

LABOR ACTION

SEPTEMBER 30, 1946

A Paper in the Interests of Labor

FIVE CENTS

Workers Party Hits British Palestine Rule

In view of the reign of terror instituted by the British military authorities in Palestine, ye, socialist working men and women of the Workers Party, feel called upon to voice our protest against the inhuman treatment accorded European Jews at the hands of the British government.

As American socialists we demand, now as always, unrestricted immigration into the United States. However, we consider the present inhuman barriers against Jewish immigration into Palestine especially offensive. Let the persecuted Jews of Europe find a place of rest and of peace! Open the doors of Palestine without restrictions!

We demand, further, an end to the Hitler-like system of concentration camps. Free the Jews now interned at Cyprus, at Latrun, at Athlit, at Nur Est Shemes and at Beth Lehen!

Finally we demand the immediate withdrawal of British troops and civilian authorities from the land of the Arabs and Jews. For the immediate, complete and unconditional independence of Palestine! Let the British stop their imperialist interference with the destinies of the peoples of the Near East!

WORKERS PARTY, LOCAL NEW YORK.

NEW YORK WORKERS!

Join WP Picket Line!

PICKET THE BRITISH CONSULATE, 650 5TH AVENUE, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 28, AT 12 O'CLOCK NOON!

Demand Unrestricted Immigration into Palestine!
Freedom for the Cyprus Internees!

JOIN THE PICKET LINE!

Terror Sweeps Greece As Monarch Returns

By TOM TANAKOS

Preparations for the return of King George to Greece are being speeded by the government in Athens. These preparations include coercion, imprisonment, starvation and killing of active anti-monarchist and class-conscious workers.

During the last three weeks the wave of terror has reached new heights. Thousands of known republicans, liberals, socialists and communists have been imprisoned while tens of thousands have fled to the hills. These men and women in the hills have been pursued by the Greek army, gendarmes and monarchist bands which are led by known collaborators of Hitler. The government has used UNRRA malaria-fighting planes to seek out those hiding in the mountains and then the well armed monarchist gangs follow through. In addition, all UNRRA food and clothing distributed in the towns is denied to families of known anti-monarchists.

From every section of Greece comes the same story about the monarchists in charge of UNRRA food and clothing who say to those pleading for food, "Your husband voted against the King—no food for you," or "Tell your husband to come down from the mountains to surrender or else you and your family must starve."

The Greek government has two official answers to cover up its actions. The first answer is used when armed clashes occur at a distance from Greece borders. This answer, which the American correspondents have swallowed completely, is that "extreme left wing gangs and uncontrollable ultra-patriotic right wing bands are at each other again." This interpretation is intended, of course, to give the impression that the "real" patriots cannot peacefully stand by any longer and condone the terrorist outbreaks of the "left-wingers."

The second answer of the Greek government is given when the Greek army and monarchist gangsters start to shoot up the Greek anti-monarchists near the Yugoslav, Albanian or Bulgarian border. Then the Greek government claims that it is fighting Greek Communists who had fled but who are now trying to get back into Greece, or that it is Yugoslav or Albanian bandits trying to ransack Greek homes.

CORRESPONDENT'S TESTIMONY

In a report this week from the correspondent Robert Conway of the New York Daily News comes the following, "The Greek government's

REGISTER!

The Workers Party appeals to all people of Harlem who signed its independent nominating petition to be certain to register during the week of October 7 to October 12. Unless these registrations are entered, thereby certifying that the signers intend to vote in the election on November 5, the signatures can be claimed invalid by the Democratic-Powell machine politicians, as is explained in the election story elsewhere on this page.

army and gendarmes are waging a pitiless war on scores of thousands of woman and children in a desperate effort to halt a growing rebellion and wipe out not only Communists but all democratic, liberal and republican elements. Without condoning or minimizing the fact that the Communists have been guilty of terrorist outrages, this correspondent is compelled to state that the supporters of King George II are now staging a total civil warfare of the cruelest and most inhuman sort. Again and again we saw UNRRA or Yank-donated trucks intended for transportation of American relief commandeered to gather up entire village populations from which all able bodied men had escaped. Army officials and gendarmes gave the figures for many villages which ranged from 30 to 265 taken in custody in a single raid. In two cities, Volos and Tirnavos, I saw and talked with women herded together so closely they scarcely had room to lie down. They were forced to sleep in the open air, often totally without lavatory facilities.

(Continued on page 8)

Supreme Court Stalls WP Protest

WP, Pressing McKinney Issue, Charges Election Board Admits Phony Case by Ducking Hearing

NEW YORK, Sept. 24 — Supreme Court Justice Bernard Botein adjourned until October 15 the case of Ernest Rice McKinney vs. Board of Elections, New York City, upon application of Representative Adam Clayton Powell's attorney, Mr. Markowitz. This delay granted to the attorney of Representative Powell makes it almost impossible for the Workers Party to win the case to get its candidate back on the ballot.

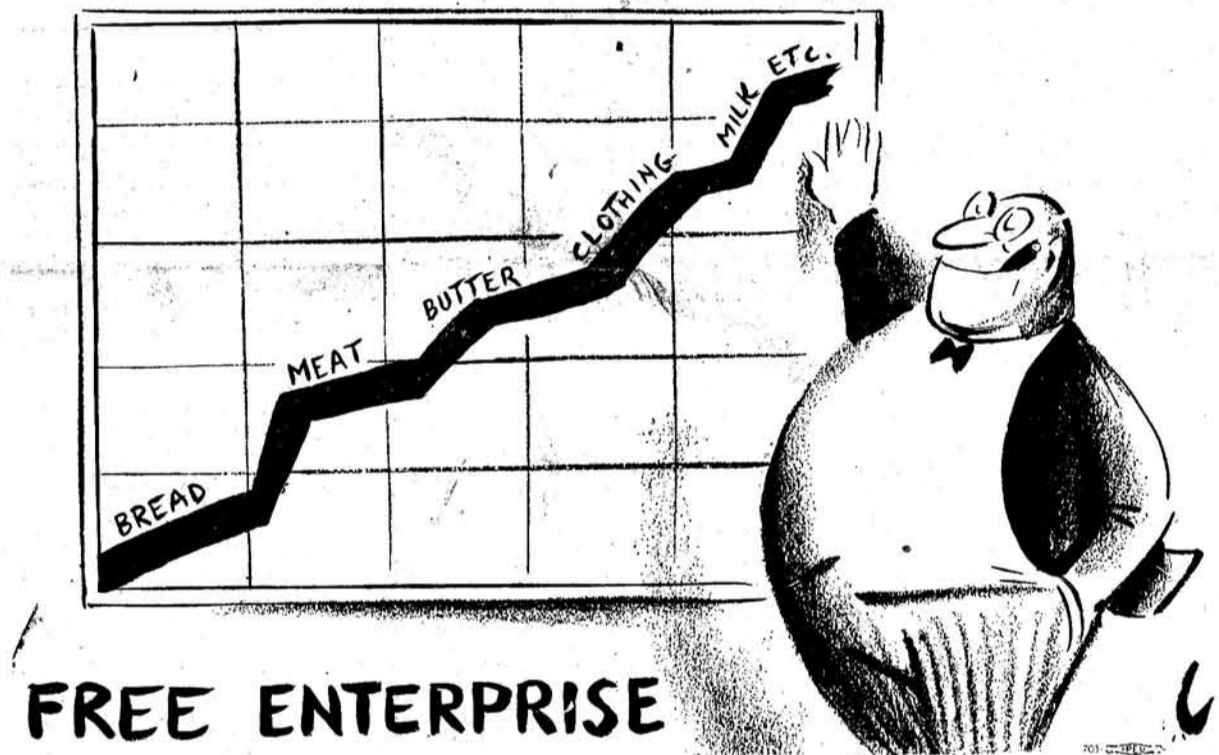
Why was this delay granted? The excuse given by Attorney Markowitz was that he wished to inspect the registrations in the 1946 elections of the 5,100 voters who signed the Workers Party petitions to put Ernest Rice McKinney on the ballot. Registration week is from October 7 to 12. Actually, of course, this means that the attorneys for the Democratic-Powell machine switched their grounds of objection to the Workers Party petition. The technicalities of Supreme Court procedure, however, permit them to do so and therefore make it virtually impossible for independent parties to get back on the ballot once they have been thrown off by the Board of Elections, even on the most spurious of charges.

Attorney Markowitz is the second lawyer whom Powell has retained to keep the Workers Party off the ballot, the first having been Harrison Jackson, who handled the objections filed with the Board of Elections.

The Board of Elections itself did not choose to fight the case against the Workers Party. Its attorney appeared in the Supreme Court only on the first day. He asked for the first postponement. The attorney for Representative Powell appeared on the second day to request the second postponement.

When the Workers Party attorney

The Boss' English!



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questioned this procedure, Supreme Court Justice Botein stated that since Representative Powell is an interested party to the case, his attorney would be permitted to make an application for postponement.

By ABE VICTOR
Workers Party Campaign Director

The Workers Party, which filed for a Supreme Court hearing to reverse the decision of the New York City Board of Elections, appeared in the Supreme Court chambers Monday, September 23, only to have the attorney for the Board of Elections ask for a postponement. His reason was that he was not yet prepared to present evidence that the New York City Board of Elections should be upheld in its decision to keep Ernest Rice McKinney off the ballot. The Supreme Court case was postponed to September 24.

New York State Democrats and American Labor Party politicians are making frantic efforts to remove all independent parties from the ballot in order to make certain of every vote. Spencer Young, acting for the Democratic and the American Labor machines, challenged the Socialist Workers Party, Socialist Workers Party, Labor Party and the Communist Party petitions at Troy, N. Y., on Tuesday, September 24.

All the parties have complied with the requirements of the state election law and the Workers Party petitions for Max Shachtman as well as the

state tickets of the other four parties were certified by the Board of Elections to appear on the ballot. The petitions of the Workers Party for Ernest Rice McKinney were thrown out on spurious charges which the New York City Board cannot prove.

If the action of the Board of Elections against Ernest R. McKinney and the court actions against the other four parties should prove successful, it would constitute one of the gravest threats to democratic rights in New York State.

If this action is successful a precedent will be established that will make it more difficult than ever for any working class party to exercise the right to participate in elections. In effect there will be no legal party in New York State except the Wall

Street Democratic and Republican Parties and their agents in the labor movement, the American Labor Party and the Liberal Party.

There is already a myriad of technicalities which are designed to make it as difficult as possible for minority parties to get on the ballot. This court precedent is designed to add to the difficulties. At stake are the democratic rights of the people.

The Workers Party repeats, therefore, that the working class parties, such as the Socialist Workers Party, the Workers Party and the Socialist Party, must combine their talents, their legal help, their experience with the election laws in order to fight against attempts by the capitalist party machinery to keep them off the ballot.

Coast Rally Muffs Anti-Smith Issue

By HAL DRAPER

LOS ANGELES, Sept. 22. — This city, which last year mobilized mass picket lines of 20,000 against rallies held by Gerald L. K. Smith, today saw a perfect example of how NOT to conduct the fight against native fascism.

Thousands of disappointed workers were bewildered and confused when the Gerald Smith rally at the Polytechnic High School was countered only by an open-air meeting in a parking lot almost a block away, attended by a scant two thousand and subjected to a list of speakers who held forth while the crowd wondered why some REAL action was not being taken.

This anti-Smith meeting was organized by the Mobilization for Democracy, the same united front of

various organizations which last year had organized the picket lines. Today, when a picket line did form in front of the school where Smith was to speak and after it had marched for about a half hour, the Mobilization broke it up, steered it over to the lot and spent the afternoon in speech-making.

FIGHT RECEIVES SETBACK

Thousands of people who had come down to picket Smith went home in disgust when the demonstration was given this namby-pamby turn. The very general sentiment even of the crowd that remained was that they "could not understand" why the mass picket line had been restrained and prevented from taking place. It is necessary to say absolutely bluntly, facing the facts, that the fight against Gerald Smith and all that he

The bitter internal struggle within the Democratic Administration, climaxed by Henry Wallace's resignation, has exposed to public view the conflict of interest and differences of opinion within American capitalism on how to meet the present international crisis.

Rarely have the people of this country had the opportunity — if they could only penetrate beyond journalistic personality judgments — to see for themselves the alternative paths which the conflicting sections of their rulers were urging the government to take.

From the socialist point of view—that upheld by LABOR ACTION and the Workers Party—the conflict fell into a clear pattern: Byrnes stands for one kind of imperialist policy and Wallace for another kind of imperialist policy. Neither can remove the terrible threat of war; neither can bring permanent peace.

NMU Seaman Strike Ends With Victory

NEW YORK, Sept. 24 — The waterfront was back to normal again this week as the National Maritime Union started dispatching men back to its contracted vessels on Saturday, September 21. This resulted in the government negotiator's announcement that the NMU will receive the wage increase won by the SIU-SUP. Today, all union seamen, AFL and CIO, are returning to their ships with a victory under their belts. They struck against the government and struck so effectively and with such solidarity that they forced it to bow down before their might.

These last few weeks have instilled a confidence into every maritime worker that has not been there since before the war. He has rediscovered his power. The shipowners and the Coast Guard will find it much harder to intimidate the men who have been through this strike. They know now what to expect if the rising cost of living wipes out these gains. They know what to expect when the seamen come to realize the need for replacing the present three-watch system with the four-watch system.

As the government lays up more of its merchant vessels, jobs are becoming scarcer and there are not enough to go around. But let not any worker kid himself. The recent strike was just a dress rehearsal for the struggle ahead. The shipowners never expected such strength against them. They underestimated the power and solidarity of the ranks and therefore gave in after nine days of the general strike. But now that they know what they are up against they will start mobilizing their flanks and government stooges for the next time. There is only one way to stop them. TIGHTEN UP! Iron out the differences in the ranks of maritime labor. Take steps now toward unified action in the future.

FLASH!

Max Shachtman, Workers Party candidate for Congressional District and the party's national chairman, will speak over Station WLIB, 1190 kc. on your radio dial, Saturday, September 28, at 1:10 p.m. All readers are urged to listen.

Elsewhere in this issue of LABOR ACTION appear detailed analyses of the Wallace crisis: one on page 3 analyzing Wallace's program and another on page 5 discussing the international repercussions of the conflict.

BASIC ISSUES

Here we shall confine ourselves to a few summary points on the current Washington crisis:

The basic conflict is: What attitude shall U. S. imperialism take toward its grasping Russian rival? The two have come into continuous and increasing conflict. Europe and Asia are full of sore spots where these two giants have clashed, each eager to carve our spheres of economic influence and political domination.

Byrnes proposes a firmer, tougher attitude toward the Russian rival of U. S. big business, while Wallace urges a continued attempt to conciliate and compromise with Stalin.

This difference of perspective is not a matter of personal temperament, but indicates a cleavage within the ranks of American capitalism. All signs point to the fact that Byrnes speaks for by far the most powerful and dominant sections of U. S. big business—which is why the befuddled and unknowing Truman had to knuckle under to his ultimatum. Byrnes speaks for that overwhelming section of U. S. business which desires a world-wide expansive, aggressive imperialist policy, ready to checkmate Stalin and subordinate Britain at each decisive point. This is not—viewed soberly—a perspective of immediate war; for neither the U. S. nor Russia is ready for immediate war. It is a policy, however, which runs the risk of a serious rupture with Russia, an intervening period of stalemate and then war. It is a policy, furthermore, cold-bloodedly calculated to prepare for that eventuality.

WALLACE'S SUPPORT

Wallace does have a certain amount of popular support: some sections of labor, most of the liberals. But his ideas—let us not forget—are basically as imperialist as those of Byrnes. Wallace urges the division of the world into two major spheres of influence, each of which the U. S. and Russia will dominate. He is ready to cede more to Russia than is Byrnes. That is, Wallace is the voice of that section of American capitalism which believes that a period of "world stability"—no matter how partial, incomplete and uneasy—will be profitable.

(Continued on page 8)

represents was given a severe setback.

This setback was not administered by Smith, or by the police or other authorities, but by none other than the leaders of the demonstration themselves. It is important that workers understand why this turn of events took place, so that the anti-fascist fight can go forward again to new heights.

When the news came, at the beginning of this month, that Smith was returning to Los Angeles, the general reaction was: Let's go after this fascist this time and drive him out of town FOR GOOD! The news of how Smith had been driven out of Minneapolis by the militant action of the trade union movement made a great impression wherever it traveled; the Smith rally had been

stopped COLD there; we could do the same in Los Angeles.

Two weeks ago Friday, on September 7, the CIO Council met and decided to call for a mass picket line. There was hope also that the spirit abroad to get rid of Smith would also lead to his facing an overwhelmingly hostile audience inside the hall. The Mobilization for Democracy, in which the Communist Party Stalinists have the decisive say, also made known that they were calling a mass picket line. That was scarcely surprising since in this city, where the Stalinists control the leadership of the CIO Council through their man Connelly, the decision of the CIO virtually represented the line which the Stalinists would push everywhere.

Then the counter-attack from the

(Continued on page 7)

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

UE Caucus Suffers from Weak Program

For the first time in many years, a rank and file opposition to the Stalinist officialdom of the United Electrical Radio and Machine Workers of America, CIO, has gathered enough strength, and shown the spirit and foresight to continue as an organized caucus after the UE national convention.

To rally a majority of the union members, however, the caucus will have to rectify its failure to demonstrate at the convention that it is fighting for the interests of the membership through a positive program to maintain their rights and living standards.

If the caucus confines itself to merely shouting "Communist" while keeping its own program for wage increases without price increases in the background, as it did at the convention, it will become a roaming ground for unscrupulous and reactionary office seekers trying to convert it into a power machine.

The publicity-seeking of the caucus leaders along these lines at their Pittsburgh pre-convention conference encouraged sensational "anti-Red" stories in the newspapers and later lent plausibility to the false newspaper reports concerning caucus activity—reports that did grave damage to the caucus' prestige in the labor movement.

