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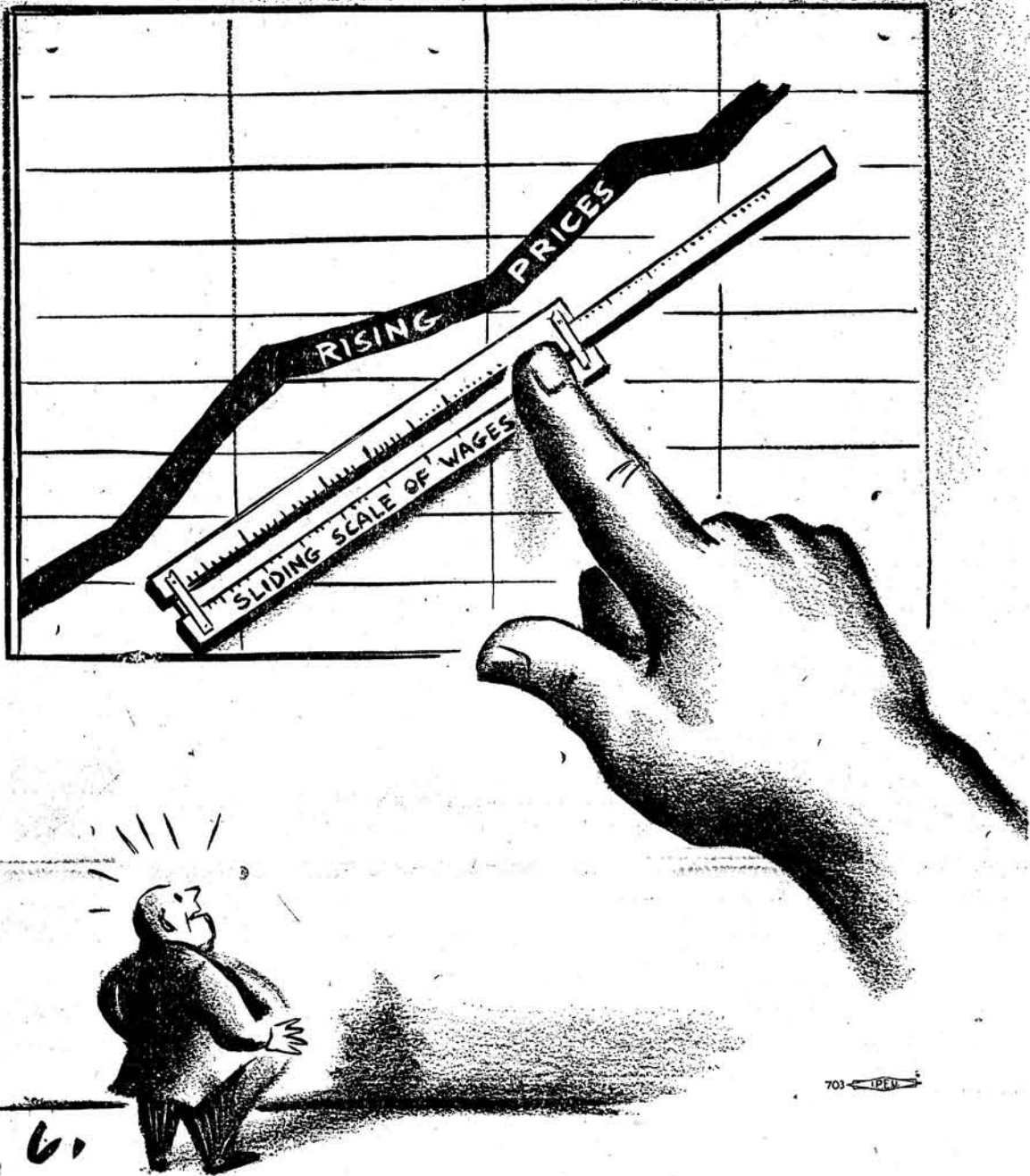
OCTOBER 21, 1946

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

FIVE CENTS

## MEAT: TRUMAN'S PRICE-LIFTING WAY? — OR LABOR'S WAY?

One Way to Meet the Price Boost!



By EMANUEL GARRETT

There will be meat. But when, how much and at what prices will be decided by the greed of the packing monopolists.

So President Truman informed the people of the United States in his radio address announcing the lifting of price controls on meat.

His decision will not solve the crisis. At best it will alleviate the crisis for those who can afford to pay scandalously inflated prices. Meat in proper quantity at a price they can afford to pay will remain unavailable to the great majority of people.

These are conclusions we draw after carefully examining Truman's statement. Beyond that, the President's statement proves the charges we have made week in and week out in LABOR ACTION:

• There has always been plenty of meat available, there are millions of cattle and hogs on farms and in feed lots. Meat has been kept off the market by the packing interests with the connivance of government officials.

• The government, starting with President Truman and going through the Cabinet, the Congress and so on down the line, is the servant of capitalism—in this specific instance, the servant of the meat profiteers.

• Uncontrolled meat prices will be accompanied by robber rises in other foods, and in clothing, drugs and miscellaneous goods.

Let us go over Truman's feeble apology for lifting controls:

He presented himself as the helpless champion of the people, surrounded by a gang of thieves and scoundrels. Responsibility for the crisis, said Truman, rests "on the reckless group of selfish men" determined to make political gain out of the situation.

And that much of what he said is true, with this addition: "the reckless group of selfish men" embrace the totality of capitalist rulers, every one of whom thinks "in terms of millions of dollars instead of millions of people."

Faced with the wide clamor for action on the meat crisis and with the November elections only weeks away, Truman tried to make his decision palatable by palming responsibility off on the obstructionism of his political opponents. To be sure, the Republicans were making hay of his predicament.

But, confronted with the necessity of doing something, anything, to put some meat on the table before election time, his solution proved to be exactly the same as that advocated by Dewey and Taft.

Was it not his man Anderson who gave the meat industry an unwarranted boost in prices some months ago? Has not OPA, the old one and the new "zombie" OPA, proved to be anything but a price control body? Have not prices risen steadily? Has not labor's standard of living been depressed? And all this under Truman! Did not Truman propose violent action against the railroad strikers who demanded wage raises to meet the intolerable price situation created by Truman and the "selfish men" who put millions of dollars "before millions of people"—the upholders of capitalist monopolist "free enterprise"?

### PROPOSALS "WEIGHED AND CONSIDERED"

The measure of Truman and his colleagues and his capitalist political opponents can be taken from his address. He had, said the President, considered various proposals. These were "carefully weighed and considered" and rejected.

• A price control holiday. Truman rejected this, and it is easy to see why. The people would not stand for it; it is too patent a fraud. During the two-month holiday on meat prices, prices zoomed to a dizzy level, underfed cattle were rushed to market, and a deliberately calculated meat famine followed.

• A further increase in livestock prices. Even Truman knew the answer to this one. Livestock would be held back for still higher prices, as has been the case. Besides, and Truman didn't say this, there is no reason to grant the big cattle rangers any increase. And so far as the small producer is concerned, what he wants and needs is industrial products at LOW PRICES.

• Seizing the packing plants. "This offered no solution," said Truman because packing plants without livestock mean nothing. As we've seen in other industries seized by the government, the

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### Our Way:

The Workers Party and LABOR ACTION, in the meat and price situation, offer this program:

1. NATIONALIZE THE MEAT INDUSTRY UNDER WORKERS CONTROL! So vital an industry cannot be left in the hands of a selfish gang of predatory monopolists whose drive for profits conflicts fundamentally with the needs of the people.

2. POPULAR PRICE CONTROL COMMITTEES composed of neighborhood representatives and union representatives—packinghouse workers, teamsters, etc.—to check on prices and supplies, and to plan appropriate action to make food and all necessary goods available at prices the people can afford to pay.

3. WAGE INCREASES WITHOUT PRICE INCREASES. This is the program drafted by the General Motors strikers last year. They proved with unchallengeable figures that it is legitimate for the auto industry. It is equally legitimate and necessary for EVERY industry.

4. AN ESCALATOR CLAUSE in every union contract so that the profiteers will not be able, through connivance of Washington officials, to steal labor's wage gains through price boosts.

5. BACK THE WAGE DEMANDS of the packinghouse workers and of the workers in other industries who are fighting the wage cut of rising prices.

6. ORGANIZE AN INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY. This situation has proved the necessity of political action. And the only kind of political action that will pay off for labor, and therefore for the people as a whole, is the political action undertaken by labor as a class, advancing labor's interests as a class against the capitalist class, striving to replace the bankruptcy of capitalist government with a WORKERS' GOVERNMENT. That is the way to PLENTY FOR ALL!

## Nothing Solved As "Peace" Conference Ends

Hunger and Cold Still Face the European Peoples as Paris Conference Lays Ground for Future Wars, Not for Peace

By HENRY JUDD

The Paris Peace Conference, after thirteen unhappy weeks of it, has finally come to an end. This ending, strangely enough, has left the twenty-one participating nations in exactly the same spot where they were thirteen weeks ago, facing the same basic split between East and West and with the same unresolved problems.

The proposed drafts of five treaties, with Rumania, Bulgaria, Italy, Hungary and Finland, have now been adopted—each by a vote of 15 to 6. But these treaties are far from being in effect—they are simply drafts, with various recommendations. They must now go to the forthcoming conference of the Big Four foreign ministers, the selfsame crew of diplomats (Molotov, Byrnes, Bevin and Bidault) who called together the Paris conference to

smooth over their differences and disagreements. COMPLETE A CIRCLE The Paris conference completed a circle of diplomatic maneuver and gab to return to its starting point! The same set of problems handed to this conference by the Big Four has been handed back to the same Big Four. The chasm between the two great world rivals, Russia and America, is as deep as ever.

In his final denunciation of America at the conference, during the discussion over Finland, Molotov declared, "In all votes in the conference it was enough for the American delegate to vote and another 12 or 13 votes were assured." Thus, proclaimed Molotov, America dominated the conference. True enough, so far as the majority voting went.

No less true was it, as Byrnes might have paraphrased Molotov's remarks, "In all votes in the conference it was enough for the Russian delegates to vote and another five votes were assured." That is, the votes of those nations unfortunate enough to be occupied by Russian imperialism, or close enough to fear occupation.

It was clear that these two blocs (15 to 6) dominated the Paris sessions, and that each antagonist used the proceedings solely to score propagandistic points on his opponent, and embarrass the other. The pitiable dove of Peace never had a look-in at the Luxembourg Palace.

What, if anything, was actually accomplished at the conference? To say that peace has been restored to Europe; that tranquility and harmony reign once more; that there is real hope for an economic revival and solution of the food shortage—to say that these things, real hopes and desires on the part of the European peoples, were accomplished would be a mockery of the facts. Not the slightest advance was made in one of these directions. The approaching winter is guaranteed to

question had the full sanction of the government. And why shouldn't the gang have the sanction of the royalist government? After all, this gang had driven all the anti-monarchists into hiding or had forced them to submission. In addition, through the existence of these gangs, the government can claim it is trying to bring order but the "extreme right wing gangs" and the "extreme left wing gangs" are conducting a private war.

Up near the Albanian and Bulgarian borders the government uses the regular army and gendarmes because whoever is kidnapped or killed can be accused of being a Tito agent at-

## WP National Office, Labor Action Move To New Headquarters

The National Office of the Workers Party, and the editorial offices of LABOR ACTION and the New Internationalist this week moved to new and larger quarters. Located at 4 Court Square, Long Island City 1, New York, the new offices are more than twice as large as the old.

The LABOR ACTION business office and mailing will continue at the old address until new arrangements can be made with the post-office.

Work has not yet been completed at the new location. However, when the painting and decorating have been completed, the new headquarters will be unusually attractive.

Local New York headquarters of the Workers Party remains at the old address, 114 West 14th Street, New York 11, N. Y. Work is now in progress to convert the 14th Street offices into a headquarters of which every member and friend of the Workers Party will be justly proud. The entire headquarters is being redesigned. Local New York announces that this will be completed for the opening of the Labor Action School in November.

The Workers Party and LABOR

ACTION have been looking for new quarters for over a year. With the increase in party activities, the 14th Street headquarters became impossibly crowded, interfering with the efficiency of operations, and presenting anything but an attractive appearance. Multiple activities, mailing, addressing, packaging, etc., kept the old headquarters in permanent disarray.

With the acquisition of new offices giving the various Party and LABOR ACTION institutions, New York and national, almost four times the former space, members and friends will have the kind of headquarters they have always wanted to see—such as the WP now has in Newark, Buffalo, Chicago and other cities.

The new headquarters at 4 Court Square is easily reached from any part of New York City. The GG train on the Independent line takes you directly to the building; the 23rd St.-Ely St. Station on the F and E trains of the Independent are a little over a block away; Court House Square on the IRT line and Queens Plaza on the BMT Queens line are within a short walking distance.

### EXCLUSIVE LABOR ACTION REPORT

## New Outrages in Monarchist Greece

By CHRIS SIKOKIS

Here is a story of terror and murder. It happened in the small town of Vamvakou, Greece. It is not a story of what Hitler's fascist hordes did in that unhappy country—because these murders occurred last week. And what happened in Vamvakou is going on in hundreds of villages and towns throughout Greece.

For the past few months the townspeople of Vamvakou and nearby towns have been unwilling hosts to a monarchist gang headed by the notorious Mr. Katsarea. The local authorities did nothing to stop the gang in its terroristic acts, because the gang was armed and without

tempting to bring arms into Greece or one who is trying to wipe out the Greek population in the border towns. But for towns like Vamvakou, located in the heart of Greece far from any border, this story is too preposterous even for Sedgwick of the New York Times.

So, the Greek royalist government gives full leeway and support to monarchist fascist bands like the one headed by Mr. Katsarea. In this way, the government is covered; all anti-monarchists near the borders are foreign agents, those in the interior are bandits and ultra-leftists.

On October 13, Mr. Katsarea and some of his gang left Vamvakou to help another monarchist gang on a

raiding party to clean out in a nearby county the republicans, socialists, agrarians and communists. When Mr. Katsarea moved out of Vamvakou he left behind some of his plug-uglies. These plug-uglies continued to push the people around, taking food, molesting the women, etc. When the local authorities refused to intervene, the townspeople rose as they rose against Hitler's fascists and killed seven of the gangsters.

### DISPLAY VICTIM'S HEAD

The following day, eighty of Katsarea's gang returned, headed by Katsarea's first lieutenant, Gerakaris, and surrounded the town. They seized

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NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

# New Seamen Strike in Sight

NEW YORK—All maritime workers may strike again. After endless negotiation, red tape, and runaround, the West Coast ship owners still refuse to come to terms with the maritime officers' unions, the MEBA (Marine Engineers Beneficial Association), and the AFL MMP (Master, Mates and Pilots).

At present all ship's officers are out on the picket line, and the seamen are only too glad to respect the picket line. It appears, however, that the unlicensed seamen will break the deadlock between the officers and the ship owners. They are considering a repeat performance of their recently concluded and successful united strike action to back up the officers. This will tie up the waterfront 100 per cent with no exemptions of certain categories of shipping which exist at present.

## OFFICER UNIONS CHANGE

The maritime strikes, including their own, are having a radical effect on the officer unions. Before the strikes they were hardly unions at all. They were only too ready to accommodate themselves to the ship owners. Maritime officers were inclined to be tough on the unlicensed seamen. The seamen's unions have had to battle the officers and the ship owners on many a beef.

As unions, the officers' outfits were not much to speak of. The ships officers were rarely, if ever, held to account by their own unions for their anti-labor practices. Correspondingly there was little democracy in the officers' unions and the officialdom ruled with a firm bureaucratic hand.

The general growth of labor organization, militancy and power has taken a lot of timidity out of the officers' unions. The splendid success of the seamen's unions in achieving their demands through well organized strike action served to bolster the ship officers in their stand against the ship owners. Discarding their hat in hand tradition they gave notice that they would fight for a 30-35 per cent increase and the hiring hall.

It is this last demand which the ship owners find most difficult to swallow since it will help remove the officers from the shipowner side of the rail over to that of the seamen.

It is no doubt this demand more than any other inspired the anti-union columnist, the military "expert," Hanson Baldwin of the New York Times. The cooperation of the officer personnel is what the Coast Guard has been depending on in its effort to regiment the merchant marine.

SEEK DEMOCRATIC UNION

The battle with the hard fought ship owners should give the officers a new and less affectionate slant on John Q. Shipowner. And in the course of the fight the officers have become more critical of the way their union is run. Full participation of the men in a strike calls for de-

mocracy and chafes at bureaucratic manipulation. It is not surprising, therefore, to find opposition in the ranks to the officialdom of the MMP and the MEBA.

This completely justified opposition and desire for real democratic unionism is receiving the kiss of death from the Stalinists. Already the latter control the bureaucrats of the MEBA and are using that organization to break up the AFL Maritime Council which comprise the MMP, the AFL Teamsters, the AFL Longshoremen, the Sailors Union of the Pacific and the Seafarers International Union.

Control of the MEBA has failed to disengage the Master, Mates and Pilots from the AFL Maritime Council. Proceeding from the philosophy of "rule or ruin" the Stalinists recently staged a despicable attempt to force, by physical violence, their control over the Master, Mates and Pilots. Masking themselves as oppositionists of the insurgent rank and file group within the MMP the Stalinists, supported by some fifty goons, tried to rush and take over a recent membership meeting of the MMP.

This disruptive act, especially irresponsible during the strike, was beaten back by members of the MMP aided by some of the AFL seamen unionists. The Stalinist "putch" has opened the eyes of many a militant and has welded together more firmly all who oppose totalitarianism on the waterfront.

The unity and militancy which has

been displayed by all of maritime labor has checked the Stalinists and other bureaucrats from any attempt to seriously impair the solidarity which has been shown against the shipowners and the governmental runaround agencies. The same thing will make them come to terms with all of maritime labor, whether officers or unlicensed seamen, and will make the victory of maritime labor 100 per cent complete.

## District 30 Steel Conference Treated to Loads of Oratory

By R. HARRIS

LOUISVILLE — District 30 of the United Steelworkers of America held its annual conference in Louisville on October 5 and 6. Three hundred and eighty-six delegates, representing seventy-two local unions were present.

The conference was typical of the Southern union movement. It was completely dominated by the leaders, the rank and file playing a passive role.

The main items of discussion (I should have said items, on which speeches were made) were: PAC, "foreign isms," the Southern Drive, and the unions' plan of attack when the contracts expire.

### IN SEARCH OF "FRIENDS"

On PAC, the delegates were subjected to the usual barrage of oratory. The speeches were long, and loud. Frank Annunzio, CIO's political and legislative representative in Illinois, was particularly offensive on this score. In his speech he betrayed the "father fixation" common to CIO leaders when speaking of the late President Roosevelt. He longed for another "good" politician (and a "friendly" one too, if you please) of that variety.

