

## Club-Swinging Paris Police Break Up PCI Indo-China Meeting

Special to Labor Action

PARIS, Dec. 7—Hundreds of club-swinging police last night charged demonstrating workers near the Arc de Triomphe who had come to protest against the massacres of Indo-Chinese independence fighters by French troops. Sixteen demonstrators were arrested and two hospitalized. The workers planned to attend an indoor meeting called by the Parti Communiste Internationaliste (French Fourth Internationalists) held in conjunction with the Indo-Chinese Bolshevik-Leninist Group.

At the last minute, the prefecture of police informed PCI leaders that the meeting was banned "on orders from above." Attempts to contact the Ministry of Interior to get the ban lifted brought a statement from M. Hugues, chief de cabinet of the Socialist Minister of Interior Dupreux, that the ban had been imposed on

who kept breaking and pushing the crowd, which swayed from corner to corner and was constantly being reformed. However, the very number of cops present indicates that the crowd ran into many hundreds of demonstrators.

Albert Demazière, leader of the PCI, attempted to start an open-air meeting, once the hall was denied to the PCI. He introduced Marcel Beaufrère as the first speaker but the police charged the meeting and prevented Beaufrère from speaking. The enraged crowd began to sing "The Internationale" and shouted slogans: "Liberty and Independence for Indo-China" and "Down with d'Argenlieu, the Assassin." (D'Argenlieu is the head of the French troops in Indo-China.) At this point the police, wielding nightsticks, charged the workers and arrested sixteen of them. All but one of them were released the same night; the comrade still in jail was seen being beaten by the cops for having the effrontery to read a book while waiting to be frisked.

Pharmacies in the neighborhood were full of French, Indo-Chinese and Arab workers seeking first-aid treatment. At least two have been hospitalized.

Together with the police, there were also present fascist provocateurs (mainly former members of Lecer's Second Armored Division, which had served in Indo-China) who insulted the Indo-Chinese by calling them filthy and degrading names.

So blatant was the police brutality in this case that this morning the far from Trotskyist newspapers, *France-Tireur* and *Combat*, denounced police brutality.

The prestige of the French party has risen immensely, however, both among the more politically conscious Parisian workers and the Parisian colonies of Indo-Chinese and North Africans, as a result of its courageous conduct in attempting to defy the police ban against the demonstration.

For the French Fourth Internationalists have shown that they are the true upholders of national independence for all suppressed nationalities and colonies. The Stalinists and Socialists, on the other hand, participate in a government which uses the police against those who dare raise their voice in behalf of Indo-Chinese freedom. The contrast is clear for all to see.

Those who, like this correspondent, attended the demonstration, are proud of the work which the French Fourth Internationalists have done on this matter.

Richard.

## Italian Trotskyist Elected to Town Council in Foggia

Romeo Mangano, secretary-general of the POC, Workers Communist Party, Italian section of the Fourth International, has been elected to the City Council of Foggia, on the west coast of Italy. Mangano, who is also president of the left-wing Union Council of Foggia, was elected despite the determined opposition of all other parties and despite the fact that party work plus illness kept him away from Foggia until four days before the election. Comrade Mangano spent a considerable period of time in jail under the Mussolini dictatorship.

the insistence of Georges Bidault, leader of the Catholic MRP party and also President of the Council of Ministers, as well as several other unidentified ministers.

The news of the banning of the meeting was received so late that practically no one knew about it. A tremendous crowd, consisting of many hundreds of French, Indonesian and North African workers, was milling around the Salle Wagner, the hall in which the meeting was scheduled. Among those present were North African supporters of the Algerian independence movement, the PPA, whose leader, Messali Hadj, had been invited to speak. It is impossible to estimate the exact size of the crowd, for 300 members of the police "shock squads" were present

## 33 Lives Are Lost In Tenement Tragedy

NEW YORK—Tragedy struck a terrible blow at a typical slum apartment house in this city last week when 33 people were burned and buried alive and 34 others seriously injured after the tenement house at 2515 Amsterdam Avenue collapsed in a burst of flame on December 10. The street was a pile of debris and scenes of harrowing suffering could be seen nearby as firemen dug into the ruins searching for dead or live bodies in the wreckage. Whole families were destroyed or shattered by the tragedy and in one case a ten-year-old boy, Joseph Popper, lost his father, mother, sister and brother; a father, Jom Gianotti, lost three of his five children.

Universal reaction among New York's tenement dwellers was: What caused this fire and what are the possibilities of a repetition in my neighborhood? For this was not the first fire in this city where the contrast is sharpest between modern, luxurious and fireproof apartment houses for the wealthy few and rundown, rat-infested and fire-trap slums for the millions of poor. If the slums remain, it will not be the last.

The official report of the Fire Department sloughed off the serious implications of the situation by blaming the fire on three young boys who had thrown a lighted candle into an abandoned ice house adjacent to the

collapsed and charred tenement. Chief Fire Marshal Brophy said the cause of the disaster was the collapse of the heavy concrete roof of the ice house, which sent one wall crashing into the tenement. He said the fire started by two or three neighborhood boys under the ice house roof Wednesday afternoon caused it to collapse.

### THE BASIC FACTS

But this version of the fire seemed to many observers far too simple; it seemed to involve an attempt to deflect responsibility from the terrible condition of New York's houses and the inadequate municipal inspection of buildings.

In apparent contradiction of Brophy's statement, Arthur J. Belline, Borough Superintendent in the Department of Housing and Building, stated:

"Gas fumes coming from the garage space in the ice house could have possibly seeped into the ground and caused an explosion...I know the same thing has happened in the past."

Substantiation of this possibility could be seen in the following facts: The three children tossed a lighted candle wrapped in newspapers into the ice house at 5:03 p.m.; but the fire did not break out until 11:15 p.m. What happened in the meantime?

(Continued on page 2)

# LABOR ACTION

DECEMBER 23, 1946

A Paper in the Interests of Labor

FIVE CENTS

## JOINT STRATEGY ON WAGES AND PRICES VITAL TO LABOR!

### Act Now to Keep Lid on Rent Ceiling!

Dec. 16 — With President Truman dodging a question at his latest press conference on the rumor that a raise in OPA rent ceilings is in the offing, the lines sharpened between the millions of tenants uneasy about the threat of new rent increases and the real estate lobby preparing for what it hopes will be a new profit killing.

Truman evaded the rent ceiling problem by stating that he personally had no increase in mind but that the OPA might have such an increase in mind. Apparently the possibility that he, as President, could ORDER the OPA to maintain present rent ceilings did not weigh very heavily with him—perhaps because it remains common rumor in Washington circles that rent ceilings will be raised ten to fifteen per cent before Congress again convenes.

The daily press kept mum on the rent ceiling matter, preferring to devote its headlines to Truman's removal of all priorities from veterans' housing projects which, real estate interests announced, would mean an immediate average increase of ten per cent in the price of small homes for veterans—which most of them cannot afford, anyway. But the week was full of additional matters on the rent front, some of which were:

#### TENANTS ORGANIZE ACTION

Tenants began campaigns in various parts of the country to resist any attempts to raise their rents. In New York City, local neighborhood groups have been formed in many areas. For example, in one apartment house in the Bronx, at 2100 Wallace Avenue, 140 tenants marched in a body to Borough Rent Director Albert Haase's office to protest his approval of a two to nine dollar per month rent raise. Their pressure was so effective that Haase agreed to reopen the case and render a decision in two weeks.

A tragic and ironic aspect of this tenant-landlord struggle is taking place at another New York City apartment house at 210-218 West 63rd Street and 213 West 62nd Street. These tenements were condemned by the city in 1941 and a year ago tenants were notified to vacate their apartments, but they obtained a year's extension. These tenants are struggling for the "privilege" of remaining in these slums because they have nowhere else to live.

Conflict is especially sharp in rooming houses because no ceilings are enforced in them and landlords have been continually jacking up rent or locking out rooming house tenants.

#### NOTICE TO OUR READERS

Due to the Christmas-Holiday season, and the effect of the coal strike upon railroad and freight transportation the delivery of LABOR ACTION has been considerably slowed up. We regret this inconvenience to our subscribers and agents, but we are sure they will understand it is beyond our power to control!

LABOR ACTION

In the Bronx a conference was held on December 10 at which representatives from various labor, consumer and tenant groups pledged themselves to fight for retention of rent controls.

Reports of similar activities came in from various parts of the country.

• In turn, the real estate lobbies

increased their pressure for an increase in the rent ceiling. Landlord groups, spearheaded by the National Association of Real Estate Boards, worked over the ranks of Congress to apply personal pressure. A comic touch was added by the statement of the head of this association, Calvin Snyder, that tenants are eager to pay

(Continued on page 2)



Leaders of the three big CIO unions, steel, auto and electrical, met this week in Pittsburgh to confer on policy and joint strategy in the presentation of new contract demands. The full deliberations of the conference are not yet known, though President Philip Murray informed the press that the meeting concerned itself with a "mature consideration of the various economic aspects of the over-all situation" based upon the Nathan report prepared for the CIO. (See page 3 of this paper for an analysis of the Nathan report.) There is no indication at present that the conference concerned itself with effectuating the demand for a WAGE INCREASE WITHOUT A PRICE INCREASE adopted by the CIO's Atlantic City convention.

President Murray and Assistant Presidents Van A. Bittner and James Timmes, General Counsel Lee Pressman and Secretary-Treasurer David J. Macdonald attended for the steel workers; President Walter Reuther, Secretary - Treasurer George F. Addes and Vice-President Richard T. Leonard for the auto workers; President Albert J. Fitzgerald, Secretary-Treasurer Julius Emspak and Organization Director James Mattles for the electrical workers.

It is to be assumed that the leaders of the powerful CIO unions discussed a common strategy in the wage drive and laid a basis for eliminating the weakness of separate union action that marked last year's strike wave. As such, it is a step in the necessary direction of uniting labor's forces, specifically in the battle to overcome rising prices by raising wages substantially, and, more generally, in the battle to defeat the various moves for anti-labor legislation and the reimposition of Government by injunction. (See editorial, page 4.)

#### DISTURBING REPORTS

But, while the meeting of the CIO leaders is an encouraging sign in the development of a joint attack, it was accompanied by disturbing reports that appear to have emanated from CIO higher-ups. Thus, Victor Riesel, labor columnist of the New York Post, predicted that the CIO would ask for much less than the 23.5 cents an hour increase the auto workers are asking and much less than the 25 per cent increase the Nathan report established as essential. So too, the press, in reporting the Pittsburgh conference, quoted Murray as saying that it is not the CIO's intention to use the Nathan figures in shaping over-all demands.

Riesel has further reported that Murray, who prefers not to state his demands in dollars and cents for the present, is allowing Reuther to make extreme demands, purely as a maneuver. The assumption there is that Reuther represents a group of workers who stand for a militant union policy, "firebrands" so to speak, and that in making their demands the auto workers will draw the heaviest fire of opposition, during which time a "saner" settlement will be worked out by the more "statesmanlike" leaders.

If that is so, it strikes us as a particularly transparent maneuver. For what does not escape Riesel is certainly not escape the skilled negotiators of the big industries. It is hardly designed to impress the profiteers, who are laying aside reserves for a knock-down, drag-out fight with labor, that the unions mean business. (Continued on page 8)

## An Appeal to Every Reader of Labor Action!

By MAX SHACHTMAN

National Chairman, Workers Party

We have earned the right, we think, to appeal to every single reader of LABOR ACTION to give every dollar he can spare toward the \$5,000 Xmas Fund Drive to sustain LABOR ACTION as an eight-page paper.

We launched LABOR ACTION almost seven years ago, after the Second World War had already broken out. In war time, especially, a thousand lies are shot out every day to poison the air so that the minds of the people may be poisoned and their eyes blinded to the truth. With the very first issue of LABOR ACTION we set out to tell the truth. Every issue of the paper that we have published has devoted itself to telling the truth all the time and about every question of importance. We have never been deterred by the fact that the truth starts out with a small voice. We have never been deterred by the fact that the truth is not always popular. We have

insisted on telling the truth about all the big problems of the day, even when it was not always popular with some of our readers. Whatever difficulties that may bring us are more than compensated for by the fact that we are always and consistently unpopular with the enemies of the working people, with those who are responsible for the chaos and misery and oppression of the world.

By changing LABOR ACTION to an eight-page paper we made a big jump forward. We were cramped, cramped almost beyond endurance, by the limitations of a four-page paper. So many things of vital importance to the working class and the labor movement are happening in this country and all over the world! There are so many things to write about, so many lies to counteract! Really to do the job that ought to be done, we would need a daily newspaper, a newspaper in the principal cities of the country. But we are still a distance from that. What we have to have as an absolute minimum is our eight-page LABOR ACTION.

We cannot begin to think of maintaining LABOR ACTION as an

eight-page paper by the efforts of the members of the Workers Party alone, even though these efforts have been generous to the point of heroic. Our comrades of the Workers Party have shown themselves to be models in their devotion and sacrifice for the cause to which they are dedicated. What we must have in addition is the aid of every reader, including even those readers who do not agree entirely with our point of view.

We do not hesitate to tell our readers that without their prompt and open-handed aid, we shall be forced to make a retreat to a smaller paper. We do not want to make a retreat and we are confident our readers do not want to see it made either.

We are entering the traditional season of gifts. Make a gift to LABOR ACTION! Make the most substantial contribution you can to LABOR ACTION's \$5,000 Xmas Fund Drive! Our LABOR ACTION is your LABOR ACTION. We do not want to go backward.

It is up to you, to every loyal friend and reader of the paper. LABOR ACTION has earned your support.

#### LABOR ACTION CHRISTMAS FUND

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NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

# Notes Oakland Strike Gains

By WILLIAM GORMAN

OAKLAND, Dec. 14—The general strike ended more than a week ago, but some reverberations of this great labor demonstration are still being heard. Only a few days ago, all AFL unions in this area were "alerted" for action, although the previous tension and talk of another immediate general walkout subsided.

The general strike has apparently achieved two immediate objectives. First, the use of 250 policemen to convoy strikebreakers will not soon be repeated. Secondly, Kahn and Hastings Stores have found themselves compelled to bargain with the AFL clerks' union. The general walkout exposed their refusal to bargain with the union.

### BOGGED DOWN

Negotiations have bogged down on the question of a "union shop," and the issue is now in the hands of government mediation. Meanwhile, the stores have taken a new provocative action to break the strike. A court

injunction has been issued to weaken the effectiveness of the picket lines, by cutting down the number of pickets and keeping them away from the store entrances.

Meanwhile another AFL leader has sounded off his hostility to the effective mass demonstration which shut down the city. Charles Real, head of the Bay Area AFL, declared that if he had been on the scene he would have never allowed the general strike to happen. The newspapers originally charged Real with telephoning from Washington to "pull everything out" thus starting the strike. Since then he has been trying to get out from the responsibility.

The Stalinists have distributed a leaflet "Where Do We Go From Here?" The Stalinists ask the workers to throw out the reactionary Republican clique which runs Oakland. But they give not the slightest indication who should replace it. Judging from their behavior in the re-

cent election, they would prefer a Democratic city administration. The Workers Party leaflet distributed after the strike says that the general strike was a demonstration of workers' power, a power which must finally replace the scabby city government. A Labor Action Forum on the lessons of the strike is being held December 15. Many interested workers are expected to attend.

# Keep Rent Lid - -

(Continued from page 1) more rent if only the rent ceilings are increased!