Articles throughout the capitalist press which stated that the caucus proposed to bar Communists from holding office by constitutional amendment, were totally groundless. It was the Stalinist clique itself that tried to distort the policy of the UE Members for Democratic Action to appear as an attack on their right to hold union office if elected.

Although the caucus of UE Mem-

bers for Democratic Action could not have wrested control from the Communist Party machine at this convention, they could have mustered a much larger vote and laid a more solid foundation for a future fight if they had advanced a full program.

In the officer's elections, the caucus was actually beaten by a larger majority (5 to 1) than at the previous convention, although it was a potentially much more powerful force at this convention.

Instead of putting forward a program on wages, prices, hours, and working conditions, the leaders of the caucus mistakenly chose as a test issue a minority report condemning "Nazi, Communist and fascist dictatorships" and rejecting "consideration of any policy emanating from totalitarian dictatorship and foreign ideology" which they sought to substitute for the majority report of the "Communist" faction.

However, here as elsewhere in the convention, the caucus leaders failed in the all-important task of showing how UE subordination to Russian policy has directly injured the membership. Instead it allowed for dangerous interpretations with its vague reference to "foreign ideology."

They failed to point out that the UE officers during the war followed a policy of collaborating with the manufacturers, fostering incentive pay, surrendering the right to strike, and generally ham-stringing the union. There was no exposure of the present UE policy of limiting and restraining both the economic and political struggles of the workers so that the Stalinists can stay in the good graces of those elements in the government, in business, in the old political parties, and in the CIO leadership, whom they seek to influence in line with Russian policy.

As a result of the shortcomings of the fight waged by the UE Members for Democratic Action, they were defeated on this issue by a much larger vote than could otherwise have been expected—2,827 to 679.

CAREY DUCKS RESPONSIBILITY These shortcomings of the caucus leadership can be partly traced to their fear of going beyond the "official" policy of Philip Murray.

James B. Carey, secretary-treasurer of the CIO and former president of the UE, has been more openly associated with the UE Members for Democratic Action, than with any previous opposition. But because of his dependence on Philip Murray, and because of his fear of losing his prestige by losing a vote at the UE convention, he has not taken full responsibility for the program or the fight of the caucus.

Although there is widespread opposition throughout the UE and particularly in the caucus of UE Members for Democratic Action, to the election deals made by the Stalinist officialdom of the UE with Republican and Democratic party politicians, the caucus leaders have taken no stand on this problem.

The only answer to the present CIO-PAC policy of using labor as a prop for the old party machines, is a forthright campaign for an independent labor party, running independent candidates on a labor program. But this, the followers of the "Philip Murray policy" within the UE Members for Democratic Action are unwilling to propose, because

CALIFORNIA WOODWORKERS' CONVENTION ASKS CIO TO ORGANIZE FIGHT ON PRICES

PORTLAND, Ore.—Delegates attending the tenth annual convention of the CIO International Woodworkers of America, held here September 10 to 14, called on the national CIO to build a "permanent mass consumer organization" to ride herd on price inflation.

The resolution said that until such coordinated nation-wide action is established, "locals and individual IWA members (must) maintain a continuing fight against price inflation through buying only necessities, refusing to pay illegal prices and co-

operating with other groups in organizing buyers' strikes."

The resolution blasted the OPA and declared that "mounting inflation not only robs the workers of their wage gains, but, if allowed to continue, will surely bring on depression."

After bitter debate and a close vote, a resolution on union policy was carried asserting "we ask no man his national origin, his color, his religion or his political beliefs." Opponents declared the words after the last "or" conflicts with the union's constitution, which excludes Communists from membership. Though specifically a victory for the Stalinists, the resolution was welcomed by progressive elements who understand that Stalinism cannot be fought by yielding to reactionary procedures.

This battle was one phase of a struggle which has been raging for some years within the IWA. Its president, James Fadling, opposed the measure and called the issue "a matter of politics and nothing else." His opposition to the resolution is a further demonstration of his weakness in fighting the Stalinist-dominated section of the union in British Columbia.

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Murray himself, supports the present CIO-PAC methods of operation.

At the convention, the Stalinist officialdom brought out its standard parade of visiting speakers, including Senator Pepper. It is noteworthy, however, that Philip Murray, in his speech, made no reference whatever to questions of foreign policy. What significance this has, if any, will be revealed by future trends in the CIO.

Pepper Visit to California Adds Spice to Local Political Stew

By WILLIAM GORMAN

SAN FRANCISCO—Senator Claude Pepper's visit to the West Coast has added some spice to the local political stew. Upon his arrival, the press reported that the Florida senator was tossing his hat into the ring as the "liberal" candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1948. Wallace, who was the previous darling of the Stalinist-liberal combination, seems to be losing the favor of the Stalinists.

On the other hand, Pepper has only recently completed a long pilgrimage through Russia and was even privileged enough to meet Stalin. Pepper came here to preach that Stalin's price for "peace"—the Dardanelles, the Balkans, Manchuria and Persian oil—was perfectly reasonable. He also added something that all workers should know and that LABOR ACTION readers have known for a long time: that Stalinist Russia is not the socialist Russia of Lenin and Trotsky, and that Stalin has no desire to establish world socialism.

But while Pepper preoccupied himself with defending Russian imperialism, his courage or memory failed him on a most important local question in the coming California election—the State Fair Employment Practices Committee. This issue, which comes up in public referendum on Election Day, is of real importance to the hundreds of thousands of Mexicans, Negroes and workers of other minorities who live in this state. Little wonder! For Pepper, the proud New Dealer, was re-elected in Florida only on the basis of a Jim Crow program!

Senator Pepper's reception points up the political situation in this state. Not one bigwig of the Democratic Party machine came out to greet him. His meetings were sponsored by the National Citizens Political Action Committee, which in this area is a Stalinist front organization. The Democratic Party here is torn apart by the fight between the old machine politicians and the Stalinist leadership of the CIO. Due mainly to the conflict between Russian and American imperialism on a world scale, these two groups are growing ever further apart in the state. The state Democratic chairman, James Roosevelt, was elected to his post only after a bitter fight because of his known connections with the Stalinists. On being elected, young Roosevelt severed all connections with the Stalinist front organizations. The Stalinists thus got slapped as a reward for their political efforts.

But if the Stalinists got slapped, it is the workers of California who are taking the real beating. All the double-dealing and deceitful machinations of the Stalinists and the Democratic Party hacks haven't frozen prices or built houses or halted discrimination.

VICTORY FOR WARREN

In the recent primary, Attorney General Kenny, a "liberal" with a national reputation, couldn't even win the gubernatorial Democratic nomination in the primaries. Governor Warren, with little except a genial smile to recommend him, swept the Democratic and Republican tickets. Warren then puts in an "unexpected" visit to the Labor Day

The Boss's Dictionary

Tax-Expert:



The Economics Of Lynching...

Horace Cayton is known to the labor movement for his co-authorship of two brilliant books, The Black Workers and the New Unions and Black Metropolis. He also writes a column in the Pittsburgh Courier, leading Negro weekly. We are indebted to him for the following analysis of where lies the responsibility for the lynching of two Negro couples in Monroe, Ga.

Walton County, where the lynching took place, is a remarkable farming area. It has the highest average yield of cotton per acre of any country in the South.

This productivity, however, depends on cheap labor, the labor of Negro sharecroppers who are held in virtual peonage and kept in perpetual debt so that they cannot get away to the relative freedom of the North.

WHO ARE THE LYNCHERS?

The lynching was carried out by farmers. These farmers brutalize and tyrannize over the Negroes in order to be able to use their labor as freely as possible. But in Monroe itself the politicians are a corrupt gang elected by these very farmers. The farmers know what they want from these politicians. Above all they must cooperate in keeping the Negroes down. That is why the police and the local administrators are always protecting, not the Negroes, but the lynchers.

The third element in the criminal system are the merchants. They are dependent upon the farmers for their trade. They make a comfortable living by it. So that farmers, politicians and merchants

together form a complete system for the exploitation and terrorizing of the Negro population.

But the merchants and their friends are "well-meaning" people. Lynching they think is horrible. So after the lynching of the Negro couples they went to church and passed a resolution condemning the lynchers and pledging their cooperation to bring the criminals to justice. Two churches did this. They placed the blame on the ignorant and backward farmers and went home to their Sunday dinners.

HOW TO FIGHT LYNCHING

This revolting hypocrisy fools nobody except a few liberal idiots who reconcile themselves to the evils of capitalism by pointing to such resolutions as evidence of "the goodness of human nature."

Now add to this the complacency and negative support that the lynchers get from their own state governments and Washington, and you have the whole system complete. We have to struggle, but we must understand what we are fighting against. If it were race prejudice and race prejudice alone, the race would have been won long ago. But a whole social system mand its benefits and privileges feed the prejudice and remain proof against the walls and complaints and resolutions of liberals.

That is why the Marxist movement insists that every individual struggle against lynching should always be carried out not only against the immediate enemy but with a clear recognition that only the overthrow of the whole system can ever free the country of this curse.

FIREMEN QUIT COMMITTEE FOR MARITIME UNITY

NEW YORK, Sept. 23—It is common knowledge in maritime labor circles, that the Stalinist designed strategy of the Committee for Maritime Unity was a "save-face" action. Its prestige dropped tremendously during the SIU-SUP general strike. The official reason given by the NMU leadership for the strike call was not that they could not get the East Coast operators to agree to pay but that the Marine Firemen, Oilers and Waterenders, Independent (a CMU affiliate), could not get the Pacific Coast operators to negotiate with them.

At the very beginning of their strike the NMU leaders said that they would "stay out till Hell freezes over unless the MFOW wins their beef." But after they had made their men hit the bricks for a few days, thereby establishing their active participation in the strike, they signed an agreement with the East Coast operators, forgetting all about their lofty promises to the West Coast firemen.

The MFOW through its president Vincent J. Malone have today announced their withdrawal from the Communist Party-controlled CMU.

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DEBATE

"Does Stalinism Flow From Bolshevism?" 'YES!' LISTON M. OAK Managing Editor of "The New Leader" Radio Commentator 'NO!' MAX SHACHTMAN National Chairman Workers Party. FRIDAY, NOV. 8, 8 P. M. HOTEL DIPLOMAT 108 West 43rd St., New York City ADMISSION: 75c

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The Dardanelles: Where Imperialist Rivals Clash

One of the sorest spots in a world full of sore spots caused by imperialist rivalry, is the Dardanelles. As the adjacent map shows, the Dardanelles is a strait which, through the Sea of Marmora and the Bosphorus Strait, connects the Mediterranean with the Black Sea. The Black Sea in turn touches Russia's southwestern border, of which the main port is the large city of Odessa.

war, without ceding anything of value to the Russians. In 1915, when Turkey fought on Germany's side, the British Foreign Office departed from tradition by agreeing to the cession of Constantinople to Russia in secret treaties. The rise to power by the Bolsheviks exposed this treaty and

Turkey. But Turkey, buttressed by the support of Anglo-American imperialism, has not succumbed to these threats. Like the equally strategic port of Trieste in the Adriatic Sea, the Dardanelles promises to become an issue of prolonged dispute on which no compromise seems likely to last



For almost a year now, Russia's demands with regard to the Dardanelles have been hanging fire. In July, 1945, she presented a series of demands to Turkey which proposed that two provinces of Turkey (comprising old Armenia) be ceded to Russia, that the Montreux Convention governing the Dardanelles be revised and that Russia be granted bases on both the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus Straits. Since then the issue has been hotly debated at the various meetings of the "Big Three" Foreign Ministers.

Recently the U. S. government informed Russia of its unqualified opposition to the revision of the Montreux agreement. It seems likely that with this position the U. S.—with Britain tagging along behind it—will oppose ceding any bases in the Dardanelles to Russia.

The struggle for control over the Dardanelles is a long and bloody one. It has for many decades been a major bone of contention between British and Russian imperialism. The Dardanelles provides an entry to the Mediterranean for Russian warships and for over a hundred years a cardinal point in British foreign policy has been "No Russian warships in the Mediterranean." For an equally long time Russia has sought entry into the Mediterranean.

Ninety-two years ago, the Crimean War was fought over this issue. The British won and the Russians were pushed back. In 1878, Disraeli's diplomacy narrowly averted another British-Russian

Constantinople remained Turkish. After Kemal Ataturk's revolution, the tradition was re-established in the Montreux Convention of 1936—signed by Turkey, Soviet Russia, Britain, France, Italy, Japan and the Balkan states—in which Turkey was made sole guardian of the Straits. The Montreux Convention provided that in time of war, and in case of Turkish neutrality, no belligerent warships would be allowed to pass through the Dardanelles.

Now Russia demands both bases on the strategic Dardanelles and revised control which will give her a more decisive role in the administration of that strategic strait. Both Britain and the U. S. bitterly oppose Russia's demand for they fear a situation in which Russian warships might be able to get into the Mediterranean.

During the past year, Stalin's Russia has been conducting the usual propaganda campaign against

long, even if one is worked out. The imperialist motives of Britain and the U. S. in this situation are old and well known. But what about Russia? Let those who deny that Russia is today an imperialist state tell us what is the meaning of its demands for bases in the Dardanelles. Is that by any chance a "measure of defense"?

For our part, we condemn equally the role of Anglo-American imperialism and Russian imperialism in this controversy. Squeezed in between them is the puppet country of Turkey, which can play no independent role in this situation but must ultimately become subservient to one side or the other.

In the meantime we direct the attention of our readers to this bitter and important controversy. A few years from now, if the imperialist motives of the much-discussed book, "Animal Farm," a feature you won't want to miss.

By HENRY JUDD

The firing of Henry Wallace by President Truman has not, and will not, bring an end to the case of Mr. Wallace. The issues stirred up are basic and the consequences may be immense for the future of American history. The floundering tactics of the Little Man in the White House have settled nothing. It is our business to ask, and clearly answer, the question—what does Henry R. Wallace represent, what does he want, how do we differ from him?

Wallace is 100 per cent correct in his posing of the essential issue—war or peace: "...an atomic war which will undoubtedly be directed primarily against civilian populations and may well mean the end of modern civilization." In these words Wallace stated his case in his now famous July 23 letter to President Truman.

This letter of Wallace is by itself a damning indictment of the Truman administration and its preparation for another World War. Every word of accusation published heretofore in LABOR ACTION blasting American imperialism and its plans for world conquest are confirmed by Wallace. And who is Wallace? A former vice-president who came within an inch of being president; a leading figure and spokesman in the Democratic Party, the nation's ruling political party; an ex-member of the administration's cabinet. Listen to his description of the plans his Party has in store for us:

"For the next fiscal year and for the year immediately ahead by far the largest category of federal spending is the national defense. ... These items total \$28,000,000,000, or about 80 per cent of the total recommended expenditures. ... \$13,000,000,000 for the War and Navy Departments, the Bikini tests of the atomic bomb and continued production of bombs, the plan to arm Latin America with our weapons, production of B-29s and planned production of B-36s and the effort to secure air bases spread over half the globe from which the other half of the globe can be bombed. I cannot but feel that these actions must make it look to the rest of the world as if we were only paying lip service to peace at the conference table."

In the light of such revelations by a leading government official, is it any wonder that the press of America demanded the head, blood and innards of Wallace? But Wallace has not finished his indictment. Pointing out that the "atomic race (which) is on in deadly earnest," "will inevitably result in a neurotic, fear-ridden, itching-trigger psychology in all the peoples of the world," Wallace concludes his description of Truman's deliberate preparations for war by claiming that, in Washington,

"There is a school of military thinking which recognizes these facts. ... This school of thought therefore advocates a 'preventive war,' an attack on Russia now before Russia has atomic bombs." Wallace does not state that Truman belongs to this school. But he clearly implies that Truman's differences with this school are merely a matter of tactics. And there we have as clear-cut an indictment of the Washington government as any revolutionary paper could ever publish!

WALLACE IS AWARE OF PUBLIC FEARS

As one of the last representatives of Roosevelt "New Dealism," as a leader of the Democratic Party's increasingly feeble left-wing section, Wallace's ear is far more sharply attuned to popular sentiment and opinion than that of the President. The murmurs of the vast American middle-class, the small farmers and merchants, and the CIO and AFL workers reach Wallace, while Truman straddles and surrenders to the more powerful sections of big business. Wallace knows, in this sense, what is going on. He knows, in his own words, that there is a "growing feeling among the American people that another war is coming. ..." It is just because Wallace has given voice to these vague, uneasy fears that he is of

such importance, not as Wallace the individual. In its shrill attacks upon him, the monopolist press of the country has only displayed its intense desire to smash, in advance, any effort to explain to the American people upon what path we are now treading, even if this explanation is only partial and covered up, as in the case of Wallace. Wallace also speaks for many industrialists who fear the consequences of an early drift into war. The very violence with which Byrnes has been defended should be enough to prove the basic validity of the Wallace accusations. But having made his accusations, where does Mr. Wallace stand?

"I believe," writes Wallace, "that for the United States and Russia to live together in peace is the most important single problem facing the world today." Let us grant, for the moment, the truth of this statement. Although we would not describe the "most important single problem" in exactly these terms, such a statement is sufficiently based on truth for our purposes. Russia and America are today the two dominant world powers. A war between them would obviously be disastrous for the world, as well as for themselves. Therefore, the issue of peace is vital enough. But how to get it, how to assure it, how to guarantee it? Here is what Wallace, so keenly conscious of the drift toward World War III, proposes:

- (1) A free hand to Russia, "to develop a security zone," in Eastern and Middle Europe; in exchange for our free hand to develop "military power and air bases" in Greenland, Okinawa and many other places.
- (2) A satisfactory "deal" with Russia on the issue of atomic bombs and atomic energy, with the abolition of the Baruch-Truman demand that Russia abandon its "veto" powers on atomic control issues.
- (3) The ending of the present alliance with Britain, directed against Russian expansion; the abandonment of Truman's efforts to halt this "security" expansion, and the liquidation of all efforts by America to encircle Russian territory.
- (4) A clear division of the world into separate poaching preserves; one delineated for Russia, the other for America. "... we have no more business in the political affairs of Eastern Europe than Russia has in the political affairs of Latin America, Western Europe and the United States."
- (5) A policy of doing business with Russia, based on substantial commerce and trade, bolstered up by long-term loans to Stalin. This is the cement with which Wallace, as a business man, would firmly hold together his Russian-American world alliance, or MODUS VIVENDI.