He, along with the higher ups in the CIO, apparently miss the good old days when Roosevelt called them to Washington, spoke to them in a soothing voice, called them by their first names, patted them on the back, and finally gave them nothing. He also made the error of calling the PAC an "independent political arm." THE PAC IS JUST ABOUT AS INDEPENDENT OF CAPITALIST POLITICS AS A TWO-MONTH-OLD IS OF ITS MOTHER!

David J. McDonald, secretary-treasurer of the Steelworkers, also mentioned PAC. He preferred to call it "part of the American Revolution." By what stretch of the imagination he could call class collaboration in the political field "a part of the American Revolution," nobody knows. Perhaps he meant that the American Revolution was a capitalist revolution, and that the PAC today serves the interest of the capitalists by dulling labor's independent political action.

The attack made by the leaders on "foreign isms" was vigorous.

## The Boss's Dictionary Progress:



# One-Tenth of the Nation

By J. R. Johnson

Over and over again I have heard from Negro workers, good unionists, the following statement:

"The white worker works alongside me. He is a good union man and a good pal on the job. But as soon as we get outside the factory or the union hall, he becomes a white man again and I just another Negro. You will never change that."

It is not said with bitterness in all cases. Quite often the Negro says it with regret. And further conversation will elicit the fact that he believes race prejudice is something rooted in the heart, blood and bones of the white man. He would like to believe otherwise. He knows some whites who are not prejudiced. That he will admit. But the large majority? He cannot conceive of a time when they will be different.

Equally important is the fact that many white workers feel that if they carry out their duties as fellow worker and fellow unionist, that is sufficient. They wish the Negroes well, but after all many workers do not see why they should not "go their own way" and Negroes go theirs.

### ROOTS OF PREJUDICE

One way of getting a more sober, less personal, view of this problem (for problem it is), is to recognize that this deep-rooted prejudice is something peculiar to the United States and to Great Britain. The overwhelming millions of white people during many centuries of civilization have not had it. The average American white worker must understand that race prejudice is not a natural thing. The very reverse is the truth. It is a most unnatural thing.

The old classical civilizations of Greece and Rome did not divide men according to race. They had a different division. They divided men according as they were "civilized" or "barbarian." A colored man could be "civilized" and millions of white men could be "barbarians."

Is this just history? Not at all. The French people today make exactly the same distinction in their African colonies. They exploit the natives as fiercely and as mercilessly as the British. But if a native African learns to speak and write French, or visits France, or serves in the French army or otherwise becomes a part of French civilization, he is known as one of the "elite" and is treated for

all practical purposes as if he is a Frenchman.

### FRENCH EXPERIENCE

There have been Negro generals in the army, captains and commanders and, I think, one admiral of the French fleet. There have been black Cabinet ministers and Negroes holding all sorts of superior administrative posts in French government and French business.

During World War I the officer in charge of the air defenses of Paris was a French Negro, with all sorts of British and American air pilots subordinate to him. At the battle of Verdun, the chief of staff of Pétain was a Negro.

Some years after the last war a poll was held among French middle class families, asking whether they would admit their families as house guests. Not only did the majority say "Yes." A number of them could not understand why the question should be asked at all.

After World War I the depopulation of France by the death of young Frenchmen in the war occupied public attention seriously. The proposal of inviting some hundreds of thousands of American Negroes to live in France was made and discussed freely in the French press. The Americans did not want them. France needed them. The French had seen them as soldiers and liked them. And many French people did not see why they should not come to France and live as Frenchmen. Needless to say, this discussion was NOT reproduced in the American press.

### BASIS FOR EQUALITY

But it was not only France. All over Europe it was the same. Any educated Negro was received as any other educated person. In Germany, before 1933, Negroes were welcomed and entertained freely. There is an authenticated story of a little Abyssinian boy who was brought up in the household of the German Emperor. He finally became a major in the German army.

In the Scandinavian countries to this day Negroes are not only tolerated but welcomed. In the old days, in Italy and Spain, a Negro was a black man, and nothing more.

Not only were Negroes looked upon as ordinary people. The governments and the population as a whole did

not tolerate anti-Negro prejudice. Immediately after World War I, Americans in Paris made themselves objectionable by opening restaurants (SOUTHERN fried chicken restaurants) and refusing to admit Negroes, particularly Negroes with French girls. Briand was Minister of the Interior and he issued a warning: If the French government hears any more of this, it will close down the offending establishments. Needless to say, the practice stopped.

Doubtless there were isolated cases of prejudice, but the general sentiment of Europeans was to accept a Negro on the basis of what he represented. Hitlerism ruined Germany in this as in other spheres, and between Nazism and Americans in Europe, race prejudice has grown of recent years.

### ANGLO-AMERICAN INFLUENCE

No. The real strongholds of prejudice against Negroes have been the United States and Great Britain. And the cause of it is not in the blood but in the economic and social systems. In the U. S., prejudice has grown on the exploitation of millions of Negroes in the South. In Britain it has been the result of centuries of colonial domination.

The British, however (except in the colonies), never carried it to the lengths of the U. S. Under pressure of the war and colonial revolts, a strong tide of feeling against racial prejudice grew up in Britain. It was the American officers and Southerners who fought hard to "Americanize" Britain on the Negro question.

So that the position today is as follows: American imperialism and Bilbo morality combined are the great strongholds of anti-Negro prejudice. In Africa too the imperialists maintain it but they cannot extend it from Africa to other parts of the world.

The Negro worker should, therefore, see race prejudice for what it is—rooted in the American social system. When that system is broken the back of racial prejudice will be broken with it. And the white worker has to ask himself: Why should I give way to prejudices which are dangerous to my union, a disgrace to my nation, something which is characteristic of American capitalism and in the past has been repudiated by most civilized peoples?

## Bronx AVC Forum Will Hear Gould

Nathan Gould, Chairman of the Veterans Committee of the Workers Party, will present the viewpoint of the Workers Party at a public forum that is being sponsored by the Gen. Maurice Rose Post of the American Veterans Committee on the subject, "How Does Your Party Propose to Prevent War."

Since representatives of the various capitalist and Stalinist controlled political organizations have accepted the Chapter's invitation to send speakers, Comrade Gould will have the opportunity to contrast the program of revolutionary socialism on the question of war, to that of the exponents of one or the other imperialist blocs.

The forum which, it is believed, will attract an audience of 700 people, will take place at the Herman Ridder, Jr. High School, on Tuesday, October 29, at 8 P.M. The school is located at 173rd St. and Boston Road, in the Bronx. The meeting place can be reached by taking the East Side IRT to the 174th Street Station.

# TAPPING THE WALL STREET WIRE

By JACK RANGER

First, let's climb the price spiral for the week ending October 11: Pots and pans and enamelware sold by mail order, up 5 per cent; clothing and other items of cotton, up 1-2 per cent; poultry prices, not under control, up 50 per cent in the past month; increases in the delivered prices of iron and steel products; Douglas fir doors, ceiling raised 4.5 per cent; pine millwork, up 3.9 per cent; cafe price ceilings on meat meals, up 15 per cent; California rice, up 23-25 cents a 100 pounds; rubber, up 4.21-14.12 per cent; household soaps and cleaners, prices raised; prices of meals on dining-cars decontrolled; cigarettes, up 1 cent a pack, or 6 per cent; salt fish, up 2-4 cents a pound; herring, up 4 1/2 cents a can; California sardines, up 14 per cent or 1 1/2 cents on a 15-ounce can; ceilings on veal, up 7-8 cents a pound; on beef and pork, up 1-2 cents a pound.

Week by week, from every direction, Big Business nips our pocketbooks. Flushed with wartime super profits, insatiable in its greed, industry shoves the prices of its commodities ever higher. When the masses, goaded desperately, dare to strike to obtain wage increases, all the watchdogs of capitalism shriek in chorus.

The government that protects the wealthy in their robbery, turns with a snarl to confront the workers when they demand decent wages.

In the marathon between wages and prices, except for isolated instances, the bosses can always win, because they have the government on their side. The only ultimate solution for the workers lies in a workers' government and a socialized economy.

Personal borrowing of money to be paid back in monthly instalments has soared 50 per cent since the end of the war. One prominent instalment banker told the Wall Street Journal he believes many people are borrowing just to make ends meet on day-to-day living costs. "With living expenses racing ahead of their earnings," he said, "they may be borrowing just because it's the easiest way to keep their heads above water pending a hoped-for increase in pay or a cut in living costs."

The business of making instalment loans is fabulously profitable. Most states permit interest rates of thirty-six per cent. Most instalment loans go to men and women with low incomes, in the \$1,500-\$4,500 a year bracket. The business is so attractive to banks that 80 per cent of them now make personal loans, whereas 15 years ago almost none of them did.

Here is yet more evidence that the plight of the people is worsening in this beautiful post-war world: Total redemption of E bonds (those are the bonds the bosses made you buy during the war if you wanted to hold down your job) in September were \$406,136,000, or \$98,290,000 in excess of E-bond sales for the month.

### THE WALL STREET MIND

I am always interested in examples of how the minds of the wealthy work, and especially so when the evidence comes from the rich themselves. Here's a pure example, quoted from a recent letter to the Wall Street Journal. The writer, apparently a landlord, relates that recently one of his tenants ran an ad for common laborers. At least 100 men answered, all wanting work. "This is the first time in several years," he writes, "that I have had an associate tell me he had been able to turn workers away in numbers to amount to anything. It is a very hopeful sign."

Ponder on that. How callous must be the person who can find gratification at the sight of a hundred unemployed men seeking work and being turned away. Each one of the hundred is a man, with all the needs and feelings and thoughts and hopes and cares that are common to us all. Many of them are fathers, husbands, with children at home waiting to be fed and clothed, with wives worrying over how to make ends meet.

Yet this scoundrel sees "hope" in the fact that these men are denied work "in numbers to amount to anything." To make a man like that really sing before breakfast, a good spate of unemployment—say about 10,000,000—would do the trick. Then wages might be battered down, then profits could soar still further.

# It's the Same American Legion

By WILL BARTON

American Legion conventions in the old days were incredibly idiotic. Rowdiness, long parades, drunkenness, back-door management of convention affairs, reactionary resolutions—these were the invariable features of this super-patriotic, big-business-run, much-too-powerful veterans' organization. But at least they competed with 25-cent burlesque in putting on a show.

The latest national conclave at San Francisco last week didn't even do that. It was a pure and simple flop. Without its make-up, it looked twice as gruesome.

The much advertised parade lasted less than a third of the allotted time. About a fifth of the expected visitors showed up. Hotel and night club proprietors tore their hair out over the expected income they didn't get. The writer remembers 1937, when the Legion really took over New York. In Frisco last week it was just like any other day or night. Even the Shriners

made a bigger splash a few months earlier.

Strangely enough, this absence of oomph was paralleled by the most disputed sessions ever held, reporting a membership three times as large as previously. A glance at some of the issues brought up at the convention gives some clue to the background for the general lack of enthusiasm. The dispute with Veterans Administrator Bradley got the biggest play in the press. The convention cheered the General, and then denounced his administration. The official reason was his support of enacted Congressional legislation to limit total earnings for "on-the-job training" for veterans to \$200 a month. But the actual reason goes back much further and has little to do with the wage cut on which the Legion was silent when it came before Congress.

The Legion never did like Bradley. Unlike his predecessor, General Hines, he was not exclusively "their

man." They attacked him almost from the day he took office. For a long time they had made much headway as "the veterans' organization"; in some states they received official recognition as such. Bradley, realizing that they now had serious rivals, refused to play that way.

### "KINGMAKERS" WIN

Another conspicuous behind-the-scenes conflict was the opposition of many elements to the way the outfit had always been and was still being run. The charter of the Duncan Paris Post in New York, organized by a group of writers and authors led by Marion Hargrove, had been lifted because of "communism." Hargrove failed to get his complaint heard on the floor but the newspaper stories about his campaign dampened the ardor of many a new member. An article in Colliers had described the men who undemocratically run the organization as a group of "kingmakers," wealthy business men and professional veterans politicians who determine national officials and policies years in advance. The labor posts, always a body of second-class citizens, made a feeble attempt to do something about it by opposing the election of the new commander, Paul Griffith. The feeble attempt fizzled, as his election, like all others, was by "acclamation."

Completing the picture was the general treatment of World War II vets. Comprising two-thirds of the membership, they had just about 20 per cent of the delegates. A few made plans to get some of their group elected to important national posts. They were easily squashed, with the slight salvo of a couple of their "reliable" representatives being given minor positions. Their desperate attempt to get the Legion to do something about the pressing housing situation met first with complete refusal and finally with the appointment of an "investigating committee."

The first was mentioned as a point for discussion. There was no discussion. The second was made as an amendment to one of the resolutions. James Robb, director of district 30 who chaired the conference, listened to the amendment, and then called on someone else to speak on another item in the resolution. While this brother was talking, Robb held a hurried consultation with Harold Rasmussen, chairman of the resolutions committee. He then came to the microphone, and said "we will now vote on the resolution"; completely ignoring the amendment. By this time, the delegates were tired and bored, so for the most part they paid no heed to the trick. Evidently the idea of wage increases without price increases must be a foreign "ism!"

The conference ended after two days. The delegates went back to various parts of Indiana, and to their homes in Louisville, their ears ringing with speeches. I wonder how many of them felt they had functioned as working class men and women? Or did they feel that they had just functioned as a "rubber stamp" in the hands of the leaders.

(Continued from page 1)

are essential points in the five treaties, country by country.

ITALY: Dodecanese Islands to Greece; small Alpine border regions to France; disposition of African colonies postponed a year, with England meanwhile remaining in possession; reparation payments (in form of production) of \$325 million to Russia, Yugoslavia, Greece and Ethiopia. No plebiscites or voting will take place in the transferred territories, and the Italian government will be forced to carry out the treaty whether it signs or not. The issue of Trieste remains as before,

completely unsettled and with completely divergent plans.

HUNGARY: To cede Transylvania to Rumania; to pay \$300 million in reparations to Russia and Yugoslavia; and with no prospect of a near withdrawal of Russia's life-draining soldiers of occupation.

RUMANIA: To lose Dobruja to Rumania and Bessarabia-Bukovina to Russia, in permanence; to pay \$300 million to Russia, in addition to the hundreds of millions already drained off by the Russian tyrants.

BULGARIA: To pay \$125 million to Greece and Yugoslavia; and to

remain for the time being under Russian domination.

FINLAND: To cede the port of Petsamo, Finnish Karelia and various military bases to Russia; to pay \$300 million in reparations to Russia. Altogether, Russia stands to collect \$1 billion and over in reparations from the defeated powers.

### ISSUES AT STAKE

This terse summary of the actuality adopted treaty recommendations presents the grasping and reactionary nature of these treaties in full.

The additional points in disagreement, and far from being settled, re-

flect those issues at stake between America and Russia which have not yet been successfully "arranged" to their mutual satisfaction. They are the issues of Trieste, and the problem of "free" that is, American trade on the Danube versus Russian exclusive domination of the Danubian nations.

Not peace, but the preparation of future wars. This is our conclusion regarding the work of the Paris conference. Nothing else might have been expected from this gathering of yesterday's Allies, but today's rivals who will drag us into tomorrow's war unless they are brought to a halt.

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## The Face of Southern Justice

With a truly brazen move the ruling class of this country is praising Southern justice for the verdict of acquittals in the Columbus, Tennessee, trials.

Five hundred state troopers and lynchers invade a Negro ghetto and wreck the area. The police arrest Negroes and kill two who, they say, were "trying to escape." Because the Negroes defended themselves, twenty-five of them are brought up on trial. The jury acquits all except two and the capitalist press shouts that Southern justice is not so bad after all.

The scores of unpunished lynchings, the fact that the police in this Tennessee trial should have by rights been in the dock, all this we are supposed to forget because the police simply could not prove its case and under pressure a verdict of acquittal for the majority was gained. Even the evidence against the two men, actually convicted was later repudiated by the witnesses.

Southern justice for Negroes still strikes as it always did. This case was won by Northern agitation.

The NAACP, some liberals, the labor movement and the Negro people protested so vigorously, and followed the trial so closely, that the Southern court found itself the focus of a nation-wide hostility and vigilance.

That the capitalist press praises Southern justice shows that the ruling class is really on the side of the lynchers. It is the mortal enemy of the Negro people. It is this enormity which makes it so ready to praise Southern justice.

What adds to the importance of this case as well as to the general problem of Negro justice in the South is the case of a young Negro boy who was flogged to death on the charge of having stolen a saddle from a farmer. Subsequently, it was discovered that this poor lad had nothing whatever to do with it; indeed two white boys did it, one the kin of a flogger. The floggers have now been indicted, but one can see from what happened in Tennessee how justice will work out in this case.

## Meat Price Gouge Shows Need For Nationalization of Industry

By SUSAN GREEN

The impasse of artificially created shortages and of fantastic prices to which the profit system has brought this country, poses the need for nationalization of industry as an imperative problem of the day. This is no time for pussy-footing. Labor must come out for a clear-cut program for the nationalization of industry under workers' control, within the framework of the widest possible democracy for the masses. If labor does not assume militant leadership for attaining this goal of democratic nationalization, it will lose a great opportunity.

The above remarks are made urgent by the first plank of the seven-point program of the Packinghouse Workers Union, CIO, on the meat crisis. This plank calls the meat industry "a public utility." In the October 7 issue of LABOR ACTION the lead article assumed that this plank amounted to a call for nationalization, and very correctly added a most vital amendment, namely, that a nationalized meat industry must be under the control of qualified committees of packinghouse workers in order to protect their interests as producers and the interests of the people as consumers.

However, since then, judging by statements made by the president of the union, Ralph Helstein, declaring the meat industry "a public utility" does not mean nationalization to him. His interpretation is that the meat industry requires "regulation." This throws a piercing light on the meaning of the plank and makes it clear that the words "a public utility" were chosen by the union leadership with reason—though not a good reason from the viewpoint of the interests of both workers and consumers.

### THE PUBLIC UTILITY LURE

What is "a public utility"? In this country that designation has specific meaning. Gas and electric companies, telephone service, natural gas suppliers, water works, these and a few other industries are considered public utilities. As such they are subject to a certain amount of so-called "government regulation." Mr. Helstein, presumably, wants the meat industry included in this category and subjected to the same kind of regulation.

At the same time he thinks that "such regulation . . . would insure reasonable profits to the packers, reasonable prices to the consumer and producer, and jobs to the workers." We, of course, have no quarrel with the objective of reasonable prices to the consumer and jobs to the workers—though we are not too much interested in insuring what is called "reasonable profits" and prices for the monopolists. However, we must ask what justification Mr. Helstein has for thinking that by placing the meat industry in the category of the public utilities monopolies and subjecting it to similar regulations, will protect the interests of worker and consumer. Does he not know that "government regulation" has in no way broken the monopolistic powers of these sectors of industry? As a matter of fact, the public utilities maintain powerful lobbies both to boost rates and to prevent the development of government projects that might interfere with their private interests. They are responsible for holding up the development of the magnificent

potentialities for hydro-electric power.