As a matter of fact, it was charged by the New York Consumer Council that the landlord drive was only the first step toward the complete abolition of rent control. The landlord groups are distributing a half million copies of a pamphlet, *Rent or Ceilings*, which argues their case for lifting the lids and letting all hell loose.

A further danger is developing in Congress, where members of the prospective Republican majority have been talking of a proposal to base rent ceilings on a formula of "cost of operation plus reasonable profit" for each dwelling, which would render rent control only nominal. There was the further possibility that Congress might allow rent-control funds to run out by March, thus killing the ceilings in an unobtrusive way.

Indicative of the terrible housing situation, the pinch of which would result in completely runaway rents if the ceilings were in any way lifted, was the report that during the first ten months of this year no new apartment houses were built in New York City, where the shortage is among the most severe in the country. In the same period, the miserable total of 1,603 one-family and 822 two-family structures were built, even though hundreds of thousands of veterans returned from the armed forces.

The pinch has thus become tighter—and that means that the landlords will squeeze every nickel they can out of us if they get a chance.

### MANY FAMILIES EVICTED

Already in many parts of New York City families were being evicted from their homes under one pretext or another; landlords were finding it increasingly easy to discover loopholes in the rent control administration. The desperate situation faced by ousted tenants probably will be aggravated as the winter continues and virtually no new living quarters are available.

During the first 11 months of this year, municipal courts of New York City issued 7,809 warrants for evictions. During these same 11 months, the OPA granted 17,752 applications for evictions, of which some 10,000 are still pending. No one knows where the evicted tenants are to live. They have been driven out of their homes on the pretext that the landlords are going to use the premises themselves or will renovate them by adding improvements.

What was especially striking, though, was the fact that the press retained a shroud-like silence on the OPA report entitled "Rental Housing Operations Under Rent Control in 26 Cities" (reported in detail in last week's LABOR ACTION.)

This report stated that the income

### The Boss's Dictionary

### Un-American:



# One-Tenth of the Nation

By J. R. Johnson

This week the column is handed over to a Negro comrade, Sarah Evans. A supporter of LABOR ACTION and a hard worker in the labor movement, Sarah Evans has had experience of life in the South and in the industrial and urban life of the North. Yet she was moved to write not so much a political analysis as an expression of the feelings, that lie behind the day to day grind. The statement is in many ways revealing and worthy of attention. J. R. Johnson will make some comments on it in the next issue. The statement is reproduced substantially as it was written.—Ed.

The Negro is oppressed by the actions of his fellow white man. He does not have the opportunities of the white man. First, he must fight for the right to do things and then fight to do them.

He has been oppressed for so long that now he is beginning to rebel against his fellow-men; those who are for him and those against him. He is asking why he is discriminated against because his skin is black. Is there any justice in it? No. All are alike, all people. They have been made the same way. Some Negroes may not have the standards of the white man. But is that his fault? You did not give him a chance to develop his knowledge like you. This is not going to stop him from his rebellion. He has come far from slavery, he worked hard to get out of slavery; you can bet your life he is going to work harder than ever to overthrow all that is against him today.

### TIRED OF TALK

The oppressed Negro has contributed much to the world. But what does he get in return? Nothing, absolutely nothing. Why did Negro men and women fight in the war? What did they gain? They fought for freedom, justice, equal rights and a right to be a free man. But after fighting, losing his life, part of his limbs, what does he get for it? Nothing, absolutely nothing. Put yourself in his place and see if you could go through all this and live.

No, you are always saying, "Let's

do something." But what do you do? Nothing but talk. No action. You think that if you give him a little piece of bread you have given him a great thing. But as you know, man cannot live on bread alone. He has to have something else to go with bread in order to live. Do you think the stealing and rioting that goes on would happen if he were better treated? No it would not. Take a look at the Negro down South, what a mess he is in. Poll tax, discrimination to the nth degree, no privileges at all. Do you think that under the society of today he can stay that way? And if today someone started a war to get him his privileges, do you doubt they would win. I have not the slightest doubt that he would win; he has fought longer than anyone to get these rights and he would fight until he won. He asks for these rights to keep down bloodshed. If there is no other way but by shedding blood he will come to that.

### THINK ABOUT IT!

The oppressed Negro has proven he has the right to be equal to any other man. But has society accepted it? No. Some individuals have but the majority have not. They go on practicing what they were taught by their mothers and fathers. Down through the generations it has been said the Negro in the South is the worst of all Negroes. Have you ever sat down to think what they go through with? Well, just think about it for awhile. Would you go through with it? Would you sit down and watch your next door neighbor go through this agony and pain and suffering? No. Then why let other people go through it?

When you get on a bus do you know how it feels to be told to go to the back when there are plenty of seats in front? If a baby cries, the driver gets up, comes back and slaps your child and laughs in your face and says: "Keep that damned bastard quiet." Would you let that happen to your wife? If a white man is killed, no matter who killed him, a Negro is lynched for it. Does it give you satisfaction to kill an innocent man? Will it help any? No, it just makes matters worse.

The struggle to make enough

money to keep your family going from one week to another is so painful you don't know where you stand. You get low pay and pay high prices to live.

Discrimination is more horrible than you can think. If someone looks at you and doesn't like your looks you are put out. You are made to sit in the upper balconies that are never clean; old and rusty. The bathrooms are so horrible that you can't go in. The houses some live in have no tops. If it rains, there is no cover and you have to live in two rooms with families of ten. No space, no privacy, no food, or clothing. And yet, letting this go on you say you are a human being. Living in such a nation as this one, are you? Could you justly say, "I am human." No, you could not. You could say it but you would know deep down inside that it was a lie when your fellow-man is so degraded.

Do you know why the Negro rejoins the Armed Forces? So he can go back to foreign countries and live like a human being. There is little discrimination, you can work, save your money then live on your earnings. You don't have to fight for something you know is rightfully yours and then fight to keep it.

### FLORIDA INCIDENT

Have you ever been afraid to do something you know is right and yet your whole life depends on doing the right and not the wrong? This is what happened to the oppressed Negro in a small resort town in Florida in the year Nineteen Hundred and Thirty-one (1931). One hot night in September near the election of city officials, the Ku Klux Klan paid the Negroes of that community a call, urging them not to elect the man that they had been supporting before. They marched down the street in twos on their white horses, guns on their backs, ready to start a lynching spree at any moment.

Little did they know that the people of that community had their guns in readiness for battle. For the day before all houses had been searched for guns. Only a few had been found. Knowing that there might be trouble, after the search

(Continued on page 7)

# Trotskyists in Germany Organize, Issue Pamphlet

In a half-column dispatch dated Berlin, the New York Times, in its Sunday, December 15 issue, reported the re-activation of the Trotskyist movement in Germany. The Times correspondent, calling it "definitely old line revolutionary Communist in Policy," reports the circulation of a pamphlet, "Solidarity," announcing the formation of the German section of the Fourth International movement, attacking Stalin's policy for Germany, and inviting German workers to organize revolutionary groupings within the Socialist and Communist parties.

The pamphlet is presumed to have been published for the German comrades by the Revolutionary Communist Party of England, British Trotskyist organization.

The lead article, says the Times correspondent, "denounced reparations, demanding instead the expropriation of the property of the capitalist class through and for the proletariat. It argued that the policy of nationalization in the Soviet zone would benefit only Russian economy and not the German masses."

The Times further quotes from the pamphlet as follows:

"The leading names of German workers' parties are inseparable from the traditions of the Socialist and Communist parties. These parties were unable to avert the Hitler catastrophe in 1933. On the contrary they were responsible for it.

"From today's speeches and today's programs by these people we see they have learned nothing from that catastrophe. Consequently we intend to build up an independent revolutionary party, the German section of the Fourth Internationale.

"The officer class in the Soviet army has a strong interest in remaining as occupation troops in Germany. With their enormous salaries,

their officer clubs and all their privileges they live at the expense of the working classes.

"The Soviet soldier is used to defending the privileges of the officers. He cannot have any interest in this.

"A Germany under the control of the working class will be happy to exchange the excess of its industrial products first of all with the Soviet Union. An exchange of goods on an equal basis will strengthen both countries enormously and will be the first step to end the isolation of Russian workers from the world proletariat."

We are awaiting receipt of a copy of the pamphlet from our European correspondents, and hope to publish additional comment in coming issues of LABOR ACTION.

# Democracy Includes... The Right to Starve!

PARIS, Nov. 18 — While illiterate American soldiers are going to class, in one huge air-raid shelter, 800 German children are to receive schooling.

In one class of 41 children, 23 had eaten no breakfast nor anything else until 2:30 p.m. when the school meal of one pint of watery soup, without bread, was served. On the particular day selected, pea soup was served. Usually it is "bisquit soup."

With holes in their shoes, and little food, none of the children can keep out rain, slush, snow; and resist disease.

The U. S. Army is "teaching" children the advantages of baseball, hiking, and other sports, not to mention "democracy." Most of its "ambitious" program has been discontinued because the children do not have enough strength to play games. J. A.

# Chicago Workers Party Branch Takes Lead In New International Subscription Drive

The campaign for *The New International*, America's leading Marxist theoretical magazine, continued to make slow but steady progress, as the number of new subscriptions obtained by the publication approached the 200 mark. To enable our agents and branches of the Workers Party to fulfill their quotas, the drive has been extended by two weeks, until January 14, 1947. The special introductory offer of a six-month subscription at the rate of \$1.00 will also be extended until that time.

At this point in the campaign, the Chicago branch of the Workers Party is definitely in the lead for having done the best job so far in getting subscriptions but others are closely pressing upon Chicago. Detroit, for example, has done well; and several localities have already fulfilled their quotas—namely, Reading and Baltimore. Although New York City has done an excellent job in increasing its newsstand coverage, it has fallen down very badly on getting new subscriptions, having obtained only 33 to date. It is to be hoped that in the remaining four weeks, local New York

will show a great spurt forward.

The January issue of the magazine is now in preparation, and the New Year of 1947 will be inaugurated with an excellent issue. It is our hope and intention to return to a monthly publication in 1947.

From Detroit, Miriam Evans—local New International agent—writes us that, "Our branch accepted its quota of 25 subscriptions, and it looks like we are going to surpass our quota! (Detroit has already obtained 17 subs.) The best, and I mean the best, subscription getter has been Sammy 'Satchmo' Bach, who already has 8 to his credit so far, and is still going strong. I am making arrangements for getting subs in the Wayne and Michigan University libraries."

And from Comrade Edwards of the Hibbing branch we receive assurance that Hibbing "will fulfill its quota. *The New International* is head and shoulders above any publication I have read and it behooves every branch and every comrade to see that it comes out to more and more radicals and rebel workers each month!"

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Aspices: WORKERS PARTY, Local New York

# TAPPING THE WALL STREET WIRE

By JACK RANGER

### DON'T UNDERSTAND OWN SYSTEM

There are a hundred signs to show that the capitalist system is headed for an economic crisis. Not in the next few months, to be sure, but in the next few years, we are going to witness here in the United States another acute crisis of the sort that sent business crashing in 1929, when you had to walk with care through the financial canyons of the big cities to avoid being hit by the hurtling bodies of the bankers committing suicide.

Not all the capitalists understand this. Indeed, few of them do. It is a fact that the capitalists and their front men—the teachers, preachers, editors and economists—do not understand their own system.

Let us look back to 1928 and 1929, just before the crash that laid bare the decaying body of capitalism. What were the capitalists telling us then?

Charles E. Mitchell, president of the National City Bank of New York, said: "A revolution in industry has been taking place that is raising all classes of the population to a more equal participation in the fruits of industry, and thus, by the natural operation of economic law, bringing to a nearer realization the dreams of those Utopians who looked to the day when poverty would be banished."

Listen to James H. Rand, president, Remington-Rand, Inc.: "The economic revolution of the 1920's will appear as vital as the industrial revolution in England and it will likewise mark the beginning of a new era."

Listen to Andrew W. Mellon, Secretary of the Treasury and a powerful financial capitalist: "America has adjusted herself to the economic laws of the new industrial era, and she has evolved an industrial organization which can maintain itself not only because it is efficient, but because it is bringing about a greater diffusion of prosperity among all classes." (A few years later there were 20 million unemployed.)

Or Melvin A. Traylor, president, Continental National Bank of Chicago: "We need not fear a recurrence of conditions that will plunge the nation into the depths of the more violent financial panics such as have occurred in the past." (A few years later Traylor's pal, Samuel Insull, was fleeing to Europe from the ruins of his midwestern utility empire.)

As Lewis Corey, author of "The Decline of American Capitalism," put it: "Captains of industry and finance appear Jovial in prosperity and bewildered in depression, but at no time do they really understand the movement of the economic forces they exploit. Their pre-1929 invocations to the 'new era' expressed sheer misunderstanding; but they also expressed, if partly unconsciously, the defensive, self-justifying ideology of predatory capitalism."

"Still higher levels of production will pave the way to an even higher standard of living for the American people."

Are these people trying to fool themselves, or are they trying to fool us, I asked myself. Cannot they see what is occurring? The unprecedented currency inflation in the United States, the mountainous national debt that will never be paid, the swollen profits of the rich (and the other half of the picture, the low wages of the people which do not permit them to buy back what they produce, and thus insure a glutted market); Europe and Asia bankrupt; the people groaning under the heaviest tax burden in history; billions still being squandered in an effort to police the world with the U. S. Army and Navy. Can't they SMELL the decay in the air?...

The Bantus, an African tribe, have a proverb: "Breadfruit is obtained from the breadfruit tree." Yes, and from the tree of capitalism grows depression and war, and mass misery and death. So long as the people of the United States permit capitalism to endure, new depressions and wars are inescapable. The capitalists may fool themselves. Do not let them fool us.

### ECONOMIC NOTES

The giant installment finance corporations are jittery at the lack of dough in the pockets of the American people. They say that new autos will be choking retail salesrooms before the end of the next year unless the government repeals present restrictions requiring purchasers to make a down payment of one-third upon a new car, with full payment in 15 months. The people haven't got that kind of dough, say CIT Financial Corporation and Commercial Credit Corporation.... Frozen warehouses bulging with \$60,000,000 pounds of frozen fruits and vegetables, 50 per cent above a year ago and four times the pre-war high. Before the war there were 35 frozen foods brands, today 450 commercial firms are freezing food. One frozen food official predicted "fire sales in strawberries before next spring"... Farm commodity prices are drifting lower. Wheat tumbled 20 cents a bushel the week of December 7; corn, 13 cents; hides, 7 cents; lard, recently selling as high as 55 cents a pound, went to 28 cents; cotton dropped a dollar a bale.

At least a third of farm staples are now selling below "parity," parity prices being those theoretically giving farmers a buying power equal to that of 1909-14. In Louisville at the fall tobacco auction, prices tobaggoned, with an average of \$37.50 a 100 pounds, compared with \$48.13 last year, a decline of \$10.63. Do you think the cigarette companies, which have recently boosted cigarette prices, will now lower their prices? I don't either....

Landlords in Flint, Michigan, have raised rents 10-15 per cent, through a ruling of the City Commission, over objections of CIO representatives. OPA officials say they are helpless because of a 1942 rent agreement with the city of Flint, whereby all rent control matters are handled by the municipal courts....

The oil monopoly is indignant because a recent public opinion survey showed that one of every three persons believes the oil business is a monopoly. Recently the American Petroleum Institute announced it would spend \$1 million to tell the people "it ain't so"... While farm prices are declining, the prices of semi-manufactured products bounced up 11 per cent in November.