The above is the heart of what Wallace proposes. He is against the Truman foreign policy since it is a war policy; this is his foreign policy on the basis of which he can conceivably become a Presidential candidate, appealing to the widespread anti-war sentiment of the American people.

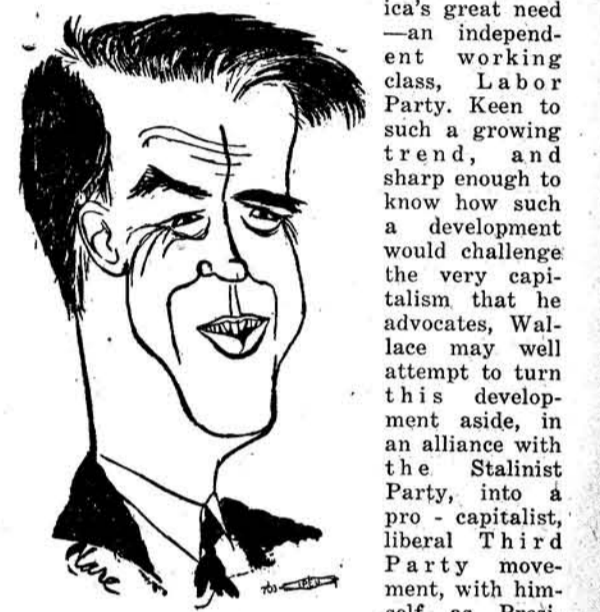
TWO IMPERIALIST POLICIES

That LABOR ACTION is against the Truman policy—a policy of overt imperialism and war preparation—every reader knows. We are just as categorically opposed to the Wallace policy. Our opposition is based upon many factors, including (1) its meaning and consequences, by and of itself; (2) its false illusions and dangerous implications to the development of the American labor and political scene and (3) our belief as to its absolute inability to halt the war that approaches between America and Russia. Therefore, as much as we appreciate the confirmation by Wallace as to our analysis of Truman and his government, we cannot but state that the program of Wallace is, in its own way, every bit as reactionary, imperialist and wrong. LABOR ACTION must return to this theme again and again—it will become one of the major issues in American political development. Let us here indicate, only briefly, our basic opposition to Wallace and his tendency.

The term "appeasement" is used, by the Truman-Byrnes supporters, to describe the Wallace

plan. This largely meaningless term would imply that Wallace deliberately and willingly wants to turn everything over to Russia and Stalin, to prevent war. The terms of the Wallace plan quoted above show how ridiculous this is—the division isn't between "appeasers" and "resistors," it is between those of the American capitalist, imperialist class who differ as to HOW to accomplish their ends. Byrnes proposes one way; Wallace another—his plans are those of the more cautious-minded, slower and less grasping section of the ruling class; those not so distantly removed from the people in the monopolist-Big Business stratosphere of Truman. The Wallace tactics and strategy are merely, in this respect, different methods of achieving results—domination of Latin America, domination of Western Europe and joint world administration by Russia and the United States. Wallace, let us never forget, is an outspoken advocate of capitalism, expansionism and division of world markets. His BRAND, not his content, is different.

Furthermore, Wallace represents a great danger for the American working class in that he may attempt to forestall the creation of America's great need—an independent working class, Labor Party. Keen to such a growing trend, and sharp enough to know how such a development would challenge the very capitalism that he advocates, Wallace may well attempt to turn this development aside, in an alliance with the Stalinist Party, into a pro-capitalist, liberal Third Party movement, with himself as Presidential candidate. Such a party would campaign on reviving FDR's program and policy (remember how that led us into World War II?); again, a program of "liberal" capitalism.



Finally, there is the whole question as to whether carrying out of the Wallace program would prevent war. In our opinion, it would not. At best, it would temporarily delay the inevitable disaster. Inevitable, we say, because the present social and economic system of America and Russia must inevitably clash, to determine final mastery. Inevitable, because both systems are expanding exploiting systems that rub and tear and ruffle against one another in every part of the world.

Stalin's Russia is driven by economic forces to constantly expand, to seek new territories for looting and robbing, new peoples to enslave and force into its slave-labor camps. It is an IMPERIALIST power. The same holds true, even though in different ways and guises, for American capitalism, Truman's America. Our economy is also an expanding one, seeking new markets for its products, new areas for investment, new sources of raw materials, etc. America is an IMPERIALIST power. In other words, BOTH social systems are imperialist in nature, despite their many and profound differences. And expanding imperialism, as we know, leads to war. The world is just so big; it is not big enough for Stalin's expanding Russia, and expanding capitalist America, be it of the Truman or Wallace variety.

This, in short, is the basis for our rejection of Wallace and his program, despite the significance of this split in capitalist America.

Internal Crisis Forces Stalin To Begin New Series of Purges

By ALBERT GATES

Under Stalin's signature, a new series of purges have begun in Russia. This time the purges are directed against officials appointed by the Kremlin and the peasant population of the collective farms. The charges against them are similar to those in all previous purges: false interpretation and application of policies laid down by the state, mismanagement, personal enrichment of officials, withholding of grain by peasants, the development of private property ideology among them and failure to meet plan quotas. The present purge follows the purges just carried out in industry, in the field of literature, art and culture, and against the "nationalist elements" in the Ukraine.

It is obvious from a reading of the press dispatches which occasionally break through the thick wall surrounding Stalin's prison called Russia, that the present wave of purges is not an ordinary event. The world has come to look upon Stalin's purges as something normal to Russia. In a measure this is true, for periodic purges are one of the normal attributes of Stalin's dictatorship. But the extent of this purge reveals that the situation is a little more than normal.

ure against mass dissatisfaction. In Russia, purges have presaged a change of line on the part of the régime, usually after discarding a policy that was wrong, or they have been started to force the population to some inhuman effort to meet new goals set by the rulers:

Each successive period of Russian development—especially the contradictory policies adopted by the totalitarian régime, super-industrialization and complete collectivization which produced chaotic conditions in industry and a famine on the land, the victory of Hitler contributed to Stalin's policies, collective security as the antithesis of the long established revolutionary foreign policy of Lenin and Trotsky, the pact with Hitler, the alliance with the "democratic imperialists"—each of these were accompanied by nationwide purges and frame-up trials and the murderous extermination of all friends of the régime as well as opponents and critics.

FIVE REASONS FOR THE PURGES

The new purges have their origin and explanation in the present conditions which pervade Stalin's Russia:

1. The economic devastation brought about by the war and the policies of the régime which rested its hopes (remaining out of the war) on an alliance with Hitler, has brought about a great deterioration in the living conditions of the masses without any hope that they will be easily or quickly ameliorated.

The new Five-Year Plan sets goals far below those of pre-war plans and in the field of consumer goods, less than those called for in the very first Five-Year Plan. This means that the actual living conditions of the masses will remain dimly low for a long time to come. The purges, therefore, are an instrument in forestalling mass outbreaks against the existing conditions by creating mass fear.

2. The devastation of war is not confined to industry, but is equally as severe in agricultural areas. But in addition to the destruction caused by the war, the state-appointed officials in the collective farms, as the industrial managers, have conducted its affairs in the manner of land bosses or plantation owners. The class division between the managers of collectives and the peasants is as

(Continued on page 6)

Labor Action Reporter Interviews Hukbalahap Leader

Taruc Explains Aims of Philippine Peasant Army

By FRANK WARD

The press reports that Luis Taruc, commander-in-chief of the Hukbalahaps (Philippine peasant movement), is now being hunted down by the American Big Business-dominated Roxas administration which recently assumed power in the Philippines.

Last September, this writer had the opportunity to interview this almost legendary figure.

I met Luis Taruc in September, 1945, two days after he walked out of an American military prison. He was free after seven months of confinement, because the workers and peasants of Luzon had gathered 50,000 strong in Manila to protest his continued imprisonment. It was the president of the committee for labor organization, genial, small-statured Manuel Joven who informed me of the history of the Hukbalahaps and who arranged for my interview with Taruc.

BACKGROUND OF THE HUKS

The Hukbalahap was an organization formed during the Japanese occupation by the Philippine peasants, most of whom had been members of the National Peasants Union before the war. Its first leader was killed in action and Taruc, who had been assistant commander, took over.

In short, terse sentences Joven described the heroic struggle of the Hukbalahaps for freedom. Years of

living in water-filled rice paddies, countless sorties and pitched battles between half naked peasants and well trained Japanese soldiers. As most of the landlords had fled the peasants took over the land and worked the land of Pompanya not for the Japanese but for the hill fighters. "The only sizable crop the Japanese could not confiscate," Joven said. Through all this Taruc led the Huks successfully.

"When the Americans landed at Manila," Joven had continued, "it was the Huks who liberated the whole of central Luzon down to San Fernando, forty five miles from Manila. But the day the Americans reached San Fernando, Luis Taruc and fifteen of the leaders of the Hukbalahap and hundreds of their followers were jailed by the American military police."

"What was the charge?" I had exclaimed.

Manuel Joven, at the present time himself jailed by the police of Roxas, smiled wanly: "there were no charges brought against either Taruc or the others. It was our mass meeting that freed Taruc. The military police have given no reason for the arrest or the release."

PICTURE OF TARUC

As I sat impatiently in the parlor of Taruc's house, along with several members of the Committee for Labor Organization, I wondered what Taruc would be like. I was not prepared

for the eager, wet haired collegiate looking man who bounded down the stairs in a white T-shirt with a white towel sprawled across his shoulders. He was alive, jovial, talkative—all smiles. He greeted everyone, strode to the couch and sat down with one leg tucked up under him. He turned to me, brown eyes eager and alert.

"What is happening in the American labor movement? Are the unions making gains? What does the working class think of Philippine independence? I have so little time to read—"

I answered his questions as best I could but I could only begin to satisfy his hunger for information. "What are the conditions in the shops? Has the war destroyed collective bargaining? What was the meaning of the No-Strike Pledge?"

The man was omnivorous in his interest. Even as he spoke he reached across for a book I held on my lap. It was John Reed's "Ten Days That Shook the World" in Spanish. Taruc who has been "socialist" and was now working in close harmony with the Communist Party had never read "Ten Days."

"We must keep our arms," he replied quietly. "When a peasant has a rifle in his hand, the landowner does not beat him across the back with a bamboo rod. Nor can the landowner force the armed peasant to work under starvation conditions. The best and largest share of his crop goes to the peasant only so long as he has a rifle. The instant we give up our arms, the landowner will re-institute the vicious exploitation of pre-war days. Secondly, the possession of arms assures us our political rights. Our political organizations, labor and peasants' unions, would have long since been destroyed if the capitalist class had not feared our guns. These guns, which we seized in battle from the Japanese, we will keep."

"You speak of Japanese arms," I said. "Didn't you receive arms from the Americans during the Japanese occupation?"

THE AMERICAN OFFER

Taruc leaned forward and said crisply, "They offered us guns and ammunition. Two American intelligence officers contacted us during the occupation and said that there was an American submarine in Subic Bay with equipment and supplies. They were ours, said these officers, if we would accept an American commander. This we could not do as it would subordinate us politically to the American imperialists. Our struggle was directed against

the Japanese but at the same time we were against the Americans who were also fighting an imperialist war and who would restore the landowners to their property. This was not an idle fear, for that is the role, played by the American Army since 'liberation.' We did not get the much needed supplies."

"What do you propose to do about the expropriated land?" I asked.

"We will not tolerate the return of those landowners who fled or collaborated with the Japanese. From those who remained we demand a larger share of the crop to the peasant."

"What role does the Hukbalahap intend to play in the elections?" "The peasants in the Hukbalahap which is a military organization, will participate through the National Peasants Union and the Democratic Alliance."

POLITICAL POLICY OF HUKS

"That is our big problem," replied Taruc. "We cannot for too long maintain this equilibrium, this skirmishing with the Philippine and American capitalist class. Roxas promises to exterminate us and if he is elected, with the support of the American Army, he will undoubtedly attempt to do so. The Democratic Alliance tends to support Osmena the lesser of two evils. We have already conferred with him..." "But then you will be supporting

a capitalist candidate," I broke in. "If you refused arms in the midst of battle why do you now blur the class alignment and substitute class collaboration for independent political action by the workers and peasants? How can you ask for support to Osmena? Did he not keep you in jail for seven months? Did he utter a word against the practices of the American Army? Will he permit the peasants to keep their arms? Did he not sign the bill to give backpay to the collaborator congress?"

At this moment we were interrupted by a reporter from a Philippine newspaper, a sympathizer and former underground fighter with the Huks. He was excited and bore important news of a private nature. It was weeks before I could again pose the question of support to Osmena before Taruc. As I rose to take my leave Taruc asked me to come to San Fernando, Pompana to see a mass meeting in celebration of the release of the Hukbalahap leaders. I promised to come.

(To be continued)

SEE PAGE SIX

For an interesting review of the much-discussed book, "Animal Farm," a feature you won't want to miss.



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. 39

September 30, 1946

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Subscription Rate: \$1.00 a Year; 50c for 6 Mos. (\$1.25 and 65c for Canada, Foreign) Re-entered as Second Class Matter, May 24, 1940, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. Under the Act of March 3, 1874

Editorials

Stalin's Army Changes Name

An Associated Press dispatch reports that the Russian government has officially announced a change in name of its army and navy. They are no longer to be referred to as the Red Army and Red Navy, but are now rather to be called Soviet Army and Soviet Navy.

This change of name is one of those bits of partial verbal justice which is somehow always belatedly arrived at. For many years now the Stalinist Russian army has been an arm of a totalitarian and counter-revolutionary bureaucracy; it has, under the control of the Stalinist bureaucracy, been used to invade Poland in conjunction with Hitler's army; it has been used to suppress the Russian workers and to terrorize all internal dissidents and opposition.

This army—which at one time was the spearhead of the world movement for liberty when, under the inspired leadership of Leon Trotsky, it stood for world socialism and functioned on the basis of social equality and revolutionary fraternity—has by now been thoroughly bureaucratized in its internal régime. Where once, under Lenin and Trotsky, there was equality between officer and soldier in social and political relationship, today Stalin's army has reinstated the most vicious forms of class distinctions between the

The Case of McKenny and Minton

The Daily Worker, official organ of the Communist (Stalinist) Party of the United States, announces the expulsion of Ruth McKenny, author of the best seller "My Sister Eileen," her author husband, Bruce Minton, and Verne Smith, old-time party member and a former editor of the Daily Worker. The charges against them are that they opposed the new party "line."

In the case of McKenny and Minton, it was said that they opposed the party thesis that it was possible to win the peace under capitalism and they argued that war is inevitable under capitalism. The statement on their expulsion also stated that they wanted a "class conscious" labor party. Verne Smith is charged with being a "leftist" and following a "Trotskyist line," that is, a militant policy in the labor movement.

We are in no position to comment on the actual ideas advocated by these people because we have not seen their writings or resolutions. We know nothing of what they stand for except that they are in opposition to the line of the party. In the totalitarian Stalinist movement that means expulsion and excommunication. You cannot disagree with the Stalinist line, no matter how quickly or often it is revised or how contradictory it may be; no matter if on one day you advocated the policy of one leader (Browder's) and on the very next tried to continue it when that leader was summarily ousted and expelled from the party.

Those who expected that the expulsion of the opportunist Browder would mean a fundamental change in the Stalinist line, a return to the old abandoned revolutionary,

top officer ranks and the common soldier. The Stalinist army is but a reflection of the internal social process in Russia itself: the process which grants increased political-social privilege to the top bureaucrats while depriving the workers of all rights and standards.

Action of the Workers Party and LABOR ACTION long ago ceased designating the Russian army as a Red Army. For we know that it is not a revolutionary, not a Red army. And so we feel that the dropping of the title Red Army is all to the good, for it helps clear the air. The use of the name "Soviet," however, is no more appropriate than "Red"—the Russian army is neither.

One ironic footnote to this situation: Our contemporaries of the Socialist Workers Party and its newspaper, The Militant, have continued to refer to Stalin's army as a Red Army up until the present day. This misnomer has been spread by them largely because of their false political position in favor of defense of Stalinist Russia. Now that Stalin himself has dropped the title Red Army, will The Militant belatedly follow suit and cease miseducating its readers by referring to the Russian Army as the Red Army? Or will it continue to use the false titles misappropriated by the Stalinists and refer to it as the "Soviet" Army?

militant policy, are surprised to find that the new line is very uneven: a militant policy in the unions, an opportunist pro-capitalist policy in politics. This merely confirms what we have always said about the Stalinist Party: it is an agent of the Kremlin; its policies conform to the needs of Stalin's foreign policies. It suits Stalin today for the American Stalinists to pursue a militant policy on the economic field and thus threaten and blackmail the government to adopt an "appeasing" foreign policy toward Russia. At the same time this calls for a policy of seeking political alliances in the Democratic Party to prevent that ruling party from lining up solidly with the more determined U. S. imperialist opponents of Russian imperialism.

Thus, the American Communist Party pursues an imperialist policy, completely subordinated to Moscow, and cannot tolerate the slightest differences of opinion within its ranks. The effort made to paint William Z. Foster with a leftist brush fails completely. It is obvious that the switch to him was made because Browder was so compromised that the present policies could not have been inaugurated under his auspices.

