The following is the report on the progress of the drive by branches in New York. The pledges and the funds contributed come from party members only. All funds collected from friends, sympathizers or other sources are credited to the city office.

Branches	Pledges	Contributed	Per Cent
Harlem	\$761	\$650	85
Chelsea	871	729	83
Queens	602	491	81
Brooklyn (Thurs.)	1060	834	78
Brooklyn (Wed.)	936	716	76
Yorkville	782	598	76
City Office	493	433	88
Totals	\$5505	\$4468	89

New York's quota is \$5,000 and pledges have already reached \$505 over that sum. It is to be noted that the New York members alone have pledged \$5,012 and that not one branch is behind the national schedule. Watch New York next week!

The Philadelphia branches are moving ahead. Philadelphia with a contribution of \$58 raised itself from seventeenth to thirteenth place on the list. Los Angeles and San Pedro, both in their plugging, contributed \$47 each but the effort was not great enough to meet the response of competing branches and each of the Southern California branches dropped one notch. Buffalo came through with \$40 bringing the branch up to 75 per cent of their \$200 quota. The National Office added \$169 to this week's total.

All in all we had a very good week on the fund drive. Now to the last lap. \$15,000 BY JUNE!

Branch	Quota	This Week	Total Contribution	Per Cent
1. Hibbing, Minn.	\$45.00	00.00	\$45.00	100
2. Boston, Mass.	50.00	5.50	51.00	102
3. Newark, N. J.	500.00	2.50	502.50	100.5
4. Baltimore, Md.	50.00	00.00	50.00	100
5. Streator, Ill.	25.00	00.00	25.00	100
6. New York, N. Y.	5000.00	227.00	4468.00	89
7. Youngstown, Ohio	150.00	60.00	130.00	87
8. Seattle, Wash.	300.00	00.00	251.36	83
9. Buffalo, N. Y.	200.00	40.00	150.00	75
10. Chicago, Ill.	1000.00	260.00	710.00	71
11. National Office	3350.00	169.00	2331.00	70
12. San Francisco	500.00	00.00	349.38	70
13. Philadelphia, Pa.	350.00	58.00	213.00	61
14. Louisville, Ky.	200.00	85.00	110.00	55
15. Reading, Pa.	50.00	00.00	27.00	54
16. Akron, Ohio	500.00	00.00	265.00	53
17. Los Angeles, Cal.	600.00	47.00	317.00	53
18. Cleveland, Ohio	200.00	00.00	101.00	50
19. Detroit, Mich.	1250.00	100.00	625.50	50
20. San Pedro, Calif.	400.00	47.00	196.50	49
21. St. Louis, Mo.	100.00	00.00	00.00	00
Totals	15,000	1101.00	10,818.24	72

WE ARE GOING TO HAVE AN EIGHT-PAGE PAPER!

The thousands of dollars required to make this advance must come from our readers. We appeal to every reader to send us a contribution to make the expansion possible. Fill out the blank below and send it to us at once. Make all checks and money orders payable to LABOR ACTION, 114 West 14th Street, New York 11, N. Y.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ Zone _____ State _____
Amount \$ _____

PM Picks Stalinist Hack as Trotsky Critic

The New York newspaper PM, which even says it is "against pushing people around," printed a review in its April 28 issue of Leon Trotsky's book, Stalin. The review was written by Frederick Schuman, a professor who has made it his business to pose as a disinterested intellectual while actually peddling the strict Stalinist line. Schuman's review was so raw and downright dishonest that PM's editor had to print a disclaimer. But then the question arises: the editors of PM are not infants, they know Schuman's record; why did they assign him to review this book when they knew that the only possible product of his pen would be a Daily Worker kind of smear? Or is that what they wanted?

It would be tedious to print a long refutation of this review, but a few comments are necessary:

(1) Schuman repeats the oft-deployed slander that "Trotsky plotted with fascist agents in the 1930's to destroy the Stalinist bureaucracy" and bases this charge on the "published records of the Moscow Trial."

Now it is clear that anyone who dares to cite as evidence against Trotsky or his political program the "records of the Moscow Trial" is in the service of Stalinism—in this case consciously so. The so-called "records" of that trial (or, rather, inquisition) were long ago shown to be shot through with internal inconsistency and the

charges against Trotsky declared false by the commission which was headed by Dr. John Dewey.

But there is another, more immediate, point to be made: If Schuman believes the Moscow Trials to be relevant, then he should join with those who have recently issued a statement urging that the Nuremberg trials against the Nazi defendants and investigate the records in order to see if there is any proof to the vile charges that Trotsky collaborated with the Nazis. We for our part are so thoroughly certain that no such proof could be found that we do not hesitate to support this request. Is Schuman willing to say as much for himself? Are he and his Stalinist cohorts ready to pursue such an investigation? It is a challenge we throw out to Schuman and any other defenders of Stalinism or the Moscow Trials. Does anyone want to take any bets about their response?

(2) Schuman says that it "is scarcely conceivable" that "a man possessed by so unquenchable a hatred would balk at cooperating with Fascists." He is referring here to Trotsky.

TROTSKY FOUGHT FASCISM

Let us remind Schuman that in the period before the rise of Hitler, it was precisely Trotsky who was week after week urging the German workers to make a united front against the Hitler menace; that it was, on the contrary, the

Stalinists who opposed united action with the German Socialists and raised the tragically stupid slogan of "After Hitler, Us." And that it was this Stalinist stupidity which was one of the main causes for the rise of Hitler. Let us further remind Schuman that it was Stalin who in 1939 made a pact with Hitler that gave the latter a green light to provoke the second world war, that it was Stalin's stooge, Molotov, who had the gall at that time to speak of Fascism as "a matter of taste"—and that it was Trotsky who condemned this deal with Hitler. Surely an historian as distinguished as Schuman can remember that far back.

(3) Schuman quotes at length from a polemic directed by Lenin against Trotsky. But, in typically dishonest Stalinist fashion, he fails to mention that this polemic was written by Lenin before the first world war, when he had a sharp political difference with Trotsky within the general socialist movement—and that Lenin and Trotsky were subsequently to cooperate on the closest terms in leading the Russian revolution to victory. What is the point of raking up old quotations from 1912 and before, when later Trotsky was to stand side by side with Lenin at the head of the Bolshevik Party?

(4) Schuman charges that Trotsky's book will be helpful to those reactionaries who oppose Russia. That is simply untrue. One can be opposed to Stalin without thereby

being in league with Hearst. If this world had to choose between Stalin and Hearst, and nobody else at all, things would be in a pretty sad way. From the point of view of revolutionary socialism, Stalinism too represents a reactionary force in society, a totalitarian force; it isn't the same kind of reactionary force that Hearst represents, but it is reactionary. Schuman pulls the same scare that every Stalinist defender does: anyone who dares criticize the Stalinist dictatorship is immediately called a fascist. Only simple-minded or misled people will believe that.

DAILY WORKER LINE

There is no point in going down the line to show the equality of Schuman's review. These few remarks should indicate that it is simply Daily Worker stuff pure and simple; even the language is full of Stalinist cliches. PM has been known to stooge for the Stalinists quite consistently; but it has never yet printed anything as blatantly Stalinist in character as Schuman's review. It owes its readers an explanation. As for Schuman: it should now be clear to all that this man who poses as an intellectual, as a disinterested scholar, is nothing but a hack out of the Daily Worker's bottom drawer. As such he has no right to acceptance or sympathy in any section of the American press which even pretends to intellectual honesty or decency.