Such achievements as the Tennessee Valley Authority, with its cheaper rates for electric current, show up the extent to which the "government regulations" have allowed the public utilities to mulct the public, the consumer. Until very recently the public utilities have held the workers in the vise of company unionism, and are still the tireless opponents of workers' initiative and power. In a word, public utilities are the very warp and woof of the banking and industrial monopolies of this country. They have thrived on "government regulation." At the expense of the workers and the consumers. It is not for nothing that public utilities are Wall Street favorites.

For a labor leadership to come out for this kind of "regulation" is pussy-footing. It is half-hearted recognition of the spreading public sentiment that such a vital industry as meat production should no longer be left to the mercy of the profit system. It spreads confusion instead of clarity. For the words "a public utility" sound good, but really mean no lessening of the powers of the meat monopolists.

### WHAT KIND OF SOLUTION?

Would Mr. Helstein apply the same kind of plank to the other vital industries? How about the dairy industry with butter \$1 a pound, eggs eighty cents a dozen, milk twenty cents a quart (under the counter)? What are these prices doing to the health of working class children? How about clothing and blankets and textiles, all so vital to life and health with winter approaching? How about the steel and construction industries, the essentials for building homes—which are not forthcoming? Do we demand that all these industries, which most intelligent workers see should not be owned by private monopolists and squeezed for profits at the expense of human life, do we merely demand that they all be placed in the category of the telephone, gas, electric and other public utilities? And, is this a solution?

It is even less of a solution than the very deceptive nationalization program of the British so-called Labor government. The deception there is that the government issues bonds to the capitalist owners, and then pays interest on the bonds amounting to more than former profits. Thereby the income of the nation is mortgaged to the bondholders and the problems of the people remain unsolved. Neither does the British government disturb the capitalist management of the nationalized banks, mines, etc. Instead of the workers taking control, the same old exploiting outfit is left in charge to so run the enterprises to net big salaries and the increased interest on brand new bonds.

To declare vital industries "public utilities" and place them under "government regulation" as with the gas, electric and telephone companies,

does not even go as far as this profit-continuing British plan. It does not even disturb private ownership by exchanging stock certificates for government bonds. And the kind of "regulation" the public utilities have "suffered" have made their monopolistic powers greater so that the government has been regulated more than the monopolists.

As stated above, labor should stand for a program of nationalization of industry of a kind that will oust the monopolists from production and place the controls of each industry where they belong; namely, in the hands of democratically elected committees of the most capable and responsible workers of each industry, combining on a national scale to plan production for use instead of for profit. Implied in such a defeat of the capitalist monopolies, is of course a change of government. For such a program can be carried out not by a capitalist government but only within the framework of a Workers' Government, assuring the widest possible democracy for the masses.

By ALBERT GATES

The United States is now experiencing an economic boom featured by tremendous production and what is, economically speaking, full employment. On its face, this would appear to answer all those who forecast a post-war crisis. The capitalist economists quite naturally hail the present period as a living answer to the critics of capitalism. Yet the boom, unlike previous ones, does not seem to inspire genuine confidence in capitalism. The reasons for this are to be sought in the doubts produced by the long economic crisis of the 1930's and the World War. An "instinctive" doubt in the strength of United States capitalism pervades the whole country, despite the appearance of economic strength.

Long before the war came to an end, the question of the future of American economy had already occupied the minds of the leading economists of the country, especially those employed by the government. Government economists, for the most part New Dealers, pictured post-war economic prospects under the influence of the crisis of the 1930's. The crisis had taught these economists to be wary in their prognoses and to steer clear of that vapid optimism which characterizes the writings, speeches and prophecies of the "captains of industry" and their hired economists and statisticians.

### RISE IN PRODUCTION DURING THE WAR

While the war was still on, they observed the tremendous rise in production, the growth of productive plant technological advances, and the increase in the number of workers. They compared this general economic growth with the factors which produced the great crisis, the collapse of the market, the increase of productivity and the decline in working force, the shrinking of the domestic and international markets; and concluded that an economic crisis in the post-war period, marked by mass unemployment was inevitable unless protective measures were taken in advance. Using the year 1940 as their point of departure because it represented the year of greatest peacetime production, these economists pointed out that despite this high level of production 9,000,000 workers could not be absorbed by industry or agriculture.

The spectre of mass unemployment haunted these men, particularly since the war economy created a new labor force of many millions. If peacetime production did not succeed in far surpassing the production levels of 1940, they said, then the crisis is inevitable. The New Dealers, under the leadership of Henry Wallace, began a campaign for "full employment" and maximum production. By full employment they meant 60,000,000 workers based on production at a rate of from \$150 to \$160 billion annually. They did not ask that these levels be attained the day the war ended, but rather that this goal be adopted and all efforts directed toward reaching it as quickly as possible after the war, to prevent an inevitable post-war "depression" in the reconversion period.

In the minds of these New Dealers and in Wallace's book the proposal is made that where private enterprise is unable to fully operate its industries and employ a maximum of workers, the government must step into the picture to guarantee the above aims. That means to support the economy with public works, subsidies and the operation of plants shut down where it would not conflict with private industry. Big business and its spokesmen turned on Wallace as the exponent of a "state-controlled economy" as against "free enterprise." They argued that left alone they could achieve prosperity; that the evils of Ameri-

can society spring from government intervention (they begged for government intervention and government efforts to save big business during the '30's).

### POST-WAR CRISIS IS INEVITABLE

The New Deal economists, however, were not the only ones who forecast a post-war crisis of U. S. capitalism. For different and more fundamental reasons, the Marxists also forecast a post-war crisis. The difference is one of time. It is not a question of whether a post-war crisis is inevitable, but of exactly when it will come. The Workers' Party, for example, has said that a post-war crisis is inevitable, but before it comes the country will experience a short period of boom made possible precisely by the conditions created by the war. In its resolution on the United States, adopted at its convention in June, the Workers' Party authored some of these factors:

"While the HISTORIC prospect of American capitalism is that of declining production and mass unemployment as part of the social crisis of capitalism on a world scale, the IMMEDIATE prospect is for an economic boom with a high level of production and a relatively small amount of unemployment. The boom is based upon a conjunction of the following factors: (a) the ready market provided by five years of accumulated demand for consumer goods as a result of curtailed production during the war; (b) the potential purchasing power represented by cash reserves accumulated during the war-time period of full employment and overtime pay (over \$150 billion dollars in bank deposits and war bonds of individuals); (c) the relatively high incomes of five million farm families whose prospects for continued prosperity are good as a result of the vast agricultural areas devastated by the war; (d) the large orders for heavy equipment placed by foreign countries through credits made available by the U. S. government loans (Great Britain, France, Belgium, The Netherlands); (e) the continued government expenditures for military purposes (though reduced, still higher than any previous peacetime budget), for various subsidies, GI loans and other allowances, and for necessary public works, including those of local government; (f) the huge cash reserves of corporations piled up out of war-time profits and available for extensive modernization of plants and equipment; (g) the swollen cash reserves of banks available on easy terms for industrial expansion and the financing of consumer credit accounts; (h) the prospect for continued employment and rising prices, both of which induce workers to invest their earnings in durable goods like houses, automobiles, refrigerators, radios, etc., rather than bank them."

Not all the factors outlined in that resolution have occurred precisely in the way described. But in the main the picture presented in it is what we observe in the present economic situation. A few illustrations will suffice to prove the point.

### THE BOOM SIDE OF THE PICTURE

On the boom side of the picture the following factors must be readily acknowledged as its strong aspects, despite contradictory elements:

**Production:** Taking the 1935-1939 average of a 100, the production index rose to 174 at the end of July, 1946, and continues to rise. In the terms of money, industrial production takes place at an annual rate of \$172,000,000,000. Allowing for price changes, this is the highest peacetime production rate in American history, far beyond the demands of the New Deal economists. It compares favorably to wartime production.

**Employment:** 58,000,000 are now gainfully employed. This marks the highest employment

levels ever reached in this country. As a result of this employment, unemployment is at the very low point of 2,000,000. From the standpoint of capitalist economics, this really means no unemployment whatever and compares more than favorably with the prosperity period of the '20's. It is certainly an improvement over 1940, the previous high economic year when more than 9,000,000 were unemployed.

**Business profits:** These have reached a new all-time high annual rate of \$11,000,000,000, AFTER TAXES!

**Income payments:** These are now paid at the annual rate of \$167,000,000,000 and are also the highest in history.

**Farm incomes:** In contrast to previous periods when farm income also suffered in relation to industrial, at the present time it is at an unprecedented height, accompanied by a great reduction of farm debts and mortgages.

And finally, there is a vast increase in construction which employs a vast amount of capital goods.

But this is only one side of the picture. On the other side, we can see some of the factors which make for the future decline, great disproportions which exist between the classes in the present boom revealing that, within the confines of the boom, a new enrichment of the capitalist class takes place at the expense of the workers and the mass of people. Thus, there is a continuation of the process of development and the relationship of the classes that existed prior to and during wartime.

First of all, though not most important, taxes remain at a high rate for all the classes, but effect the working class most sharply of all; shortages in raw materials continue, as in freight transportation.

### REAL WAGES ARE DECLINING RAPIDLY

Most important factors, however, are the following:

**Wages:** While employment is at its height, take home pay has actually declined (8.5 per cent between April 1935 and July 1946). But worse than that, real wages have declined to their lowest point since the early years of the war due to the rapid rise of prices.

**Prices:** What the capitalist class has been unable to take directly from the working masses, it is taking by increasing prices. Prices rose higher since the expiration of the old OPA last June 30 than in the previous 38 months. Taking the August 1939 price index of 100 as our measuring point, the index of 28 basic commodities reached 250 by the end of July. Even under the OPA the price index rose to 199. Compared to the post-war period of the First World War, when prices rose by one-fourth, we find now that prices have risen by more than a third since the end of the war.

**Inventories:** Related to the decline in real wages and rising prices, is the increase in inventories to a record \$30,000,000,000. Inventories continue to rise and although big business does not yet regard this as "excessive," it is reaching a danger point. Two factors are responsible for this pile-up of goods and they do not conflict: (a) consumers are not buying goods in the amount forecast because of higher prices and fears for an unstable future; business is holding back goods waiting for an even greater kill on the market by holding out for still higher prices. At a not too distant point, saturation will be reached in the pile-up of goods which must result in a decline in production and a rise of unemployment.

Why cannot this boom period last indefinitely? Because long-term factors operate against it so (Continued on page 6)

## Fight on Stalinism Begins in Shoe Union

By MIKE STEVENS

The fifth biennial convention of the United Shoe Workers of America, CIO, held last week in Atlantic City, revolved around two issues: the union's lack of growth and the resignation of Frank McGrath, the union president. When McGrath resigned, one week before the convention opened, he charged that the USWA was completely controlled by the Communist Party and that it was impossible for him to continue to function.

This is an interesting development because this same McGrath was pushed into prominence by the Communist Party and was their leading tool in the union for many years. The first important Stalinist manipulation to raise him to national prominence was when the Stalinist-controlled New York locals of the union put up all their resources and conducted an extensive campaign in 1939 to elect him to the post of National Organizer.

There were two other candidates for that post, P. Padgett from California and John Nolan from Massachusetts. Nolan was a conservative from way back but his stock among shoe workers had gone up a little during 1939 when he was one of those instrumental in merging the shoe unions into the CIO and was imprisoned for organizing workers in Maine. Padgett was supported by the progressives but he was little known in the East and in St. Louis; and in addition, the entire campaign of the progressives was badly handled.

The Stalinists did not rate high among shoe workers in 1939. Only a few years before the Stalinists had

pulled the locals they controlled out of the progressive industrial shoe unions and had set up their own Trade Union Unity League organizations. These sectarian outfits of the Stalinists devoted their main energies to breaking up bona-fide rank and file controlled industrial shoe unions. When the "third period" ended the Stalinists went to the opposite extreme and joined the out and out reactionary AFL Boot and Shoe Union. And it was months after all the progressive shoe unions had merged and formed the USWA, CIO, that the Stalinist-controlled locals in New York came along and joined up.

In the three-corner fight for National Organizer, McGrath was elected. He immediately began to make the "reforms" the Stalinists considered necessary for them to expand their hold outside of New York. The first was to abolish the post of National Organizer and institute a new one—National President.

It was more than re-naming a post because the entire emphasis of the job and its responsibilities were changed. The conception of the National Organizers' position in the union had been that in this industry with its thousands of small shops which move from city to city, the top position in the union must be one of directing the organizational activities of the union. The conception of "national organizer" and not one of "national president" also implied a large amount of democracy for the locals.

The change to "national president" was the beginning of setting up a bureaucracy. Up to that time, there were two full time functionaries, the National Organizer and

the National Secretary. They received their instructions and reported to the General Executive Board. This GEB was made up of workers who took time off from their benches to attend GEB meetings. Not one of them could be on the payroll of the National Office or any of the locals. All these officers were elected by rank and file referendums.

This was the way the union functioned when McGrath and the Stalinists took over. By the time the 1946 convention came along, McGrath had placed Communist Party members in leading posts throughout the country and had pushed through changes in the constitution for Vice-Presidents, Regional Directors and other Stalinist claptrap. But even with the changes McGrath and the Stalinists pushed through, the union still remains one of the most democratic in the country. Because the Stalinists know that the shoe workers pulled out of the AFL more than 20 years before the CIO was born because of lack of democracy. The Stalinists also know that the long tradition of independence among shoe unions means that if they try to ride rough-shod in this union, the various locals will walk out and leave an empty shell to the Stalinists.

### UNION AT STANDSTILL

The reasons for McGrath's break with the Stalinists seem to flow along these lines. The union has been at pretty much of a standstill in many sections of the country. The shoe workers were complaining against the national leadership and demanding results. The Stalinists, in order to cover up that it was their policies that were responsible, disassociated

themselves from McGrath whom many shoe workers considered incompetent. To show that McGrath was no longer their baby, the Stalinists put up a candidate against him in the elections held only a few months ago.

McGrath won, but it was pretty much of an anti-Stalinist vote and not one of program or confidence in McGrath, so it was impossible for him to consolidate these voters. As the convention approached, McGrath saw that the machine that he had built for the Stalinists would control the convention and that he would be the scapegoat in all discussions and decisions. So like many others who have done the Stalinists' bidding—who have aided them to get strangleholds in unions, who have refused them nothing—he resigned, announcing that the union is controlled by them.

### ORGANIZATIONAL PROBLEMS

The convention last week debated for two days on the organizational drive and the appointment of an organizational director. And in this debate it was pathetic to see some of the best militants in the American labor movement sponsoring a move that the organizational director come from outside the union's ranks. These misguided militants hope that in this way they will prevent a bureaucracy from becoming entrenched. They think that an outsider, picked by Philip Murray, will devote his energies to organizing and will not engage in partisan politics in the union. They feel that in this way the union will grow without Stalinist henchmen occupying all the organizers' posts, and that in this growth the Stalinists hold will be broken.

On the final day of the convention it was decided to carry on an intense organizational drive and to allow the four top officers (two of them non-Stalinists) to choose an organizational director from the ranks of the union after consultation with Philip Murray. The convention unanimously adopted a statement condemning McGrath's red-baiting resignation. McGrath's post will be filled by the GEB after receiving nominations from the locals. The new president will fill the post until it expires, when regular referendum elections will be held.

Today all shoe locals recognize the importance of a nation-wide union, but they haven't learned how to carry on a struggle against the Stalinists. The shoe workers know how to fight the boss. They keep sharp tabs on the activity of their local officials by holding weekly full membership meetings, controlling negotiations and the signing of contracts, etc. But controlling a national organization has them bewildered—yet it has them thinking and they will find the answers.

### NOTE:

The New Address of  
THE WORKERS PARTY  
LABOR ACTION  
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### Don't Miss It!

The Workers Party, Local New York, expects a sell-out for its 800-seat hall in the Hotel Diplomat, November 8, when the first debate in radical history in seven years will take place between Max Shachtman, national chairman of the Workers Party, and Lison Oak, managing editor of the New Leader, on the question "Does Stalinism Flow from Bolshevism?"

A thousand tickets went on sale yesterday in New York bookstores, stores, among them the New York University bookshop, the Labor Action Book Service at 114 West West 14th Street, and several other college bookshops. A complete list will be available next week.



## A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

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## WORLD POLITICS

OFF LIMITS

By

James M. Fenwick

## Continued Crisis in Italy

The chronic social-economic crisis which has beset the precarious republic of Italy since its foundation erupted last week in Rome into a severe conflict between demonstrating workers and the police. Two demonstrators were killed and 119 injured by the police in a 3 1/2 hour struggle in front of the Ministry of Interior which the workers were trying to approach in order to present their grievances.

Over 30,000 participated in the demonstration which was provoked by the possibility that thousands of men now employed on reconstruction projects—privately directed though government financed—would be fired. This possibility of losing their basis of livelihood so inflamed the workers of Rome that they organized their demonstration and attempted to enter en masse the Ministry of Interior to make clear the urgency of their demands.

An interesting feature of the situation is that the attempts of the ministers of the Christian Democrat-Socialist-Stalinist coalition cabinet to "placate" the workers by making balcony speeches were met with hissing and boos. Arnaldo Cortesi, N. Y. Times correspondent, writes that

"The Socialist Vice Premier, Pietro Nenni, who had left his office in the palace to enjoin calm on the rioters, was set on and had to hastily retreat. Premier Alcide de Gasperi, who appeared on the balcony with some of his ministers and tried to address the crowd, was the target of such a hail of sticks and stones that he also had to withdraw."

Nor were the efforts of Togliatti, the Stalinist leader, any more successful. Apparently the workers wanted assurances that they would keep their jobs, rather than oral rhetoric.

This incident is by no means isolated. The internal situation in Italy is becoming increasingly worse. Most of the wreckage of the war remains: the public work programs instituted to clear it away and rebuild destroyed areas has not gotten very far. Unemployment

is very high; no official figures are available but it is at least two million. The food rations are very low and largely dependent upon UNRRA and foreign aid. And Italy's imperialist ambitions have received a severe setback at the Paris Conference, especially its ambitions to absorb Trieste—with the result that sections of the masses, politically disoriented and socially discontented, turn to nationalism. In other instances, there is a swing toward the "left" parties—the Socialists and Stalinists—as indicated in the municipal elections held during the last week in September in which the Socialists and Stalinists captured 480 seats in municipal councils as against 176 for the Catholic Christian Democrats. Here we have the usual polarization which takes place in political sentiment during a period of crisis: a movement toward basic political alignments and away from temporary, intermediate political groups.