The McKenny, Minton and Smith expulsions, however, reveal that underneath the heavy bureaucratic crust that covers the Stalinist Party, dissatisfaction takes place even to the point of struggle against the leadership and its policies. There are thousands of militant workers in that party who can and must be won away from its counter-revolutionary, anti-working class environment.

WORLD POLITICS

POLAND, under the domination of the Stalinist army but with great masses of workers and peasants obviously in active revolt against the Russian-battered puppet government, is one of the key spots on the European political map. The current crisis is coming to a head over the insistent drive which the puppet government has been making to force Mikolajczyk, leader of the Peasant Party opposition, to agree to a "single slate" in the coming elections.

For all evidence points to the fact that the Stalinist rulers of Poland are seriously worried about the outcome of these elections. They suffered a rude shock from the result of the recent plebiscite which they announced as favorable to the government, but which, it is now commonly accepted, was manipulated by them to avoid showing the actual anti-government majority.

In the September 2 issue of LABOR ACTION, our foreign correspondent, A. Rudziński, who specializes in Polish affairs, gave a detailed analysis proving that the government actually falsified the results of the plebiscite in its favor. Now we learn the additional bit of news from the London Tribune that "The recent plebiscite on government policy took place under extraordinary conditions. A 'No' after the three questions had to be marked by a dash (minus), a 'Yes' by a cross (plus). As most electoral commissions contained no opposition representatives, it was child's play to turn dashes into crosses." Child's play is putting it mildly.

Yet the plebiscite gave the Stalinists a scare. Proof of that is in two facts. About a month ago, the so-called "Socialist" Premier, Osobka-Morawski, signed a series of three articles in the Polish press which some literate GPU agent undoubtedly wrote for him, urging once again that Mikolajczyk—whom the government had only yesterday denounced as a traitor!—come to an agreement with the government parties for a "joint slate" in the coming elections. In this way there would be no means by which the voters could express their opposition to the Stalinist government; the number of seats in the Parliament would be apportioned in advance and the election would be a mere formality.

LATEST STALINIST FLIRTATIONS

Even more significant than the Stalinists' renewed overtures to Mikolajczyk—the virulent attacks on him in the pro-government press have been muted to a few hoarse mutters—is the basis on which they appeal to him. Osobka-Morawski, and behind him the GPU man who guides his pen, is no longer threatening Mikolajczyk; he is plainly imploring him to be reasonable. He tells Mikolajczyk that an electoral victory gained by the opposition over the government would bring about Russian intervention of a kind which would reduce Poland to a virtual colony. It is a plea... and a warning.

Another indication of the uneasy status of the Polish Stalinists is their recent flirtation with sections of

the Catholic Church. The infamous Cardinal Hlond, fascist and anti-Semite, is frankly in opposition to the Stalinist government from the point of view of the old landowners, who would like a return to a Pilsudski-like dictatorship; but there is another tendency in the Catholic hierarchy which is flirting, however sedately, with the Stalinists. Cardinal Sapieha of Cracow has written in his weekly Tygodnik Powszechny, that he would like to participate in the "constructive work" of the Stalinist government but that certain difficulties stand in the way. The Stalinists have greeted this declaration with careful interest; the weakness of their base among the Polish masses has become so obvious that they are looking in all directions for buttresses.

In the meantime, the economic crisis in the country becomes sharper. The London Tribune reports that "Free market food prices in the towns... are four times higher than formerly. The sudden rise in the basic cost of living has produced a series of unofficial strikes in the textile and mining industries... State factories have been compelled to buy food at market prices and sell it in their canteens at highly subsidized prices; industrial costs, which are high because production is still so slow, have since increased. Shortages and high prices of industrial goods in turn have increased the peasants' tendency to hoard."

INCREASING INSTABILITY OF REGIME

Together with economic disorganization goes political instability. We have already mentioned several indications that the Stalinists are jittery about the forthcoming elections. There are still others. In early August the government initiated a drive to destroy the armed bands of the illegal opposition. The clashes have in some areas reached the proportions of a small-scale civil war, but the opposition has not been crushed.

Having failed thus far in the use of armed force, the government tried cajolery toward another section of the opposition. When, in early August, the Catholic "Labor Party" applied for permission to hold a party congress, the government consented if... the Catholic group would agree in advance to participate in a single ticket electoral bloc. Rather than agree, the Catholic party refused to hold its congress.

These developments are the latest in a long series which indicate that the present Polish government would collapse in a week if Russian army bayonets were withdrawn. There is no space here to analyze in detail the political situation in Poland; that has been excellently done in the September issue of The New Internationalist. The facts reported in this column, however, give additional evidence to the assertion that a first-rate political crisis is brewing in Poland in which large sections of the masses are stirring to rid themselves of the tyrannical puppets whom the Stalinist army has placed over them.—I. H.

Books You Should Know...

SAINT JOAN, by George Bernard Shaw. Penguin Books, 25 cents.

By EUGENE VICTOR

George Bernard Shaw seared the bourgeois pretensions at morality with crackling fires of inextinguishable wit. He was not really much of an artist. But either kind of rebel, when he is possessed of a remarkably deft creative ability, can burst the inflated notions with which capitalist society prides itself in its moral progress. That is why the Penguin edition of *Saint Joan* is a wonderful addition to the expanding pile of 25 cent books.

This play of Shaw's is a devastating attack against any number of the ideological facets of modern society; against the romantic theory of history, against the theory of male superiority, against crude materialism, against the Catholic Church, against the theory that bourgeois society is notable for its humanity, and against the Hollywood concept of physical action as the essence of great drama. As is usually the case in a play by Shaw, these piercing missiles are directed by a double-barreled gun.

THE STORY OF JOAN

The story is the fascinating narrative of the young Joan of Arc who left the domestic duties of a woman of her father's household, donned the armor of a French warrior, bullied men of position into equipping her for great military expeditions, brought a theretofore victorious British army to its knees and, as a fitting reward for her genius, was burned at the stake after being convicted of heresy by the Inquisition.

It is in the bare outline of the story that Shaw diverges from the course taken by the romantic historian who believes that the great achievements of governments, armies, movements and ideologies were made possible primarily by individuals of genius.

The essence of Shaw's delineation of Saint Joan is that she was undoubtedly a woman of genius and that she made her appearance at a time when France was desperately in need of an inspired military leader. The implication in Shaw's work is that because the historical moment cried aloud for Saint Joan's leadership, the fact that she was a woman AND a genius (two qualities which together must have been greatly irritating and agonizing to the archbishops and the nobility), did not prevent her from achieving military and diplomatic successes. As quickly as the need of the historical moment had been satisfied, however, Joan was

abandoned to the notorious "mercies" of the Inquisition.

Thus at one stroke does Shaw destroy both the myth that Joan's mission was supernaturally inspired, and the romantic interpretation of this historical episode. Feudal France exploited and then destroyed the genius; the genius was at the mercy of the world in which she was born.

FOIBLES AND CHARACTERS

The adherents of the idea of male superiority are treated with a most marvelous sense of the ironic throughout the play. Joan is not represented as a woman actually directed by voices from God. The voices are given a most modern psychological interpretation, especially in Shaw's clever preface. They are represented as very apt judgments. Because of her vivid imagination and her poetic kind of religion, Joan hears these judgments from mental images who appeal to her as saints carrying messages from God. Since it was questionable in the minds of those who recorded the history of Joan's time that a young sliver of a girl could make such quick and remarkable decisions, Joan's fantasies are accepted with her interpretation of them. By making it clear that the voices from God are merely superior judgments, Shaw makes a clever thrust at the theory of male superiority and also at the Inquisition, which destroyed Saint Joan because she insisted that God spoke directly to her instead of through the medium of the church.

By representing individuals of the nobility and the clergy as complex and even sympathetic human beings rather than as scoundrels, Shaw makes it quite clear that this episode is not simply a matter of good versus evil. Cauchon, the bishop of Beauvais, is a quite likable man who is forced to reason by the logic of a churchman and therefore becomes the instrument of Joan's destruction. The Earl of Warwick is forced into a position which the audience finds despicable because Warwick quite consciously defends those institutions of feudalism which Joan exploits and endangers.

All this is the work of a master playwright. At the age of ninety, George Bernard Shaw has already been canonized: in the eyes of the bourgeois journalists he is an institution. This is perhaps so because it is easier to canonize the man than his work. As a man, Shaw is today the successful artist, wealthy, respectable, even conventional. His work, however, remains a biting and devastating comment on bourgeois concepts of morality, on bourgeois values, and on the bourgeois world. Shaw's work makes a mockery of the Philistines. It is therefore to the artistic work, and not to the man, that we must look for inspiration.

U. S. SUPPLIED MUSSOLINI'S WAR MACHINE WITH VITAL SCRAP STEEL

A large import for the steel industry has always been scrap steel, "the bulk of this commodity coming from the U. S. and France." (Survey of Italian Industry, UNRRA, August 16.) Before the Second World War, U. S. and French "democratic" capitalism was a most important help to fascism.

It is well known that liquid fuel, which Italy lacks almost entirely, was furnished the fascists during the Ethiopian war by the U. S. and Russia. "Democratic" England and "poor suffering" Poland supplied coal.

For the many soldiers who were shot by guns and bullets manufactured from steel scrap sold by the U. S. to fascist Italy—at a good profit!—the following picture of steel imports from 1930 to 1939 (U. S. and France combined) should prove instructive:

IMPORTS OF STEEL SCRAP, 1930-39		
Year	Tons	
1930	855,383	
1935	989,996	
1936	400,423	
1937	545,254	
1938	615,539	
1939	606,000	

When it is considered that total steel production in those years was slightly in excess of 2,000,000 tons yearly it can be seen how important this scrap was to Mussolini's war machine.

As it supplied Japan with 93 per cent of her munitions imports from 1931 to 1941, so Roosevelt and U. S. imperialism supplied fascism in Italy.—J. A.

Stalinists Nab Youth In Germany

The following report is reprinted in part from the August 24 issue of the Neue Volkzeitung, German-language paper of Social-Democratic tendency, published in America. It confirms reports coming from Germany regarding mass removals of young German boys by the Russian occupiers.—Editor.

Hamburg, August 11, 1946.

Strange and disturbing news has come out of the Russian occupation zone of Germany. Newspapers here are reporting about it on the first page, in heavy letters. There is no reason to doubt the correctness of these reports. They come from various sources and all deal with the same subject—a mass kidnapping of youth, apparently with definite political-military goals.

In the Eastern zone, German boys are now simply carried off the streets by force, by the Russian military. Those abducted are boys, thirteen to seventeen years of age. They are often barefoot and wearing only their shirts and pants. Such a manhunt for German boys was announced during the last weeks by the districts of Spreewald, Sprenberg, Kottbus and Luckau. In the district of Luebben it has been established that 203 children were forcefully abducted. In the district of Kalau the list of missing persons indicates the names of 134 youths, of whom every trace is missing.

Some of the mothers, as they relate in their report to the German authorities, saw their children once more briefly, after their disappearance. That was when, on their trip to the unknown strange future, they rode once more in a group transport in trucks through their native village. The desperate women screamed; some threw themselves before the trucks. But they were driven away by the warning shots that were fired by the accompanying troops. From the youths, nothing has been seen nor heard since then.

Excited mothers and fathers then went to the local Russian commanders. Those sent them away to the local "party bureau" which means of course the SED (Socialist Unity of Germany—liaison-forced unity party of Stalinists and Social Democrats), without allowing themselves to get involved in the affair. The district leadership of the SED rudely turned the parents away. They had nothing to do with it.

The mothers of the kidnapped boys have now sent a delegation to Berlin, which has applied first to the International Red Cross. This mother delegation has presented lists of the kidnapped boys from which it is evident that what is at stake here is a centrally ordered mass action. Apparently thousands of youths in the Eastern zone have become victims of this human-robbery campaign. Up to now it is established that single abductions were already taking place since fall, 1945. But only during the last few weeks has this mass kidnapping campaign been systematically carried on.

The central authorities and the youth office of Berlin—both notoriously under communistic control—have refused to concern themselves with this matter. It does not fall into their sphere of activity.

The parents are convinced that the youths are being forcefully abducted, so that they can be indoctrinated "in a new Weltanschauung"—the communistic (read: Stalinist) one, of course. From the Hitler Jugend to the barracks of the Konsole. This direct force exceeds by far the terror of the Hitler period. Then, the children were pressed into the Hitler Jugend through indirect intimidation. They remained at home, at any rate; the Nazi influence on mental and spiritual activity was the only result. Thus, not even the Nazi tyranny, indeed not very selective in its means, has made use of such brutal and primitive kidnapping means.

Among the afflicted mothers are also those who have already lost their husbands and older sons in the war, and for whom disappears now, together with their fifteen-year-old youngest child, their last hope and support. This is a form of slavery which has not been known in civilized Europe for over a thousand years.

ITALIAN PEOPLE SADDLED WITH HUGE FASCIST DEBT

By JACK ARMOR

One of the very best proofs of the continuation of rule of Italy by the very same industrialists who supported fascism is the non-repudiation of the deficits incurred by the fascist régime. Instead these deficits were carried over to the new capitalist government and are of monstrous size. The CP, SP and Christian Democrats, all calling themselves "workers' parties," have accepted these deficits and are making wondrous efforts to meet these capitalist-fascist obligations out of taxes imposed on the workers.

The 1936-39 war in Spain exhausted Italy financially. Her participation in World War II as Germany's satellite finished Italy's financial ruin. At the end of the 1943-44 fiscal year the new capitalist government had inherited the 490 billion lire deficit (\$19,600,000,000 at the pre-war rate), a staggering sum for a country so weak industrially, so smashed by war. The national debt had risen from 92 billion lire in 1922 to 405 billion in June, 1943, plus another 100 billion liabilities which are listed as "carried forward." Bank of Italy note circulation had risen from 20 billion in 1922 to 161 billion in February, 1943. The 561 tons of gold held in the Bank of Italy plus stocks of foreign currencies was found to have dwindled mysteriously to only 100 tons in September, 1943, when the Nazis seized the gold.

To the inflation which the Italian workers are suffering under, the Allied imperialists added their own device for wiping out the value of the lire. While the Germans in the North were sucking out a 10 billion lire a month occupation cost, the Allies did not charge a fixed occupation cost. They simply printed Allied Military Government currency and forced it to be accepted in exchange for all goods. Estimates place the total at 100 billion lire, all of which Italy will have to redeem—and this means primarily the Italian workers.

Italy thus has the rare distinction of being probably the first country to bear the costs of five armies at the same time: the German, the Republican Fascist, her own and the two occupation armies of Britain and America.

IN NEXT WEEK'S ISSUE OF LABOR ACTION:

THE GROWTH OF MONOPOLY IN AMERICA By Mary Bell

ARE THE ATOMIC SCIENTISTS RESPONSIBLE? By Irving Howe

THE NEW TERROR IN GREECE By Tom Tanakos

A FURTHER ANALYSIS OF WALLACE'S POLITICS By Albert Gates

THE POWER LABOR HAS SHOWN By Susan Green

REPORTS FROM RECENT UNION CONVENTIONS

Read and Subscribe to Labor's Fighting Paper

Economics Behind Racial Struggle in the South

By DAVID COOLIDGE

In these articles I have discussed many aspects of the problem which is known as "The South." I have discussed this problem as it is connected and related to the AFL and CIO organization campaign. All of the questions discussed, and many more which have not been mentioned, are an integral part of the very difficult task of getting the workers of the South organized into trades unions.

Liberals, particularly Northern liberals, are wont to lay great emphasis on the demagogic and inflammatory character of the political and economic propaganda carried on by the Southern politicians. It is necessary to emphasize who these politicians are from the standpoint of their social origins. We have already discussed their connection with Northern capitalism and the bloc they have with the chief political representatives of Northern capitalism in both the Republican and Democratic Parties.

This brazen alliance is extremely significant and cannot be emphasized too strongly. Northern Republicans continue to speak of themselves as the "party of Lincoln." By this they say that they are the party of freedom and progress. They also proclaim in their election platforms that "the Republican Party is historically the friend of labor." It is with this sort of demagogic propaganda that the Republicans obscure not only the

real historic role of Lincoln as the head of the party of triumphant Northern capitalism, but at the same time they obscure the present bankruptcy of capitalism and the extremely reactionary character of the present Republican Party.

Northern Democrats participate in this deception and the two together make a bloc with the most reactionary and bombastic Southern blackguards. This is all in the interest of Northern monopoly capitalism; that is to say, in the interest of U. S. monopoly capitalism.

THE CONFLICT IN THE SOUTH

While there is a conflict in the South between the big planters and the Southern and Northern industrialists, this conflict is merely a struggle between these two sections of the ruling class for priority in the exploitation of the Southern toilers. The Southern Talmadges, Arnalls and Bilbos serve one or the other or both masters. Simultaneously, however, each in his own way seeks to enhance his own local economic, political and social independence and prestige. Each seeks, therefore, to build a political machine and to become a part of the native Southern economic groups. They must have something to sell to their masters. The most potent article to put up for sale is the political support of the masses and control of State Legislatures and City Councils.

The Southern political oligarchy

retains its control over the masses by the time-honored shibboleths of "white supremacy," "the protection of Southern white womanhood," "the South is the best friend of the Negro" and by all the variegated hypocrisies of the "damnyankee" theme. The Yankees they oppose are the Northern liberals who from time to time speak out against the "peculiar institutions" of the South. Even the majority of the so-called Southern liberals are also in opposition to the position taken by outspoken Northern liberals.

There is really no basic difference in the approach to the social questions of the South between that of Bilbo and Talmadge and that of the bulk of the Southern liberals. The Arnalls, Peppers, Alsops, Daniels and Ethridges are in unison with the Talmadges, Bilbos, Eastlands and Rankins on the all-basic question of political, social and economic equality for Negroes. There is also no significant difference between the two groups on the matter of the exploitation of the working class, black and white, the maintenance of "white supremacy" and domination through the indoctrination of the "poor whites" with race superiority notions.