## General Motors Floats a Special Anti-Strike Fund in Wall Street

Last week we reported how General Motors raised \$100,000,000 in cash in the security market by putting preferred stock on sale at the price of \$100 a share. The purpose of this sale, we said, was to prepare for a campaign against the United Automobile Workers Union in the coming struggle over the union's demand for a wage increase to meet the rising cost of living.

One of the significant aspects of the GM stock sale is that it began in a security market which has been very poor in recent months. GM offered its stock for sale in a "not-so-hot market" and yet the whole issue was grabbed up by Wall Street in what was reported to have been a couple of hours.

The whole thing seemed strange to Wall Street reporters and the reason for this is that everyone knew that General Motors had made large profits during the war, piled up enormous reserves and was in a strong financial position. Why, then, this "loan" through the sale of stock? The answer, says Sylvia Porter, financial reporter for the New York Post, is that GM is getting ripe for an all-out drive against the UAW. "This was," she writes, "the biggest single industrial financing in history. General Motors is certainly in a terrific cash position."

### LANGUAGE OF BIG BUSINESS

Miss Porter had just returned from the convention of the Investment Bankers' Association in Florida, and heard from the lips of leading financiers the reasons for GM's strategy. The convention itself reeked with anti-labor prejudice. During

one of the tirades against organized labor, the head of a major Wall Street firm declared:

"Well, General Motors will stop them (the unions) next year—if those automobile boys try any more stunts."

"The company has its \$100,000,000 now and it can answer any of their demands with 'all right, here's our financial statement. Look it over. We can stay out as long as you can and longer!'"

The Post reporter then asked the speaker: "Do you think that's the reason GM borrowed the money in this market now?"

"Of course, it is," this banker replied. "And all of us say, 'go ahead, we're behind you.'"

Still somewhat doubtful, Miss Porter inquired of two others about this matter. One of them replied:

"You know Charlie Wilson, GM's head. He's had enough of this and he's ready to fight back. This time there'll be no appeasement of the union. There can't be."

The other banker said substantially the same when he answered: "If anyone is ready to lead the fight, it's GM. And Wilson has other big ones in industry to go along with him as long as necessary."

### BIG FIGHT AHEAD

This will not really be news to the auto workers. They have had experience with the auto barons in past years. They know what to expect from them again, especially from General Motors, which had refused to negotiate in the last strike, hoping to starve the auto workers into submission. GM didn't succeed in the last

strike; but it is making all preparations to defeat the union in the coming struggle over wages.

The CIO has completed its wage demand program and will soon present it to the big industries. In face of mounting costs of living, such wage increases are indispensable for the well-being of the majority of the people in the country. But already all the signs of an organized resistance of big business, now enjoying the greatest profits in history, are clear enough for anyone to see. The giant industrial corporations, closely linked with the big financial institutions, have laid down plans to resist the just demands of labor, hoping to force the unions into long, paralyzing and financially-exhausting strikes which can weaken them—perhaps even smash the union movement.

Here you have the clearest picture of how a big capitalist corporation prepares to deal with its workers. Feeling strong and powerful as a result of the war which enriched and increased its resources, General Motors, together with its buddies in Wall Street is now laying down its strategy to deal the UAW a serious blow. There is only one way to meet this challenge of the auto barons and that is for the UAW to map out its own campaign jointly with the whole CIO and all of organized labor in the United States. The UAW will be fighting in behalf of all the workers in this country, just as GM will be holding up the banner of America's rich, brutal and selfish industrial and financial ruling class.

Set your sights, fellow auto workers!

# CIO Report Shows Validity Of Labor's Wage Demand

By ALBERT GATES

LAST week the CIO made public its wage demands for the coming year on the basis of a special report prepared for it by Robert R. Nathan, former Assistant Director of Reconversion, who now heads a group of private consulting economists. The report strengthened the position of the labor movement that real wages had declined compared to the mounting cost of living at a time when profits have reached a record high in American economy. Nathan's report contained three important contents on which the CIO bases its present demands:

1. "The purchasing power of by far the greater number of American families has been falling recently month by month. Meanwhile . . . corporate profits after taxes have risen about 50 per cent."

2. "On the average, in all manufacturing, an increase of about 21 per cent in weekly earnings—without any increase in prices—would have been required in October 1946, to bring real weekly earnings back to the January, 1945, level. By the end of 1946, with the present trend of prices, an increase of about 23 per cent will be required."

3. "On and after taxes, basic . . . corporate profits are approaching \$15,000,000,000, fully one and a half times the level of the best war year."

These astounding facts are not exactly new. The report of Economic Outlook which we reviewed in LABOR ACTION last week, fully documented the facts about profits, wages, prices and the decline in the living standards of the majority of the people. The CIO, however, in order to forestall any charge that its report was "slanted," hired the former government economist to prepare an impartial report on the economic situation in the country. The figures of the Nathan report are not at all refuted by industry, the daily press, or the leading pro-industry columnists. Instead, they slyly evade

the real issues and quite hysterically seek to prove why the wage demands of the CIO cannot be granted.

### PROFITS HIT RECORD HIGH

Unable to deny that profits are at or near a \$15,000,000,000 level, the profiteers and their spokesmen have marshaled a half-dozen reasons why the present wage demands should not be granted. The fundamental concept which guides the thinking of industry, the press and the reactionary "experts," is that large and secure profit is basic to the health of the economy; the interests of the workers and the overwhelming majority of the people should and must be subordinated to the height of profit; labor should be thankful that such large profits do go to industry, otherwise the big plants would shut down and large-scale unemployment would follow. Thus, the interests of labor and the mass of people are tied to the well-being of the capitalist class.

In concretizing their opposition to the Nathan report and the CIO several lines of argument are taken which reveal the basic strategy of big business in the coming struggle over wages:

1. While profits are higher than they have ever been, they are not uniform for all industry. Some industries have higher profits than others, some have none at all.

2. If the present wage demands of the CIO are granted, these will be followed by price increases which will wipe out the increases, further heighten price levels and act as a barrier to increased production.

3. Marginal producers, low profit industries, small plants, unable to grant "justifiable" wage increases, will be driven out of business and start a spiral of unemployment.

4. The way to insure prosperity is to keep wage levels where they are, permit prices to fall by competition and increased production, and allow the natural process of readjustment to stabilize the present unbalance in the economy.

### THE "FLIGHT" OF BIG BUSINESS

The fallacies in these arguments are immediately clear to the naked eye. No one has asserted that present high profits are uniform for all industries. The demands for higher wages are not based on such an as-

sertion. Obviously, some enterprises have higher profit than others. By and large, however, the mass of profits are concentrated in the large monopolistic enterprises (which are the real enemies of small and marginal businesses), employing tens of thousands of workers, the majority of whom are on the payrolls of precisely those companies upon whom the CIO is making its demands. And even if some of these do not show as high profit as others, it should be borne in mind that it is not a question of the profit level of last month, this month, or the next, but of the conditions of monopolistic enterprise over a period of several years when profits have been high and constant, and when enormous reserves were piled up—all at the expense of labor.

The threat of industry that if it grants new wage increases, it will immediately increase prices correspondingly and thus shift the cost of wage increases on the workers and the mass of people, would mean the continuation of a basic capitalist policy. Up to now, big business has been acting in collusion with the government to rob the people. Last year when the 18½ cent raises were granted thousands of workers, these increases were swallowed by general price increases over and above the highest wage increase granted. The

"little-publicized" report of the OPA, reported by Philip Murray, pointed out that:

"For manufacturing as a whole price increases from January, 1945 to September 30, 1946, averaged more than ten times the amount necessary to offset wage increases with no squeeze in profits."

No squeeze indeed! On the contrary, profits were even larger. This fact alone shows why the general strategy of the UAW in the GM strike was absolutely correct. The struggle for wages today cannot be made without simultaneously including the demand that prices not be increased. The difficulty of the GM strike was that the rest of the labor movement did not get behind the UAW. Both Murray and Lewis, in steel and coal respectively, demanded their wage increases without the slightest concern about the price increases demanded by the steel and coal barons. Only those with short memories have forgotten how the steel and coal industries were given excessive price increases to overcome the pitiful wage increases they agreed to. If the CIO does not press the demand "wage increases with no increase in prices," they will not have achieved their goal in the impending struggle. This demand has to become the watchword of labor in this period.

## Meador Report Maligns Negro and Jewish Soldiers

By E. R. MCKINNEY

No one above the intellectual level of a beetle should be surprised at the attempted suppression of the Meador report on the carryings-on of the U. S. Army in Germany. In the first place, what is reported by Meador is nothing new except in quantity and degree. Occupying armies of conquest have always lived off the conquered country and its people. Military conquerors have always been plunderers and despoilers. This fact is not obliterated by calling the conquering military force an "army of liberation."

Conquered peoples are considered inferiors. This is particularly true in cases where the conquerors are "Nordics" taking over the territory of "lesser breeds." If it is not the case of "Nordics" against non-Nordics, it may be the simple case of the enemy being a "foreigner." White Americans, in Germany, have conquered some "foreigners." There are thousands of "displaced persons," most of whom are Jews. There are Negro soldiers in the occupying army of the United States, and there are German women who are white and who may not have the same attitude toward Negroes as prevails in the "Land of the Free and the Home of the Brave." All of this creates quite a situation for the American "men of good will" charged with the responsibility of making a "democratic" nation out of Germany.

### "FREE ENTERPRISE"

It seems that the top military men and their civilian experts haven't done a good job in the eyes of some people. According to investigator Meador, the army in Germany has a high rate of venereal disease: 70 per cent for Negro troops and 30 per cent for white. Meador also found what he called "flagrant miscegenation." (Evidently this was something brand new to Meador. He had never heard of any miscegenation in the U. S., "flagrant" or mild.) A "low quality" of white troops is being sent to Germany. Meador doesn't say what constitutes the "lowness" of their quality. Perhaps they prefer being back in the U. S., and doing something useful.

There are about 450,000 nationals from Russian-dominated countries who don't want to go back home. They are a heavy expense to the American taxpayer according to Meador. There are 200,000 Jews in the U. S. zone from Eastern Europe. Meador seems to believe that they "ought to go back where they come from," and get off the backs of the overburdened American taxpayer. It doesn't occur to Meador that these oppressed Jews may have heard something about "freedom from fear," and have come to the American zone to enjoy some of this freedom.

Meador discovered that high army officers, true to the spirit of "our system of free enterprise," were engaged in all sorts of indiscriminate "free enterprise" operations with U. S. government property and German property. And, according to Meador and his informant, a U. S. lieutenant colonel, "the worst of-

fenders were generals and high-ranking colonels." One of these very patriotic gentlemen engaged in black market operations and bought a hotel. Another deposited \$60,000 in a Swiss bank. Several officers, according to the report, were "charged with white slavery." This translated into everyday language means that these officers were peddling German women for "immoral purposes." Officers were engaged in hauling army coal, wood and food to the homes of their "mistresses" in army vehicles. These officers had requisitioned both houses and luxurious furnishings for the use of these mistresses.

### MEADOR ON NEGROES

While the escapades of the white officers are very disquieting to Meador, he is particularly perturbed over what he found the Negro troops doing. After all, a limit must be set somewhere. The War Department, according to the report, is aware of the problem "but is reluctant to take any action to correct it because of fear of political repercussions from Negro groups." And what is it that should be corrected? Negroes move "freely and unsupervised among the civilian population . . . they have ready access to army supplies." (They are cutting in on the generals' racket!)

Worst of all these Negroes use these army supplies for "gaining favor with frauleins." And how is this possible? Because German women were "propagandized by Hitler into a psychology of moral laxness, and in view of the food shortage. . . ." The report does not explain just how this can be the result of "moral laxness" induced by Hitler since one cornerstone of Hitler's teaching was white German superiority, and especially the inferiority of the Negro. How could any German white woman, "educated" by Hitler, consort with a Negro no matter how hungry she might be? Furthermore, it seems to us that the proper way to remedy this situation is to send over more "generals and high-ranking colonels."

What else should be corrected? Well, "in Moosberg a Negro private and his white English WIFE were occupying a house BY THEMSELVES which had been requisitioned." According to the report, the local military officer "deployed this." Also "about 150 Negro troops, housed in private dwellings, brought with them certain German women with whom they had been fraternizing." This, of course, is terrible. The military authorities in Germany for one reason or four have not yet established the other freedoms American style. Negroes are not completely segregated and Jim Crowed. There haven't been any lynchings. The report makes no charge that Negro soldiers are "raping" German women. No German women, it seems, has seen fit to yell "rape."

The report does not charge that the Negro soldiers are engaging in "white slavery." This is a monopoly of the white officers.

There is venereal disease among the troops, more among Negroes, according to the report than among the white troops. Meador was

(Continued on page 5)

## Strutting Race-Hating Columbians Spread Fascism in the South

By STEPHEN PARKER

Early in November reports began to come from Atlanta of an organized terror on the streets of that city that was directed against Negroes. As is usual in many anti-Negro movements, the immediate cause seemed to be the terrible housing situation. The war had brought an influx of people into Atlanta; in six years the population had increased by over 150,000; and the point had been reached where the Negro people were suffocating within the confines of their Atlantan ghetto.

The only possible place where Negroes could find places in which to live were in what had been previously white neighborhoods. A number of Negroes bought houses in these neighborhoods. And it was in these localities that scandalous incidents were taking place. Negroes were being attacked and beaten just because they were found walking in the streets in these areas. Homes that had been bought by Negroes were dynamited.

A situation had been reached where it was no longer possible to conceal what was taking place, and a few participants in the beatings were arrested. Through them was revealed the existence of a uniformed fascist organization called the Columbians. This was the organization that had started and directed the beatings and dynamitings. Members of the Columbians had been sent out deliberately to create incidents.

If the country as a whole first learned about the Columbians after the arrests, it can only be because the officials of Atlanta were keeping at least one eye closed to their activities. For the Columbians made no secret of their existence. They swaggered through the streets in their colored shirts, openly exhibited their emblem, solicited membership, and spoke at meetings and avowed their aims.

And even after their existence was publicized, when 250 Jewish war veterans attended one of their meetings, and a spokesman of the veterans arose and declared that their anti-Semitic canards and fables were a dirty lie, the police evicted the Jewish veterans from the meeting and not the anti-Semitic rabble rousers.

Now what is the particular significance of the Columbians? There have been and still are many fascist organizations and spokesmen at work in the United States today. There is the notorious Gerald L. K. Smith, whose activities have been met by counter-demonstrations and picket lines in most of the cities where he has spoken. There were the shirt movements such as Pelley's Silver Shirts in the thirties, movements that were conspiratorial and did most of their work under cover of night. There was the Coughlinite Christian Front, and its more militant offspring, the Christian Mobilizers.

Like the Columbians, their main stock-in-trade was the catering to racial prejudice. Working in the North, their main appeal was anti-Semitism. Working in the South, their main appeal was against the Negroes. But what characterized most of these organizations was a certain looseness in organization, and the lack of anything positive to offer.

Hitler had two things to offer to the dispossessed, declassèd elements that provided the nucleus of his storm troopers. Rotten though it was, he

offered them an aim in life, something to live for. Wearing the uniform, marching through streets, sharing hardships and dangers, these rejected members of society were made to feel that they had an importance. Secondly, he offered his reactionary program for the reconstruction of society.