As a result, the uneasy coalition cabinet headed by de Gasperi, leader of the Catholic Christian Democratic Party, appears doomed to fall in a short period of time. Not only is there internal dissension among the three ruling parties, but de Gasperi's own party is sharply split: its "left" wing urges closer cooperation with the Socialists and Stalinists while its "right" wing is flirting with the neo-Fascist Common Man Front.

We have here the classic parliamentary debacle in which a nation is in severe economic crisis, in which millions of people are destitute while the political chiefs of the major parties maneuver over cabinet posts, realign positions and honors—as if that were the real substance of the problem rather than a ludicrous detail. For Italy is suffering from the rigor mortis of dying capitalism; it has never been able to reorganize its economy since the war's end; it has been given democratic rhetorical pap when it needed solid food; its people are hungry, disillusioned and in despair.

Only the boldest, most radical measures can bring order out of the Italian chaos. For the situation in Italy reaffirms again that in the present debacle of capitalist civilization only the most thoroughgoing revolutionary struggle can bring to the people their simplest needs. We have reached the point in society where compromise is impossible: it is now all or nothing.

## A Polish Problem—in England

Never in modern times has a numbed world witnessed such mass migrations of human beings as took place during World War II. They continue today. Faithfully reflecting the magnitude of imperialist ambitions and operations, millions upon millions of persons have been herded about Europe like cattle, at the whim of military and political fortune.

Torn away from their homes, their work, their friends, their memories, jammed in ships' holds, loading down freight trains inside and out, these exiles with sacks on their backs symbolize the fate of huge masses of people of the old world.

Small states have particularly suffered in the warfare of the big powers. None have suffered more than Poland. Victim of numerous partitions in the past, object of almost constant foreign oppression, traditional battleground of East and West, Poland was an early casualty in World War II.

The face of our times can seldom be more clearly seen than in the odyssey of the Polish troops who fought in the English army during the war and are now stationed in England. To trace their journey will not only refresh our minds on recent history but will illuminate some dark corners of current European events as well.

The story begins in 1939, when, as the London Economist accurately summarizes, "... Russia in agreement with Germany overran and annexed to the existing Ukrainian and Byelorussian Soviet Republics slightly over half of the territory of pre-war Poland with a population of 13 millions, of whom about a third were 'racial' Poles (momentarily increased by great numbers of refugees fleeing before the Germans) from western Poland.... The 'racial' Poles, except for a small number of Communists, regarded both Russian and German invaders alike as national enemies repeating the former partitions of their country."

There was, naturally, widespread opposition to Russian rule. The bureaucracy responded brutally and typically by deporting an estimated one to two million persons to arctic Russia, central Asia and Siberia. Here they were employed under the most execrable conditions as slave laborers in projects such as the one at Moldiak, where 10,000 persons grabbed in the gold mines. The death rate was twenty per cent.

The Polish soldiers now in England, the Economist points out, "have either themselves suffered in the mass deportations from Soviet-occupied Poland in 1939-41 (and emerged from the Soviet Union after being 'amnestied' under the terms of the short-lived Stalin-Sikorski Pact, when Hitler attacked Russia) or have had their families deported (for in 1939-41 the families of Poles who escaped abroad to fight against Germany with the French and British forces were automatically listed as 'anti-Soviet elements')...."

Under these conditions it is not surprising that the Polish troops in England have strongly resisted efforts to repatriate them. Their resistance, in a land where opinions can largely be freely voiced, also goes a long way toward explaining the difficulties which the Stalinists are meeting in Poland in consolidating their régime. These troops symbolize the active movement for national liberation which exists in Poland and whose substantial presence even the recent rigged referendum could not hide.

Miserably paid, lacking civil rights, victimized by the Stalinist pressure for the dissolution of the Polish Resettlement Corps, which was allegedly designed to facilitate his integration into civil life, the Polish soldier is caught in the cross-current negotiations for his settlement in the dominions and South America, domestic opposition to his remaining in England, demands for his incorporation into a depleted manpower pool, and covert desires to retain him in a fighting unit for future operations on the continent. He remains the plaything of imperialist politics.

He should be granted full citizenship rights in England and the right to emigrate to wherever he pleases. In his interest all labor organizations should demand the withdrawal of Russian troops from Poland. The Polish people should be permitted to decide their own destiny.

## Philadelphia Readers!

## Workers Party School!

HISTORY OF THE CIO. Instructor: Jack Brad. Wednesday evenings, 8:00 o'clock. October 16, 23, 30, November 6, 13, 20.

THE PROGRAM OF THE WORKERS PARTY. Instructor: James M. Fenwick. Wednesday evenings, 9:10-10:10 o'clock. October 16, 23, 30, November 6, 13, 20.

HISTORY OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL. Instructor: Arthur Parks. Thursday evenings, 8:00 o'clock. October 17, 24, 31, November 7, 14, 21.

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## Editorials

## Dan Tobin: Disgrace to Labor

There have been many and varied responses to the plight of the Jews in Europe. But the response which strikes us as being the most hair-raising and contemptible is that of Daniel Tobin, head of the Teamsters Union (largest in the AFL) who at the AFL convention distributed a statement to the delegates which read in part:

"The prelude to the deluge from abroad is the campaign to admit 50,000 homeless Jews. Probably most of them, suffering from their persecution at the hands of the Nazis, are Communist sympathizers.

"Once they were safely settled inside the U. S. they would be told by plausible agitators that they must support the Communists in this country to protect themselves from the fascist persecution they experienced in Europe.

"The mere arrival of 50,000 Jews, even if they were not subversive, would fan the fascist organizations like the Ku Klux Klan into activity. Demands for the admission of 50,000 or 100,000 Germans, Spaniards, Argentinians and others from fascist lands would follow.... The restrictions on immigration must not be weakened!"

It is more than a little sickening to read a statement by a leader of American labor which follows the old Goebbels line of characterizing the Jews of Europe as "Communist sympathizers." It is just as sickening to read a statement objecting to their entry into this country even if they are "Communist sympathizers." The traditional right of refuge for exiles—supposed to be part of the democratic American tradition—has never taken into con-

sideration the political beliefs of the unfortunate people involved. The true test of democracy is readiness to admit refugees even if they hold unpopular or radical opinions.

But it's absurd to argue with a reactionary like Tobin. He has become so entrenched in his comfortable job as a labor bureaucrat, so ossified in his position as buddy and pal of Big Business, so hardened in his status as head of the Democratic Party's Labor Committee—that he no longer has in his mind or heart the sentiments or opinions which one might reasonably expect from even unpolitical trade unionists. Tobin's record as a reactionary does not begin with this disgraceful attack on the Jews. It was he, the reader may remember, who was instrumental in egging the cops onto the militant leaders of Minneapolis teamsters who were sent to jail in this country's most scandalous wartime violation of civil liberties.

The workers of the AFL and CIO who have in their hearts a spark of humanity, who have in their minds a shred of simple solidarity with the oppressed of all lands, cannot allow Tobin's disgraceful statement to pass by as the voice of American labor or even a small section of it. They must, through their own unions, make clear what the stand of American labor should be:

**For full, free and open immigration of the Jews to whichever country they wish to go—the United States, Palestine, or any other country! Save the remnant of Hitler's victims from a new death!**

## Fiasco at the Paris Conference

The Paris Peace Conference is almost over; by the time these lines are read, it will probably be over. Elsewhere in this issue there is a detailed analysis of the conference, of what it did and did not do. But the general outline of the conference's character is known to all. The cynicism, the snickering about the talk of peace among the delegates, has seeped into the reports of the correspondents covering the conference. For one thing everyone—young and old, knowing and naive—understood about the conference: whatever else, it did not lay any foundation for peace.

We think that all those workers and misguided radicals who supported the imperialist war have cause for thought in what took place at the Paris conference. Here are the fruits of the great "war for democracy"; here the results of the crusade for the Four Freedoms; here the end of the line of deception which the great powers practiced. And look at the results:

**Cynical Imperialist Deals:** The same old border deals, the same old division of territories which marked the Versailles Treaty after the last war. Trieste haggled over, new boundary lines constantly drawn up, a little more for this robber, a little less for that one—all without regard for the interests or desires of the people concerned. Similarly with the other boundary problems "settled" by the conference.

**Sever Economic Reparations:** The large powers saddled some of the little European countries with impossible reparation payments. Every financial expert acknowledges that these countries cannot pay. Italy, for instance, is saddled with a debt which she cannot by any stretch of the imagination meet. And so the same vicious circle starts again: topheavy reparation—borrowing to pay—unable to repay—bankruptcy—shrinkage of markets—depression—new war—reparations again, etc. This is what is known as the wisdom of the capitalist statesmen.

**Continued Imperialist Rivalry:** No basic issues were settled at this conference. The most pressing and difficult of all Eu-

ropean problems—the disposition of Germany: what borders it is to have; how much industrialization it is to be permitted—were not even discussed at this conference. The voting at the conference settled down into a strict east-west division: the satellites of Stalin's Russia voted down the line with her; the satellites of Anglo-American imperialism voted down the line with their masters. The little countries spoke, yapped, moaned—but decided nothing, absolutely nothing. The Paris Conference showed the world divided once more into two basic rival imperialist camps preparing for another world war.

There then is the brave new world; there is the picture of the Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter. There is the accomplishment of the imperialist powers: one war is just over and they are preparing another. That is the fruit of imperialism and its wars.

## The Current NI

The other day a friend was telling us that he thought one of the troubles of LABOR ACTION and the Workers Party is that we don't blow our horns enough. Of course, he said, he preferred our attitude to those in the socialist movement who constantly put up a false front by trying to impress with words where they could not by facts—but he thought that in some ways we were too modest. One of the ways he mentioned was in playing up *The New Internationalist*.

So we took a glance at the current issue just off the press—and it confirmed everything our friend had said. Max Shachtman's long, comprehensive and highly challenging review of Trotsky's "Stalin" is the lead piece. Then another in the series of critical essays which the distinguished novelist James T. Farrell has written especially for the NI on American literature. And then a highly interesting discussion by Albert Goldman, till recently the leader of the Minority Group in the Socialist Workers Party and now a member of the Workers Party, on the crucial problem of socialists' attitude toward Russia.

In fact, we notice that the NI's business manager thought it was such a good issue that he put out a batch of extra cardboard replicas of the cover for newsstand publicity. Good idea. And now that we've told you about the NI and righted one of the criticisms made by our friend, we feel a lot better. Come to think of it—if you get the current NI, you'll feel a lot better too as far as political and intellectual stimulation goes.

## International Socialist Notes

## RUSSIAN DISCUSSION IN BRITISH PARTY

A group of comrades in the RCP, British section of the Fourth Internationalist movement, presented a resolution on the Russian question which calls for a revision of the Fourth International's policy to the recently held Congress of the RCP. Their resolution, drafted at the last moment, with thirteen minutes allotted to its presentation at the convention and without the advantage of previous debate, was defeated by a vote of 31 to 1.

However, a group is forming on the basis of opposing the workers' state position of the official leadership. Many of these comrades tend to the position developed by the Workers Party—namely, that Russia is a bureaucratic collectivist society.

Two comrades in North Ireland have drafted a document putting forward their view of Russia as bureaucratic collectivist. While it does not agree in every detail with the Workers' Party position, its basic line reflects the WP position. This document is being published in a WP Bulletin. Interested readers can secure a copy by sending 25 cents to the WP national office.

## FRENCH GOVERNMENT BLOCKS PCI CAMPAIGN

We are informed that the Parti Communiste Internationaliste (French Fourth Internationalists) was prevented from participating in the campaign over the constitutional referendum held on Sunday, October 13. By a previous governmental ruling, only those parties that had presented lists in at least two localities could participate.

However, the government changed the ruling to make a minimum of ten departments necessary. The PCI had presented ELEVEN lists in NINE departments. But, and note this, a special ruling was drafted allowing the Union Gaulliste, WHICH HAD NO LISTS AT ALL, to participate in the campaign.

The PCI, however, continued to carry on its campaign against the constitution, labeling it a reactionary, imperialist document. With the ballots allowing only for a No and Yes vote, the PCI campaigned under the slogan of "Neither YES with the MRP nor NO with de Gaulle" and called upon workers to cast a blank ballot and to write in "For a Workers and Peasants' Government."

## GREEK STALINISTS ACCEPT DEBATE WITH FOURTH INTL

Comrade Richard sends us from France the unprecedented news that "the Communist Party of Greece, in its official organ, Rizospastis, carried an article signed by its national secretary, Zachariades, asserting its willingness to hold joint discussion meetings with the International Communists, DEKE, Greek section of the Fourth International. This astounding development, which follows a series of turbulent crises in the ranks and leadership of the Greek CP, carries with it the proposal that expenses be jointly shared." The CP turned down a proposal made by the DEKE that the discussion be printed in the party's press, and that the Archiomarxists also be invited to participate.

This development, on which we anxiously await further information, is extremely important. It clearly indicates wide dissension in the Greek CP from which the revolutionists are certain to profit. The Stalinist parties, internationally, have not only never debated a Trotskyist before, but have in fact answered such proposals with hooliganism.

It is all the more surprising because the DEKE is known to have a majority that shares the WP position against the defense of Stalinist Russia.—E. G.

## Books You Should Know...

Since the eight-page LABOR ACTION began, this column has been presenting book reviews of significant reprints within the 25 cent pocket book group. There have been a number of questions asked and comments made about these reviews—some in writing and some orally—which we wish to discuss here.

Some readers have criticized the reviews on the grounds that they were inadequate as literary criticism; others felt that they were inadequate as political criticism. As we announced in the first eight-page, however, the purpose of these reviews is not to present formal literary criticisms. There are many journals which specialize in that field and a political paper like LABOR ACTION neither can nor wishes to compete with them. Nor was the purpose of these reviews to write detailed political analysis. Their primary purpose rather was to present summaries of significant novels and works of non-fiction together with brief analytical comments which would at least indicate the opinions of the reviewers, if not motivate them in detail.

Some readers have told us that they felt that certain of the books reviewed should not have been taken up in LABOR ACTION. For instance, some felt that it was inappropriate to review D. H. Lawrence's *The Lovely Lady* since it had no immediate political relevance and Lawrence is not known as a "sociological novelist." Yet, we printed that re-

view because we felt that Lawrence's stature as a world-famed writer made it worthwhile to review his book; and because one of our contributors who reviewed the book expressed the opinion that it should be reviewed. Since in a matter like this we allow complete freedom of individual opinion—we have no editorial position on D. H. Lawrence—we therefore printed the review.

We shall continue the policy of printing reviews of significant works even though we may not agree with the reviewer's opinions or his assessment of the importance of the book. We shall also continue to confine ourselves largely to the 25 cent to \$1.00 reprint class so that the books

reviewed are within the price range of most readers. In addition, we propose to include reviews of significant Marxist political classics—various pamphlets and books written by Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky and others—as well as more recently written socialist literature, such as the publications of the Workers Party.

It is to be expected that many readers—and some of the editors too—will not agree with these reviews. That seems to us no tragedy at all. In fact, we welcome any expressions of disagreement which we will print in our letters column. And we also welcome any reviews which our readers may wish to contribute.

## In Next Week's Labor Action:

## THE NEW JAPANESE CONSTITUTION

By William Brad

## U. S. FACES PROLONGED HOUSING CRISIS

By Henry Newman

## BALANCE SHEET OF THE PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE

By Albert Gates

Excerpt from a Forthcoming Pamphlet—  
MARXISM IN THE UNITED STATES

By Leon Trotsky



The Second of Two Articles on the Ku Klux Klan

# The Native Fascists in Nightshirts

By JERRY TODD

After the Second World War the Klan began forging ahead again.

On May 9 of this year, a thousand hooded men and women burned fiery crosses on Stone Mountain, near Atlanta, in a ceremony to initiate several hundred new members—at a \$10 initiation fee each.

In Chattanooga, a cross was recently burned in front of a Jewish drug store and all Jews warned to get out of town.

On May 21, in Los Angeles, a fiery cross was planted outside a Jewish fraternity house of University of Southern California students.

Last summer a Negro cab driver was murdered in Atlanta, and Klan hoodlums openly boasted of the murder.

On June 9, Willie Dudley, a Negro worker in the South, was kidnaped and beaten by four masked Klansmen because he refused to resign from the United Cement, Lime & Gypsum Workers Union, AFL. Dudley was told by Klansmen that they intended to keep Negroes from joining unions, and that they would return and kill him if he identified them.

In Los Angeles, last spring, the Klan burned a cross outside the home of Mr. Hickerson, a Negro homeowner and a courageous man who has been fighting a court battle against the restrictive covenant regulations in his neighborhood. The Klan in California boasts it has a membership of 100,000. One of Gerald K. Smith's bodyguards is said to be a Kleagle in the Klan of that state.

## THE KLAN IN THE DEEP SOUTH

All are familiar with the appeals of such professional Klansmen as Bilbo and Gene Talmadge to "every red-blooded Anglo-Saxon to resort to any means to keep Negroes from the polls" in the South.

Just recently, Talmadge, who was governor of Georgia when Angelo Herndon was framed down three years ago, was re-elected to office. He didn't receive a majority of the popular votes, but was elected anyhow.

A few weeks ago, in Birmingham, Ala., a businessman filed incorporation papers in Alabama for the Klan "as a revival of an American crusade for white supremacy." The man, William H. Morris, said the move "merely puts the Klan on a legal basis in Alabama. We have functioned as an independent unit for some good while. Our basic principles are the same—the protection of the chastity of white womanhood and white supremacy."

The Klan, by the way, seems to be obsessed by the chastity of white womanhood. It is always talking about it. One doesn't have to read Freud to suspect that such preoccupation with the chastity of women is often found among those who themselves have a hankering to violate any chastity they see in the vicinity.

The Klan is doing a thriving business today. Its resurgence comes at the very time both the AFL and CIO are conducting organizational drives in the South.

The Klan is directed and financed by the employing class, protected by their courts and their public officials, directed against both the labor movement and the growing solidarity of black and white workers. The bosses are particularly concerned about the joint drives of the AFL and CIO, an action which threatens to mitigate the worst horrors of Southern society—its miserable wages, long hours, revolting working conditions, medieval prison systems, disfranchisement and poll taxes, peonage and lynch law.

Well, how can the Klan be combatted?

One thing is certain. It can never be licked by the methods of Governor Arnall of Georgia, who directed the state attorney general to institute action to revoke the Klan's charter on the grounds that it is not a non-profit, fraternal organization. Arnall tried that and the Georgia bosses replaced him with the Klansman, Talmadge. Now even the law suit against the Klan is being delayed until Arnall is out and Talmadge is in the governor's chair.

We cannot depend on the FBI to lick it. That night-clubbing mercenary, J. Edgar Hoover, recently advised a New York columnist that "you can't arrest a man for going out and putting on a night shirt or for burning a cross. However, if we catch them sending threatening notes through the mail we can pick them up under the Extortion Act. Or if the Klansmen deprive a man of his individual liberties we can grab them under the civil rights statute."