Neither the Southern "liberals" nor the outright reactionaries, of course, have any genuine equalitarian ideas in relation to the masses, white or black. One aspect of the dispute takes place around the question of whether the exploitation of the masses

shall be concentrated on the plantations or in the factories.

NEGROES AS LABOR FORCE

The crux of the problem is the presence in the South of more than ten million Negroes. Historically and socially, the Negroes are a far more important factor in the labor force than they are in the North. Black, not white, labor is the cornerstone of the Southern economy. We have discussed the peculiarities of this outmoded economy with its emphasis on manual operations and its technological primitiveness. It is a low-wage economy, one which can persist only at a low cultural level, on the basis of a strict separation of black and white, the brutalization of the white masses and the degradation of the Negro. Above all it is imperative for the maintenance of this system that the Negro be kept available for labor in the fields, swamps, forests, mines, quarries and for the many common labor and menial tasks which predominate in the South.

This is the real meaning of the multitudinous anti-Negro laws, rules, regulations and customs of the South. When the illiterate and unwashed old man Adair of Monroe, Ga., tells a PM reporter that he knew a Negro who cooked his own father's head and ate it, he is only saying in his own stupid and revolting way that Negroes should be confined to all the hard, dangerous, undesirable and poorly paid jobs; that they should be kept herded in shanty-towns, shot

down if they attempt to vote and lynched in order to keep them in their place. But what Adair says in the only manner he knows is, in effect, what white Southern leaders say and do.

CONTINUATION OF THE PAST

What takes place in the South today is a continuation, with differences wrought by changing times, of the attitude of the South to the slave régime. Peonage is a substitute for chattel slavery. Wages, particularly for Negroes, are kept as near to the unpaid labor system of slavery as possible. In the rural areas the planter is a law unto himself in his relation to Negroes. Bilbo, Talmadge, Eastland and Rankin are worthy successors to Tillman, Bleese, Vardaman and Tom Watson. They too are the saviors of white racial purity just as were Tillman and his blatherskite contemporaries. On the other side, that is, among the "liberals," we find Arnall functioning as a successor to John Temple Graves and making an all-out struggle for the industrialization of the South.

The whole intricate problem as to what the South is and how it got to be that way has been obscured by a high degree of emotionalism, ignorance, nonsense, demagoguery, unscientific theory and downright lying. To this must be added the fact that a great deal of this rationalization has been made possible by virtue of the ease with which Negroes can be identified and also by the difficulty of

identification in the case of the so-called "white Negroes." The difficulty is enhanced when it is realized that relatively few people have an adequate knowledge of the South: its history, laws, customs and its economy. Most of what is written about the South by Southern writers is biased, apologetic, trivial, emotional or impressionistic. What is produced in the North is often similar or woefully inadequate.

This is borne out in what is often written and spoken about slavery and the socio-political system of the South today. A majority of the disputants, white and black, do not properly evaluate the South as an integral part of capitalism in the U. S. and the role this section has played in the development of American capitalism. In another article, which will be the last in this series, I will discuss these questions.

Russia Squeezes Slave Labor Out of Hungary

By CARL DAVIS

In an Associated Press report hidden away in the newspapers, we read that Russia has proposed to take 30,000 Hungarian workers as part payment for reparations claimed by those two countries. These 30,000 workers would be employed in Russia and Yugoslavia until the reparations claimed by them are paid off. The Stalinist Communist Party of Hungary supported this proposal as did the Stalinist-controlled Socialist Party.

The proposal for "reparations labor" is merely a dressed up word for slave labor, for that is the essence of the Russian proposal. The whole incident calls attention to the worldwide growth of a new phenomenon which rises from the decaying social order of capitalism, and the brutal bureaucratic collectivist dictatorship in Russia.

Marxian socialism has described the worker in capitalist society as a "free" worker. In its scientific, social sense, this means that the worker is "free" from the ownership of property in the "means of production": factories, machinery, land; that he owns only his labor power, his ability to work, which he sells to the boss in return for wages. In other words, the worker is only nominally free. He is, in reality, a wage slave because the social organization of capitalism makes it necessary for the worker to sell himself to the boss or else to starve.

Nevertheless, as compared to previous society, slavery and feudalism—the worker is "free." His body is not owned as a chattel; he can return home after his work, move to another city, or quit his job for another. In recent years, however, the worker has become less and less free as capitalism finds it less and less possible to function normally and progressively. The decay of capitalism and the difficulty of extorting profits has increased a world-wide tendency toward slave labor in which all forms of freedom are obliterated.

DECLINE OF "FREE" LABOR

Imperialism has enslaved the colonial world and in many parts of the world actual slave labor exists. But nowhere in the world does slave labor exist so extensively as in Stalin's Russia.

Russia has become the biggest slave state in the world. Although it is impossible to obtain accurate figures of the number of slaves in the convict labor camps, it has been estimated at between ten and seventeen million. State officials, party members, workers and peasants make up the population in the slave camps. Initiated as a political weapon against opponents, the slave camps in Russia have become an indispensable adjunct of the Russian economy.

What kind of labor do these camps engage in? Every kind. They build factories, work in them, clear

swamps, forests and build roads; they work on railroads and in mines, and they work in the fields. The slave camps are under the constant surveillance of the secret police fully armed with a variety of weapons. The slave laborers receive a minimum of food, within echo-call of starvation, and a minimum of clothes. They live in barracks whose conditions beggar description. And the slave laborers work until they die. It is as simple as that. There is no medical relief for their sickness; their is no rest from labor.

Some fortunate ones return from these camps as marked persons. Almost all die there after a few years. But the supply is inexhaustible. The periodic purges contribute new slave laborers. The occupied countries, especially Poland, are another source of replenishing the camps. Russia's victory in the war and the conquest of new territories was still another supply source for the bureaucracy which rules over the Russian people.

THE NEW SLAVE LABORERS

Thus, the camps are filled with opponents of the régime, recalcitrant workers and peasants, officials who have erred in judgment or expressed doubts about some policy or other of the régime and "potential" enemies of the state. In the latter category fall most of slave laborers of the occupied countries, Baltics, Poles, Rumanians and Germans.

Fascist Germany under Hitler also developed slave labor camps to a high degree following the pattern molded by Stalin. But even in Nazi Germany, many of the foreign laborers were hired and paid wages. Tens of thousands came willingly, other tens of thousands were forced to work there, while still other tens of thousands were actually slave workers.

The war only accentuated this tendency inherent in the social decay of modern society. The French enslaved German prisoners of war long after the war has ended. Every power uses slave labor in one form or another. It therefore comes as no surprise at all that Stalin demands Hungarian workers as slaves to pay off reparations assessed against that country. And this fact alone testifies that reparations are a system of economic enrichment against defeated countries, enrichment which comes out of the blood, sweat and tears of the masses of workers and peasants who had nothing to do with the war. It also bears out the imperialist, slave character of the war itself.

It may be argued that 30,000 Hungarians are not a great number. But this is only a beginning, and overlooks Russia, Germany and Eastern Europe. It overlooks the social pattern. How many Germans have been transported to Russia? How many men, women and children have been torn from their homes and families to become slaves to Stalin's régime? Nobody knows, except the Kremlin rulers.

Capitalist Intrigue Runs Riot As--

Henry Wallace Proposes to Divide the World

By J. R. JOHNSON

It will be remembered that the press almost unanimously went haywire over the sight of Truman endorsing Byrnes' "tough" policy with Russia and at the same time giving the okay to a speech by Wallace criticizing Byrnes.

LABOR ACTION refused to be drawn into speculation as to how and why this had happened. We tried to make it clear that both policies, however much they differed, were but variations of the imperialist policy of the U. S.

We do not, however, entirely ignore the differences between the leaders of the ruling class. And certain aspects of this Wallace-Truman episode are full of instruction and warnings. The liberal press in particular preoccupied itself with what had happened and how it had happened. They fastened on Truman's "personality" and Truman's "stupidity" compared with the "wisdom" of the late President Roosevelt.

WHAT RUMORS MEAN

Amid the crop of rumors there stood out an article by the usually well-informed and capable Arthur Krock of the New York Times.

Krock threw some of the blame for the chaos and confusion upon Truman's "personality." Truman, it was said, had listened to sections of the speech only. Wallace had not read the whole speech to him. These bits he had endorsed. But when the newspaper men at his first conference began to bait him, he was anxious to show that they could not

make trouble between him and his Secretary of Commerce. He therefore gave the impression that he had heard and endorsed the whole speech. Hence came the confusion.

This may or may not be true. What is true is this: Since the last week in July, Truman had in his possession a letter from Wallace which strongly criticized Byrnes' policy. Not only that, Truman had asked for views on foreign policy from his cabinet. It is clear, therefore, that Truman was not dependent upon what Wallace read to him in order to know Wallace's views. Furthermore, we now know that Byrnes had read Wallace's letter many weeks ago. Thus it is inconceivable to this writer that Truman did not know what Wallace thought about foreign policy.

WHAT TRUMAN FACES

Finally, we now know that two hours before the speech was delivered, Clayton of the State Department informed Truman that the speech would seriously embarrass Byrnes. Truman did nothing.

Thus the idea that Truman did not know what Wallace was going to say seems to fall to the ground. In any case, it does not matter.

Instead of getting tangled up in speculation as to whether Truman is a moron or is lazy, or obstinate, or other psychological investigations, the workers would benefit greatly by looking at the difficulties in which Truman finds himself, and which are a far more reasonable explanation of his contradictory behavior. For example:

Truman has to support Byrnes in Paris. But he has to do something about Wallace at home. There is an election coming. Wallace "represents" the labor and New Deal elements in the Cabinet. It is possible that Wallace, recognizing his strength and feeling the pressure of his supporters, insists upon being allowed to express his views. Truman may be afraid to antagonize the votes Wallace is supposed to represent.

On the other hand, Truman may be anxious to get rid of Wallace. He may wish to appoint another New Dealer not so tied up with the Rooseveltian past. He may be afraid of a going to the right in the electorate. Under such circumstances he would allow Wallace to make the speech and then watch carefully public reaction. According to this, he would know exactly what to do with Wallace. It is an old trick.

Is Truman plotting to get Wallace on a spot where he will be able to say: "Under these circumstances, you cannot remain in the Cabinet any longer?" It is not impossible. Listen to this:

ABOUT PEARSON'S LETTER

Pearson, the newspaper correspondent, receives a copy of Wallace's first letter from the State Department.

Truman informs Wallace through Ross, White House press secretary, that he does not wish the letter to be published. This is at four o'clock. At 5:30, Cotton, Wallace's press secretary, tells the press that the White House has agreed to publication. The White House, however, neither ap-

proves nor disapproves. It merely authorizes release.

At 6:30 the United Press states that Mr. Truman approved the release. At 6:50 United Press orders that the 6:30 statement be deleted. At seven o'clock, Ross; White House secretary, states that Mr. Truman had specifically "disapproved" of the release. But by this time it was too late to stop publication. Ross called the whole thing a "misunderstanding."

Good. Suppose it is. But one cannot help seeing that this "misunderstanding" results in the publication of a highly explosive document, an intensification of the scandal, and greater difficulties than ever in the Cabinet, if Truman wants to clear him out.

WHAT LABOR SHOULD DO

Today we learn that Wallace will keep his mouth shut until after the Paris Conference. Thus there is a compromise. One is tempted to ask: "So what?"

The moral of all this for the workers is plain. "We are not going to get excited about all this capitalist political intrigue."

If Wallace had proposed a genuinely new policy, that would have been something else. But Wallace proposes to divide the world. He is not even pretending to be anti-imperialist. Hitler wanted, or said he wanted, to divide the world with Britain and the U. S. Wallace was among those ready to spend thirty million lives and untold wealth to defeat him.

Palestine: Socialist Policy and SWP Duplicity

By ALBERT GOLDMAN

There are people who, when confronted by a serious political problem, the answer to which they do not know or are uncertain about, dodge the question by writing a multiplicity of words containing many noble sentiments but no answer to the problem. At times they say nothing at all, hoping that the situation will pass and that the problem will not longer confront them.

When the leaders of the Socialist Workers Party were presented with the problem of taking a position on the question of the democratic republics in Italy and Belgium, at the time when the Italian and Belgian workers were struggling to overthrow the monarchies, they solved the problem by saying nothing—at least in the open. They assured everybody, of course, that they were for the socialist revolution, but they would not openly take a position on the question of the democratic republic. In reality they were opposed to the slogan of "democratic republic," but were unwilling to say so.

For a long time there was no statement whatever in the SWP press (The Militant and the Fourth International) on the question of Palestine and the struggle of the Jews for entry into that country. But since time has not solved the problem, the SWP leaders felt compelled to break their silence. In the September 7th issue of The Militant, the editors published a statement on this burning question. Many noble and true sentiments find expression there, but the specific problem around which the struggle in Palestine is being waged, is left unanswered; better, perhaps,

is left with an exceedingly ambiguous answer.

WHAT THE JEWS WANT

As everybody knows, including the editors of The Militant, there are hundreds of thousands of Jews clamoring to get out of European countries where they believe anti-Semitism will make it impossible for them to live. So desperately anxious are some of the Jews to get into Palestine that they are willing to go through the greatest hardships and run terrible risks to achieve their purpose.

The question confronting everybody is very simple: should the Jews who want to enter Palestine be permitted to do so or not? A yes-or-no answer is called for.

We are compelled to agree with the editors of The Militant, who assure us that socialism alone will solve the Jewish problem; we also agree with them when they assert that Arabs and Jews should unite in a joint struggle against the British imperialists.

But what about entry to the Jews who insist on going to Palestine? Will not the editors please tell us in so many words whether they are for or against the right of Jews to get into Palestine?

It is a credit to the editors when they demand that the United States should open its doors to the Jews. But why should not the British open the doors of Palestine to the Jews? Anyone is at liberty to advise the Jews not to go there, but has anyone the right to oppose entry or even to be indifferent about it? Yes he has that right, but then he is dragging so-

cialism (if he claims to be a socialist) into the dust.

Opposition to Jewish immigration into Palestine was perhaps justified at a time when such immigration was organized by Zionist leaders for the purpose of creating a Jewish state which would help guard British imperialist interests. But right now, when tens of thousands of Jewish people are trying to get into Palestine as a protection against anti-Semitism, it is the duty of every revolutionary socialist to defend the right of persecuted Jews to migrate to Palestine. The Jews may be completely wrong in thinking that Palestine offers a solution to anti-Semitism but as revolutionary socialists, as the most consistent democrats, we must support their right to go there.

ON ADDRESSING DEMANDS

No revolutionary socialist, especially a Jewish one in Palestine, can possibly stop with the demand of the right of Jews to get into Palestine. Because of the peculiar situation existing in that country, a socialist has the duty of emphasizing the need of an orientation of the Jewish masses to the Arab masses. A patient and persistent attempt is necessary to organize Jews and Arabs for a united struggle for an independent Palestine. It is only by such a policy that the Jews can get the support of the Arab people. I admit that this is not an immediate, a complete or a final solution, but it is the only solution possible under the circumstances.

The failure of the Zionist leaders to orientate toward the Arabs constitutes their great crime. If the editors of The Militant had attacked the

Zionist leaders for that, there could be no possible objection. But, according to these editors, the greatest crime of the Zionists consists of "addressing to the British government the demand that Palestine be thrown open to Jewish immigration" because they thereby "continue to recognize and endorse British imperialist rule over the country."

This leaves us quite flabbergasted. Since the British have the actual power in Palestine, since British troops under the control of the British government can determine who is and who is not to enter Palestine, it would seem that the British imperialists are the ones to whom a demand should be made.

To whom do the SWP leaders address their demand that the Jews be admitted to the United States, if not to the government of the United States? Of course they thereby recognize that they do not endorse the policies of that government.

That the Zionists have their own purposes in demanding that immigration be allowed does not mean that we should not support the right of the Jews to enter Palestine. It is only necessary to make clear that we are opposed to the Zionists and that we have our own program, which is not a Zionist program.

The learned editors of The Militant advise the Jews to look to the Arabs just as in this country the Negro people and the national minorities must look to the working class. Very good advice, but do The Militant editors stop fighting against discriminatory laws because the American working class has not as yet emancipated the Negroes? Just as we are

for an orientation on the part of the Negroes toward the working class and at the same time we continue to struggle for the right of the Negro to live in any neighborhood he pleases, so are we for an orientation of the Jews toward the Arabs and at the same time for the right of the Jews to enter Palestine.

AGAINST DUPLICITY

On the same page of The Militant where the editor's published their statement on Palestine they also published an item showing that the Stalinists are playing a double game on the question of Palestine. The Arabian Stalinists are opposed to the entry of Jews, whereas the Jewish Stalinists are in favor of it.

Cannot the statement of The Militant editors also be interpreted as a double-faced one? One can find a sentence which indicates opposition, and also a sentence which indicates a favorable attitude, to the right of the Jews to enter Palestine. It is a vagueness which borders on duplicity.

For revolutionary socialists, the program for Palestine and the Jews is not difficult to formulate. We are for an independent Palestine with the right of any minority to use its own language and develop its own culture. We are for the unrestricted right of all people persecuted for religious, racial or political reasons to emigrate into any country they please. That means we are for the right of Jews to go to Palestine. We are for a joint struggle of Jew and Arab to liberate Palestine and all of the Near East from the yoke of British imperialism. This, we believe, is stating the position unambiguously.

THE CONSEQUENCES OF AN INCORRECT POSITION ON THE RUSSIAN QUESTION

Several issues ago, in an article on the question of China in which LABOR ACTION explained its position of no support to either camp in China's developing civil war, we raised the question of how did the Socialist Workers Party stand on this issue. At that time, although the SWP had (and still has) no official position on the question, we suggested that the whole conception of "defense of Russia," as advocated by them, would lead them in the direction of supporting the Chinese Stalinists. We are still, of course, awaiting a reply on their part. The letter printed below further bears out our point, and seems to indicate the SWP will give its support to the Chinese Stalinist movement.—Editor.