The Columbians at least had learned the first lesson. Their followers were in the main young men, without hope, without roots, who desperately felt the desire to belong to something which would accept them.

We can draw the following conclusions from the now revealed existence of the Columbians:

1) The American fascists will certainly use the arguments of Anglo-Saxon chauvinism, which is a great asset for them. Most of the recruits they garnered were on their program

of deportation of Negroes and Jews. 2) Social problems that create great discontent provide a fertile field for fascist agitation. In Atlanta it was the impossible housing situation.

3) The fascists have now tried to function as a highly disciplined and centralized body, which they combined with militancy on the streets. This is certain to be repeated.

4) The present period seems to be somewhat premature for the growth of a fascist movement. Even the reactionary Southern politicians were forced to step in and curb the Columbians. This is not because of lack of sympathy on their part with certain of the ideas of the Columbians, but because the general economic situation still appears to be favorable to the American capitalist class, and they see no burning necessity for fascism at present.

### Third in Series on Dissension in U. S. Stalinism

## Why McKenney-Minton Quit CP

By CARL DAVIS

Of all the persons recently expelled from the CP, the most prominent were Ruth McKenney, author of "My Sister Eileen," and Bruce Minton, magazine writer. They were expelled in a typical Stalinist totalitarian style.

The Norwalk, Conn., CP branch of which they were members asked them to report on the July, 1946, National Committee meeting which selected Eugene Dennis as national secretary. Upon the presentation of their critical report they were forthwith expelled from the party.

The McKenney-Minton report is an exhibit of the Stalinist mind; it reveals the minds, morals, and political ignorance of people who have been saturated with Stalinism. In our previous articles, for example, we quoted the "NCP Report" (New Committee for Publications) call for a "Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalinist Party in the United States," in which they add: "We wish to undermine confidence in the leadership of the CPUSA because this leadership is politically rotten. We wish to 'shake' the 'unity' of CPUSA, because facts have already fully demonstrated—for all who wish to see—that this 'unity' is based on support of capitalism and refusal to fight capitalism." (Emphasis in the original)

### MCKENNEY-MINTON ENDORSE DUCLOS

The theory of all the expelled people is that the American Stalinist Party has departed from the "revolutionary principles" of the "defunct" Communist International and the teachings of Joseph Stalin. This, in their minds, is the difference between the CP in this country and the Stalinist parties in Europe, especially the French and Italian. The McKenney-Minton statement follows this pattern. Harking back to the Duclos article which prepared the ouster of Browder and signified that he had outlived his usefulness in the post-war period of Anglo-American-Russian relations, the statement says:

"A year and three months ago, when Ruth and I first read the statement by Comrade Jacques Duclos on the American Communist movement, we felt bitter shame. It was not enough to say that the leaders of the American party had betrayed our trust; it was not enough to recognize the special responsibility of those comrades whom we, with other members of the Communist Party, had chosen to organize and direct the fight for and of the American working class. As Ruth and I read the Duclos document, we knew that we had also been guilty. Long before Comrade Duclos spoke out, we had come to hate and despise the Browder policy of liquidation and treachery. But I had voted for the original Browder proposal to destroy the party when this proposal was first made by the National Committee; a few months later I was forced to

understand the facts of this opportunism. Comrade McKenney did not vote to wreck the Communist Party; from the beginning she was opposed to the Browder betrayal. But neither of us spoke out. We thought discipline required us to be silent. When we read the Duclos statement, we knew we had been wrong—terribly wrong."

Almost everything that is wrong with Stalinism is contained in this statement and we shall analyze it in detail. But first we want to summarize the rest of the McKenney-Minton statement.

The gist of the document is that the ousting of Browder and his replacement by Foster's leadership and the appointment of Eugene Dennis as national secretary has not really changed the line of the party; that the policies of the new leadership is fundamentally the same as Browder's examples:

1. The document charges the party with a false struggle "to maintain world peace" when as a matter of fact "there is a war in China." The American party is charged with feeling "no sorrow for our brothers in China." McKenney and Minton hold U. S. imperialism responsible for the war in China, denounce the party for opportunism on this question and demand a struggle against American imperialism. They say nothing about Russian imperialism and Stalinist interests in helping to instigate the Chinese war but adopt a position reminiscent of the early days when Russia and the Communist International advocated and pursued a revolutionary socialist policy. Twenty years of Stalinist degeneration has not been without its effects on McKenney and Minton.

2. The document charges the party with lacking theoretical leadership because it failed to analyze the nature of imperialism, war as an integral part of capitalism, and monopoly capitalism as the instigator of war. This theoretical poverty of the party, says the statement, is responsible for its present opportunism.

3. Dennis is taken to task for continuing a policy which purportedly originated with Browder: support of the Democratic Party in parliamentary activity on the ground that it embodies the "progressive policies of Roosevelt." They say: "Throughout his report, Dennis talks about 'pro-Roosevelt forces,' about 'the pro-Roosevelt committees and activities within the Democratic Party.' So did Browder. What does Dennis mean by these labels? He never tells us. Does he mean the same forces that Browder discovered?"

The fundamental reason why Dennis does not "differentiate," is because there is no real "differentiation" unless the more militant and threat-

ening tone adopted by the CP in response to the new Russian foreign policy can be called a differentiation, and not what it really is: a Russian effort to blackmail U. S. imperialism into making concessions to it at the UN.

The statement quotes extensively from the stupid report of Dennis to prove that he actually carries out a line similar to Browder's.

### THEY LOOK TO STALIN FOR AID

4. In properly designating the CP policy as opportunistic, the statement calls on Stalin for assistance and quotes from the "master" that "opportunism in our midst is like an ulcer in a healthy organism, and must not be tolerated." Evidence of the opportunism of the party is revealed in its lack of hatred for capitalism, its refusal to advocate the struggle for socialism. McKenney and Minton say:

"In this crucial moment in history, the Communist Party has no defined, clear position on independent political action. . . . In this crucial moment of history, the Communist party approaches immediate tasks with petty-bourgeois confusion, with reformist premises. . . . In this crucial moment of history, the leadership of the American Communist Party does not expose sufficiently the dangerous role of the liberal bourgeoisie. . . . communists cannot accept, as the present leadership does, a position tailing behind bourgeois allies, or merging with them, or abandoning an independent class conscious, revolutionary position. . . . In this crucial moment of history, the reports of the National Committee express no angry hatred for the capitalist system. The leadership does not emphasize the great truth that workers must learn: Only socialism can make the people free."

The statement then criticizes the selection of Dennis as secretary of the party, saying that this choice was hasty and made solely on Foster's initiative because he was, in Foster's words, "least affected by Browder's revisionism." In proving that Dennis was completely immersed in Browder's revisionism, McKenney and Minton say that the choice of Dennis was light-minded in view of the experiences the CP has had with secretaries who have betrayed the party, naming in succession, Jay Lovestone, Ben Gitlow and Earl Browder. But what they fail to see is that the greatest betrayer of all was the biggest secretary of them all and the man who placed the "secretary of the party" on the throne of all organizations: Stalin!

We have now dealt with the several viewpoints of the groups of people expelled from the CP. Whatever differences they may have with each other, they agree on the need for revising the whole course of the communist movement in this country. But what they understand by a revolutionary socialist position is diluted with Stalinism. (To be concluded next week)



## A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

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## Editorials

## For a Joint Labor Strategy Board

In an adjoining column we reprint the text of a letter addressed by Philip Murray of the CIO to the AFL and the Railroad Brotherhoods. The letter was provoked by the mine crisis and the reintroduction of Government by Injunction. Thus, it is by itself an argument for precisely the kind of over-all joint action demanded by the problems that labor faces.

Whether anything will come of Murray's proposal remains to be seen. There is not even any indication at present that Murray is seriously promoting the idea, now that the mine strike is temporarily over, and the fine levied against the miners is before the Supreme Court for review. And there has not yet been, so far as we know, any answer from William Green or the leaders of the Railroad Brotherhoods to whom the letter was addressed. However, we sincerely hope that something will come out of the proposal. For it is an essential approach to the needs of the labor movement.

A year ago, in connection with the series of strike actions then in progress, LABOR ACTION raised the slogan of a coordinated strike strategy board, democratically representing all the unions. We have repeated it since in connection with various situations, all of which confront

## LABOR IS IN DIRECT CONFLICT WITH THE GOVERNMENT

We should be well acquainted with the first of these. More and more newspaper space is being given over to institutional advertising, serving the single purpose in many cases of whipping up public sentiment against labor. The recent reports of the fund General Motors is putting aside to "sit out a strike" are adequate proof of the second. With respect to the third, we must remind ourselves of the secret conferences at a big New York hotel during the last strike wave, involving some of the top corporation executives in the country. These were accidentally disclosed in the hearings of a Congressional committee. And the fourth brings up the matter of far more than outright injunction procedure or anti-labor laws.

In every situation, however small, labor finds itself face to face with the government. The government will be involved up to its ears in the negotiations of the steel workers, the auto workers, etc. It may try to pull some such deal as it did last year, where it approved wage increases and then permitted wage-cutting price increases. It may try anti-labor legislation, such as has already been promised by various members of the new Congress. It may try some more of its injunction procedure.

Whatever it does, it will do as the servant of capitalism. And the one thing that can stop it is concerted labor action. It is, for example, an incontestable certainty that the government will think twice about

## DEMOCRATIC REPRESENTATION OF RANK AND FILE

There is in session, at the time of this writing, a meeting of the heads of the CIO's auto, steel and electrical unions to discuss a common strategy in their wage drive. Good. The same kind of thing, with one important and vital addition, is required for the union movement as a whole, for AFL unions, for Brotherhood unions as well as for CIO unions. To oppose the anti-union machinations of the employers and their government, to put over a completely effective campaign to raise wages and lower prices, to accomplish the variety of tasks that confront the labor movement, we require the full steam of unified union action.

What is the addition we propose? THE DEMOCRATIC REPRESENTATION OF THE RANK AND FILE!—on coordinating committees in the separate localities of their operation and on a national scale.

This is not a proposal to exclude the leaderships. Quite the contrary. They

labor with the necessity of massing its strength and presenting a common front against the bosses and their government. If there remained any doubt in anyone's mind of the acute importance of this proposal, it should have been completely dispelled by the mine strike and the injunction proceedings that accompanied it. With multiple battles shaping up for this winter, the idea has a new urgency.

Let us review for a moment several salient facts in the situation. We here take for granted that all of our readers are familiar with the price picture and the necessity for wresting wage increases from the corporations while prices are held in line. A drive is now shaping up in union after union, with the big CIO unions spearheading the action, for substantial wage increases. This drive will be met with the combined opposition of the corporation magnates and their government stooges. This opposition will take the form (a) of high-pressure publicity campaigns; (b) of mountainous anti-labor funds built up by the giant industries to weather long strike periods; (c) of coordinated employer action against strikers and striking union; and (d) of anti-labor legislation and, possibly, of further injunction moves by the government.

trying to slap an injunction on the auto workers or steel workers if it knows in advance that such a move will provoke a national protest embracing all forms of action, including stop-work action. The same goes for anti-labor legislation, and so on down the line. Some particularly rabid reactionaries might persevere with their designs; but the others would be quickly brought to their senses.

You will note that we here omit reference to such a vital aspect of the question as independent labor political action (and to those parts of President Murray's letter with which we sharply disagree—his references to Roosevelt, etc.). We devoted a great part of our last issue to this question, which constitutes, in our opinion, the principal lesson of the mine strike and of every battle in which labor has been engaged recently. We shall continue to emphasize that prime necessity. The problem of labor unity, and joint labor action, is obviously not separable from the question of political action; the two are fundamentally united. However, we deal with the matter here only in terms of Murray's letter, and on the simplest plane of necessity. As President Murray wrote in connection with the mine strike and the CIO's participation in the anti-injunction appeal: "We have learned through the bitter experience of other countries that liberty is indivisible and that a blow at the liberties of the miners is a blow at the liberty of all of us."

should be there, but the ranks ought to be in a position to speak decisively in deciding action and planning the scope of joint strategy. They are closest to the problems. They are not divided by artificial barriers of bureaucratic self-interest. They are not likely to weaken their action at the last moment, as it was weakened last year by self-defeating agreements in Washington. Their interest as working men and women will dictate the fullness of cooperation in wage strategy and in the direction of all the activities labor must undertake.

Murray's letter is only a beginning. Weak as it is in not providing for the participation of the rank and file, it is nevertheless a beginning—if it is taken out of the letter stage and transferred to the meeting stage. To repeat, we would like to see it bear fruit in a meeting of the union representatives called to outline a concrete scheme of common action, and developing into a DEMOCRATICALLY CHOSEN UNION STRATEGY BOARD.

## Murray Letter on Labor Unity

Pres. Philip Murray of CIO this week sent the following letter to AFL Pres. William Green, Pres. A. F. Whitney of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, and Chairman Thomas C. Cashen of the Railway Labor Executives Assn.

It has become self-evident that there is a deliberate and monstrous movement under way to cripple, if not destroy, the labor movement of this country.

Since V-J Day the large industrial combines, together with their representatives in Congress, have directed an unabated attack against organized labor. This has taken the form of deliberate measures to bring about inflation at the expense of the American people and through vicious propaganda to place the blame for the resulting hardships at the door of the American workers.

Where labor in the face of shrinking earnings and rising cost of living sought to obtain necessary wage increases, industry arrogantly refused to engage in collective bargaining in order to provoke strikes. This was part of the plan to inflame public opinion against labor.

At the same time the 79th Congress, under the dictatorship of a reactionary coalition, refused to enact any legislation designed to improve the economic well-being of the American people such as broadening and extending the minimum wage law, providing an adequate housing program for veterans and others, extending the Social Security Law, and other measures embraced within President Roosevelt's Economic Bill of Rights. Instead, legislation was whipped through Congress to shackle labor and

weaken its ability to cope with increasing enemy attacks.

The election results of November 5 have been deliberately misinterpreted by these very same predatory interests as a stamp of approval upon their evil design and have obviously encouraged them to deepen their attack upon organized labor.

The stage is set for the 80th Congress to be met by national hysteria deliberately fomented and inspired. In essence, the attempt is to divert the attention of the American people from those interests which are actually causing national hardships for the common people through inflation.

The membership of the American Federation of Labor, the Congress of Industrial Organization, and the Railway Labor Unions demand relief against the intolerable conditions which now confront them and protection against the ferocious attack now being made upon them. This relief can be forthcoming only through the unified action on the part of these three labor organizations. Such unity of action is imperative and of vital importance.

In the interest of our membership, of all of the democratic and progressive forces of our nation—whose very survival may be at stake—I urgently suggest that the leaders of these three national labor organizations meet as quickly as possible for the purpose of devising in unity a common program of economic and legislative measures.

It is my sincere conviction that we, the leaders of our respective organizations, must in the interest of our nation and our democratic institutions arise above any petty or personal quarrels to assure the successful completion of such a program.

## WORLD POLITICS

## Pump Priming for Germany

The U. S. and Britain have begun a drive to make the occupied western zone of Germany self-supporting (by 1950) to avoid the tremendous expense of upkeep which it has thus far entailed. They plan to invest \$1,000,000,000 in this attempt to restore German economy to the point where it can at least provide a minimum subsistence standard for its people without outside aid.