That's plain enough. It's Hoover's invitation to the Klan to continue its dirty work, with the blessing of the FBI. The FBI's unwillingness to act, even when confronted with overwhelming proof of the Klan's guilt in recent Southern atrocities, furnished by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, underscores Hoover's words.

## A PICTURE OF THE LIBERALS, THEN AND NOW

You can't lick the Klan by the methods of the whining liberals. In an article in the Nation for July 13, the author, Paula Snelling, referring to Talmadge's campaign in Georgia, says that the Sermon on the Mount can quiet the flames sweeping Georgia and the world today. The "Sermon on the Mount" has had almost 2,000 years to demonstrate its failure to protect minority groups and the toilers from the machinations of the rulers.

What shallow, spineless, dull characterless individuals are these modern lumen-liberals. There was a time when a liberal was willing to take a stand on a social problem and fight for his convictions—there were John Brown, and Wendell Phillips and William Lloyd Garrison.

Let's show you what a liberal of 45 years ago sounded like on the Negro question. Clarence Darrow, speaking before the Negro Men's Forum in Chicago, May 19, 1901, told them:

"The rich are not going to help you. It is the same problem the working man is facing today, and your cause is the cause of the working man. You people make a mistake in your friends. The ones who will help you people to any lasting benefit are not the rich, they are the poor every time. They may not be able to give you as big tips, but after all, the cause of the poor is a common cause the world over, and when your cause is won it will be by uniting your cause with the cause of the common laboring man all over the world: you cannot do it any other way."

"The rich have been using the working man, making him set you off by yourselves, and they have been using you against the union movement. You ought to join the unions wherever you can; you ought to make it clear to them that their cause is your cause, and that they cannot afford to fight you because they cannot rise unless they take you with them, and when they are willing to take you, you are willing to go and to help fight the common battle of the poor against the strong."

There is a way to win the war on the Klan. There is a program for white and colored workers which can stop the Klan in its tracks.

That program is to support the unionization drive in the South, and to oppose those barriers against colored workers that still exist in many unions, North and South.

That program is for labor to get out of the party that dares give a home to the Bilbos and the Talmadges, get out of the Democratic party, and start building a new party, a labor party, based upon and controlled by the labor movement.

That program is for white and colored workers to form defense guards to defend the victims of Klan organization.

I remember very well how, a half a dozen years ago, in Minneapolis, the Silver Shirts, a vigilante outfit similar to the Klan, was organizing in that city. The General Drivers Union, under the leadership of the Trotskyists, in answer to Silver Shirt threats to raid union halls in Minneapolis, openly announced the formation of a Union Defense Guard having members from a dozen trade unions in the city. It openly proclaimed that the Defense Guard would defend Negroes and Jews and unions who might be the target of the Silver Shirts. When the Union Defense Guard appeared on the scene, the Silver Shirts slunk back in the shadows.

They discontinued their meetings in the Twin Cities, their organizers left town, and they didn't come back. They knew the union men of Minneapolis meant business. If they had tried any vigilante terrorism, the unions would have stopped them. The politicians wouldn't have. The liberals wouldn't have. The Republican, Harold Stassen, was then governor of Minnesota. He didn't oppose the Silver Shirts. Instead, he accepted support from them at the polls. The businessmen didn't oppose the Silver Shirts. Instead, the president of the Associated Industries of Minneapolis was caught sneaking into a Silver Shirt meeting.

The Ku Klux Klan is in a way thoroughly American. But so too is the opposition to Klanism.

For every Hiram Evans or Bilbo or Talmadge, there is a John Brown and a Eugene Debs. And today there is the Workers Party which has declared uncompromising war on the Klan and Jim Crow, which proclaims that it stands for the full social, political and economic equality for Negroes, and by its actions and according to its strength strives to carry out that program in action.

## WHAT THE WORKERS PARTY SAYS

It is the Workers Party which has taken the lead in organizing opposition to Gerald K. Smith in his well-financed circuits around the country as he seeks to build up cadres for his "America First" fascist movement. The Workers Party has encouraged other working-class political parties, unions, Negro organizations, students, to take joint action against Smith. When these groups engaged in joint action with the Workers Party, we were elated. But if, in some cities, these groups did not at first understand the need of publicly opposing the American fascists, then the Workers Party boldly took responsibility itself and met Smith with its own picket lines.

The leaders of such outfits as the Klan, the America Firsters, the Silver Shirts, are impervious to shame, to feelings of humanity. They are monstrous in their vulgarity. They encourage surrender to the most anti-social superstitions. Their enterprises are calculating and bloody, outside all decency.

They can be stopped by only one force—the aroused and conscious and united might of American labor.

# U. S. "Land Reform" in Japan Won't End Landlord System

By MIKE STEVENS

General Douglas MacArthur's much-lauded land reform in Japan sounds good in the press releases, but the Japanese peasants know it is a fraud.

The land reform program was widely heralded as a program that would break up the vast feudal estates and cut by the roots the despotic system under which the peasants have been mercilessly exploited. General MacArthur's statement on the land reform bill was: "It is gratifying that the present government has shown courage and determination to strike at the roots of an archaic landlord system." He added that he was convinced the new bill would "tear from the soil of the Japanese countryside the blight of feudal landlordism."

## SIGNIFICANT LOOPHOLES

According to this land reform bill the government would purchase land from the landlords at the rate of 757 yen (\$50) per tan (about one-fifth of an acre) and resell it to farm tenants on a long-term loan basis.

This is the information given us in the capitalist papers in this country. But they do not add the significant loopholes in the bill that reveal that the interests of the landlords in Japan are fully protected by this bill.

The most important loophole, forgotten by the capitalist press, is that there is no limitation in this bill on how much land any one individual, family or "other person" may retain or purchase. There is nothing in the bill to prevent a wealthy "farmer" from buying a large area of land. He can let out one cho (2.54 acres) of land for farm tenancy. The rest of the land he must promise to cultivate without tenants. All this means is he will use hired labor instead of tenants.

Administration of the land reform bill is left up to local committees composed of tenants and half of landlords. Most of these tenants are indebted to the landlords and are therefore very careful in their behavior on these committees. Whenever these tenants do demand reforms or object to some practice they are immediately terrorized and coerced by the landlords and the prefectural officials.

And when the tenants disregard all dangers and stick together, then there is a deadlock on the committee and the demand or appeal goes to the prefectural governor. The prefectural governors all owe their jobs to the landlords and capitalists of Japan so there is no question as to who they favor in their decisions.

## NO TIME LIMIT

In his statement on the land reform bill, General MacArthur claimed that the bill provided a two-year time limit for the Japanese government to meet SCAP's specification in completing the program. We don't know what MacArthur was talking about, because there is no time limit in the bill. The entire matter of land reform is left to the "good faith" of the administrators and the loopholes favoring the landlords.

Perhaps MacArthur's information came from those sterling friends of the Japanese peasants who are holding high posts in his SCAP. One of them is Vice-Admiral Maeda Minoru, who was formerly chief of the intelligence division of the Japanese Naval Staff, and another is Lieut.-Gen. Miyazaki Shuichi, former chief of the operative department of the Japanese General Staff.

Even the most backward peasant can understand what class in Japan is being supported by American capitalism by just looking at MacArthur's Japanese aides and at the land reform bill.

# Boss Parties Exploit European Jews' Plight

By JESSE KAAREN

The timing of President Truman's plea to Bevin (on the eve of Yom Kippur and in the midst of an election campaign) asking the British government to admit a "substantial" number of displaced Jews into Palestine, a plea which he knew in advance would be disregarded, again reveals how the Democratic Party shamelessly exploits human misery to make political capital. The Democratic Party is not alone in this hypocritical double-talk. The day after Truman's much-publicized message to Bevin, Governor Dewey made a tub-thumping speech castigating the British for their cruel treatment of the Jews.

This is not to imply that the Labor government of Britain with its reign of terror in Palestine, its concentration camps in Cyprus and its shutting off of Jewish immigration, has not committed one of the most shameful acts in recent times. It has! But it is important not to be under any delusions about the alleged humanitarianism of President Truman, and his fellow campaigners in both the Democratic and Republican Parties.

## PLAYING WITH LIVES

What better proof of their hypocrisy do we need than the figures on immigration into the United States since the end of the war. In his last message to Bevin, the President promised that he would recommend to Congress that it adopt a more liberal open door policy here if Britain would liberalize its Palestine quota. We might ask why he needs to make it conditional on Britain's actions. But aside from that question, we might ask why the very small immigration quota set by Truman last year — the last time he made a "noble" gesture about admitting refugees into the United States—was not used up.

In December, 1945, President Truman announced a quota of 39,000 immigrants for the ensuing year. During the nine months ending in September, 1946, actually 4,508 immigrants have been admitted to the United States or slightly over ten per cent of the set quota. Viewed against a DP population in UNRRA,

camp of over 700,000 people, among whom are 180,000 Jews, the quota was pitifully small to begin with. Pitifully small especially in view of the fact that the United States could absorb them all without any noticeable effect.

The first joker in the immigration quota is contained in the figure set aside for German displaced persons. The largest number, or 25,000 out of the total of 39,000 were to come from German nationals. But Truman must have known that there are very few German Jewish survivors in the country and that most of the non-Jewish Germans in the camps are classified as ex-enemies and are not permitted to enter the United States. The second joker is the small figure set aside for Polish displaced persons who make up almost half the DP population—a mere 6,524. But even that tiny number of Polish immigrants were not admitted to this country. In the nine months ended in September, only 1,000 Polish refugees came in.

An article lists a few possible reasons for the failure of the American State Department to carry out "the Truman program." They are: 1) inadequate staff of foreign consulates; 2) lack of funds; 3) lack of transportation; 4) army demobilization.

Anyone who has had first hand contact with Jewish refugees trying to get visas to the U. S. knows that these reasons do not make sense. The openly hostile attitude of our European consulates makes it perfectly clear that the policy of delaying the issuance of visas on all kinds of ridiculous technicalities must stem from high up.

It is time this phony humanitarianism was exposed. The American working class has demonstrated its sympathy with Europe's homeless victims of the imperialist war. But the emphasis has been put only on Britain's shameful role. How about the rich, rosy United States? The United States could easily absorb all the inhabitants of the Displaced Persons Camps without creating a ripple worth noticing. That is why the labor movement must raise as first and foremost in its demands: "OPEN THE DOORS OF THE UNITED STATES!"

## The Constituent Assembly and Indian Freedom

# Colonial Independence in the Modern World

The question of Indian independence has been brought to the foreground once more by the efforts of the British government to forestall complete freedom for that great colony as long as possible. LABOR ACTION has carried numerous articles on this important question, including an analysis of the new constituent assembly with Pandit Nehru as Premier. The following article, reprinted from SPARK, the official organ of the Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India, deals with the extremely important question of the constituent assembly, which has tremendous bearing on the struggle of all colonial and nationally oppressed peoples.—Ed.)

The Constituent Assembly conceived by the Cabinet Mission has created a crop of misunderstandings. No one need doubt that the Cabinet Mission's India plan concedes what can be called the ghost, or at least the phantom, of the real constituent. If it deserves its name, it must needs be a sovereign body, which feature, without a doubt, the Cabinet Mission's Constituent wholly lacks. By no stretch of the imagination can one treat it as an instrument of the transfer of power.

## CABINET'S CUSSEDNESS

The authors of the constitutional document are altogether forgetful of the all-important attribute of a Constituent Assembly in its correct signification. This can be ascribed to the cussedness of the Cabinet Mission rather than to their ignorance. Even the Dominion Constitutions have exemplified the workings of the Constituent Assemblies in a manner fundamentally different from the one offered to India.

The Dominion Constitutions have enjoyed a measure of sovereignty, which, it may be assumed, is not quite unknown to the Cabinet Ministers. But strictly speaking even such Assemblies as came into being in the various British dependencies, did not conform to the pattern of classic Constitutions. In so far as the Dominion autonomy receives its final seal of sanction from Acts of British Parliament, it is an important qualification of the attribute of sovereignty. If an Act of Parliament is needed to ratify the Constitutions of the Dominions overseas, it is not difficult to see where the real sovereignty lies.

Besides, it lies within Parliament to revoke or rescind any such constitution, as it has done at least in one instance. The Statute of Westminster recognizes Dominion autonomy. But it must not be forgotten that Parliament possesses the power to abrogate it at will.

Yet, the Indian variant of the Constituent is more circumscribed than those of the Dominions which, at least, devised the Constitutions without extraneous assistance. The powers in the case of the Dominions were much less fettered, for which reasons are not far to seek. In every case, it was the result of a trial of strength between the colonies and the Mother Country.

## AUTONOMY—OUTCOME OF CIVIL WAR

The British North American Act (1867) was the outcome of a civil war, and as such, was wrested from unwilling hands. It was not a prize won for good behavior. Nor was it obtained on the sufferance of the British. Without violent disturbance Canada could never have won what it did, even though it did not amount to full sovereignty. But the Constituent which comes as a gift from the British Cabinet Mission is of necessity ineffective inasmuch as it cannot possess a vestige of sovereignty.

The Union of South Africa is really the product of the Boer War, which, of course, the South Africans lost. But they won the peace. The result is that the Autonomy of the Union, as it exists today, is the upshot of struggle, without which nothing has been achieved even by the Colonies, who have so much in common with the Mother Country. Even the limited sovereignty of the Union Constituent could not have been won without violent efforts.

In so far as the transfer of power in the Dominions is contingent on parliamentary sanction, the constitution making bodies did not have sovereign rights and powers. In so far as they held such powers, however limited, this was the result of bitter struggle. Constitutions in every such case were forged from below although ratified from above, and such ratification as came, was in a considerable measure the outcome of mass upsurge.

The Commonwealth of Australia was the creation of the British Parliamentary Act of 1900 under the stress of civil disorder which in no time would have reached the stage of civil war. It was this danger which accounts for the creation of the Commonwealth of Australia, and as such the sovereignty it possessed was the fruit of an impending civil war.

## SOVEREIGNTY OF THE IRISH CONSTITUENT

The Irish Free State was established after a long struggle from 1916 to 1921. The Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1922 had transferred power to an Irish Constituent, which Constituent even nullified very many

terms of the Treaty. The Constituent Assembly in Ireland was subsequent to the Anglo-Irish Treaty and as such it possessed sovereign rights not enjoyed by other Dominion Constitutions. In fact, the Irish Constituent made the Anglo-Irish Treaty a dead letter. The transference of power was effected by the Treaty to the Irish Constituent. But in the Dominions the Constitutions were framed before the transfer of power had taken place, and depended for their validity on the sanction of parliament.

The Cabinet Mission in India decrees a Constituent from above without any reference to the people. Any Constitution which is framed can be nullified by Treaty, whereas in Ireland the Constituent nullified the

Treaty. Moreover, the Constituent has not been a rallying cry for the masses of the people. It has never been on the order of the day. It is not the result of a trial of strength or violent struggle between opposing forces struggling for mastery. It does not possess sovereign powers, because the Treaty that follows is the most decisive thing. This has no analogy to the Dominion Constitutions, for the simple reason that it can at will be set at naught by the Treaty stipulations, backed by an army of occupation in India.

The Constituent is hopelessly unreal. It is not in fulfillment of an urge of the people. It is virtually decided over their heads. It has never been an issue. It has not even been advanced as a slogan to the masses.

The heroic struggle of the masses in other countries centered round the Constituent. But the people of India have so long steered clear of the Constituent. It has a very academic value so far as India is concerned.

In the Great French Revolution of 1789, the Constituent Assembly was a part of the heroic struggle of the masses. It had not merely sovereign rights but it ushered in the French Republic. It was the result of a victorious and successful revolution and as such enjoyed rights which were unfettered. It is a mockery and a delusion to present the Cabinet plan as involving anything which even remotely approximates the classic Constituent of France.

## RUSSIAN CONSTITUENT

In Russia, the Constituent was a rallying cry for the masses on the morrow of one revolution and on the eve of another. It was dissolved because it was out-dated by the revolution and replaced by full-blooded democratic organs of power. The revolutionists supported it so long as it was a progressive slogan, but by the time the convocation of the Constituent had taken place it had become reactionary and counter-revolutionary through and through. It had to be liquidated in the interest of the revolution.

The Constituent Assembly envisaged by the Cabinet Mission resembles the Russian only in its name. It is singularly impotent and singularly ineffective. It is a side-show, utterly irrelevant to the question of independence, which comes, if at all, by virtue of the Treaty between the Union "Constituent Assembly" and the United Kingdom.

It is a strange phenomenon. It is an ingenious invention. It has no analogy to any Constituent Assembly known to history. It can only frame a paper constitution, which will remain a scrap of paper. It is a device to cloak the real imperialist designs and intentions of our rulers. It is novel and unique in history, in so far as it is calculated to perpetuate imperialist exploitation rather than end it.

The Constituent Assembly of the conception of the Cabinet Mission is absurd on the very face of it. There is nothing more deceitful in so far as it appropriates a name — of course, only a name and nothing more—that has summoned millions to heroic self-sacrifice. But all the silence of the interested parties will not obscure the fact that it is a poor caricature of the Constituent in other lands. It will not be taken seriously by anyone except a camp follower of the imperialists.

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# U. S. FACES PROLONGED HOUSING CRISIS

By HENRY NEWMAN

Are you one of the millions of Americans who need a home? Or have you perhaps a brother and sister-in-law living with you who are looking for a place of their own?

In ordinary times if you wanted to take a house or an apartment, you would not pay much attention to whether your neighbor was planning to move. Today you are forced to consider dry statistics on what the next fellow is doing. So many people need a new place to live that huge numbers of us are not going to get one, at least not for five or ten years to come.

## MILLIONS OF AMERICANS HOMELESS

In Los Angeles County, for instance, there were 125,000 homeless in September, and at least 15,000 veterans' families in desperate need of homes. In the year since V-J Day 32,000 families have been added to Los Angeles.

From the Census Bureau we learn that more people left their homes in search of employment during the war than were drafted into the army. "Fifteen million pushed out into other counties and other states" while only 12,000,000 left their homes for military service. These foot-loose millions move generally toward the larger, more crowded centers of population, where they further aggravate a housing shortage that was serious even before the war.

An enormous demand for new quarters comes from returned veterans, from new families, and from individuals who left their families for war work. But building has been at a standstill, and many dwellings worn out years ago collapsed during the war.

## NEW HOUSING REQUIREMENTS ESTIMATED

The National Housing Authority reports that there are now some 26 million dwellings in the U. S. Basing itself on population estimates by the Census Bureau, the NHA asserts that there will have to be 38,732,000 dwelling units in 1955, which means that 12,644,000 must be built between now

and then. The goal the Authority has set is 1,200,000 each year.