Dear Editor:

Here is a little incident that can, I believe, reveal more about the Socialist Workers Party's Russian policy in practice than many articles about it in the abstract.

It happened at a Chicago area council meeting of the American Veterans Committee where the Stalinists introduced a resolution calling for the withdrawal of American troops from China. An amendment was made to have the resolution read: "withdraw all foreign and imperialist troops from China. In the ensuing debate the fight was clear cut; either for withdrawing American troops only, or for withdrawing all foreign and imperialist troops. The Stalinists fought for their position and the anti-Stalinists fought for theirs. All the anti-Stalinists, that is, except the SWP's, who supported and voted for the Stalinist position!

The SWP line first opposed the expansion of the "Red" army and demanded its withdrawal from occupied countries. Then it tolerated the "Red" army in occupied countries, where it was a friendly proletarian armed force. Finally, it presumably changed back to its first position. Knowing this we asked one of the SWP's how he justified his position. The reply was something about allied imperialists encircling the Soviet Union. It would be interesting to hear an explanation from an official spokesman of the SWP!

Fraternally,
ROBERT SHERMAN.

THE PROMISE OF AMERICAN PRODUCTION - III

By IRVING HOWE

In the previous articles of this series we have discussed some of the developments in American productivity in past years, especially those which resulted from the needs of the war. In this article we will discuss the potentialities for still further expansion of America's productive capacity in the future. A few of the more startling developments on the horizon are in the following five fields:

- Extension of electric power, basic to U. S. productivity.
- Expansion of the synthetic goods industry, particularly in rubber.
- The new field of air transportation.
- Industrial electronics, which provide industry with an entirely new array of automatic controls and manipulative efficiencies.
- Atomic energy, the most startling of all possible sources of productive expansion, which will be discussed in separate articles.

ELECTRIC POWER

America is the most highly electrified country in the world. For the past forty years the rate of increase in the use of electric power in this country has been the incredible figure of 15 per cent a year. Fortune magazine writes in its February, 1946, issue that "The year the war broke out in Europe, per capita consumption of power in the U. S. was 50 per cent higher than that of Great Britain, more than twice that of Germany, more than ten times that of Japan, and 150 times that of China."

Yet a tremendous expansion took place during the war. In terms of kilowatt hours, the U. S. in 1944 was using 280 billion as against 160 billion in 1939.

Considerable expansion of power consumption is expected in the coming few years. American industry is estimated by the Department of Commerce to be less than 50 per cent electrified. If costs of power were sharply cut, a major transformation in American industry would be possible. Mass production techniques would spread to an extent even greater than at present. The February issue of Fortune offers the following estimates of possible productivity expansion as a result of increased electrification:

"A mechanized coal mine using 10 kwh per ton

as compared with the 5 kwh per ton average for the coal industry, reduced the cost of coal mining by approximately 10 per cent. When the electric motor on a newspaper press was increased from 75 to 175 hp, the printing was speeded up 66 per cent. An addition of 400 hp to an electric shovel increased the production 75 per cent."

SYNTHETICS

The utilization of new knowledge in the field of chemistry has resulted in tremendous increases in American productivity. Many previously discarded by-products are now utilized. But most dramatic of all the advantages offered by chemistry is in synthetic products, of which the present most important is rubber.

By 1944, under pressure of war needs, the synthetic rubber industry was producing more rubber than the U. S. had ever imported from the Far East. The synthetic rubber industry can at present produce double the average yearly consumption of rubber in this country.

What this means in terms of productivity is seen in the following comparison: it takes approximately 40,000 men to produce the amount of natural rubber that 1,000 can produce synthetically!

The story of synthetic rubber again points the paradox: will this tremendous increase in productivity result in more unemployment and misery or will it be utilized to give greater leisure to the workers?

AIR TRANSPORTATION

Though there is no immediate prospect of the substitution of air for railroads in the hauling of basic freights, there has nonetheless been a continuous expansion of air transportation. As the National Resources Committee wrote: "We are improving a wonderful machine... readjusting the machine to handle a freight traffic consisting more largely of consumers' goods and relatively less of capital goods than in the past, and to serve the rapidly increasing passenger traffic of a surprisingly nomadic society."

The present 50-cent-per-ton-mile rate may soon be cut by as much as forty per cent, thus expediting the use of air freight for perishable and luxury items. As transportation becomes cheaper and faster, productivity is increased and the whole productive cycle can be completed that much faster.

In the field of passenger transportation, the plane will soon be used predominantly for long trips. Within a few years, the airlines will have about 90 per cent of transcontinental traffic.

While this is not a direct factor in increasing productivity, it is obvious how cheaper and faster transportation results in the possibility of more efficient and plentiful production and distribution of goods. How capitalism will use that is another matter.

ELECTRONICS

Electronic devices, at present utilized by only five per cent of the industries that need them, are among the more Buck Rogersish of modern industrial techniques. W. C. Hutchins, engineer for General Electric, writes of them:

"The science of electronics has enabled the engineer to build equipment that is almost human in that he has practically duplicated four of the human senses... the mercury vapor detector simulates the sense of smell; the sound level meter the sense of hearing; the vibration meter the sense of touch; the photoelectric tube the sense of sight."

These electronic devices are capable of speed, refinement and efficiency far beyond that of the human organism. A man's eye can distinguish 10,000 variations in color, the electronic eye two million!

Writes Fortune magazine in its February, 1946, issue: "...the electronics industry was boosted by the war. At war maximum it was a \$4 billion industry, bigger than the automobile before the war... How many man-hours are saved by all electronic devices? Before the war, when electronic tubes were few, a rough estimate was 175 million man-hours saved annually."

These, then, are just a few of the possible sources of a great expansion in the productivity of this country. We have still to discuss the most miraculous of all: atomic energy. But even now we can understand that if there were no expansion whatever of existing productive facilities, this country could still give to its people a wonderful life of leisure and plenty provided its resources were used for peaceful, constructive purposes. No more damning condemnation of capitalism is possible than the fact that this is not the case at present.

'Animal Farm' - A Good Fable With a Misdirected Moral

ANIMAL FARM, by George Orwell. Harcourt, Brace & Company, New York; \$1.75, 118 pages.

Reviewed by HENRY JUDD

GEORGE ORWELL's fable of the "Animal Farm" has aroused much interest and comment, particularly about the inner meaning of the tale. We would like to begin this review by recommending the book for, regardless of the opinion one may hold as to its political content, it is in most respects a delightful story. The book has had widespread circulation in England, where its author is a well-known literary critic and contributor to the London Tribune, publication of the left-wing Labor Party leaders. It promises to have a broad circulation in America.

This parable of the Russian Revolution is presented in the form of a popular animal rebellion against Man, the farmer and exploiter of the Animal Kingdom. Orwell has a keen insight into and sympathy for the animals of his imaginary farm, their characteristics and mannerisms. In fact, the story of the animals considered *per se*—their relations with each other, their desires and efforts—is told in such a friendly, warm-hearted fashion that the reader's sympathies are won from the start.

But, of course, Orwell has intended much more by his story. Some of the individual scenes are executed with taste and dash—the rejoicing of the animal-brothers after the success of their Rebellion; the dramatic struggle against Man's counter-revolution; the heart-breaking episodes of the animals' struggle with the physical obstacles standing in the way of their socialist farm; the tragic episodes as an animal pig-bureaucracy moves steadily on the road to power and, ultimately, the final triumph of the counter-Rebellion, an episode of Thermidorian tragedy and horror.

THE VIVID PICTURE OF ANIMAL LIFE

The animals on Mr. Jones' Manor Farm represent the Animal Kingdom in all its strata and divisions. Old Major, the wise prize boar, combines the wisdom of theoretical understanding with the driving passion for action. His young disciples among the pigs are the elite "animals of action," learning and preparing for the day of Rebellion. The work-horses of the farm, Boxer and Clover, represent the best of solidity in honesty and integrity of character; the sheep are manifestations of that dull-gray mass, so easily deceived, so often betrayed, yet so downtrodden. But each animal presented has a personality all of its own. By grasping the special animal-traits of the different species, by bringing these traits to life in simple illustrations, Orwell succeeds in creating a unique, live community.

Old Major Lenin, the prize boar, has given meaning to this animal life of exploitation by explaining its why and wherefore and by showing a path to liberation. His song of freedom, "Beasts of England" is more than a rallying song, it becomes their CREDO. The Rebellion is led by the two boars, Snowball Trotsky and Napoleon Stalin. Man, the exploiter, is driven out. The socialist Animal Farm, guided by laws of equality ("all animals are equal"), and brotherhood ("no animal shall kill any other animal") is set up.

In harmony and happiness, the animals begin to work their own community, to build and repair, to learn the new knowledge and unlearn the old ways. But in the atmosphere of an intensified hostility between Napoleon Stalin and Snowball Trotsky, the opening wedge of discord, petty privilege and dissension begins to make its way and grow.

A sharp clash takes place over the issue of farm industrialization and, in the course of it, Snowball Trotsky is driven off the farm. It is discovered by the animal mass that sly Napoleon Stalin has been secretly erecting his own flank of solid supporters—dogs and young piglets. The Rebellion has reached its moral apex, henceforth it can only decline, both organically and spiritually. The rest of the "Animal Farm" tells

us, in easily recognizable form, the familiar episodes of the decline and degeneration of the Russian revolution into its present barbaric stage, culminating in the renovation of the farm's ancient name under Farmer Jones, "The Manor House," as the pig-bureaucracy takes on the form, shape and function of the once-defeated exploiter, Man. The story does not, of course, parallel the actual happenings in Russian history, but sufficiently suggests the events.

VARIOUS INTERPRETATIONS OF THE FABLE

Now, as a political parable, "Animal Farm" has been interpreted in diverse ways. This varied reading of Orwell's book is not hard to understand, since it results from the most apparent flaw of the tale. We do not, naturally, refer to those deliberate misinterpretations that can be found in the Stalinist or semi-Stalinist press; nor to simple blockheads (like Ely Culbertson) who could not even grasp the fact that the parable had Russia in mind. The New Republic reviewer, for example, who certainly knows better, considers the rivalry between Snowball Trotsky and Napoleon Stalin to be the story of Trotsky's supposed rivalry with Lenin! A parable would be dull indeed if nothing were left to imagination and suggestion. No one demands that everything be labeled and classified for the reader. The value, taste and flavor of a parable comes precisely from that gap between the tale and its reality in which the reader's imaginative fancy is free to roam and grasp at suggestions.

But nevertheless, in this reviewer's opinion, there is a serious flaw in Orwell's work. We cannot, therefore, accept the opinion expressed by some that "Animal Farm" is a "minor masterpiece" destined to join the great allegories of literature.

A parable, in simple terms, is a method of setting forth an event through the medium of a tale, the better to suggest or point out a profound truth. The parables of Jesus in The New Testament are classic examples of this. But Orwell's parable does not, in our opinion, satisfy this essential demand. When one has read the book, therefore, he is still at a loss as to precisely how the whole thing is meant, what he is to understand by it all. Perhaps this failure is due to the fact that the necessary "gap" between fancy and reality is, throughout the book, too narrow—often non-existent when the story moves along on a perfect parallel with the events of the Russian Thermidor.

THE POLITICAL CONFUSION OF ORWELL

But we feel the explanation is closer to the author, more political in character. It lies in the general confusion of Orwell, and, we believe, in the fact that he really does not himself know what to conclude from his tale—therefore, his inability to write a true parable.

Actually, what is Orwell saying to us in the "Animal Farm"? Many have interpreted it, with much justification, as a rejection of the conception that it is possible to build a socialist, equalitarian community in this world; that the degeneration into Napoleon Stalin's pig-collective State was a natural, inevitable process. The causes of Napoleon's success in getting the upper-hand are weakly stated, indeed, as are the issues between him and Snowball Trotsky.

The portrait of Snowball Trotsky is more than weak, it is unobjective and distorted. He is made out to be a pompous fanatic (but not above participation in a bureaucratic act of personal privilege, along with Napoleon Stalin) of doubtful character. Once driven off the farm, he vanishes utterly from the scene except as vilely reported through the words and deeds of his enemy, Napoleon. There is no suggestion that he attempts to continue the traditions of the Rebellion; he is simply vanquished. Napoleon triumphs in full, without reservations. Is not the anti-socialist or liberal reader entitled to draw the conclusion that the tale is meant as a parable on the utopian character of the socialist cause? We believe so, although Orwell has not had the political conviction or courage to make this clear, perhaps reflecting the very uncertainty reigning in his mind.

Buyers Strikes in the Fight to Cut Prices

By BEN HALL

Last week we pointed out that the success of a "buyers strike," like a "boycott" campaign, depends to a large degree on the reaction of the "consumers" and that the category of "consumer" includes all classes and sections of the population. Active union militants man the picket lines in front of the stores. The small business man, the professional, and even the apathetic or uneducated workers

watch the line and then go in to buy or not, as they see fit.

During a period when there is a shortage of commodities, the fate of a buyers' strike is even more directly affected by middle class elements. A greater proportion of the available goods can be shifted by the capitalist into non-working class areas and neighborhoods in order to minimize the possible effects of the "buyers' strike."

"But," it might be objected, "isn't it true that the working class must get the support of the millions of middle class people if it is to have real success?" Yes, that is true. But all experience of the working class movement in every country has proved that the labor movement can win the sympathy and aid of the middle classes only when the workers themselves show that they are united behind a fighting program that can really provide the answers to the problems that all the people face.

BUYERS' STRIKE ALONE IS NOT ENOUGH

Buyers' strikes will NOT provide such a program! How unified and determined does the labor movement show itself in the buyers' strikes? CIO and AFL union men and women picket on the outside, appealing to all to refuse to buy. But on the inside, CIO or AFL union men are at work selling to whoever crosses the line. And as one looks out of the store window he sees other union men delivering the products to be sold. This absurdity reached its height in Detroit recently when a CIO retail union objected to the picketing of union shops during a buyers' strike demonstration.

Such a policy is not good enough. If mass groups of consumers could enter a store and with the cooperation of the committee of the retail workers buy goods at low prices... THAT would be quite appealing to the middle classes and we may be sure that they would rally to SUCH an idea. If union and consumers' committees did actually COMPEL the sale of goods at low prices, all people, except a small group of plutocrats, would hail these committees as a great blessing.

But for a retail clerk to sell a shirt at a low price, a truck driver would have to deliver it at a low price and committees of union drivers would have to act as inspectors. And the price of the shirt as it leaves the factory and goes to the truck driver would have to be controlled by committees in the factories. Likewise with the raw materials, the cloth that goes into the shirts, and the coal that is used to turn the machines that produce the cloth, and the steel that goes into the machines and the iron ore that goes to make the steel.

WORKERS NEED TO CONTROL PRODUCTION AND PRICES

A solid strike can quickly defeat an employer when the supply of his goods is shut off. A strike is one means of controlling production... that is, a means of cutting it off completely. But there are other methods of controlling production already employed by the union movement. When workers on the assembly line agree to cut down on the speed of the line, they are controlling production to that extent. When the workers in the Wisconsin plant of Nash-Kelvinator refuse to work on cars with a right-hand drive because they know that these are for export, they are controlling production. The control of production has many features and aspects. One of them is price control. If the worker organized into a union can control his own wages and hours, if he can seek to control his working conditions and his speed of work, why not control the price of the products which he himself works on?

That is the crux of the Workers Party program for price control. Committees of housewives and union workers can set the price of goods at each stage of production, distribution or sale. And these committees can be coordinated on a local and national scale just as the union movement itself.

International Socialist Notes

ITALIAN REVOLUTIONARIES CONTACT CP RANKS

Despite efforts by the Italian Stalinist Party to block, with slander and the threat of physical repression, the activities of the Italian Fourth Internationalists, the Italian comrades report that they are making some headway among the rank and file of the CP in Naples. One of the leading members of the Fourth Internationalist Party in Italy has lately been speaking before Communist Party locals. The head of the Stalinist Neapolitan Federation has tried to stop the activities of our comrade, but the rank and file of the CP locals involved have refused to be intimidated. The Federation has not yet dared to send one of its spokesmen to contradict our comrade.

This comrade writes: "Discontent increases daily, and a sharper light is being focused on the class struggle as the workers see themselves abandoned by the parties that presumably speak for them... It is not hard to notice that the masses are beginning to understand us better, though people still need more confidence in

us to see that the CP betrays them. There is the dirtiest nationalism which springs from the question of Trieste. The reaction is drawing considerable comfort from the nationalistic position of the Italian CP on Trieste. Among many rank and file CPers here in Naples we have made a forceful impression with our internationalist position on this same question."

As background material our comrade supplies the following: The situation is very critical. The new government, though a republic, is little different from those that preceded it. Parliament often resembles a boxing arena, in which the deputies spend more time denouncing each other and fighting (literally) than in doing anything to relieve the misery of the people. Unemployment is mounting. Ex-soldiers are increasingly discontented. Some of these are being utilized by extremely reactionary elements. The enrichment of a few parallels the mass poverty. In Resina, a city of 36,000, there are 800 millionaires, their money made largely through the black market and entirely through living off the poor.

To belong to the Christian-Democratic Party is almost a license to do anything one wants to; the Democratic Christian mayor is more a bishop than an administrator. He is more concerned with religious masses and feasts than with keeping the streets clean or supplying food. There is general confusion in the collaboration of Socialists, Stalinists and avowed reactionaries.