Until now the U. S. has been forced to spend \$200,000,000 a year, over and above the military costs of occupation, just to keep the people of its zone from complete starvation and epidemic. Britain has spent twice as much in its zone. Since these two imperialist powers plan to continue their occupation of Germany for an indefinite time, they wish to cut their outlays sharply.

Accordingly, the following plan has been worked out: the British and U. S. occupation zones have been economically merged, though they remain politically separated. An investment of \$1,000,000,000, equally borne by Britain and the U. S., will be made in order to uplift the economy of Western Europe. By raising somewhat the near-starvation level of food-consumption in western Germany, it is expected that the present very low level of productivity will also be raised. (For people who have not had enough to eat cannot work efficiently. Recurrent reports have told of workers collapsing in Ruhr factories because of hunger.)

By supplying the merged economic zone with the raw materials it requires, the Anglo-American bloc hopes further to increase its productivity in order to build up a volume of fabricated exports. The output of western Germany, calculate the experts of the U. S. and Britain, can be expanded by 1950 to support an export trade which not only will be able to pay for the needed imports of raw materials and food, but also produce a surplus. Western Germany should then be in a position by 1950 to start repaying the \$1,000,000,000 that Britain and the U. S. are now sinking into it.

## A REMARKABLE COMMENTARY ON CAPITALISM

We believe that these facts constitute a quite remarkable commentary on the nature of present-day capitalist society. For consider: After the Allied bloc won the war, there was all kinds of talk about reducing Germany to an agricultural nation (the Morgenthau plan and various less extreme versions) and about preventing Germany from rebuilding and reorganizing its heavy industry so that she would not again be able to wage a modern war. Measures along these lines, if only because of the neglect and irresolution of the occupying authorities, were begun. But the realities of economic life won out over these absurd plans to reduce the industrial heart of Europe to "pastoral status." For the

reduction of western Germany to a non-industrial area meant: a) a sharp decline in the living standards of all the rest of Europe, which heavily depends on this industrial center; b) a catastrophic economic decline in Germany itself with tremendous unemployment; and c) the need for the victorious imperialist powers to support Germany economically lest outright hunger lead to uncontrollable revolt and upset the delicate European balance.

Now the very same powers which had toyed with the idea of deindustrialization of Germany are forced, as a result of the absurdity of their policy, to turn about and increase both the food allotments and the credits for raw materials so that German industry can be partially revived to pay for the costs of occupation. But this partial and strictly limited revival of German industry again poses the possible threat that it may be used by a resurgent German imperialism and that it will again offer competition to U. S. and British industry.

## THE POSSIBILITIES OF THE RUHR

Thus do we see how capitalist economy continually heaps up contradiction after contradiction. A rational socialist society of course would seize upon the great productive power of western Germany in order to revive the entire European economy. The Ruhr, properly organized and its workers adequately fed, rested and housed, could be the dynamo with which the dormant European economy could again be moved. But under control of the victorious capitalist bloc of the U. S. and Britain, the Ruhr is used largely to provide a limited expansion of productivity in order... to make possible the payment of reparations! This is the madness of capitalism.

We have here mentioned only one aspect of the situation; there are others. For one thing, the U. S.-Britain bloc is thinking of western Germany as an economic military bastion in case of war with Russia—which is why the Kremlin disapproves of even the limited economic expansion of western Germany now begun. France, always in the path of German imperialist expansion, fears the increase in Ruhr productivity for similar reasons. And there are also reasons of German internal politics, manipulated by the occupation powers, behind this latest move.

But one thing is clearly evident: German and European economy cannot reach any rational, healthy status so long as the paralyzing grip of imperialist occupation continues. It is for this reason, if no other, that the political point of view of the Workers Party on the national question in the occupied countries—the idea that the socialists must be in the forefront of the struggle to drive out the imperialist occupations—is such a potentially potent weapon for the slowly reappearing revolutionary groups of Europe.

## Books You Should Know...

SHORT STORIES, by James T. Farrell. Penguin Books, 1946. 213 pp., 25 cents.

Reviewed by ARTHUR STEIN

In this new reprint of short stories by James T. Farrell we get a detailed and keen painting of the experience of youth for the sons and daughters of American workers and members of the middle class. The painting is done with considerable skill; while he reads this little book, the smell of greasy restaurants on Chicago's South Side will disturb the reader's nostrils, and the hazy hopelessness of "Jazz-age" emotions will depress his moods. We get pictures of a college sophisticate who cannot escape our universal fate and ends with becoming a quite prosaic housewife ("Angela"); of a despondent young man who is fascinated by Coughlin and Hitler and has his eye blackened when he attempts to break up a Trotskyist street meeting ("Tommy Gallagher's Crusade"); of a clerk whose uncontrollable yearnings and frustrations leave him bewildered and humming the latest hit tune ("A Jazz-Age Clerk"); and of many more whose common trait invariably is their total inability to grasp the elements of their own bewilderment.

These stories, as all of Farrell's other creative writings, can well be taken as a social document of the period in which we live. His objectivity is scrupulous. The photographic quality of his work, often carried to a painful extreme, makes his books unusually instructive; again and again we are given descriptions of the lives of the various layers of the lower classes; again and again we are treated to extensive and illuminating

## RECEIVED:

THE ODYSSEY, by Homer. Translated by E. V. Rieu. Penguin Books, 25 cents.

A new translation of the world-famous classic.

LADY INTO FOX AND A MAN IN THE ZOO, by David Garnett, Penguin Books, 25 cents.

Written in the vein of realistic fantasy, Lady Into Fox is an account of the transformation of a beautiful woman into a vixen, and its effect upon her husband; and A Man in the Zoo is a description of a young man who offers himself to London's Zoological Society as a specimen of Homo Sapiens after a lover's quarrel.

examinations of the thought processes of the mediocre creatures who are produced in our world. And all this is presented to us virtually without comment. There is never an obvious "message" or "moral"; if the author's selection of his material makes us feel that he is a revolutionist, the hints he gives us are certainly restrained.

To keep political moralizing out of novels is usually an excellent policy for a myriad of reasons, the most important of which is the fact that a fictionalizing of political issues lends itself well to sloppy thinking and to demagogic emotional appeals. But Farrell's restraint extends beyond his refusal to use his books for political propaganda. His method consists of a presentation of nothing but life itself, and that drawn to the same approximate scale as it is in the original.

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## OFF LIMITS

By

James M. Fenwick

## THAT VETERAN'S BONUS

The following round-up reveals the current status of the veteran's bonus throughout the country. Clip it out and keep it for those arguments in the shop.

In the recent elections three states approved the granting of bonuses:

Illinois, according to *Newsweek*, "approved overwhelmingly by referendum a proposal to pay the state's 916,000 veterans a bonus at the rate of \$10 for every month of domestic service, \$15 for every month overseas, the total not to exceed \$882.50."

Michigan "approved by a nearly two-to-one vote a bonus financed by a \$270,000,000 bond issue. Scaled as in Illinois, the top limit was set at \$500...."

Rhode Island, "authorized \$20,000,000 worth of bonds to pay 90,000 servicemen and women and more than 2,000 members of the merchant marine cash bonuses of \$200 each."

Several other states prior to the elections had already voted bonuses:

Massachusetts grants \$200 for six months' or more domestic service and \$300 for service overseas.

Vermont provides \$10 for each month in service, with a maximum payment of \$120.

New Hampshire similarly grants \$10 for each month in the service, but with a maximum of \$100.

## "NOTHING'S TOO GOOD FOR THE BOYS"

When the number of states which have granted bonuses is considered, and when the size of the miserable handouts is taken into account, it is obvious that the bonuses reflect political expediency rather than the needs of the returned soldiers.

The right of the veteran to be granted a bonus cannot be successfully contested. In most cases he was subjected to extreme dangers. Often he was wounded, or he picked up some recurrent disease like malaria. The vicious military life often evoked psychoneurotic disorders. Away from home for long months and years, living under the maddening army discipline, without women, subjected to many privations and indignities, the soldier or sailor lost years of his life which can never be made up.

While he was in the service he could not save money. During this time his family usually lived in reduced circumstances. When he was discharged he often found himself a man without a skill, without a job, or without seniority on his job. Not having had his own home prior to the war he many times found himself forced to pay exorbitant rents. The rate of unemployment among vets is ten times higher than among the population as a whole. Added to all this is the skyrocketing cost of living, which finds the vets at a bad disadvantage.

Yes, the vet deserves his bonus.

## THE SCREAMERS ON THIS ISSUE

Those who howl most indignantly, naturally are the corporations through their paid servants, the newspapers. The capitalists, of course, whose very existence guarantees a succession of bloody wars, made billions in profits during the war and continue today to haul in unprecedented sums. They are interested solely in their profits, not in the anonymous, scared, miserable, human beings who fought their war for them.

The AVC, the most progressive of the current veterans' organizations is also opposed to the bonus. This flows from several sources: a desire not to appear as indiscriminate freebooters of the treasury, using the veterans as a bluegenie ("Citizens First, Veterans Second!") a concept which overlooks the special sacrifices which were made by the veteran; the middle-class composition of the AVC, where monetary problems are not so acute as among the working class; the class-colaborationist role of leaders such as Bolté, who get jumpy every time mass action is even suggested.

## OUR PROGRAM FOR THE VETERANS

The Workers Party bonus program is very simple: \$1,000 for every year or major fraction thereof spent in the armed forces. This money is not to be filched from the people by means of a sales tax but is to be equitably raised through a heavy tax on corporate profits. Let those who benefited from the war pay for it!

Any government which can unblushingly spend \$2,000,000,000 for the development of the first atomic bomb and can equally coolly contemplate the expenditure of a similar sum for the development of the long-range, remote-control rocket can easily institute such a bonus program.

We admit, of course, to the gravest defect in our bonus program—it won't kill anybody.

## Mister Attlee Explains...

## That the Troops Can't Come Home

"Once again Prime Minister Attlee has felt it necessary... to explain pessimistically why Britain cannot reduce her far-flung armed forces to the extent that he and his government hoped...."

"...many troops would be spending their fourth or fifth Christmas away from home."

New York Times, November 27, 1946.

## BUT NOT WHY THEY CAN'T

Excerpts from a report on action of British troops against Jewish refugee boats in Palestine: "Eye-witnesses said four charges by soldiers swinging clubs were made before sufficient troops bringing tear gas and hoses could board... screams were heard... immigrants... were suffering from the effects of gas... Babies' faces were puffed, their eyes closed... There were about 500 children and 100 pregnant women aboard."

New York Times, November 27, 1946.

Behind the Scottoriggio Murder in Marcantonio's Bailiwick:

# A Sordid Record of Corrupt Municipal Politics

By IRVING HOWE

On Election Day, in the East Harlem area of New York City, where the former ally of fascists, present darling of Stalinists and ruthless local machine boss, Vito Marcantonio, rules, a Republican district captain, Joseph Scottoriggio, was murdered while on his way to the polls.

Since then the case has become a cause célèbre in the city. It has been eagerly seized upon by the Republican opponents of Marcantonio as a means of trying to discredit him in the public eye. Governor Dewey paid a personal visit to the widow of the murdered man in order to express his sympathy—in the presence of camera men, of course. The Republicans, convinced that the murder or their local leader could be traced

Harlem toughs have been held as material witnesses. They are: Joey Rao, big-shot aide during Prohibition to the late Dutch Schultz; Michael (Trigger Mike) Coppola, strong-arm man for the late Vincent Coll, Harlem beer runner; and Emilio Tizel, a local tough who is being held in custody for fear that he may be "rubbed out" because of the information he has allegedly given to the police. The former two have had their bail reduced from \$250,000 each to \$40,000 each—by Democratic Judge Aaron Levy.

**FACTS ARE SORDID**

These are the facts at the time of writing. Now let's try to unravel the meaning of this sordid situation:

1) Who Killed Scottoriggio? According to all observers, the killing of this insignificant little man was probably an "accident." The skilled crime reporter of the N. Y. Times, Meyer Berger, offered on December 12 a conjecture which seems reasonable: "...it might develop that the Republican district captain's death from a beating at the polls may have been the mistake of overzealous East Harlem 'muscle men' assigned, as underworld argot would have it, 'to just give it to him once over lightly.'"

It is common knowledge that Marcantonio's political domination in East Harlem, a neighborhood populated primarily by the most poverty-stricken elements in the city, is based on an alliance between his local political machine WITH the Stalinists and WITH local gangs of toughs. For in no other part of the city are gambling, prostitution, vice, dope-smuggling and other racketeering so common—and so undisturbed by the police.

In the recent election, the Republicans were for the first time in years a major threat to Marcantonio. Republican meetings were constantly disturbed by his goons and in several cases violence was used against Republican election workers. It is then possible that some of these goons got a little too rough; or that, in addition to fulfilling an assignment they had a personal grudge against Scottoriggio and therefore added a few blows for good measure—one of which proved fatal?

2) What is the Role of the Democratic Party? The Democrats are in a very ticklish situation—for Marcantonio is their ally. He captured the Democratic primary and has often worked with Tammany Hall. If they could be shown to be lax in finding the killer, it would be a tremendous political blow at them. Mayor O'Dwyer has therefore, like it or not, had to put the squeeze on the police. But one fact is already clear: Tammany Hall has played ball with the Marcantonio gang, has been an ally and accomplice in its corruption; it has winked its eye at the events in East Harlem—at least until the going got too hot.

3) What About the Police? The blunt statement of DA Hogan about "high police officials... hampering the investigation" is virtually an open admission that the police have

looked the other way when things happened in East Harlem. Otherwise, why the shakeup? There then is a damning commentary on New York's finest.

It is interesting to compare the frantic activity in this case, where the political stakes are high, with police indifference and routinism in the case of the unsolved political murder of Carlo Tresca, anarchist leader, a few years back. The police department, in addition to its traditional sympathetic attitude to local racketeering, is manipulated by the dominant capitalist party according to its passing interests.

4) Where Do the Stalinists Come In? The Stalinists, themselves experienced hands at political murders, who have puffed Marcantonio up from a small-time political ward-

heeler into a national figure, are worried stiff lest he be implicated, however indirectly, in the affair. The Daily Worker has blown hot and cold in the matter. In its December 11 issue it suggests the possibility that De Martino's resignation was provoked "because he would not go along with certain 'suggestions' made to him to 'get' Marcantonio?"

Now the possibility that a move is on to "get" Marcantonio politically by means of cooking up a case in which he would be implicated and that pressure to that effect was put on De Martino, cannot be summarily denied. But that possibility does not remove the fact that Marcantonio has worked together with unsavory elements and that rough-neck tactics have been used, by his supporters—the consequences of which for the

Scottoriggio case are suggestive. And that is why the Stalinists are in a stew—and rightly so, for they too are deeply implicated in this mess of capitalist political corruption.

5) And Now: Enter the Republicans. For the Republicans, all of this seems a golden opportunity. To implicate, no matter how validly, the Marcantonio-Stalinist-Tammany alliance in this murder would be of tremendous help to them; which is why Governor Dewey has been putting so much pressure on the city administration. But the hands of the Republicans are also soiled in this affair. For Marcantonio was the protégé and darling of the former Republican Mayor, Fiorello La Guardia. As the New York Post of December 13 writes: "Mayor La Guardia... closed his eyes to the goings-on in the baili-

wick of his favorite, Marc, and the police naturally followed suit." We could not say more ourselves.

Furthermore, the Republicans in this situation have been soiled by the propaganda methods they have used. They have not refrained from none too subtly veiled references to the national groups living in East Harlem—Puerto Ricans and Italians—which were of an inflammatory character. They have been eager to cook up a case regardless of whether there really was one. And they have kept a deadly silence on their own ties to the corruption which is now gradually being exposed.