Figures on the demand for housing are deceptive, however, unless they are stated in terms of how many for each rent level. Twelve million of the kind now being built will not solve the problem at all. At \$80 to \$100 per month they cost far more than most people who need them can afford to pay. The War Department says that 90 per cent of all veterans can pay no more than \$50 per month.

In the table which follows, monthly payment may be considered either as rent or as payment toward purchase of a home. The figures are for 1940 prices.

Number of Dwelling Units Required	Monthly Payment
4,000,000	\$19 or less
4,000,000	\$20 to \$29
2,500,000	\$30 to \$49
1,000,000	\$50 to \$74
500,000	\$75 or more

The overwhelming majority of the houses now being built will cost well over \$50 per month. Obviously they will leave the bulk of the shortage untouched. This discrepancy between the price level of the demand and the price level of the houses built is not just a temporary result of post-war inflated prices. In the year 1940, before the emergency, the same unbalanced condition characterized home building. While the number of houses built costing \$50 or more per month exceeded the number needed yearly, only one-half the number required each year in the \$40 to \$50 bracket was erected. And the farther down the ladder, the worse.

Another indication that the building industry is loathe to build for the lower priced market is the fact that during August only 70 per cent of the authorized priorities in New York were claimed, mainly because there is a ceiling of \$10,000 on the price of a house—the equivalent of \$100 per month in rentals.

We have been talking about 1940 building prices, and the picture is bad enough. What if we examine the actual figures for today's building materials? Here are a few typical examples:

Material	August 1946	Pre-war
Rough framing per 1000 bf.	\$140	\$40
Oak flooring per 1000 bf.	350	65
Nails per keg	15	3*
Soil pipe per 5 ft. length	6	3

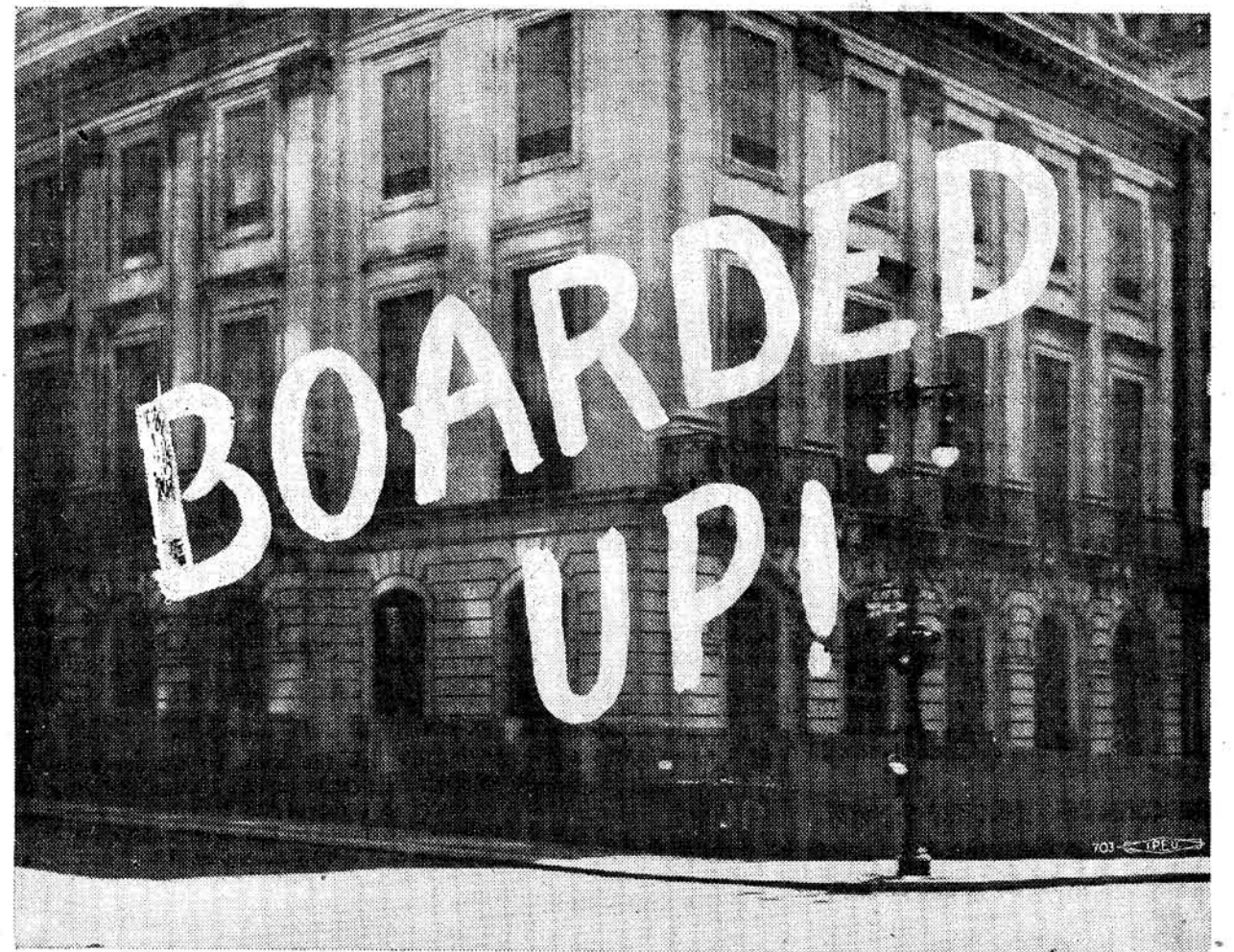
Of course, the cost of material does not wholly determine the price of a house. Labor costs play a part. While hourly wages have risen, their relative stability has had the effect of preventing the total cost of a building from soaring with the outrageous rise of material costs.

Dow Service, which estimates costs for the building industry, says you have to pay \$10,000 now for a house normally worth \$7,200. The cheapest house now available, which costs about \$7,500, is really only the \$4,600 house of 1923 to 1930.

The Dow report has an important qualification attached to it. Actual prices, says Dow, are being figured by builders at 15 per cent above the quoted figures plus a contingency cushion of 10 per cent, presumably to take care of delays and other troubles. This modification of the above figures brings them into line with building costs from other sources. After a survey covering 496 cities the NHA announced that small homes in the New York region cost on the average twice as much as they did in 1940. You may be able to get a \$5,000 home now, if you buck the priorities and the shortages, but you have to pay \$10,000 for it!

The picture we have drawn is indeed gloomy for anyone who needs a place to live. It is based, however, on the conservative, corrupt and inept way the government, the building industry and the real estate interests are handling the housing shortage.

In another article we will discuss means of solving this problem.



An Exclusive Report from Westport:

## How the Rich Build Houses

By JOE LEONARD

There is a community that has solved the housing problem! It was right on the front page of the New York Times: "Westport, Conn. Many of this town's prominent citizens today went down on their knees clutching hammer and eight-penny nails." Rich people worked like ordinary people, and the housing shortage was solved. Westport has shown the way for the nation.

It was a great day. "Prospective Representative John Davis Lodge, Republican," was there. "Clarke Crossman, selectman, valiantly kept sawing at a recalcitrant piece of wood." It was the wood that was recalcitrant. Other workmen represented American Chain & Cable Co. and Dorr Chemical Co. (the latter "took care of registration").

## A STIRRING STORY

The Times' story is told stirringly: "Many a man who found himself armed with hammer or saw in the field off Compo Road here never had done more than fix a broken toy around the house." "No Seabees opposing the enemy ever worked with greater intensity." The intensity, if not the enemy, inflicted casualties on the Society Bees. When one stalwart "discovered his 14 blisters he had to send to town for more bandage."

The scions of Westport gave up a day at the races to help the nation out of the crisis, but let no one think that they became soulless drudges. "Said Victor von Hagen, writer specializing in Latin America, flourishing a hammer, 'If I directed properly, I can function.'" And a former colonel, now fiction editor of Collier's, said: "I always carried a light hammer in the Army and I'd use it to drive in nails to hang up my coat in some places."

The "eight supervisors and superintendents" who worked "at straight time instead of the customary overtime rates for Saturday and Sunday work" are not recorded as making any remarks worth quoting.

## REAL BUSINESSLIKE

The Westport miracle was not a half-cooked outburst of naive humanitarianism. When business men do things, they do them in a businesslike way. Thus, "Ernest Parker, who is running for first selectman... returned at various intervals with green

paint (hard to get), asphalt shingles (harder to get) and six paint brushes (\$6.00 apiece, which he obtained free)." This is a man to watch. He also produced a keg and a half of nails from "a secret source" which he later confessed meant a personal friend. Mr. Parker is chairman of the Westport Housing Authority. LABOR ACTION predicts his election by a landslide.

Serving lunch to their fellow workers were Mrs. John Warnock, a member of the State Legislature; Mrs. Lodge, wife of the member of the Massachusetts Lodge family now running for representative; Mrs. J. Kenneth Bradley, wife of the Connecticut national committeeman, and Mrs. Ruth Cassidy, editor of the Westport Town Crier, a rival paper of LABOR ACTION.

The union helped, too. Mr. Parker got his American Legion chapter to send a letter to the local carpenters' union "asking that an exception to the rules be made because of the emergency." The carpenters, who HAVE to work for a living, were equal to the occasion. They wrote

their competitors: "...Your proposition is agreeable to all of us carpenters. Hire anybody and our men will work with them, union or no union, and they will not be obliged to join our union." (This last clause cuts both ways.)

## HUMAN NATURE CHANGEABLE!

Why doesn't your town do the same thing? There must be an idle "smart set" that can be put to work. The Westport events prove that there can be an incentive to work under socialism, and that even the rich will enjoy it. Who says you can't change human nature?

Was anything accomplished? Say, "there may also be night work if the floodlights operate efficiently." And you ought to see the pictures of the barracks they built. Right on page 3 of the Times.

Your town could get good publicity by licking the housing shortage too. All you need are some wide-awake candidates who are looking for ways of publicizing their election campaigns. And a chairman of a Housing Authority.

# 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.

**FOR A SOCIALIST AMERICA AND PLENTY FOR ALL!**

# NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN STALIN'S RUSSIA - III

By F. FOREST

## RECONVERSION TO PEACE ECONOMY

The first step in the conversion of production from war to peace occurred simply—on paper. It was a mere change in the name of the commissariats. Thus the Commissariat for Tank Building was changed to the Commissariat for Transport Machine Building, that of the Ammunition changed to the Agricultural Machines. The only really significant change in this shuffle of titles was the abolition of the Building Department of the GPU (the Commissariat for Home Affairs, or NKVD). We will have to wait to see what that means in the status of the army of forced labor employed by the GPU. But what was seen immediately was that the problem of reconversion could not be solved by a mere strike of the pen.

As has happened so often throughout the life of the various Five-Year Plans, no sooner was a plan mapped out, than an unplanned-for phenomenon occurred. With the end of the war there was a mass exodus of labor from the Urals to the liberated areas. Since the building up of the Urals is important both for the national economy and for purposes of military strategy, it was necessary to cope with this rush of labor to get back to its old homes. A Committee for Assessment and Distribution of Labor, under the Council of Commissars, was established for this purpose. At the same time, although the word Commissariat had nothing but the name in common with the original establishment of peoples councils, it rang so unpleasantly in the ears of the Russian exploiters, that they decided to transform all the Commissariats into Ministries. The title, Ministry, may have had a more comforting sound just because it so closely paralleled the ordinary capitalist government institution, but this, too, did nothing to solve the reconversion problem.

Recent Pravdas are full of complaints of the poor work done these first six months of the Fourth Five-Year Plan in the coal industry, that extremely sensitive barometer for the whole economy since coal conditions all the rest. Last week we pointed out that the one statement, that productivity in the Don Basin region is approximately that of the Ruhr, was more significant than all the panegyrics about the success of "socialist emulation." Nowhere in war-torn Europe was the ruin greater than in the Ruhr, and the post-war production which showed progress at

first, suffered a drastic set-back when the ration of the German worker was reduced to below starvation level. This resulted, naturally enough, in absenteeism, which ran at about 30 per cent of the whole labor force. Productivity sank so low that production was below even the miserable minimum needs decreed by Potsdam. Hence to state, or to allow it to be stated, that productivity in the Don Basin was hardly above that of the Ruhr, means that indeed a miracle would have to occur before production in 1950 could reach 150 per cent of pre-war level, as set by the Plan.

Although those who had dared say that pre-war production levels would not be reached in 1946 were called "peddlers in Trotskyist Bukharinist bourgeois skepticism," it is now admitted that production is hardly 50 per cent of pre-war production. Moreover, the Russian managers of industry state that the ability to reach pre-war levels of production "within two years" clearly depends on having a sufficiently large labor force. To that end they offer higher salaries to attract agricultural workers from the kolchozes to the mines. However, the crisis in agriculture is even more acute than in industry, and hence no release of its labor force is at present possible.

## THE AGRICULTURAL FRONT

Significantly enough, contrary to the method employed by the Fourth Five-Year Plan both as to industry and agriculture in general, the percentages of increases set for livestock raising are not increases over 1940, but only over 1945. For one acquainted with the Russian economy the reason is not hard to guess. When the Nazis completed the most destructive invasion in modern history, there remained in the liberated areas only 6.5 per cent of the pre-war number of horses, and 6.2 per cent of cattle. In round figures for the whole country, this meant that in 1945 the 1940 existence of 17.5 million horses and 65.6 million heads of cattle had dropped catastrophically to 10.5 and 47.0 millions, respectively. Thus, to speak of an increase by 1950 of 46 per cent in horses, and 39 per cent in cattle over the 1945 figure is to speak of an actual decrease of the pre-war figure, in the case of horses, and barely reaching that level in the case of cows. Thus far only three million heads of cattle have been sent to the liberated areas. Compare this with the fact that before the war these areas had 25 million heads of cattle!

The only somewhat bright spot on the agricultural front is that the grain area sown in 1945 was 75 per cent of pre-war level. In general the Fourth Five-Year Plan specifies a 27 per cent increase in agricultural production over 1940. This, however, depends on the state of mechanization. When the first order for the restoration of the liberated lands was promulgated in August 1943, it was stated that those areas would have only 5 to 10 per cent of the pre-war number of tractors. Since the Five-Year Plan was initiated reports have spoken glowingly of the restoration of the Machine Tractor Stations. What they failed to add, until the purges began and that fact came out, was that these MTS are but shadows of their former self. A total of 26,000 tractors have been sent to these areas. Contrast this to the fact that the collective farms in the Ukraine alone in 1940 had 90,000 tractors!

The March issue of the *Bolshevik* complained that collective farmers "contribute little to collective production... do not show due care for the communal economy of the farms, but endeavor to inflate their private holdings at the expense of the communal land." But in other instances it is admitted that "the annexations" consist not of land, or tractors, but of food. The *Bolshevik* tries to raise a smoke screen when it blares forth editorially that "The German fascist occupants endeavored to implant the ideology of private property and nationalism." Unfortunately for that mouthpiece of the Russian politicians, the plain fact is that the Nazis themselves utilized the collective form of farming. No collective property was parcelled out, needless to say, among the local peasantry. No, the chaos on the agriculture front is not due to the "private property ideology" of the peasants. The truth is much simpler. There is a collapse of the whole material structure of collective farming. Mechanization in the collective farms has so utterly broken down, that a dispatch from *Stalino* speaks of agriculture being carried on by hand. No wonder the purge is so deep-going on the agricultural front. The purge is but the Russian "name" for economic crisis.

Will Russia be able to overcome the crisis shaking its agricultural economy through imperial expansion, or are the purges proof of the failure of expansionism to overcome the internal crisis? Next week we will consider Russia's conquests.

# Will the Economic Boom Last? - -

(Continued from page 3)

long as the capitalist system continues to exist. The basic hope of American capitalism for prosperity rests upon a domination of the world market. The domestic market no longer provides the means for the present level of production since that would require a continuously rising standard of living of the masses, rising wages, declining prices and a decline in the profits of industry and finance. But under the capitalist system, wages can never equal production; on the contrary, production far outstrips wages. The greater the industrial potential, the more refined the technological organization of industry, the more vast is the production of goods, the greater is the narrowing of the domestic market.

It is this which drives American capitalism to enlarge the market for its goods beyond the borders of the country. If it can dominate the markets of the world, then it can safeguard the domestic market and keep a high level of production and employment. But it is precisely this factor which operates against the prospects of a future, extended period of economic boom.

In world economy, the United States meets with the sharpest rivalry of other capitalist powers in a struggle over control of the world market and sources of raw materials. While it is true that American interests have been significantly ad-

vanced over pre-war years, the other powers are fighting back most desperately. This is especially true of Great Britain which is struggling to maintain the Empire against the encroachments of American imperialism.

In addition, there are political factors which intervene to make more difficult the realization of the American businessman's new aim. Stalin's Russia has already erected a fence around the Balkans and Eastern Europe. The United States meets the rivalry of her Allies in Western Europe who themselves rest upon the exploitation of their colonial empires. And it is precisely these empires which the United States wants to free from their control, to open them up for exploitation by American capital. Thus far we have mentioned only the factor of imperialist rivalry. But there is the factor of colonial revolt and the movement of national independence which militates against this long-term aim of the United States. American policy against these independence movements are qualified by the prospects that might exist for her exploitation of these "independent" countries.

## THE PROSPECTS FOR EXPORT OF CAPITAL

The devastation of Europe by the war has considerably reduced the prospects for an immediate export of huge masses of capital by the United States and for the present one cannot say with certainty that Europe offers any large hope for the end-products of American expansion.

These then are some of the factors of disintegration which face American capitalism. On the

one hand, we have cited the elements which give rise to the present boom. On the other, are the elements which threaten its continuation. The principal reason for the boom lies in the scarcities created by the war economy; the moment these are supplied, American capitalism must rest its hope on the conquest of the world market.

But even the present boom rests upon a diminishing share of the masses in the prosperity that does exist. Thus the struggle that occurs now is around the effort of the monopoly capitalists to squeeze ever greater profits from the masses of the working people, while the workers fight desperately to obtain a greater share of the national product. When one observes the real decline of wages and the continuing rise of prices which eats into the standard of living of the masses, it is clear why the struggle of the workers for wages must accompany an unremitting struggle against rising prices.

The fact that the struggle between monopoly capitalism and the workers is so sharp in the boom period is the living proof that the boom is extremely tenuous, reflecting not a period of rising, expanding capitalism on a world scale, but a declining, narrowing capitalism which can exist only by depressing the level of existence of all the people in the world—as well as those in the United States. In this very fact, lies the necessity not merely for the struggle of the workers at home against imperialist capitalism, but also for the world solidarity of all who work in order to live.



# Labor Action School Offers Six Courses, Opens November 8

Courses designed to help the student think his way through the confusion of post-war problems feature the 1946-47 catalog of the Labor Action School issued last week.

There will be three eight-week terms of the school, the first of them beginning on November 12, 1946, to be held on Tuesday and Friday nights at the school's permanent headquarters, 114 West 14th Street.