From another source we learn that the Fourth Internationalists, hitherto limited to work in the South of Italy, are making efforts to establish their party in the North. The Bordighists, Left-Communists (not to be confused in any way with the Stalinists), have considerable influence in the industrial North. A friend who recently visited in this area reports a great receptivity to revolutionary literature. Revolutionary literature, he informs us, is badly needed and eagerly sought. It is not at all uncommon for a demonstration of thousands of workers to take place with hardly more than a few minutes' preparation or call. We hope shortly to be able to publish a full account of the situation in Northern Italy.—E. G.

Program of the Workers Party

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

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More About the Purges in Stalinist Russia - -

(Continued from page 3)

wide and sharp as it is in industry. The managers and directors live in good houses, have automobiles, servants, special privileges, money bonuses to the point where the economic disproportion between them and the masses is greater than that existing in capitalist countries.

3. There is widespread dissatisfaction throughout the land. This is attested to by the régime itself. The struggle against the reappearance of so-called "bourgeois nationalism" is merely a cover for forcing on the variegated peoples who inhabit Russia, the practices of Great Russian nationalism. The tyrants of the

Kremlin, who have resurrected ancient heroes of feudalism and modern Czarism, who have committed, in the name of Lenin's enlightened and revolutionary policy on the national question, the worst crimes against the national minorities of land, inaugurate a purge to destroy those who question or oppose its policies.

4. In addition to these economic factors, the country lives, under the severest police and spy system the world has ever known. Thus, economic and political insecurity is accompanied by ordinary personal insecurity in a world where the prac-

tice of "scapegoatism" is indispensable bound up with economic and political policy. The country lives under permanent terrorization.

5. The purges are also a preparatory measure, an organization measure, to meet the conditions of increasing struggle on a world scale. Aggressive, imperialist policies of the Kremlin are covered up by the old chestnut about the "imperialist encirclement of the Soviet Union" and lays the groundwork for excusing future failures and for continuing the police terror régime which keeps the masses in a permanent state of alarm. The régime calls into

existence the "war danger" as the permanent obstacle to an improvement of the life of the masses, while the bureaucracy increases its own take of the total production.

SHIFT RESPONSIBILITY

Thus, to prepare for a new postponement of an improvement in the life of the masses, to prepare in advance the excuses for future failures of the bureaucracy, to condone the corrupt practices of the régime and justify its exploitation of the country and its enrichment, to fortify its rule, the purges have been instituted. Blame for difficulties is put on the shoulders of second-rate and lower-

grade functionaries or on the many-times liquidated kulaks and on the resurgence of "capitalist ideology" in a land where socialism was represented as having been completely realized.

It does not take great profundity to realize that the system of purges is incompatible with socialism and the mere existence of this system is proof that Russian society has nothing in common with the great ideal of masses. Russian society is a class society, an exploiting system. The bureaucracy which rules over the masses pursues policies which meet its needs as a new ruling class.

20,000 Hail Algeria Rally Muffs Anti-Smith Issue -- Independence Head

Messali Hadj, almost legendary leader of the Algerian people, has returned from nine years of imprisonment and exile imposed by the French government. It was in 1937, under the People's Front government, that his organization, L'Etoile Nord-Africaine (North African Star) was suppressed and the leaders imprisoned, despite the fact that the North African Star was itself a signatory to the People's Front pact. Never again did the fighters for Algerian independence ever have any faith in the Social-Democrats and Stalinists, who had taken over the job of saving French imperialism. Messali reorgan-

ized his movement as the Party of the Algerian People (PPA) and continued the struggle underground.

The recent elections among the Arab section of the Algerian people demonstrated convincingly the strength of the PPA. Answering a call from the PPA to boycott the elections, less than half the electorate voted. Of those who did vote, the overwhelming majority repudiated the Socialists and Stalinists and voted for the only Arab nationalist party on the ballot, the "Friends of the Manifesto."

In August, the Salle Wagram in Paris was the scene of a stirring meeting of 20,000 Arab workers to greet Messali's return. On the platform were representatives from all the nationalist organizations of Morocco, Algeria and Tunis. But there was also one Frenchman on the rostrum, Marcel Beaufre, representing the French Trotskyists, who addressed the audience on behalf of the only party that they recognize as sympathetic to their aim of unconditional independence from imperialism.

An interview of Comrade Beaufre with Messali sheds interesting light on the political outlook of this veteran fighter. He refused to answer any question on immediate issues in Algeria, on the ground that he was obligated to consult his party first (a rare attitude of responsibility these days among the corrupt politicians who pretend to defend the workers' interests). But he was free to answer more general questions.

Asked what was his attitude toward the struggles of the French working class, he stated that in his opinion the struggle of the French workers and of the colonial masses in North Africa must become a united struggle against imperialism. He recalled his own lifelong interest in forging links between the revolutionary and nationalist movements throughout the world, dating back to his participation in the World Anti-Imperialist Congress in 1927.

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(Continued from page 1) right got started. Mayor Bowron went on the air to denounce the Mobilization as "trouble-makers" because of their picketing plans, calling on people to "ignore" Smith. (In the same speech, he also went out of his way to whitewash the Ku Klux Klan, claiming that the 27 outrages perpetrated by the Klan in the past period had not been proved and did not show that the Klan was active here. That's our mayor!)

The Council for Civic Unity sent out a blast against an anti-fascist picket line, conducting a regular campaign of propaganda to ask people to "stay away" from the affair. The AFL Central Council, currently engaged in a red-baiting campaign of its own, joined in.

It was obvious that the so-called "broad" and "liberal and progressive" elements who last year were swept into the tide of anti-Smith action, had now recovered their normal shilly-shallying attitude, reverted to the policy of "hush-hush" as the secret weapon against fascism, and were exercising pressure in all directions to restrain action.

The CIO, the Mobilization, and the Communist Party yielded before this pressure. The Stalinists were faced with the choice of satisfying the demand and desires of their own rank and file as well as the ranks of the trade union workers, or of going along with the "respectable" but wishy-washy liberals and progressives whom they have wooed so assiduously especially in Southern California. This was symbolized by the presence on the platform at the open-air meeting of Ellis Patterson, New Deal Democrat and the "Wallace" of the local Democratic Party-Stalinist love-feast, with whom they could hold hands at a tame rally but who would not have countenanced connection with a militant picket line in the face of the conservative barrage. They chose to hold hands with the Pattersons rather than conduct a real fight against Smith.

As a result, some time during the past week, the Stalinist leaders of the anti-fascist front switched their signals, changed their line, decided to retreat to the parking lot, and hold there the shindig which took place, as a mere token of anti-Smith intentions. As compared with the organized drive to get the CIO workers out which took place last year, practically nothing was done this time. It was not until a few days ago that the CIO Council got around to sending a telegram to its locals about the projected demonstration, and that was all.

QUARANTINE PICKETS

It is no wonder therefore that the demonstration was so much terrifically smaller, in addition to the fact that many militants voted on the matter with their feet and just went home where they felt they could call Smith names just as effectively as the wind-rippers on the platform.

The Smith rally had been called for 2 p. m. The open-air meeting was

called for 1:30. At about one, a group of veterans from the Veterans of Foreign Wars and the AVC swung out in front of the school with a picket line. The contingent from the Workers Party joined in as well as the already large crowd of workers waiting for something to happen. In a half hour the line held several thousand marchers, who undoubtedly did not suspect that the signals had been switched.

By that time the "official anti-fascist leaders"—God save the mark!—namely, the leaders of the Mobilization, had caught their breath and shouted and steered the picket line across the street and down the block to the loudspeakers they had set up. Most of the marchers did not know what was up and followed along trustingly as directed by the boys with the "official" armbands, and before long there was no picket line and the potential "trouble-makers" (trouble for Smith) were safely quarantined on the parking lot.

William Bidner, executive secretary of the Mobilization and a well-known Stalinist hatchman, actually had the nerve to start the meeting off with a fervent assertion that "we will carry this fight against Smith to the end," and although he didn't specify what the end of his policy might possibly be, the crowd spread out before him was sufficient evidence of the weakness of his bluster.

Fitting enough as a climax to the whole disgraceful spectacle, the meeting closed with the passing of a resolution (from the platform) calling on Mayor Bowron "to give leadership" to the people to see that Smith does not establish himself in Los Angeles! This was actually the only concrete word from the meeting on what to do next in the fight against Smith, except that the same character Bidner added an exhortation to the same Bowron "not to be afraid of the anti-fascists—we know how to be disciplined and we know how to carry on the fight against fascism."

In this slavish bow before the rod of the Mayor's discipline, the great anti-fascist leaders of the Mobilization told the flock to go home and especially not to hang around because there might develop "trouble" with Smith supporters. In all, they seemed as much worried about causing any "trouble" as if they were Sunday-School teachers on a picnic. The thousands of workers, who were used to "causing trouble" (as the Hearsts put it) when they went on strike, couldn't see it.

The last-minute flipflop by the Mobilization effectively cut the ground from under today's anti-fascist demonstration but it is doubtful whether the ranks will be taken by surprise once again. The Stalinist-mushhead coalition in the Mobilization will either have to play dead next time and start nothing or else have a hard time keeping the workers in line. The militants are going to want to do it the "Minneapolis way!"

Immediately following the demonstration, the Workers Party held a meeting for friends and sympathizers who had come out, at its nearby headquarters on Pico Boulevard,

where a report was given on Smith's rally and the events leading up to today's fiasco explained and analyzed. About fifty copies of LABOR ACTION were sold during the afternoon. (Pictures next week.—Ed.)

AFL ELECTRICAL WORKERS HOLD STORMY SESSION

By WILLIAM BARTON

SAN FRANCISCO — Amidst local newspaper stories of "police on guard to prevent violence in row between rival groups led by New York and Chicago racketeering elements," the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers recently concluded one of the stormiest conventions in the recent history of any old-line AFL building trades union. The sharp internal struggle resulted in the return to the international presidency of Dan Tracy, recently Assistant Secretary of Labor and President of the Union before that, over the incumbent, Edgar Brown, by a very close vote, and the election of an International Executive Board favorable to the former.

The struggle between the two factions was undoubtedly, to some extent, what the press publicized it as—a fight for power between two cliques of bureaucrats, including many individuals with very unsavory records. Floor leader for the Brown group was Harry Van Arsdale of New York's powerful Local 3. Cornerstone of the Tracy caucus were the delegates of the Chicago organization, dominated by racketeer "Umbrella" Mike Boyle.

But the vigorous clash had some less publicized deep-lying causes. It was part of the growing of age of a typical conservative craft union in the present period. The membership has grown from 200,000 to 300,000 in five years. A new, less integrated element has become prominent. Meanwhile, the CIO's UERMWA, with 750,000 members, has gobbed up most of the younger, more recent recruits to the industry. The Tracy program called for a necessary streamlining and basic reorganization of the national office in recognition of this. It charged that lawyers instead of electrical workers were being conspicuously used as international representatives. It demanded an increased and more efficient research staff. It pushed for and was able to secure overwhelming adoption of some revision of the peculiar type of second class membership that prevails for many unionists. It demanded "less politics" in national office appointments.

There was rank and file sentiment and recognition on the part of the more astute local leaders for an organizational change to match the new tasks of all labor organizations. The ex-president decided to hop on the bandwagon and get back into office by that means. Considering the nature of some of his supporters, it was no shocking revelation that support was not too enthusiastic and victory so close. But the fact that it showed that all branches of the labor movement, even the most old-fashioned and routine are in a state of active ferment, was self-evident.

With the Workers Party

AKRON

The Akron Branch of the Workers Party invites readers of LABOR ACTION to attend a class on FASCISM AND STALINISM—THEIR SEEDS IN AMERICA, Tuesday evenings at 8. Write to Box 221 for further information.

BUFFALO

HEADQUARTERS: 639 Main St. Open meetings on Sunday evenings. All Out for a Real Good Time! Sunday, October 6, at 8:00 p.m. Plenty of food and cheer, dancing, absolutely no cello on fun. Admission 25 cents. p.m. Friday evenings at 8 p.m. a four-week course in "Labor Politics." Fee: 25 cents.

CHICAGO

LABOR ACTION, 1501 W. Madison, 2nd floor, Chicago 7. Office hours: 3-5:30 p.m. daily, except Sundays, Tuesday and Wednesday evenings. A series of classes is being held on each Friday night at party office at 8 o'clock on "The Fight for Socialism." Class in "Fight for Socialism" every Wednesday at 8 p.m.

LOS ANGELES

Office Telephone: Richmond 7-3230. Class in "Socialism & Capitalism," every Monday evening at LABOR ACTION headquarters. Study groups in advanced Marxism also forming. Interested readers get in touch with office for details.

NEWARK

HEADQUARTERS: 248 Market St. OFFICE HOURS: Tuesday—3 to 6 p.m.; Wednesday—12 to 3 p.m.; Saturday—3 to 4 p.m. Newark newsstands: 91 Barclay St. 168 Belmont Ave. Stand, Market and Mulberry, northeast corner.

NEW YORK CITY

CITY OFFICE—114 West 14th St.—Open all day until 7:00 p.m. Telephone: Chelsea 2-9681.

MANHATTAN—Meets every Wednesday at 8:00 p.m. Labor Temple, 242 East 14th St., Room 39. EAST HARLEM—Meets every Thursday at 8:00 p.m. Rand's Harlem Terrace, 210 East 104th St., 2nd Floor.

HARLEM—Meets every Wednesday at 8:00 p.m. Workers Party Headquarters, 2143 Seventh Ave., Room 196 (near 127th St.).

QUEENS—Phone City Office. Meets every Thursday evening.

BROOKLYN DOWNTOWN—Meets every Wednesday at 8:00 p.m. Workers Party Headquarters, 276 Fulton St., 2nd Floor.

BROOKLYN-UTICA AVE.—Meets every Wednesday at 8:00 p.m. 259 Utica Ave., 2nd Floor.

BROOKLYN—Sunday Evening Branch meets every Sunday at 8:00 p.m., 276 Fulton St., 2nd Floor.

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READING

LABOR ACTION and The New International are sold at newsstand at Fifth and Penn Streets, southwest corner.

PHILADELPHIA

HEADQUARTERS, 1105 Walnut St. Branches meet Monday and Tuesday evenings at 8:00. Socialist Youth League meets Fridays at 8:00 p.m. Speaker: Ernest Erber. Topic: "How to Stop Runaway Prices." Place: Grand Fraternity Building, 1625 Arch Street. Date: Friday, September 27. Time: 8:00 p.m. Admission: 35 cents. Sponsor: Workers Party.

LABOR ACTION on sale at: Northwest Corner of 13th and Market Streets. Southeast Corner of 19th and Market Streets.

Northeast Corner of 16th and Seybert Streets. Southwest Corner of Kensington and Allegheny Avenues. Near Northeast Corner of Broad Street and Girard Avenue.

New International on sale at: Northwest Corner of 13th and Market Streets.

SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA

For information on the activities of the Workers Party in the San Francisco Bay Area, write "Labor Action," P. O. Box 435, Berkeley, Calif.

LABOR ACTION and New International may be purchased at 2055 Fillmore St., San Francisco; Golden Gate News Agency, 81 3rd St.; McDonald's Bookstore, 867 Mission St. In Berkeley: Whelens, Bancroft and Telegraph.

SEATTLE

For information regarding the activities of the Seattle Branch, and for further information regarding LABOR ACTION and the WORKERS PARTY, write to B. Donaldson, c/o Eckhart News, 102 Washington St., Seattle, Washington.

Announcing a class on PRINCIPLES OF SOCIALISM, based on Max Shachtman's new book, The Fight for Socialism, every Monday night at 8 p.m., at Independence Hall, 41st St. and University Way. Sessions will continue on every Monday through October 14.

For information of other Workers Party branches and LABOR ACTION offices, write to the National Office, 114 West 14th St., New York 11, N. Y.

SOCIALIST YOUTH LEAGUE

The Socialist Youth League, youth section of the Workers Party, has youth units in the following cities: New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Morgantown, W. Va., Cleveland, Chicago, Detroit, Seattle, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.

NEW YORK VOTERS: All friends and sympathizers of the Workers Party are requested to be sure to register between the days of October 7 and October 12.



BY HENRY JUDD

The drive to get RENEWAL subscriptions for LABOR ACTION is now in full strength. The results are showing this week already, as indicated in the record number of subscriptions that we have received back.

These subscriptions are still expiring very rapidly, and notices to this effect are being sent out. Many readers on their own initiative send in renewals, but the real work must be done by our literature agents and by Workers Party branches. Chicago, some New York branches, and others are showing the way.

Let every LABOR ACTION literature agent get busy on this at once. You have the lists of expired subscriptions. Arrange for a visit, to assure another permanent subscription to LABOR ACTION. Every renewal is a gain for our fighting paper and its program.

Here are the latest subscriptions, including renewals, to come in during the past week. Full credit to Chicago and New York City, which are working on renewals:

CHICAGO	21
New York City	16
Detroit	5
Buffalo	4
Philadelphia	3
Streator, Ill.	2
Minnesota	1
San Francisco	1
Miscellaneous	9
TOTAL	62

Not much to report from our LABOR ACTION agents this week. From San Francisco, agent Pete Marlow writes us that he wants "to raise the bundle order of LABOR ACTION's from 40 to 50 per issue. The eight-pager is going over better than we expected, and we will probably raise the bundles gradually as times goes by."

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Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor...

Negro Says He's Glad To Get Labor Action

Dear Editor:

I just received my paper today and am very glad to have a paper like this one to read. I wish that everyone could read it. This paper is turning the light on the white man in the South. It is letting him know he is living a lie from his birth.

Bilbo said in his broadcast some time back: "There will not be any intermarrying in the State of Mississippi" as long as he lives. He don't know what intermarrying is. If he did he would not have spoken those words.

Papers do not and never will bind any two people together. Papers are only to clear you or free you to live in the law of man. Woman was made for man: "God told them to go and replenish and multiply the earth," and the white man of the South and West has drawn a color line and stepped over it first. He has stepped over the line so much, until today you cannot find a pure African seed in the South or West. Then he jumps up and says the African and white man's blood is not the same, but his dictionary tells me so. His science says that the food that we eat: so much be used for the up-keeping of the body, so much goes for blood and other things of the body and the last goes to waste. Now, if he is right, how can our blood be different? Let us see. God made only one man, and from that man came Eve, and from those two the whole earth was covered. Blood has been running from Adam until this very day.