6) What Does All This Add Up To? Here again we wish to quote the New York Post of December 13: "...while crime is fostered by faulty or dishonest police work, it

is bred by slums, race discrimination, poverty, disease—and in no area of New York do these evils exist in greater profusion.

"This is a neighborhood of the dispossessed and hopeless. It is a natural haven for gangsters... Here is the highest tuberculosis death rate in the city; here the overcrowding is three times as great as in the rest of the city, and here live the mass of New York's Puerto Ricans and many Negroes—last to be hired and first to be fired."

Accurately put! But the "liberal" Post, of course, does not understand or does not wish to understand what all of this means.

Bred in this "neighborhood of the



VITO MARCANTONIO

or at least plausibly laid at the door of the Marcantonio machine, have continuously demanded investigations.

**POLICE SHAKEUP RESULTS**

As a result, a major shakeup has just been announced in the New York City Police Department. Assistant Chief Inspector John J. De Martino, for twelve years head of the uniformed police force of Manhattan's East Side, has been forced to "resign" and the ranks of the cops have been thoroughly shaken up after the charges of District Attorney Frank Hogan that "high ranking police officials in Harlem were hampering the investigation into the Election Day murder." (New York Times, December 12.)

Though Tammany Hall, with which Mayor O'Dwyer is politically associated, has made repeated deals with Marcantonio, it has not relished the need to share patronage and power with this local political martinet and accomplice of the Stalinists (Marcantonio is chairman of the New York ALP). O'Dwyer, both as a result of powerful pressure and a fear that anything less than a forceful investigation might lead to the case blowing up in the face of the local Democratic Party, then put the spurs to Police Commissioner Wallender and the police shakeup was the result. In the meantime, several local East

## UN Talks Disarmament, Does Nothing

By HENRY JUDD

The General Assembly of the United Nations has finally adjourned and the delegates have gone home. In next week's LABOR ACTION we shall present an over-all analysis of the work of this Assembly. Here we concern ourselves only with the dispute over the issue of disarmament, which often led to sharp exchanges during the last week at Flushing Meadows.

For six weeks the debate on disarmament dominated the Assembly meetings. What were the final results? Will there now be a universal disarming of the Powers, great and small? The answer is a flat NO. Not a single practical result was obtained, beyond the further revelation of the deep conflicts that divide the great powers, particularly Russia and America.

The final resolution, adopted by unanimous consent, referred the entire question to a special meeting of the General Assembly, to be held some time in the future. This special Assembly is to consider practical proposals for disarmament, eliminat-

tion of atomic and other weapons of mass destruction, plans for withdrawal of foreign troops from abroad, control of atomic energy, etc. But the point is that each one of these questions has already been considered and at great length. The issues have been thoroughly discussed, and are well known to all.

**UNANIMOUS BANKRUPTCY**

In effect then, the resolution finally adopted merely affirmed that the great powers are today prepared to do nothing whatever toward disarmament, and are incapable of getting together on any common program. They therefore postponed the whole matter until some indefinite future when the futile and aimless process will begin all over again. The unanimous vote is a vote expressing the unanimous bankruptcy of the General Assembly and all the powers, big and small. Armament (production of atom bombs, warships, machines of war, investigation and experimentation into new methods of mass murder, etc.) will continue exactly as before. The League of Na-

tions tale repeats itself unanimously. The disarmament debate occurred over three specific issues:

(a) The question of outlawing the atomic bomb, and control of atomic energy. This was not even on the agenda of the General Assembly, and was only discussed in special committee—whence came nothing, not even a final report and recommendations. This matter still rests with the Atomic Energy Commission, while work at Oak Ridge proceeds and stockpiles grow.

(b) The question of a census of troops at home and abroad. Russia's spokesman, Molotov, began this cynical and demagogic game with a proposal that only troops in friendly, non-enemy countries be listed—thus giving Russia a chance to hide its troop strength both in Russia proper and in Poland, Germany and other occupied ex-enemy nations. All week long, Molotov and Vishinsky disputed with the British spokesman, Sir Hartley Shawcross, and the American windbag from Texas, Senator Connolly. Each outdid the other in attempts to embarrass and connive.

At the end, the British and Americans joined in agreement to drop the entire matter and then the General Assembly by 36 to 6 voted to reject the idea of an immediate troop census. The Russians had partly gained their objective of revealing the hypocrisy of their opponents, but had themselves revealed their unwillingness to have any direct check made by on-the-spot commissions of THEIR armed forces. Matters stand where they stood six weeks ago with the great powers occupying huge sections of the world. (Does it make any difference whether a small, helpless country is ruled by 10,000 foreign troops armed to the teeth, or only by 5,000 of the same?)

(c) The question of actually disarming and reducing weapons and means of waging warfare. As indicated above, nothing was accomplished on this matter. Many hopes and desires were expressed, particularly by the smaller nations, but the opinions of these nations meant nothing. Here, again, the issue has been deferred to negotiations between the big powers.

The debate over disarmament—or, why we must remain armed to the teeth—again emphasizes two major characteristics of the United Nations: • Its complete domination by the force and will of the major powers, above all, America and Russia. • Its equally complete impotence to accomplish anything to bring peace and international harmony to the world.

**The Week's Most Fascinating Story**

Speaking under the auspices of the paper, the German American, Gerhart Eisler, also known as Hans Berger, Stalinist GPU agent, and real boss of the Communist Party during his stay in this country, declared:

"There never was a Communist Party in the world that would allow anyone, even a foreign Communist, to run its business."

Said the New York Times in referring to another part of his speech:

"Eisler said he wished only to return to Germany and work toward a happier life for the German people."

dispossessed and hopeless," there has arisen a political machine of cynicism, corruption and demagoguery; this machine may now have been involved in outright terrorism; both capitalist political parties are themselves involved and simultaneously trying to use it against each other; the police department is shown to have been involved. Could there be a more damning and eloquent demonstration of the corruption of capitalist municipal government—what was once called "The Shame of Our Cities"? For here, on a local and limited scale have been reproduced all of the features which make of capitalism in general such a corrupting and degrading social system.

## Meader Report on the GI's - -

(Continued from page 3) alarmed at this. There isn't much venereal disease in the U. S. and of course no one ever heard of this ailment in the army any place outside

**A PIECE OF TRIPE**

We say again that no one with a higher intelligence than a beetle should be surprised that this report was suppressed. First of all, it is a piece of tripe, prepared by a glorified scissor-bill. We do not mean by this that the report is false. Every statement made by Meader may be true. That is beside the point. What he reports in substance has been reported for every country occupied, by hosts of returning ex-servicemen. This report could have been called: "What Every GI Knows." It would be suppressed for the reason that it would never do to let it become public that white men and officers of the U. S. Army were carrying on like a bunch of hoodlums, gangsters and degenerates. The report was not suppressed because Negro soldiers were doing things which they ought not to be doing, or which some people think they ought not to be permitted to do.

The War Department might be disturbed over repercussions from Negro groups. They ought to be disturbed over the Jim Crow assassinations of this backwoods car-window sociologist. That is not what really worries the top brass hats in Washington, but rather the revelations about the "generals and high-ranking colonels." Their "looting," "black marketing," "white slavery," their numerous "mistresses," and their shady business transactions.

If Meader were not what he is revealed to be by his own report; that is, a high-placed yokel, he would never have turned in this report. His

report reveals that anybody in Germany, so inclined, may have all the women he wants, may use government supplies to get those amenable to such persuasion, may use his position to engage in illicit business transactions and take whatever is available in the way of German property, personal or government. In a word, at least a part of the army in Germany is carrying on in the traditional manner of military conquerors and imperialists.

The real tragedy of the situation either escapes Meader altogether or his attitude toward the situation is totally reactionary, inhuman and in-

decent. We cite his attitude toward the refugees who are fleeing from Stalinist barbarism and the Jews who come to the American zone because they believe that here they will find security and freedom from oppression. Furthermore this little hurry-up investigator, like so many of his tribe, is not favorably impressed with the liking of the German women for the Negro soldiers who are civilized enough to refrain from using them in the "white slavery" traffic. To this mess the real answer is to remove all the armies of occupation out and return Germany to the German people.

## Commutation of Nazi General's Sentence Part of Allied Policy

By JACK ARTHURSON

PARIS, Dec. 7—The death sentence imposed on General von Falkenhorst, former Nazi commander in Norway, by a British court last August for allegedly ordering Allied commandos to be shot or turned over to the Gestapo was commuted to 20 years imprisonment, according to a Dec. 4 announcement from Berlin.

During his trial, in answer to a question about Hitler's instructions for killing commandos, von Falkenhorst had stated: "I opposed the order in my conscience, but as a soldier I had to obey."

Asked whether he had tried to oppose the order and quit his post, von Falkenhorst declared he had objected to the order but was overruled. He added: "The Fuehrer had forbidden that we ask retirement, and since the ordinary soldier could not go home if he disliked an order, I felt the same should apply to a general."

What makes von Falkenhorst's statements and commutation of his death sentence significant is that in the Nuremberg trial, the International Military Tribunal had decided in relation to Nazi generals accused of brutality that: "The true test is not the existence of the order but whether moral choice was in fact possible."

In trials of U. S. Army Litchfield prison (concentration) camp personnel, Pfc Thomas E. Warren, a former Litchfield guard, when asked if he regarded "as lawful" Lt. Cubage's orders to beat men, replied: "It was during wartime, Sir... I was an infantry soldier and he was my superior officer and I thought he knew what he was talking about. I was obeying orders, Sir."

In turn Lt. Cubage said he was obeying orders of Capt. Robertson who said he was obeying orders of Colonel Kilian. Goering, Keitel, Jodl and other Nazis said they were obeying Hitler's orders. So did von Falk-

enhorst. Identical replies of an American Private First Class and a Nazi general on obeying military orders reveal the fundamental identity of the disciplinary system and command structure of American and German militarism, and that the Nuremberg Tribunal's test of "moral choice" is a shallow mockery in any army in the world.

Von Falkenhorst's prison sentence, along with that of Nazi Admiral Doenitz is the living evidence that the Allied powers are laying off punishment of Nazi militarists because of fear of setting up precedents for heavy punishment of their own generals in the coming Third World War.

Doenitz was given only a prison sentence because — freely admitted the Nuremberg Tribunal—both U. S. and British Naval Commanders (Admiral Nimitz was named directly) had also permitted unrestricted submarine warfare. No trial of Nimitz or British admirals of course will be conducted. But in a future war, should a precedent of death sentences for top generals be set—key American, British, French or Russian officers could face the rope.

## Frisco SWP Members Resign; Protest Convention Expulsions

Our readers will recall that on December 2, LABOR ACTION published a report on the convention of the Socialist Workers Party which expelled Dave Jeffries and Felix Morrow, former editor of the Fourth International and member of the National Committee of the SWP. This event was but another in the long internal struggle against the bureaucratic regime in the party and its false political policies. The first reaction to the expulsion of the above two, came from San Francisco where three leading members of the branch announced their resignation from the SWP. We publish below the statement of the three for the information of our readers and as part of the material relating to problems inside the revolutionary socialist movement which LABOR ACTION has carried from time to time.—Editors.

Sunday, Dec. 1, 1946  
To the San Francisco-Oakland Branches of the Socialist Workers Party  
Dear Comrades:

The Socialist Workers Party Convention of 1946 has bureaucratically expelled two of its leading members: Comrades Felix Morrow of the National Committee, and Dave Jeffries. In addition, that convention empowered the local executive committees to discipline and expel other members of the Minority faction. This is the most flagrant evidence of the new level of degeneracy to which the party leadership has fallen, and is completely alien to Bolshevik tradition. It is no wonder that that whipped up by such leadership a lynch spirit swept through the convention sessions against a minority whose viewpoint demanded serious consider-

ation. Despite the trumped-up charges of disloyalty against Comrades Morrow and Jeffries, which served as the pretext for their expulsion, the obvious fact cries out: that the Cannon leadership is determined to remove from its path any comrade who dares to stand firmly in the way of the drive for a completely monolithic party.

Sincere revolutionists, having differences with the bureaucratic leadership, now find themselves relegated to the status of "second class" members, being denied democratic functioning within the ranks of the Socialist Workers Party. We who proclaimed the urgency of unity as the means of advocating the Fourth International in the United States are compelled by the action of this convention to turn to the Workers Party. Despite our differences with the comrades of that organization, we are assured the democratic rights of jointly building a revolutionary party. From within the ranks of the Workers Party we can continue the call for unity. Again and again it must be proclaimed: only unification of the two Trotskyist parties can avert the further degeneration of the Socialist Workers Party; only unification can enable the Trotskyist movement to build a mass revolutionary party capable of leading the American workers to Socialism.

Therefore, as loyal revolutionists, devoted to the Fourth International, we resign from the Socialist Workers Party and announce our adherence to the Workers Party.

Fraternally yours,  
(Signed) B. STEELE  
N. HOWARD  
LILI

## ITALIAN WORKERS CROSS TO FRANCE

Special to Labor Action

Paris, Dec. 6—More than 40,000 Italian laborers have braved the mountain passes to cross over to France since the end of the war to find work and food, the Italian press reports. Italian workers are said to be living in "conditions of slavery" in France. Their labor can be purchased by paying 6,000 francs to the French state which later deducts this total from the workers' pay. Despite heavy snowfall in the Alps, 150 workers are crossing daily. Combat, Parisian newspaper, declares that the French state interns all unfit for work, forces the others to accept harsh contracts and is implicated in a regular labor market in Italian immigrant labor to alleviate the French labor shortage. Laborers accepted for work in France are not permitted to bring their families with them.

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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 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**  
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.

# WITH THE UNDERGROUND TO PALESTINE

By MARY BELL

This personal account by the liberal journalist of The New Republic and PM (*Underground to Palestine*, by I. F. Stone. Published by Boni & Gaer) gives the reader a vicarious trip on the Jewish underground railway to Palestine: and that is its main value. I. F. Stone has performed a service in describing how the underground works and illuminating the conditions of European Jews and their overwhelming desire to escape the continuing anti-Semitism and pogroms of Eastern Europe by fleeing to Palestine.

Stone's first stop is England. Discussions there convince him that the average Englishman has been sold the idea that further concessions to the Jews will "incline" the Arab world.

Traveling next to an un-named French city, Stone makes advance arrangements for his passage with an emissary, the *Haganah*, the Jewish underground. He acquires visas for every Mediterranean country, since it is not known in advance from what port he will eventually leave, and then takes the Orient Express to Germany. There Stone tours the Displaced Persons camps around Nuremberg, run largely by UNRRA and the Joint Distribution Committee. Most are filthy, barracks. He is told by one official, "If conditions here were too good, they would stay on. This is only supposed to be a clearance center."

### THE REACTIONS OF A POLISH JEW

Irony describes these fleeing Jews as "the second class of mankind"; the bureaucratic language of officialdom calls them "unsuccessful repatriates." At a DP camp at Furth near Nuremberg a Polish Jew from Lodz tells Stone how most Jews feel, even about the best of the camps:

"When I look out my window, *ES WERT MIR KALT IM HERZEN* (my heart grows cold) and when I go with my *TEPELE* (my little pot) to get my meals, I feel as though I'm still in *KATZET* (concentration camp)."