Together with the regular sessions of the school, a series of lectures have been arranged for each Sunday evening of the school term, that will bring to the platform guest lecturers on many topics in the political, scientific and cultural fields.

The school term will open on Friday, November 8, at 8:00 p.m., with a debate between Liston M. Oak, managing editor of the New Leader, and Max Shachtman, national chairman of the Workers Party, on "Does Stalinism Flow from Bolshevism?" It will take place at the Hotel Diplomat, 108 West 43rd Street.

The courses in the school are arranged to meet the interest in varied fields of Marxist thought and the practical application of that theory in the life of the working class. Oscar Williams' class on Trade Unionism in Action will begin on Tuesday, November 12, and is directed primarily to people actively engaged in the trade unions who feel the need to exchange experiences and discuss the broader perspective of their practical daily struggles.

### VARIED COURSES

An introduction to Marxism, based on Max Shachtman's book, *The Fight for Socialism*, will be provided by the course on *The Program of the Workers Party*, led by Mary Bell.

Coupled with this course is the one on the *Development of the Socialist Movement*, that has been planned to run for the three terms of the school. Each takes up the development of Marxist ideas against the background of the period in which the ideological struggles were fought. Emanuel Garrett, editor of *LABOR ACTION*, who is the instructor for the first term, will cover the period of *The Struggle for Scientific Socialism*. The class has particular importance today since Marx and Engels fought Utopianism and Anarchism, both philosophies currently receiving increased attention as answers to the problems we confront in our time.

Both of these classes meet on Friday nights at 7:30 and 9:00 respectively.

tively, so that the new student of Marxism may attend both and thus get a rounded picture of both the development of these ideas in the past and their application in the present.

### ADVANCED COURSES

Addressing themselves to more advanced students, the classes by Max Shachtman on Tuesdays, and Ernest Erber on Fridays, will discuss *Socialist Perspectives in Post-War Europe* and *Contemporary Problems of Marxism*. Designed to complement each other, Shachtman's course will take up the current political situations and problems in Europe, while Erber's class will take up the new theoretical problems that have developed for Marxists as a result of the great historical changes that have taken place in the last ten years.

An additional class on Tuesday evenings is a continuation of Comrade Forest's sessions on Volume I of *Marx's Capital*. Only those students who have either participated in the earlier sessions on Volume I, or have studied Volume I and feel that they have an adequate background to participate intelligently should attend. The registration fee for each of these courses is \$2.00. Make your checks or money orders payable to Labor Action School, 114 West 14th Street.

## Shachtman Challenges Celler At Brooklyn Veterans Meeting

Max Shachtman, Workers Party candidate for Congress from the 15th Congressional District, Brooklyn, will speak before a Brooklyn branch of the American Veterans Committee on Tuesday, October 15, at 8:30 p.m. at 407 Rockaway Avenue, Brooklyn. He will be a guest speaker, together with Emanuel Celler, Democratic candidate for re-election to the 80th Congress, and the Republican candidate for the same office.

"I will attack the Democratic Party on prices, wages and food control," Max Shachtman stated when asked for his intended speech in the symposium with his opponents. "I will point out that the returned veteran has come back to a land which can produce houses, food and clothing in plenty but which has refused to do so because the profiteers who control the production of all these items are holding out on the buying public un-

# Seaman Answers Labor Baiter

## Maritime Workers Protest Baldwin's Anti-Union Column in N. Y. Times

The New York Times last week printed a vicious column, written by its military expert Hanson Baldwin, attacking the seamen's unions. Hanson, an Annapolis man, wrote his column completely in the tradition of that anti-labor institution. Its viciousness was equalled only in its idiocy.

Appearance of the column was greeted with a storm of protest as all maritime unions joined in picketing the Times' offices. Caught in a very embarrassing position, the New York Times was compelled to issue a statement intended as an apology. Edwin L. James, managing editor of the Times, received a delegation representing the various seamen's unions, and did what he could to counteract the indignation roused by the Baldwin column. The Times featured the protest on its front page. Below we print a letter addressed to Mr. Anti-Union Baldwin by a seaman.

Dear Mr. Baldwin:

Your recent article on the decline of the Merchant Marine was a vicious attack on our seamen. I know that you've never sailed, because your article makes it obvious that you don't know the first thing about the REAL problems of sailors.

I don't mean the kind of sailors you'd be likely to meet in a novel, by Kipling or a poem by Masefield; you know enough about them to give a good dramatic camouflage to your anti-union tirade. I mean the kind of sailors who get wet and cold when the bow of a ship is taking the waves,

who know what it means to be maltreated and overworked in foreign ports, made out of real, live, human flesh and blood.

### READ THE WRONG BOOKS

"Where now are the bucko-mates of yesteryear?" you ask. "Where the hard-hearted, hard-fisted, leather-lunged 'sundowners' who could spit into the teeth of a gale?" "There were giants in those days," you say, "stout seamen who ran taut ships and good ones—but today there's scarcely a Kipling man or a Masefield man or a real bluewater captain in the whole kit and caboodle of them. Today 'master mariners' carry union placards; South Street's famous grog shops have turned into union halls; skippers pace the picket line instead of the bridge; the eagle eye, keen from searching the far horizons, is reserved now for signs of 'scabs' and 'goons,' and the swinging fist is strangely still—except in inter-union rows."

You are wrong, Mr. Baldwin; when the unions went to sea, the deep-sea sailor was not doomed. HE WAS CHANGED. The trouble is you don't recognize him—and it isn't just the union button which misleads you. He doesn't seem the same now that he has his own clean bunk to sleep in, does he? Why don't you ask what happened to the two-pot system whereby food was prepared separately for the officers lest they grow ill on the ship that was served to the crew. These clean, well-fed seamen who only work eight hours a day, can't be the same who used to work twelve and fourteen hours a day, can they?

It wasn't the deep-sea sailor whom the unions killed; it was all the inhumanity and exploitation to which the shipowners subjected him and upon which they grew fat. If you want to find out how much alive he is, Mr. Baldwin, just try to take his union away from him. Try to make him work twelve hours a day, take away his union wage, put him back in a crowded, dirty forecastle—just try—and he'll be there, hard heart, hard fists, leather lungs and all.

WHY MEN GO TO SEA  
You don't think that the Merchant Marine will ever amount to anything until men go to sea for the love of it, instead of for something approaching a forty-hour week and time and a half for overtime. What you don't understand, Mr. Baldwin, is that men go to sea for a LIVING. It's a trade just like carpentry or machine tools. Seamen like going to sea, just like carpenters enjoy making a fine piece of woodwork, but they also want a fair return for their work.

You attack the seamen for having soft berths during the war. You say they got fancy wages and bonuses. There were no soft berths on the Murransk run, or in the Indian Ocean. Mr. Baldwin; seamen died in greater proportion than even infantrymen. Seamen fattened the fishes while shipowners made millions on ships which didn't even belong to them.

### STRIKES WORRY HIM

What really worries you most is the current strike of masters, mates and engineers. You call it the "crowning paradox of any old-time sailor man bred on traditions of salt water." It is not a paradox at all. It may be a paradox for you, because you look to the marine officers as the men who should protect these old "traditions" which you value so highly. These are not the traditions of bravery and camaraderie; your anti-union stand has shown that you are more interested in the kind of traditions mentioned above, the traditions of crimps and peonage. These traditions, if not already dead, are dying. With them are dying the old skippers, the Captains Bligh. There are new men to take their places—union men—men who have served in the forecastle, who have fought for better standards themselves.

Captains don't send men out in gales any more, unless it's necessary. The hurricanes still roar and the gales still blow, but the point is that seamen don't HAVE to spit in them any more. Not because the union contract says they don't, but because SCIENCE says they don't. This is an age of high-pressure turbines, radio direction-finders and gyro-pilots. Seamen are going to take advantage of these things. The men who spend their lives sailing the ships have a hard-earned right to sail them in comfort and safety.

WHY SHIPS STAND IDLE  
You lament the fact that ships are rusting while men are on strike, Mr. Baldwin. So does every sailor. Who is more concerned about this fact than the sailors?

Mr. Baldwin, for your own good, read Masefield, read Kipling, but don't read Zane Grey, Bret Hartle or Max Brand. Because if you do, you might start writing articles bewailing the fate of the cow-boy. (Where the hard-hearted, hard-ridden, hard-fisted, leather-lunged, two-gunned cowboy of yesteryear? Where the bean-eating, prairie-sleeping rustler? Where the town saloon? Where the brawl? The smoking guns are strangely silent.) And that wouldn't pay so well.

JUSTIN GRAHAM.

# With the Workers Party

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Write to Box 221 for further information.

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LABOR ACTION, 1561 W. Madison, 2nd floor, Chicago 7. Telephone—CHESapeake 5798. Office hours: 3-5:30 p.m. daily, except Sundays, Tuesday and Wednesday evenings.

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Headquarters, 3773 Gratiot (at Mt. Elliott). Office hours: 11 a.m.-3 p.m., Tuesdays, Wednesdays and Thursdays. Class in "Fight for Socialism" every Thursday at 11:30 a.m.

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Headquarters at 316 1/2 W. Pico near Olive. Telephone: Richmond 7-3250. Office hours: 12 to 3 p.m. daily except Sunday; also 4:30 to 6:30 p.m. on Monday, Wednesday, Friday.

### LOUISVILLE

New International on sale at Eilers Bookshop, between Liberty and Jefferson on 3rd. For other information regarding LABOR ACTION, New International and Workers Party—Write Robert Durant, Box 1181, Louisville, Ky.

### NEWARK

HEADQUARTERS: 248 Market St. OFFICE HOURS: Tuesday—3 to 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.

Halloween Costume Party! Joint auspices of Newark Branch, WP, and New York Unit, Socialist Youth League. Entertainment, dancing refreshments. Saturday, October 26, at 8:30 p.m. at 248 Market St. Newark—Labor Action Hall, Setback—50 cents (25 cents to NY youth).

### 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. Third floor, 114 W. 14th St. HARLEM—Meets every Wednesday at 8:00 p.m. Workers Party Headquarters, 2143 Seventh Ave., Room 106 (near 127th St.). BROOKLYN DOWNTOWN—Meets every Wednesday at 8:00 p.m. Workers Party Headquarters, 276 Fulton St., 2nd Floor.

For addresses and time of other branches in New York City phone the City Office—CHelsea 2-9681. Also, please send us your name and address so that you can be kept informed of all Workers Party activities.

### READING

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

### PHILADELPHIA

Headquarters, 1105 Walnut St. WP Branch meets each Monday at 8:00 p.m. Socialist Youth League meets Friday at 8:00 p.m. cents.

Workers Party School—Courses: History of the CIO. Instructor: Jack Brad. Wednesday evenings, 8:00 o'clock, October 16, 23, 30, November 6, 13, 20. The Program of the Workers Party. Instructor: James M. Fenwick. Wednesday evenings, 9:10 to 10:10 o'clock, October 16, 23, 30, November 6, 13, 20. History of the Fourth International. Thursday evenings, 8:00 o'clock. Instructor: Arthur Parks. October 17, 24, 31, November 7, 14, 21.

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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 2059 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, Ithica, N. Y.

# Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor...

## Wants N. Y. Forums Reported in L. A.

Dear Editor:

The list of speakers and their subjects for the New York Sunday evening forums is very interesting but so far away unless you attend and give a broad outline report of the ideas discussed for the non-New York LABOR ACTION readers.

Would also suggest you print in serial form "The New Course" and "The Fight for Socialism" in the Magazine Section of your vital paper.

E. B., Detroit.

above suggestion put the Tower of Babel commotion to shame. The President was called everything from a Red Herring to a Kippered Technocrat. However, after the first and second acts of this farce for power, the finale saw the suggestion ground into the dust by the money-hugging two per cent of our nation who actually control our government.

Last week, the Veterans' Administration released an edict fixing the earnings under benefits. A single veteran may earn \$110 a month and still receive the benevolent \$65 from the government. A married veteran can earn \$110 and still get the full \$90 a month. But that is the limit! A vet going to school or learning a trade cannot earn more than \$175-\$200 a month. The Veteran Administration argues that it is inflationary, dangerous and racketeering for a vet to earn more.

What a joke! What a cruel, ironical piece of devilry! The poor veteran. The unshowered veteran. The veteran without shirts or shoes or good socks is not permitted the full opportunity of the vaunted "freedom of enterprise."

Under the stress of learning trades and competing in educational fields, very few veterans can earn even the maximum allowed by the VA.

I defy the VA to show any veteran how he can live decently and keep his self-respect with this undemocratic and one-sided restriction shackling his every effort.

JO MAZUR, New York.

## A Lesson on PAC From Cleveland

Dear Editor:

Two events in Cleveland labor circles last week demonstrated dramatically the political trap into which PAC politics has led labor.

The action centered around the meat shortage. The Cleveland Industrial Union Council (CIO) called upon President Truman to seize the meat industry and operate it in cooperation with the packinghouse union. Nationalization of the meat industry under workers' control is certainly an obvious and necessary step. But it is sufficiently obvious that Truman, that stalwart if not too bright servant of big business, will do nothing of

the kind and that labor will have to make its own plans to effect this demand.

The lesson here is that the CIO spent time, money and effort to get Truman, an enemy of labor, elected Vice-President.

The same situation holds true with regard to the state government. The CIO Council called on Governor Lausche to investigate meat held in storage. And Lausche, who is up for re-election, is going through the motions of such an investigation now.

However, it is apparent to everyone that not one thing will come of this. Here again, the CIO helped to elect an enemy of labor. Lausche, whom the PAC supported two years ago, has turned out so bad that this year PAC considers him the same as the Republican candidate, and has endorsed neither. PAC can't even find a candidate for the working man to vote for!

The story repeats itself over and over. The PAC supports a candidate of a capitalist party. When elected, the candidate turns out to be just what he was all along—a capitalist candidate. Yet, because so many union problems lead to government, and the CIO has to call humbly on such men for help, useless as such calls may be.

When are we going to form a party of our own, an independent Labor Party? When are we ever going to wake up?

GERRY McDERMOTT, Cleveland.

## Disputes Review of "Animal Farm"

Dear Editor:

I would like to take issue with some of the implications in Henry Judd's review of the new book, "Animal Farm," in the September 20 LABOR ACTION.

It seems to me that Comrade Judd is much too mild in his criticism of George Orwell's book. He says that he is "at a loss as to precisely how the whole thing is meant." I think the book is pretty clear on that. It is a vicious distortion of the course of the Russian Revolution and the antagonism between Bolshevism and Stalinism.

First there is the complete identity between Snowball (Trotsky) and Na-

oleon (Stalin). Not only is there no indication of Trotsky's activities after his exile—which Judd indicates—but the original sign of degeneration of the revolution (the disappearance of the milk) is presented under the sponsorship of Trotsky. The disagreement between Trotsky and Stalin is given no reasonable basis whatever, unless Stalin's jealousy of Trotsky's brilliance can be called a reasonable basis. And why the name Snowball for Trotsky? Doesn't the name itself indicate a distortion of Trotsky's role in history?

As important as is Orwell's distortion of Bolshevism, his contempt for the oppressed masses is equally reprehensible. And this contempt is in no way concealed. Except for the ruling pigs, none of the animals could learn to read. The only exception to this, Benjamin the donkey, sharpens the contempt, for Benjamin, the only intelligent animal besides the pigs, is a cynic who refuses to concern himself with politics. What is the obvious conclusion? The masses are too stupid to protect themselves from bureaucrats and oppressors. Intelligent people (intellectuals) will have nothing to do with politics and the class struggle—that is for the stupid.

This fits in perfectly with Orwell's middle class radicalism and is typical of his kind. The middle class radical, who cannot understand class struggle or the nature of the revolution, lays the blame for defeats and setbacks on the proletariat—whom they understand least of all. Orwell in England, Macdonald in the United States, with no understanding of Marxist science, with no confidence in the working class, substitute meaningless morals for working class action and anarchism for Marxism.

The Orwells have to be exposed for what they are—confusionists and defeatists.

MARTIN HARVEY.

## A Reader Complains -- And Is Answered

Dear Editor:

In your editorial of September 23 and in three articles in LA on September 30, you have written much on the Wallace-Byrnes controversy, but,

alas, said so very little. You state, Wallace is an imperialist. Correct. We need a workers' government. Correct. But, gentlemen, how about peace? (Not peace—Joe a piece, Sam a piece.) Have you nothing to say about peace except "Bah, you imperialist!" and "Hurrah, workers' government!" Don't you think that the road to peace is through the democratic right of self-determination of each and every nation? I think you do. Then why don't you say it? The words of Wallace leave me cold; his attitude toward a Labor Party even more so, and, besides, has not much to do with this particular speech of his. What do you say, Mr. Editor?

ALLEN BAKER.

(We accept neither the content nor the spirit of our correspondent's criticism. He asks why we don't write about "the democratic right of self-determination" in connection with the Wallace affair. In the September 23 issue of LABOR ACTION, Comrade J. R. Johnson's article ends as follows: "No secret diplomacy. Russian troops and American troops must be withdrawn from all foreign territories. The peoples must decide their own fate....Peace can come only when in New York, Berlin, Moscow, Paris and London the people have driven out the imperialists and are masters of their fate." That is a concrete enough statement of the idea of "democratic right of self-determination"—is it not?

As a matter of fact, LABOR ACTION and the Workers Party have been in the forefront with the socialist movement in advocating that socialists support movements of oppressed nationalities? This position has been codified in the party's resolutions on the national question and repeated innumerable times in LABOR ACTION.

In addition, we subjected the Wallace affair to a many-sided analysis, pointing out the international and domestic repercussions, which was why we discussed the Labor Party. To point out, as we did, that the Wallace policy leads to imperialist subjugation is still another way to defend the "democratic right of self-determination."

We shall not comment on our correspondent's report of his temperature reactions to Wallace.—Ed.)



NEW HEADQUARTERS FOR BUSINESS OFFICE: The Business Office of LABOR ACTION is moving into the new National Office of the Workers Party at 4 Court Square, Long Island City 1, New York, in the new, spacious headquarters, the editorial and business offices of LABOR ACTION hope to operate more efficiently and effectively.

During the course of moving, we have unavoidably fallen behind on matters pertaining to LABOR ACTION, such as answering correspondence, filling orders, subscriptions, etc. We regret this brief delay and will catch up with everything during the course of this week.

BILLS TO OUR AGENTS: Every LABOR ACTION bundle order agent is now in possession of a bill giving an accurate statement of his account for the first ten issues of the Eight-Page LABOR ACTION. Most agents are paid almost up to date and are in good standing, but some are falling behind. We have these few particularly in mind when we say that all LABOR ACTION accounts must be paid up immediately, if credit is to be continued. Look your bill over immediately, check on its accuracy, and send in a payment!