You can start from Key West, Fla., to the utmost part of the nation looking for a different diet. But when you reach the end you will find the same thing you left behind. So, it is the same thing for man or woman.

They all are the same, only color.

I am very glad for this paper known as LABOR ACTION. This paper is taking the cover from over the white man in the South or turning the light on him. They know the rules and law of the South and Western states. Before this paper was founded, the colored man knew that in the South and West his wife and daughters were being made to do things they didn't want to do, some of them on account of the treatment they had got before doing it or after. Rather than get beat up or lose their jobs they did it to keep it...The colored men in the South know that their women cannot come home in some places late at night but some white stops them and makes them get into a car at the point of a gun if their husbands don't meet them or go after them.

Colored men are being beaten and killed in the South. I am not talking about what I heard. I am talking about what I've seen with my own eyes...

So, now, I am a one hundred per cent reader of this paper and a willing contributor to every call.

H. J. JOHNSON, Jersey City.

Seeks Concreteness On Price Campaign

Dear Editor:

It seems to me that in the last three or four issues of LABOR ACTION the articles expressing the Workers Party and LABOR ACTION program on price control have not been concrete enough. Phrases like union and consumer action, and popular price control committees have been used. These are phrases that have to be defined each time they are used. This was done consistently for a few months. The new election pamphlet ("Smash the Profiteers")

contains what I mean under the heading of "What Shall We Do?"

What I want to get at is that we must concretely define, every issue, every week, in every article, what is meant by consumer action and popular price control. On popular price control it is necessary to explain that housewives and consumers on each block must get together to supervise prices in their neighborhood stores. To those stores allowing popular price control supervision, the committee gives a placard notifying the public that this store is cooperating. Other stores not cooperating are picketed. That's the kind of concreteness I mean.

Again and again you should point out that the big monopolists are the big producers and they control the process of distribution. Therefore it is necessary to check prices at the point of production. For this the workers need the GM Program—"no price rises." This means union committees in the shop to check on prices and see where the stuff is going. This means "Open the Books!"

Further, the TNEC reports that the Big Four packers process two-thirds of all the meat in the U. S. Of the meat produced by the eight largest processors, about 75 per cent is distributed by them to independent retailers and grocery stores. About eight to ten per cent goes to wholesalers. In other words, the big packers produce and DISTRIBUTE most of the meat. From this it follows that they are responsible for meat diverted to the black market. The workers in the plants could check on this and control it. Committees of truckers, etc., could supplement the work of the packinghouse workers' committees.

Now, I do not say that this hasn't been done. It WAS done consistently up to about a month ago. The fault may be that the writers for LABOR

ACTION perhaps feel that they have already stated the point, and that it is not necessary to repeat it. I think it is. (And we agree.—Ed.)

IRVING SWANSON, New York.

Wants More Articles On Russian Conditions

Dear Editor:

May I offer one criticism of the article, "Stalin's New Purges and Ukraine Independence" in the September 9 issue of LABOR ACTION. It suffers from too much emphasis on the Ukraine. There is no doubt that the national oppression, as is evident in the severity of the Ukrainian purges, as well as the outright liquidation of some of the national republics, is most enlightening on the nature of the Russian régime. But, in the scuffle, we lose sight of the importance of the purges in relation to the Russian industrial worker.

When you consider that Russia lost 25 per cent of its capital equipment in this war, and that its latest plan set goals almost without that fact in mind when you realize further that 25 million people have been left homeless and live, as Molotov himself has said, in dugouts and worse; when you finally realize that despite the terrible deterioration in the already miserable pre-war standards of living of the workers, consumer goods are planned at less than even during the first Five Year Plan (though Russia has conquered and incorporated 25 million additional people of the Baltics, Poland, etc.), you can grasp the necessity for the purges as a way of directing attention from the real culprits, the bureaucrats who rule the nation.

The dissatisfaction of the workers is immense under the strain of living; the purges against "enemies" is a bone thrown to the workers to get

The Record of the Boss Parties in New York

Lots of Talk But No Houses

By WALT WEISS

In New York, as elsewhere, the coming fall elections have had at least one effect on the desperate housing situation.

It would be a stupid waste of time to quote what these scoundrels have to say in their speeches and platforms.

FACTS LOUDER THAN WORDS

The facts of the situation speak far louder than all the campaign oratory. The housing problem is getting worse every day.

The second big fact is that both the capitalist parties are responsible. So far as the New York situation is concerned, the Republicans control the state government, while the Democrats control the city and national administrations.

Not even the most elementary steps are being taken to deal with the housing shortage. Almost a year ago, former Mayor LaGuardia's Commissioner of Housing suggested that the city might take over boarded-up mansions, such as the Charles M. Schwab mansion.

The commissioner was very much worried, according to the New York Times, "that veterans desperately in need of living quarters might take things into their own hands and commandeer empty houses."

Today, almost a year later, nothing at all has been done along these lines. The city government, controlled by Democrats, had the power to act.

campaign, they try to pass the buck, and they make fine promises for the future. The same thing happened last year during the mayoralty campaign.

Only when the trade union movement and the veterans' groups and the consumer organizations take some real action of their own can we expect "our" capitalist representatives to do anything.

"At last," says the New York Times of September 20, "the city seems to have embarked on a program of taking down the boards on closed tenement houses, remodeling them and renting them to people without homes."

Wonderful, isn't it? After a whole year, the richest city in the world gets around to spending a trifling \$6,000,000 to open up a handful of rotten old tenements.

This action is taken only when an election is close at hand.

It is taken only after a new squatters' movement in England arouses the fear that veterans and other homeless people here might also decide to move into some GOOD houses: mansions, luxury apartments, and hotels.

It is taken only after the federal government, giving rising costs as a reason, has reduced the already small number of NEW low-cost apartments to be built in the city.

It is taken because the rehabilitation of slum buildings will be cheaper than the construction of new houses—and more pleasing to the banks, mortgage companies, and other real estate interests.

It is taken, not to furnish housing to a few of those who are NOW homeless, but to accommodate families which will in the future be displaced by new housing projects.

Cabinet Crisis - -

(Continued from page 1)

able to it. Hence Wallace's proposal for an uneasy division of the world is as cynical a bit of imperialist politics as has come from the lips of a pious liberal in many a moon.

Thus far the Byrnes group has won decisively, though not until Byrnes' threat to resign shook Truman from his political somnolence.

Though Wallace is not a Stalinist—he is rather a liberal with a fuzz on top—he has played into their hands, despite his few words critical of Stalinist Russia.

...the best thing to do is to make more concessions to the Russians for the sake of agreement.

The Russian totalitarian bureaucracy will play this for all it is worth; they have found a true supporter in the ranks of this country's capitalist politicians.

INTERNAL EFFECTS

With regard to internal politics, the removal of Wallace is the last reflection of an already apparent fact: the Truman administration is moving steadily toward the right.

This means that the split inside the Democratic Party is today more serious and deeper than ever before. The conservatives look to Byrnes for leadership; the so-called liberals to Wallace and Jim Crow Florida's Senator Pepper.

Never before has the chance for victory in 1948 seemed brighter for

the Republicans. Especially if they nominate a so-called liberal without the Southern crust, they can be expected to capitalize on the division within the Democratic Party ranks.

A tragic-comic sidelight to the whole affair was Truman's incredibly inept and ignorant behavior. He apparently read Wallace's speech without understanding it; he endorsed it afterward without any more understanding, and only after Byrnes' transatlantic threat to fly home and quit was he forced to take a decisive stand.

...the most astounding and disturbing series of errors to come out of the White House in a generation." Lack of intelligence, too, plays a factor in capitalist political life, especially when a series of accidents catapult a man of slight knowledge, limited vision and inadequate mind into a position of world responsibility.

We say that the Wallace-Truman episode is another illustration of the drive for war. It is, further, an illustration of the bankruptcy of "liberal" or conservative capitalism—another proof that we must strive to do away with the whole terrifying mess of capitalist rule and replace it with the sanity of workers' rule, a WORKERS' GOVERNMENT.

Campaign Fund for MAX SHACHTMAN ERNEST RICE MCKINNEY WORKERS PARTY ELECTION CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE 114 W. 14th St., New York 11, N. Y. Name Address Contribution \$

that THEIR government must buy up slum land and buildings at unbelievably fancy prices.

The congressional candidates of the Workers Party, Ernest Rice McKinney in the 22nd district (Harlem) and Max Shachtman in the 15th district of Brooklyn, advocate and call on veterans and workers to fight for the following program:

(1) Opening all the boarded-up and used mansions and apartments of the rich.

(2) Requisitioning all the hotels necessary, as was done for the war program, and making them available at low rentals to veterans and to other families who are doubled up or are housed in unsafe and unsanitary dwellings.

(3) Putting a stop to all evictions.

(4) Ending all discrimination because of race, religion, or national origin.

These points in the program of the Workers Party are ELEMENTARY steps. They are the very LEAST that should have been done for the veterans (and all other Americans) long ago.

The policy of sending petitions by the thousands to Congress, to the White House, to the state capital, to the city hall has been tried and has failed.

Workers and veterans can depend only on ACTION OF THEIR OWN, a PROGRAM OF THEIR OWN, and a POLITICAL PARTY OF THEIR OWN.

English Squatters Point the Way:

London Veterans Take Over Luxury Homes

By SUSAN GREEN

For a week or ten days in London the rights of human beings triumphed over the "sanctity" of private property. Thousands of homeless people marched into vacant luxury apartments and tried to make them their homes.

These people, forgotten by the labor government which had made nice-sounding election promises for peoples' housing as well as many other unfulfilled promises, took matters into their own hands. They came from one-room "dwellings," from cellars, from abandoned air-raid and other make-shift shelters, into the swank West End district of Kensington, the nearby Marylebone district and other neighborhoods where rents are not measured to workers' wages.

The homeless took over these plush apartments, but not on the same luxurious and individualistic basis as do the rich. Each four or five-room apartment was shared by two families of the poor. Into the home of one lord, Lord Ilchester, in the Marylebone district, twenty families moved, and began immediately to grow food in the four-acre flower garden. Exclusiveness was not the keynote of the new tenants.

MANY ARE VETERANS

The squatters got whole-hearted support from all sections of the community. In the first place, when the caretakers of the invaded buildings

Terror in Greece - -

(Continued from page 1)

ties and always without adequate sanitation."

This testimony is all the more revealing in that Conway is a known conservative and works for the right-wing N. Y. Daily News. If it were possible for him, he would have been only too glad to write favorably of the present Greek government.

This type of preparation for the return of King George II is absolutely necessary. Everybody knows the recent plebiscite was a farce. The royalists and army men voted three or four times using the names of persons who have been dead for many years. The known anti-monarchists did not dare go near the polls or had already fled to the mountains. In solid republican towns the polls were not even opened for voting.

How the New York Election Board Ruled McKinney Off the Ballot

Case History of a Fraud

By ABE VICTOR

How did the Board of Elections decide to cross Ernest Rice McKinney off the New York ballot in the 22nd Congressional District? The story of the hearing sounds incredible; but it is quite true.

William J. Heffernan, COMMISSIONER David B. Costuma, COMMISSIONER S. Howard Cohen, COMMISSIONER John R. Crews, COMMISSIONER Thomas Mallee, Chief Clerk Mr. Cummings, Secretary to the Board of Elections.

In order to properly understand the circumstances, the reader must realize that the four election commissioners have the almost superhuman task of meeting on one day each year to hear reports on the filing of independent nominations. We omit conjecture on how hard they work the remaining 364 days in the year.

They serve a two-year term and are appointed by The Council upon the recommendation of the two major political organizations in New York and in Kings counties. The two major political organizations in 1944 were, of course, the Republicans and the Democrats.

WHAT THE HEARING LOOKED LIKE

All the practical work for these four commissioners is done by a staff of clerks, who work for salaries ranging from \$4000 a year to as low as \$1800; the higher the salary the more difficult the duties, of course.

On Wednesday morning, September 18, the four commissioners were required to appear at the abnormally early hour of 10:00 A. M. when hearings were to begin on independent nominating petitions filed by the Workers Party and by

the Liberal Party of New York State. The commissioners appeared at 10:30 A. M., which I am informed is, for an Election Commissioner, the most exacting kind of promptness.

The lawyers, candidates and secretaries of the Liberal Party and the Workers Party were crowded into a long narrow room and the hearings began. In order to limber up, the Election Commission declared invalid, fifteen independent nominations made by the Liberal Party.

A Board of Elections clerk (anonymous) reads off the petitions, names of candidates, and names of the parties. He reads in a voice which resembles the low mumble of a timid man explaining to an irate wife why he has come home at four o'clock in the morning.

The mumbling is not deliberate (of course); such an accusation would imply that the Election Board does not want the audience to know what is going on. But the clerk doesn't look as if he has a cold and at other times his voice is loud enough.

BOARD DOES NOT HEAR TESTIMONY

In the course of this unexplained mumbling, the name of Ernest Rice McKinney is faintly heard from the lips of the clerk. The Workers Party lawyer begins to elbow his way to the railing. But before he gets there, one of the commissioners has already made a motion to sustain the objection to McKinney's petition, a motion which, if carried, would eliminate McKinney from the ballot.

Chief Clerk Thomas Mallee states his findings:

1. A witness who signed for 1,300 signatures is not registered.

2. A second witness who signed for 1,100 signatures is not registered.

The Workers Party attorney begins to reply to these specifications. Witness number 2 is registered. His name is printed on page 62 of the List of Enrolled Voters for the Year 1944-1945 published by the Board of Elections in the City of New York and signed by the four Election Commissioners who sit in all their dignity behind the railing. Witness Number 1 is also registered. Her

name is printed in the List of Registered Voters, Borough of Manhattan, Third Assembly District, page 2. But the registration is printed under her maiden name. She signed the petitions with her married name because in the time which elapsed between her registration and her witnessing, she was married.

At the end of fifty seconds, the attorney for the Workers Party is stopped by one of the commissioners who makes a motion to sustain the objection to the Workers Party petition. The attorney objects but he is informed by Mr. Cummings, secretary to the Board of Elections, that the Board does not hear testimony.

"TAKE IT TO SUPREME COURT"

Did Chief Clerk Thomas Mallee know that these two names were actually registered? To say that he did is to charge him with perjuring himself at the hearing. To say that he did not is to state that he is incompetent since the names are clearly printed under the proper headings. To state the only other alternative, which is that he is interested in the welfare of the Powell Democratic machine in Harlem would be to charge him with something for which LABOR ACTION has no actual proof.

We therefore state unequivocally that Chief Clerk Thomas Mallee is probably not incompetent.

While the reader has been indulging in this conjecture Mr. Cummings is proceeding with a roll call vote on the motion. This he does by calling out the name of each of the four election commissioners in turn:

"Commissioner Heffernan"

The Commissioner answers "Aye"

"Commissioner Costuma"

Commissioner Costuma looks a little sleepy. But after a few seconds he is recalled to life and he manages a feeble "Aye."

"Commissioner Cohen"

Commissioner Cohen raps out his reply with a smart precision. "Aye"

"Commissioner Crews"

Mr. Crews is busy talking to one of the men seated next to him. He appears to have heard neither the testimony nor the roll call. Mr. Cummings repeats his name, someone nudges him; he turns around and says "Aye." The vote is complete and unanimous. When the Workers Party attorney objects to the procedure he is advised to take his case to the Supreme Court.

shop stewards came out with sympathetic statements and demands on the government to requisition the buildings taken over by the squatters. But Pollitt and his colleagues pulled back at a strategic moment. Perhaps the Kremlin ordered them to go so far and no farther.

As a side line, let me say here that the ruling class of Russia would certainly deal more quickly and summarily with the leaders of a squatters' movement on Russian soil—and also with the squatters. The millions of Russian homeless, to whom one small room for a family has become a scarce luxury, are not being invited by the ruling bureaucrats to share their spacious city apartments nor their ample summer homes.

MUCH WAS GAINED

Though the squatters did not carry their action to a conclusion, there was much gained by their bold defiance of the rights of private property and of the government protecting those rights. Not only in England, but throughout the world those suffering from the critical housing shortage applauded the invasions by the poor of the houses of the rich.

The political lessons emphasized by the squatters movement are two. First, the so-called labor government which the British working people voted in to effect a socialist solution of their problems, proves itself the protector of the vested interests in domestic matters as it does in international matters.

The squatters movement is by no means over. The British government, of course, promised to provide shelter for the decamping luxury squatters. Here is how the government is keeping its promise. Some of the squatters were assigned to a building in the East End, of course not the West End. When they arrived at the assigned place, they discovered that the hostel was occupied by building workers who at first defended their homes against the invaders. Finally, however, the building workers decided to accommodate the squatters for the night. The outcome was a decision for joint action with the squatters in sending a deputation to the government and the

NEW YORK VOTERS: All friends and sympathizers of the Workers Party are requested to be sure to register between the days of October 7 and October 12.

London County Council demanding the fulfillment of "the undertaking made to the squatters."

Thus the whole working class is drawn into the housing crisis. They will have to solve it on a class basis.

The Workers Party of the United States demands for the United States: (1) A 250 million dollar five-year program to provide decent housing at low rental for all and an extensive public works plan to provide schools, hospitals and other needed community facilities; (2) a national plan to begin work immediately on the erection of 25 million permanent low-cost housing units.

The working class principle behind these demands of the Workers Party is that if the capitalists could spend hundreds of billions for demolishing homes and cities and people, they should be made to spend as substantially for the peacetime needs of the people. The greater conclusion, however, is this: the people require a Workers' Government to carry out the legitimate demands of working people.

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