When Stone inquires of a local Stalinist official whether the Jews can live in Germany, the reply is, "Es ist sehr schlecht" (it's very bad).

Stone crosses the treacherous Polish-Czech frontier to Bratislava. This border is most dangerous because Poland is the seat of the most virulent anti-Semitism. Lives of DPs are often purchased with cigarette bribes for border police. There are myriad stories of Jews caught by the guards on this border who defy their captors with, "You can shoot us but you can't force us to go back to Poland."

Since six million Jews were wiped out in the war, the typical conversation with a Jewish DP begins, "There were twenty-five thousand Jews in Sosnowice before the war. There are very few left now..." Most of those who cross the border with Stone bear the tattooed concentration camp number, their badge of honor. Many are remnants of families who survived the crematoria of Buchenwald, Auschwitz and Bergen-Belsen. In fact, the only whole families are those which originally fled to Russia and have now emigrated.

Stone visits the refugee hospital in Anton, a disguised Czech city. "I got used to bad smells on the trip, but... never anything to match the first whiff in the hospital at Anton," he writes. Of the refugees, "They looked and smelled bad. Most of the men were underized and underfed. The women are either scrawny or unhealthy obese. The eyes of the children are the eyes of little people unpleasantly adult before their time. Men, women and children who crowded together in that first reception center, ragged and unclean and tired, looked like the cast-offs of humanity."

### PAST THE IRON CURTAIN

Boarding a broken-down train on the first lap of the flight through the "iron curtain," Stone rides with eleven others in a darkened compartment designed for eight, shares black bread and salami and gives a young girl the first chocolate she's tasted in six years. The train goes to the ghost-town of Vienna, whose rampant anti-Semitism makes it impossible for the Jews to live there, too.

The next stop is somewhere in Italy, where a ship manned by American seamen awaits to make the trip to Palestine. Waiting at midnight on the beach, Stone becomes involved with the *carabinieri* and Italian legal red-tape while the ship he intended to take sails with about 1500 Jews.

He manages to get aboard a second boat, manned by American Jews and amply supplied with canned goods and other needs. The Italian police are liberally fed while 1,000 refugees file into their berths. Two-thirds are men; only 196 are over thirty; all but a few are remnants of families. There are *subbotniks*, *Chassidim*, orthodox and non-orthodox, from sixteen different countries. There are a few Aryans.

One Jew states, "I was never a Jew before the war. But now that six million Jews have been killed, I will be a Jew, too." Stone describes them all as "socialists of one kind or another."

In mid-sea all passengers are transferred to an ancient Turkish freighter half the length of the other vessel, after having virtually to commandeer the reluctant Turkish captain's ship. The men are forced to take turns in the airless, stinking holds where they are packed as on an old African slaver. Food and water soon give out. They are ready to give themselves up to the British in exchange for food and assistance to get into port, for the Turkish boat is far from seaworthy, but the British gunboats ignore their SOS calls. Finally they make Haifa where they are sent food by the Jewish colony.

### COMPROMISING POLITICAL POSITION

After rendering this faithful and moving task of reportage, Stone adds an "Epilogue," wherein he recites his compromising self-contradictory, typically liberal credo for the solution of the Jewish problem. He begins with a truism which the documentary section of his book heavily underlines. "For my comrades, for the Jews waiting in the DP camps of Germany and Austria, Palestine

is not a theory." While many he talked with would prefer life in a settled country like England or the United States, they want to go to Palestine.

He is bitter about the British and says nothing can be expected from the British government. He repeats the quotation from an old Polish Jew which appears on the frontispiece: "The Germans killed us. The British don't let us live." And "... I would far rather deal with that Arab statesman and patriot (Assam Bey) on behalf of the Jews than with Ernest Bevin."

Stone tells of an expected new British offensive against Jewish settlements and cities. "One British military official told a Jewish leader frankly—I assure the reader this is not just gossip—the world took the killing of six million Jews and if we have to destroy half of Tel Aviv, the world will take that, too."

Stone is well aware of the "politics of bakshesh" the British employ in placating the Moslem upper classes in the Middle East to build an alliance against Russia, France and the United States. The \$300 million loan that England is asking of the United States, for example, will go to the Arab rulers and not into development of the area.

### STONE'S PROPOSED PALESTINE SOLUTION

Stone's proposed solution: "A bi-national Arab-Jewish state," to be a part of a Middle East Semite Federation, which will be under a ten-year international trusteeship to the Big Four powers, of which Britain is one. The Arab-Jewish state is initially to have consultative bodies and later representative bodies to advise the big powers administering the trusteeship. Stone would substitute for one imperialist four imperialists, all of whom are interested in the oil and the searoutes in the Middle East and none of whom has displayed any interest whatsoever in the problem of the Jews or Palestinian independence. The latter question, Stone, too, would postpone, in typically imperialist fashion. Of Arab-Jewish unity against British imperialism, Stone says nothing. The implications of his "bi-nationalism" are that the Jewish minority would have parity with an Arab majority.

Stone, from the vantage-point of one imperialist nation, the United States, sees in perspective the characteristics of another, Great Britain. He cannot see the hypocritical attitude of the U. S. government which has not offered a haven by opening its own doors. It is only within the international working class movement that one can get a true perspective on all the contending imperialisms, and propose a solution that starts with the interests of the dispossessed.

It is in this light that the Workers Party has formulated its key demands on the Jewish problem: Open the doors of all nations to the Jews! For the ousting of the British and a free Palestine! For the immediate convention of a democratic constituent assembly in Palestine based upon universal suffrage, the right of all over eighteen to vote!

# Stalin's Russia Again Betrays The Interests of Europe's Jews

By ALBERT FINDLEY

Mr. Molotov's statement, reportedly made in secret talks with Secretary Byrnes, to the effect that Russia is particularly interested in Palestine, has aroused consternation in Jewish circles.

The effect of this statement on all those who are interested in finding a haven for the remnants of a people slaughtered by fascist terror, is easily understood when one remembers Russia's actions on the refugee problem.

During the war and in the immediate post-war period, the Stalinists shouted themselves hoarse as "friends" of Zionism, in an attempt to gain pro-Russian support amongst the Jewish masses. However, in the last year the inescapable conclusion is obvious—that Russia is making a strong bid to gain influence in the Near East, and in its game of power politics has aligned itself with reactionary politicians of the Arab world. As to the Jewish refugees Russia is not concerned.

### THE RUSSIAN ATTITUDE

On September 30, the Russian representative on the Austrian Control Commission demanded that the Allies place strong guards on the Austrian borders to prevent refugees from entering Austria. This general, the commanding officer of Russian occupied Austria, declared that the main route taken by the refugees from Eastern Europe was through Austria, into the American zone of Germany and thence by underground to Palestine. He demanded that a stop be put to this movement, and further went on to accuse the United States of being an accomplice in a "plot" to make Jews emigrate.

This Russian general did not see refugees fleeing for their lives, he did not see refugees desperately seeking a spot to call their own. No, this "Soviet" general could see only a "plot."

This accusation recalls the infamous statement of the British General Morgan, who openly said that the refugees were well-fed and well-financed in a "plot" to get them out of Europe. The entire civilized world protested and General Morgan was eventually forced to resign. Nothing, however, has happened to the Russian General—with the possible exception that he might have been decorated by his political bosses in Russia.

In the beginning of November, 1946, Pravda published an open attack on the admission of Jews to Palestine. Its editorial correctly denounced President Truman's reasons for demanding the admission of 100,000 Jews to Palestine as the desire of American capitalism to expand its influence in the Near East, and for the purposes of domestic electioneering and vote-getting. But what Pravda forgot to mention was the elementary democratic and socialist demand for free immigration to all nations. It went even further and declared that "Jewish immigration is an infringement on Arab rights"—a statement calculated to stop Jews from entering Palestine.

On December 12, 1946, at a meeting of the Economic and Social Committee of the U. N., Mattes, delegate from Russian controlled Yugoslavia,

introduced an amendment to the constitution of the International Relief Organization that no refugees be permitted to enter any country without the consent of the governments of the surrounding states. Mr. Mattes clearly admitted that this proposal was specifically aimed at Jewish immigration to Palestine. The motion was defeated by the Anglo-American combination, and was vetoed for by the Arab states and Russia.

As was reported in LABOR ACTION previously an Allied proposal, requiring the approval of the native population of surrounding states for any immigration to any country, had been made in a sub-committee by the Lebanese delegate. The Russian representatives voted for it. The Stalinist press then declared that the Russians were not opposed to Jewish immigration into Palestine, but had been "deceived" by the democratic phrases of the Lebanese proposal. This time, however, there is no apology, but rather a justification. For once again the line has changed."

In a statement on the Jewish question recently published in the *Morning Freiheit*, the Communist Party has gotten into step with Russian maneuvers in the Near East. The Freiheit statement declared the

Jews not to be a nation, and to have no interest in Palestine. Where else they are to go is left unanswered. Jewish immigration into Palestine is again denounced as a tool of British imperialism. The Stalinists, who had begun to sound like veteran Zionists, now proclaim the error of their ways, and denounce their previous lip-service opposition to the imperialist White Paper of 1935, as Browder opportunism.

Morris Schappes, prominent Communist Party member, denounces the CIO resolution for the entry of the Jews into Palestine. As is customary with the Stalinists, they attempt to pull so-called Marxist arguments out of a hat to justify their position. But twist and turn as they may, the fact is that their policy is nothing but an adaptation to the needs of Stalin's foreign policy in the Near East.

For a true Marxist position on Jewish problems, Jews can turn only to the Workers Party, which recognizes the growth of a Jewish nationalism and the existing desire for a territory, as "the legitimate, democratic yearnings of a people long subjected to oppression and discrimination," which recognizes and supports the right of immigration everywhere, including Palestine, and which gives support to the resistance movement in Palestine.

# French Socialists Caught In Parliamentary Muddle

By JACK ARTHURSON

PARIS, Dec. 7.—Only if the Communist Party is in the government will Socialists enter any new French régime, decided the French Socialist Party at its December 5 Paris meeting, by a vote of 2,242 to 2,145, with 55 abstaining.

While the see-saw bargaining, characteristic of French governmental struggles is continuing, to determine who is to be president, both Georges Bidault of the right wing bourgeois MRP Catholics and Maurice Thorez of the CP, despite almost unanimous SP support, were rejected by the National Assembly for lack of a majority. Paris wits have suggested electing Harry S. Truman as President of France.

However, the real struggle over the presidency is not taking place in the National Assembly where neither of the evenly matched big parties—CP and MRP—can get a majority; nor is it taking place in Montmartre joke mills. It is in the ranks of the National Council of the SP that the president is being selected. For the SP holds the balance of power in the National Assembly.

In a bitter, all-night session of the SP's National Council on Dec. 4, impassioned arguments for unity of action or opposition to the CP were made.

Felix Gouin, SP leader and former premier, said: "The masses would never forgive the Socialists for not doing for Thorez what they had thought it their duty to do for Bidault." He was referring to SP voting for Bidault when he was first selected premier after the June 2 elections brought the MRP to the

fore as the then leading party. Gouin added that the CP today is both "national and democratic."

### SP LOSES MASS BASE

In the Resistance movement and in the re-emergence of the General Confederation of Labor (CGT) the CP had skillfully pushed out both the Socialists and Jouhaux syndicalist leaders from control. Without a close link with the CP, the SP of France has no mass base among workers, and is adrift among a mass of petty bourgeois supporters, as the loss of 1,000,000 votes in a year of elections demonstrates.

Against joint action with the CP were former Minister of the Treasury Andre Philip, followed by M. Depreux, Socialist Minister of the Interior, who said the SP should wrest leadership of the mass movements from CP control. Daniel Mayer, former Secretary General of the party agreed, as did Leon Blum.

Nevertheless, following the proposal of the Secretary General, Guy Mollet, the SP voted 3,121 to 845 to support CP leader Maurice Thorez's bid for the presidency. Thorez lost. The Socialists voted to enter the new government only if the CP was in it. Part of the Paris press claimed that since combined SP and CP votes could not elect Thorez in any event, the SP was only making a friendly gesture in supporting a certain loser.

However, as the dispute in the SP's National Council indicates, this is no mere vote-counting problem. The SP is before the most severe crisis it has faced since Paris was seized from the Germans in August, 1944.

Without a mass base in the 6,000,000-man CGT, it is forced to cooperate with the CP or lose its feeble connections with workers. With the CP it is steadily weakened as its policy of attempting to balance between the MRP right and the CP left has led it to its most catastrophic loss of votes and of mass confidence in the November 10 elections where it dropped 24 seats in the National Assembly.

### STALEMATE SITUATION

Since neither CP nor MRP can get a majority for Thorez or Bidault respectively, and all other parties in France fear a CP president, the decision rests largely with the Socialists. It appears the Socialists may have to furnish the next president of France which will thereby only continue their role of center party, buffeted between the huge CP and the strong MRP. Already the SP leader, Vincent Auriol, had to be selected as head of the National Assembly, in a compromise between CP and MRP. For five years of presidency this is not a very hopeful prospect.

Unquestionably the CP would support a Socialist candidate for president who would be their hostage for the SP and CP have joined together to vote down strikes repeatedly; have supported increased production, rationalization and speed-up, without affecting fly-away prices; have together permitted capitalist shareholders to receive dividends on stock in nationalized industry, in perpetuity; have supported military conscription; have fought to retain the French Empire and made no real protest against French imperialist murdering Indo-Chinese; have demanded the Saar basin from Germany; and have supported the Nuremberg trials.

The pressure on the SP is growing heavier, as the party is being torn with dissension at the top and at the bottom. On either road—cooperation with or battle against the Stalinists—the SP of France because fundamentally it supports French imperialism, faces a black future.

# U. S. STILL DOMINATES THE PHILIPPINES

By CHARLES STEWART

All over the world former outright colonial dependencies are being given "independence." The reality is otherwise—the grants of independence are purely formal; the economic controls are even tighter than before and the political régimes set up continue to be servants of the traditional imperial overlords. The United States was the first to drop the mailed-fist in favor of the gloved economic stranghold on its former colonies. An analysis of the recent experiences of the Philippine Islands will therefore enable one to get an insight into the situation not only of the Philippines and Latin America, but of Egypt, China, India, Syria, Lebanon, the Near East, and the Far East—the traditional areas of open imperial brigandage.

The ancient Spanish Empire, which held sway over the Philippine Islands for over four hundred years, ruled over them according to the traditional theory of Mercantilism. The Philippines, suffering the effects of a severe military dictatorship under a governor-general was to be a source of raw materials for the "mother" country, a source of gold and silver bullion and a market for whatever finished goods Spain wanted to ship over. The feudal relations, especially in the land, where the Spanish Caciques owned tremendous plantations, were carried over to the modern era and the pattern still exists on the islands.

The impoverishment of the Filipinos by their Spanish oppressors brought into existence a movement for national independence. This movement for liberation coincided with the strategic views of that school in the U. S. Navy which followed the naval bases scheme of Captain Alfred Mahan. In her war with Spain the U. S. appeared on the scene as the "liberator" of Cuba and the Philippines. Simultaneous with the blasting of the Spanish fleet in Manila Bay by Admiral Dewey, Emilio Aguinaldo and the Filipino nationalist forces were hoisting down the imperial flag of Spain and declaring for a Filipino Republic.