NEW SUBSCRIPTIONS: Subscriptions fell down considerably this past week. Only Chicago and Newark were on the job in getting renewals to expired subs. Maybe the moving had something to do with this. Here is the list for the past week:

NEWARK	9
Chicago	8
New York City	5
Detroit	3
Cleveland	2
Missouri	1
Los Angeles	1
Minneapolis	1
Philadelphia	1
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San Pedro	1
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# Hated King George Rules by Terror

By CHRIS SIKOKIS

King George's return to Greece has served to speed up the lynch spirit of his cohorts in destroying the few civil liberties still remaining in that country. Yet, that is the way it must be if the King is to remain in a country where he is not wanted. For King George does not want to go back into exile nor does he want his life to end by a bullet as did most of his near and distant ancestors.

The royalist government prepared the city of Athens for the King's return with all the necessary precautions. Every house along the route of the "triumphant entry" was carefully searched and all of the occupants checked back to their birth. The press insisted everybody be present as a symbol of solidarity to the "enemies of the Greek people." But even A. C. Sedgwick of the New York Times, who is known among American correspondents as "the monarchist from the Times," had to use weasel words to describe the attendance along the route of the King's parade. He was forced to say that the King was greeted by "a fair section of the populace" and that many of them "were in from the country."

## TERROR!

Here are the facts on how Greece was prepared for the plebiscite on September 1 for the return of King George. This list does not include the thousands who have been forced to flee to the mountains. Nor does it show how the terror has increased since the King returned. Preparing for the plebiscite April 1 to August 23: 579 murdered, 40 executed, 414 seriously wounded, 1,664 seriously tortured, 39 disappeared, 1,266 deported, 3,942 imprisoned, 86 houses burned, 12 anti-monarchist newspapers closed down.

Civil service and armed forces purged of anti-monarchists. All officials of trade union movement removed; royalists put in their place by government.

## Greece --

(Continued from page 1)

25 men, five women and three children, of various political beliefs, took them to the town square and killed them.

Not satisfied with this monstrous display of fascist murder, they cut off the head from one of the dead men and took it to the nearby town of Arachova. Here they displayed it in the square to warn all those who may think that the King's men are not in complete control.

The story of Vamvakou can be repeated for dozens of other places in Greece—continuous daily terror. This is the government that Great Britain and the United States are supporting. This is the government of Prime Minister Tsaldaris, who will visit the United States shortly to report to President Truman how he is fighting the disgruntled "few" who are upsetting his "poor" but "happy" country.

Let the workers in the United States give Tsaldaris the kind of welcome that will be heard by workers and farmers in Greece so they will know that world labor stands united.

are being used to exterminate all those who do not "love the King." Twenty-nine army officers have been deported to unknown islands. Included among them was General Serafis, who was commander-in-chief of the underground guerrilla army, and General Pakirdzis. Both of them are non-Communists. The figures that the Ministry of Public Order gave to the press were that 570 persons whom it classified as "anarchists" had been deported as of September 1 to the islands. The concentration camps on the mainland are full of thousands of liberals, socialists, agrarians, communists and people who object to fascist terror. These thousands await deportation pronounced on them secretly by the security committees.

These arrests and deportations are expected to frighten the rest of the population into silence and submission. Every town in Greece has its stories of how the army and gendarmes or royalist gangs swooped into town and took away one, two or fifty people. Those who resisted were killed immediately.

The Central Committee of the International Communist Party of Greece (Fourth International) has issued an appeal to the working class of the world to raise its voice against this terror.

### Library Symposium To Hear McKinney Vs. Powell, Reynolds

The 135th Street Branch of the New York Public Library has announced that it is running a symposium on THE REAL ISSUES OF THE CAMPAIGN on Thursday evening, October 31. It has invited all Negro candidates to address the forum at its auditorium at 104 West 136th Street. Ernest Rice McKinney, candidate of the Workers Party, will there have the opportunity to challenge Adam Clayton Powell and Grant Reynolds, representatives of the two capitalist parties. Lola Lane of the Socialist Party will also participate in this forum. Each speaker will have twelve minutes in which to present his viewpoint and five minutes to summarize. Admission is free.

### SHACHTMAN WILL SPEAK ON RUSSIA AT BRONX FORUM

The newly organized Bronx branch of the Workers Party will hold its first public meeting Thursday, October 24, at Wilkins Hall, 1330 Wilkins Ave. The speaker for the evening will be Max Shachtman, National Chairman of the Workers Party, whose subject for discussion will be, "Russia's Role in the World Today."

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## Labor Can Chase Them Back to Their Ratholes

# America-Firsters Form New Reactionary Front

By SUSAN GREEN

A fascist front is forming again in this country. Fathered and financed by the backers of the fascistic America First movement of pre-Pearl Harbor days and by the ultra-reactionary leaders of the Liberty League, the offspring American Action Committee bows on the political stage.

This is no mere "crackpot" movement any more than Nazism was a product of Hitler's "psychopathic genius." Just as top capitalists of pre-war Germany (though now exonerated by the Allied judges at Nuremberg) projected the Nazi movement to break the labor front and to prepare for global war, so here today a sector of the capitalist class organizes to attack labor. This the American Action Committee literature openly states.

The connection between the American Action Committee and the America First Committee is so close that General Robert E. Wood, head of the mail order firm, Sears, Roebuck & Co., who was chairman of America First, is likewise chairman of the new outfit. Wood sent out confidential letters to a selected group, on his own letterhead with the company's address, asking for checks or "transfer of stocks." The \$200,000 paid in or pledged toward the \$750,000 sought to be raised did not come from small fry. Listed among the financial

backers of the new organization are Joseph Pew of Sun Oil and other interests; Ernest T. Weir, the labor-hating steel magnate; Lamont du Pont, of the family that owns such big chunks of America; Samuel Welton, Chicago banker; W. Homes Hartz, former head of the Illinois Manufacturers Association; Robert K. Christenberry, president of the Hotel Astor; publisher Robert R. McCormick of reactionary fame.

### MCCORMICK'S TWO CENTS

McCormick foreshadowed the new organization when, in an editorial in his Chicago Tribune some weeks ago, he wrote:

"The America First Committee disbanded too soon. Some pro-American organization is necessary, because of the extensive influence of the Reds in the Democratic Party and of the British in the Republican Party, especially on the eastern seaboard."

Enrolled as charter members are some well-known reactionary, anti-labor propagandists. There is Merwin K. Hart, head of the National Economic Council, noted for its inventiveness in making anti-labor propaganda. Hart has been denounced by Justice Robert H. Jackson for "his pro-fascist leanings." He has openly defended Franco. There is Upton Close, who speaks the views of the National Economic Council on its

Mutual Network program. There is Robert M. Harriss, Queens County associate of Father Coughlin and the Christian Front and friend of former Congressman Hamilton Fish.

### THE REACTIONARY RATHOLES

It is no fantasy to say that the American Action bunch aim to rally, organize and strengthen the fascist front. The connecting strings radiate into all the reactionary ratholes. For instance, the above-mentioned Hart is also one of the founders of the Tool Owners' Union run by an army veteran from a Park Avenue address, following the political line of Frank E. Gannett's ultra-conservative, anti-labor League for Constitutional Government. (You guessed it; the "tool owners" are the capitalists.) Again, Eugene M. Flitcraft, publisher of the anti-Semitic Gentle News of Oak Park, Ill., hailed, the new organization both in its news columns and editorially. There are still other irons in the fire.

Talmadge's outfit in Georgia with its KKK tie-up could be interesting; similarly with former Senator Reynolds' supporters in the American Nationalist movement. Officially Gerald L. K. Smith may not be accepted by the American Actionists because of his ill-repute, but it goes without saying that many of Smith's followers will be on deck. It is reported

that rabble-rouser McWilliams wants to be counted in. And the Christian War Veterans, headed by Frederick Kister, deems itself qualified to become the fly-paper for catching discontented veterans for the fascist front.

Furthermore, the American Action Committee boasts of much support of the reactionaries in Congress. Chairman Wood, in his confidential letter to a selected group, wrote:

"The movement has been discussed with and has the blessing of the top-most Republican and Constitutional Democratic leaders in both houses of Congress and the support of many people you know."

The "Constitutional Democrats," he it remembered, are the Byrd-Bilbo-Rankin branch of the Democratic Party.

The American Action Committee makes its bow on the political stage at this time to try to swing the Congressional elections its way. General Wood informed his chosen group of men with money:

"The thing I like about it (AAC) is that it is not just another organization of propaganda, but one of direct political action within Congressional districts where there are good chances for success, and as fast as funds are sufficient to do a thorough job, it is expanding to other districts where real American Congressmen are be-

ing threatened with the PAC purge." Captain Edward A. Hayes, a former national commander of the American Legion, who has been put in charge of organizing the activities of the Wood outfit, says:

"We are in the process of developing doorbell-ringing organizations in Missouri, Oklahoma, Illinois, Wisconsin, New York, California and Washington, to assist Congressional candidates opposed to communistic tendencies in this country."

### ITS ALLEGED PURPOSES

In the literature of the American Action Committee its purposes are stated to be: To organize the great majority of the Right more effectively than alien-minded radicals have organized the vociferous minorities of the Left. To meet head-on the CIO-PAC and its anti-American collaborationists by openly challenging and exposing their terrorist tactics, their smears and their deceptions. To purge both major parties of opportunist leadership that sells out American principles for minorities' votes. To protect from smear and political reprisal party leaders and public officials who uphold American principles and drive out those who compromise American principles.

It requires no long exposition to make clear what this super-nationalism means. We have the fascist and Nazi examples. When such as these talk about the "terrorist tactics" of their opponents, it is a virtual admission that they themselves are thinking of terror. Everybody who does not comply with their reactionary conceptions of what is good for the capitalist system will be dubbed "alien" and "communistic" — and driven out.

The one point that can be taken on its face value in the AAC program is that it is out to smash CIO-PAC. If the workers are not yet fully aware of the potentialities of PAC as a working class weapon to be turned into an independent Labor Party, the die-hard capitalist layers certainly feel it in their bones. For the present the fascistic AAC will train all its guns on target PAC.

The consolidation of the fascist front can and must be prevented by the workers. The activities and meetings of the American Action Committee will have to be picketed and exposed. The AAC is a renewed and strengthened effort at fascist organization. It will require the prompt, united, all-out effort of labor to prevent it from getting even a toe-hold.

# Next Step in Meat Crisis Up to Labor

"Free Enterprise" Is Sacred Only to Those Who Profit from the Misery of the People

By J. R. JOHNSON

"The dread specter of malnutrition is stalking the streets of this city. The children of the city cannot get meat. It is a crime that cattle can roam the plains and that meat cannot be obtained here. It is a conspiracy against the American people, and I indict the meat industry for it because they can get meat to the dinner table in spite of any regulations. I know the American public will not stand for it...."

"Let us remove the duty until the meat barons are on their knees. Let us do anything until we get these people thinking the right way, the American way."

Who is this speaking? Is it Max Shachtman, revolutionary socialist candidate of the Workers Party for Congress?

No. It is the Democratic majority leader of the New York City Council, Joseph Sharkey. Was it merely the usual talk to fool the people? It certainly was talk to fool the people. But it was not "merely" talk.

The City Council actually passed a resolution demanding that the government seize all the meat. These Democrats and Republicans, capitalist to the bone, passed the resolution with only two votes in opposition. The workers should note this resolution well and see what it implies.

### CATTLE PRIVATE PROPERTY

Cattle today is private property. Meat is produced by what the capitalists are always calling "free enterprise." Yet here they are telling us that the robber capitalist barons

are using this private property to conspire against the people and starve their children. In addition, they propose that the government seize the private property, that is to say, make it state property and use it for the people's needs.

Why they should say this is not too difficult to understand. The people of New York are really mad at the meat shortage. The Councilors do not know what to do. Therefore they issue this proposal. They are pretty sure, of course, that the government will do no such thing.

And this is exactly where the workers come in. There is malnutrition, there is a conspiracy by the robber barons. The meat ought to be seized. At any rate, the robber barons ought to be brought to their knees. We agree. But here we separate ourselves sharply from the City Council. It is the poor and the workers who suffer. They are the ones who should act.

### LABOR LEADERS' ROLE

Murray, Green, Reuther, these leaders of 15 million organized workers, don't they know what the New York City Councilors know? Why don't they propose plans to bring the conspiring robber barons to their knees?

The organized labor movement in the U. S. is the most powerful social force in the country. It can investigate the meat situation, find out what meat there is in warehouses, place this meat under its own control, discuss with the farmers the price not only for meat but for the industrial goods the farmer uses, discuss with

the truck drivers and railwaymen transportation of this meat.

If the meat industry is nationalized, the workers can even arrange with the small butchers, retail distribution of the meat. That is the program. And if the workers want to, they can do it tomorrow.

### SACRED HOGWASH

The fact remains that the sacred principle of private property is now being recognized as sacred hogwash.

There is yet another aspect to the question. Let us admit that the whole labor movement is not ready today to take the action we propose. If it is not ready it is because for all these months the labor leaders have done nothing to prepare them. The crisis continues.

But let us suppose that in Detroit or in Pittsburgh or Los Angeles some sections of the workers, in a disciplined manner, and in combination with housewives' committees and other consumers' bodies, carried out an action against one of the big packing companies.

### STARTLE THE GOVERNMENT

That would startle the government into immediate action of some sort. That is the only kind of resolution that robber barons and capitalist politicians really understand and respect. For the rest, the politicians talk and the robber barons sit tight.

No. The solution rests with the workers. And more and more the whole situation is pushing the country to realize that new and drastic

steps are needed to solve its problems.

The New York Times is deeply disturbed at the resolution of the City Council. It has a right to be. It says:

"It is not difficult to understand why the Communist members of the City Council voted for this resolution. But that men should vote for it who profess to believe in the private enterprise system, in private property rights, and in the constitutional guarantees of due process, of law, is an ominous sign of the direction in which die-hard retention of wartime controls may drive us."

### OPA A JOKE

But the retention of wartime controls is not die-hard at all. OPA today is a joke. The kind of control that should be instituted and retained is workers' control. The private property system is breaking down. The government plays at control. Frantic capitalist politicians shout for government control and thereby still further discredit the so-called free enterprise system.

Yet the crisis continues. The workers should realize that the next step for them and for society is their own control. For, to confine the issue to meat, if the workers controlled the meat, they would not conspire to deprive themselves and their children of meat, and they would have no reason to deprive even the robber barons of a steak, richly as these scoundrels deserve a few days of the thin diet to which they condemn the people.

# Meat: Truman's Way? Or Our Way?--

(Continued from page 1)

government merely puts a few men in to operate the industry in behalf of the owners.

Truman said nothing about warehouses. Why not seize them? It has been proved that millions upon millions of pounds of meat are stored away—not enough to feed the entire population, but enough to ease the situation. They could have been seized and turned over under the control of warehouse workers for distribution. This could be done, but not by Truman for that would mean invading the sanctity of private property. And Truman will not do that unless COMPELLED to by the action of the people.

Seize the cattle for slaughter. This, says Truman, "would indeed be a drastic remedy" and he left it at that. Yes, it most certainly would be a drastic remedy. But drastic situations require drastic remedies. When drastic measures were needed to prosecute the imperialist war, they were taken. Whatever had to be requisitioned was requisitioned.

Obviously Truman was not prepared to do that. It would be against the interests of private property, of "free enterprise," of monopoly. And, before everything else, Truman is an upholder of the system of private property as is the entire governmental system.

Combined with seizing the packing plants and the warehouses and putting them under the control of the workers, this could have put meat on the tables of the great mass of people. This is the kind of drastic action demanded by the situation. It is equally the kind of drastic remedy that Truman will never take, but that labor, with its power and its interest in the welfare of ALL the people, can take.

Import dressed meat from other countries. Truman said this would not do very much good. We add that it hasn't been demonstrated as necessary. Two weeks ago Secretary of Agriculture Anderson announced that there was more than an adequate supply of livestock in this country. There is no need to deprive the people of any other country, such as Mexico, of meat; in fact, there is a dire need of meat in Europe and Asia.

Lift controls on meat. And that is what Truman did. For Truman, for the packing monopolists, it was truly the "only remedy left." For labor, for the people, the only real remedy would have been: to nationalize the meat industry under workers' control.

### THE PEOPLE WILL LEARN!

And note carefully what follows in the Truman address: "The American people will know where the responsibility rests if profiteering on meat raises the price so high that the average American cannot buy it." We think they will know, too. Truman would like them to conclude from this knowledge that in November they ought to vote for the Democrats. We of the Workers Party and LABOR ACTION shall do our best to help the people reach the conclusion that the whole thievish, selfish set-up needs to be replaced with a government that serves the interests of the people, a Workers' Government.

It is a dead certainty that prices will rise and rise, unless labor intervenes. What little there was of price control is now definitely dead, except for rent.

"The lifting of controls on meat, however, cannot be treated as an isolated transaction." So Truman. And he is right. Already "the Price Ad-

ministrator and the Secretary of Agriculture have been lifting controls on thousands of items on their own initiative." We know that. And in Truman's address we heard no reference to these gentlemen as Congressional obstructionists, "selfish few" and the rest of the phrases designed to shift blame elsewhere. (We are reminded of Roosevelt's denunciation of the "economic royalists" while he led a war for these same economic royalists.)

### TRUMAN'S WAY

"The action which will be taken tomorrow in freeing meat from control means that their program of lifting controls will have to be accelerated under existing standards." And by the same token, labor will have TO ACT to stop the steal.

Truman made some passing references to wage increases. We know what that will be like in Truman's formula. An inadequate, piddling increase that will be wiped away quickly by rising prices, possibly further depress labor's living standard and certainly not raise it.

Such is Truman's way. Rising prices. Frequent shortages.

Those who have permitted themselves to be beguiled by the propaganda that lifting controls will at least provide some meat where there is none, need only consider the milk situation in any one of a number of cities. In New York City, for example, in addition to a price rise that, according to published reports, has already deprived any number of poor children of a proper amount of milk, there is an actual shortage. In Seattle, housewives this week were demonstrating against the impossible rise in the price of milk under decontrol! Truman's way is not our way. It

cannot be, for his way is the capitalist way—the way of the socially bankrupt masters of industry, whose selfish profit interests conflict with the interests of the people.

Our way is labor's way. We say labor has to take the situation into its own hands.

Force price control through popular committees that have a real interest in holding the price line;

Force wage increases WITHOUT PRICE INCREASES, to offset the price increases already effected and to allow for a RISING standard of living;

Insert an escalator clause in every union contract as a further guarantee against the damaging effects of price increases;

Demand the nationalization of the food industry UNDER WORKERS' CONTROL;

Organize an INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY based on the unions and representing the majority of the people, to unite labor's economic action with political action, to confront capital with the might of labor's political weight and to sweep away the dead rot of capitalist political rule by replacing it with a government that will not hesitate to take "drastic action" where such is needed—A WORKERS' GOVERNMENT!

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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.

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