### U. S. RUNS THE ISLANDS

The U. S. Navy and the quickly educated American businessmen had other ideas about freedom and in the treaty that settled the Spanish American War, the U. S. paid Spain the sum of \$20 million for the Philippine Islands. Thereafter, began three years of the most savage and brutal suppression of Aguinaldo and his followers. The Filipinos were to learn that the only freedom to be established on their islands would be the freedom of American business and finance to rule in place of the Spaniards.

Beginning with the Wilson Administration vague promises of independence were given. The Jones Organic Law of 1916 stated: "It is, as it always has been, the purpose of the people of the U. S. to withdraw their sovereignty over the Philippine Islands and to recognize their independence as soon as a stable government could be established therein." (My emphasis—C. S.)

In February 1924 President Coolidge told a visiting delegation of Filipinos: "It is to be doubted whether... it would be possible for the people of the islands to maintain an independent place in the world..."

What then is the meaning of the formal grant

of independence made this past July 4th? Is the fulfillment of the Tydings-McDuffie Act of 1934 real independence?

The people of the 7,000 Philippine Islands number 17 million. The bulk of these people are peons, illiterate, ill-fed, ill-housed, ill-clad. Most of them live in one-room shacks on the average peasant wage of 15 cents a day. According to a Senate Committee Report: "The income of a Filipino family of four, averages only \$75 a year, about \$20 of which goes for taxes."

According to the 1939 census of the 17 million people, only 30,000 filed income tax reports and only 9,000 paid any income taxes at all. According to this same census two-thirds of the people over

20 years of age received no education at all; two-fifths of those who attended school advanced no higher than the fourth grade. Less than 50 per cent of the population can read or write in any language or dialect.

### HOW IMPERIALISM WORKS

The key to the understanding of these conditions after 50 years of American control lies in the pattern of the economy set up under the guidance of an imperialist policy. The base of Philippine economy is the huge export trade. These exports are principally sugar (raw and refined), coconut products, abaca (manila hemp), tobacco products and embroideries. For 25 years over 50 per cent of the total foreign trade was with the U. S. In 1932 the total trade of the Philippine Islands amounted to 350 million Pesos. (The value of the Peso is pegged two to the U. S. dollar.) Of this sum 190 million Pesos were exports. Seventy-seven per cent of the total trade was with the U. S. Eighty-seven per cent of all exports were sold in the American market. Sixty-five per cent of all imports came from the U. S. Sugar, coconut oil, cigars, scrap and filler tobacco all equalled 75 per cent of the total exports for that year. Of these 99 per cent went to the U. S.

These quoted figures together with the significant information that in 1941 the total U. S. investments in the Philippines amounted to over one-quarter of a billion dollars, reveal the reasons for the impoverishment of the Filipinos. Except for a small group of feudal landowners, businessmen, and export-import agents (compradores), the mass of the population is doomed to poverty, ignorance, and disease. The valuable export trade of these primary agricultural commodities has maintained the huge sugar-cane plantations, tobacco fields, coconut workings where a depressed labor force earns very little more than to keep alive. This emphasis on cultivation for export has caused the Philippine Islanders to import rice to supplement the meager fish diet. The export system has prevented the diversification of crops for healthier, balanced diets. The system has also prevented the urbanization and industrialization of the islands, even though the islands abound in iron, copper, manganese, and chromium ore.

Paul V. McNutt, testifying before the House Ways and Means Committee on the Philippine Trade Act in 1946, stated:

"In the Philippines the national economy was geared before the war entirely and completely to export trade. And 95 per cent of that export trade was with the U. S. Except for rice and fish which are locally consumed, 98 per cent of all other production in the Philippines amounting to \$266 million is produced for export... And I might and should say here that we, the U. S., managed it that way. We are responsible for the dependency of the Philippines on the American market. Our businessmen and our statesmen in past years allowed the Philippines to become a complete economic dependency of the U. S. to a greater degree than any single state of the union is economically dependent on the rest of the U. S."

(Second part will appear next week)

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# Youth Corner...

## QUOTAS IN SCHOOL SYSTEM

By JULIE FALK, Nat'l Sec'y, SYL

The vicious racial quotas and segregation system in Southern schools is slowly becoming more characteristic of the "progressive" Northern institutions. While not as open or common as in the South, discriminatory practices are being tacitly introduced into schools and colleges above the Mason-Dixon line.

In New York four-fifths of the universities ask prospective students about their racial, religious and national status. That this is not merely for identification is made clear by a number of facts published by the American Jewish Congress. For example, among most New York medical colleges a racial quota has been established which effectively excludes all but a small number of Jews. The following comparative table of Jewish students in these colleges is significant:

Year	Total Enrollment	Jewish Students	Percentage
1920.....	533	241	45.2
1925.....	513	176	34.3
1930.....	556	168	30.2
1935.....	519	129	24.8
1940.....	574	108	18.8

Not even one-half the number of Jewish students were admitted in 1940 as compared with 1920. There was no corresponding decline in applicants.

### FEWER JEWISH YOUTH ADMITTED TO SCHOOLS

The inability of Jewish students to enter New York medical colleges is an even more graphic illustration of growing discrimination. Between 1920 and 1925 the average student body of N. Y. C. medical colleges consisted of 46.8 per cent Jews. The 1936-40 average for N. Y. C., with its 2 1/2 million Jews, reveals that only 21.8 per cent of the students are of Jewish extraction though the number of applicants have remained more or less constant.

This latest anti-Semitic trend is not limited to New York schools. It is increasingly becoming the national pattern. This too can best be illustrated by a simple fact: between 1925-40 there has been a 77 per cent decline in the number of Jewish students admitted into medical schools.

Jewish youth is not the only minority group which feels the sting of growing discrimination in medical schools. Facts have been published showing that Italian and other national minorities suffer as well.

Discussing the racial quotas, Dean Hopkins, former president of Dartmouth and of indisputable Aryan background, said that racial quotas are "in the interests of the Jews themselves." Now, who can doubt the word of such an eminent educator? Unquestionably those who have been schooled in Nazi racist theories will find a kindred spirit in Dean Hopkins.

### SEGREGATION OF MEXICAN YOUTH IN CALIFORNIA

In an article in the *New York Times* December 10th it was revealed that children of Mexican descent in a Southern California county were segregated from children of "pure" stock. The county school authorities tried to explain this discrimination as justified because of language difficulties suffered by the young Mexicans. What could not be explained so easily was the fact that the segregation was in actuality determined by nationality and not by language handicaps. If this condition is permitted in this one county in Southern California it may well become the example and inspiration for the rest of the state.

The Socialist Youth League does not condemn racial quotas and segregation merely because quotas are not met or segregated pupils are not given an adequate education. Our objections are more basic than that. Even if the quota were more than proportionate to the population and students in segregated schools received twice the care of others, it would not basically affect our attitude.

The idea and the actuality of quotas and segregation in the long run is more important than the way in which this policy manifests itself. It is only a short and logical step from racial quotas (even if proportionate) to more general and vicious forms of racial and religious discrimination and persecution.

No educational system can be democratic and no nation can be a democracy where color, race and religion is a more important school requirement than ability and need.

## One-Tenth of a Nation - -

(Continued from page 2)

every man secured a gun from some source even though closely watched. They were in readiness for anything.

But the KKK, wearing hoods so they wouldn't be recognized, only marched through the streets with signs and left. But they failed in their warning because the people in anger and bitterness made more effort to put this man into office. He was elected. The National Guard was called in to "protect the Negro" but nothing happened. Everything quieted down and after three or four weeks everything was peaceful. They did not want this man elected because he was a Northerner and was doing more for the Negro and the poor whites than anyone had ever dared to do. And so the Negroes there have accomplished a little toward their goal of being given a right to live like human beings.

The Ku Klux Klan was formed to put hate into people, to make them oppose one another, especially minority groups. They told the middle class these people would take away their jobs. The people were blind to the true facts.

The Negroes have progressed very far in the last ten years to make

themselves known. His fellowman has come to know him better but not much. He has a fight on his hands to win. The leaders of this country are no help to him or his people. They make flowery speeches which are forgotten before they leave the stand. They elect people who are trying to keep white supremacy in this world forever.

The Negroes of the South do not want to leave their homes. They are always told to leave if it is so bad. They stay, you ask why? Because they have learned to love them and care for them. They belong there and will stay and fight until the last is dead. The men who have returned from World War II have faced life and death. They feel they had nothing to fight for but now they are home they have a lot to fight for. The things that were promised were just a dream and now they have to face the reality. They have to try to fix a better future for their children.

Wake up America or you will be in for a great shock one early day. The people of this country are tired of being treated like animals and not like human beings. We have just begun to fight to live like humans or die as people....

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### What Homeless Face in Newark, N. J.

# A Zero Box Score on Housing

By PHILIP ROMANO

NEWARK — Having spent many weeks and months in search of an apartment, this reporter gained some insight into the experiences of the average home seeker. Early in the morning, trying to be first at the local newspaper building, were swarms of hopefuls. In rain, cold or sunshine. As the first batch of papers came out of the building, a scramble would take place. Then a mad surge to telephone, cab or other conveyance to get to the advertised place, if any. Most of the time there was very little or nothing to be answered.

A casual glance at the throng would show a predominance of veterans. Disgust, anger and frustration could be evidenced on their faces as those who gazed over the want ads found nothing. This situation, as we all know, exists nationally, with families doubling and tripling up.

### INDUSTRIALIZED AREA

Now, this has been going on for a long time. The situation in Newark remains practically the same. Local papers publish editorials and articles on this crucial question daily. The city is trying to do this, that and the other thing, but with no success. State and local authorities bicker over land. Building contractors and the city dispute. The same is true of the Army and the local administration over barracks, etc. (called temporary housing, but appropriately named barn housing).

Now, North Jersey, especially that section with Newark as the hub, is one of the most highly industrialized areas in the country. In the city and in the immediate suburbs are found some of the biggest factories. As a result of the war, there was a tremendous influx of workers from other states. Also, from the South came many Negroes seeking relief from both economic and social degradation. There has been a particularly hard lot on the housing question. Confined predominantly to the Third Ward of Newark, they have many tragic problems. Many families are split up. One child boards with a

relative, another with a friend, and so on. Under these conditions, it is impossible to develop normal family relations.

All available facilities are overcrowded. There is doubling up and tripling up. The bulk of the area amounts to a slum situation. Old type flats predominate. Because of this, there is ever present the danger of fire and its consequent tragedy. It is true that the housing problem is crucial for both whites and Negroes, but in the case of the latter it is much more so because of the segregation and Jim Crow landlords.

### "IVY HILL" DEAL

That is the general, over-all picture, with no relief in sight. And what has the city been doing about all this? For the past several months all local papers carried articles on the "Ivy Hill" deal. The Ivy Hill deal involves a \$5,000,000 housing development. The land was sold at auction by the city for the highest bid of \$165,000 to the Fairmount Construction Company last July.

The deal almost collapsed a few weeks ago when the Newark Star Ledger disclosed that the cost of replacing a utility tunnel on the property would exceed the \$165,000 the city would receive for the property. This was averted when a compromise was reached whereby the construction company would turn over the tunnel property to the city, without cost, and two roads would be built over it. Once this was settled, it should be assumed that the way was open for construction to begin. But no. The latest deterrent was the inclusion in the deed of a clause which stated that the construction company was to begin "forthwith to

build." To this the construction company rebelled.

Although \$5,000,000 financing needed for the veterans housing project is practically guaranteed by a local bank, the stalling continues. It is clear that the needs of the veterans do not take first precedence with these real estate groups. On the day that Wilson Wyatt stepped down as National Housing Administrator, he stated that it is the "profiteering" motive which is keeping homes from veterans.

Veterans' groups are up in arms over the delays and charges have been hurled that politics interfere in the selection of tenants for project homes.

### BOX SCORE ON HOUSING

To get a clearer picture of the impasse today in the city, the following is a box score compiled by State Housing Program Director David Lawrie on Newark:

Quota: 860 — all unfilled
Plans Recommended.....0
Conversions.....0
Barracks.....0
Portables.....0
Pre-Fabs.....0
Sites Turned Over.....0
Batting Average.....000

And there you have a picture of the chaotic conditions which exists in the city today. Conditions which first and foremost affect the working class. The daily press also stated that following the strike wave, over \$10,000 accrued in back rent against working class tenants. And so we see that as long as those involved do not take to conscious organization to combat these evils, things will remain as they are or grow worse.

## DEFEND THE NEGRO TENANTS AT CHICAGO AIRPORT HOMES!

### An Open Letter to Mayor Kelly

The Workers Party takes note of the fact that two courageous Negro veterans have moved into their homes at Airport Homes housing project in the face of repeated mob demonstrations against them.

Experience teaches us that Negroes rely mainly on themselves for protection in cases of discrimination and mob demonstrations against them.

### DEPUTIZE 1,000 SPECIAL NEGRO POLICEMEN!

We therefore propose, as the surest method of helping to protect fully these Negro tenants at Airport Homes, that you use your power as mayor to deputize 1,000 special Negro policemen for the purpose of protecting the rights of these Negro tenants.

If this is done, your repeated statements of intention to defend the rights of Negro people will acquire more seriousness.

WORKERS PARTY OF U. S.  
Chicago Local  
1501 W. Madison St.

(The above is a copy of a leaflet circulated by the Chicago WP.)

## New York Sunday Forums Continue as Huge Success

### Clement Greenberg

Discussing the decline of contemporary art, Clement Greenberg, guest speaker at the Labor Action School on Dec. 8, developed the thesis that the decay of modern culture was directly traceable to the profound crisis in capitalist society. Mr. Greenberg, associate editor of *Commentary* and art critic of *The Nation*, lectured before a capacity audience at the newly refurbished New York local headquarters of the Workers Party in the fourth of a series of Sunday night forums now being conducted by the Labor Action School.

Failure of the artists and intellectuals, as a social group, to surmount the crisis through a bold and rational analysis of modern society, Mr. Greenberg said, is a reflection of the despair with which they face the future. Intellectuals, he stated, have embraced either a type of moralistic quietism, which excluded any and all activity, or a type of activity, like Stalinism, that excludes all possibility of independent thinking.

During the 100 years preceding the First World War, when civilization enjoyed great development of science, art and literature, the creative mind, Mr. Greenberg pointed out, was fortified by a belief in progress that permitted him to take chances in his thinking. Thinkers such as Marx et al. risked their thoroughgoing criticisms of man and society because they had a sure belief in humanity's capacity to solve all of its problems in a progressive, liberating direction.

After 1918, however, the intellectual became gripped with a fear that his criticisms would lead to something worse than what he already knew. The essence of the modern intellectual paralysis, Mr. Greenberg concluded, lies in his inability to envision a practical and desirable historical alternative to bourgeois democracy.

### E. R. McKinney

Speaking to an audience of about thirty people at the New York Work-

ers Party's Sunday evening Forum on December 15, Ernest Rice McKinney, national secretary of the Workers Party, discussed the significance of the miners' strike. Tracing the development of the strike as a magnificent demonstration of labor's power, and relating it to the general situation that the miners confront, Comrade McKinney analyzed the weaknesses of the UMW's program in the light of the miners' needs.

An important part of Comrade McKinney's lecture was devoted to an examination of the necessity of the political implications of the strike, and the important lessons to be drawn from it, not only for the miners, but for all of labor as well, in moving forward to independent political action.

The Sunday evening forums are continuing as a tremendous success. Because of the holidays, there will be a two-week interruption in the series, after which the forums will reopen with a lecture by Professor C. Wright Mills, of Columbia University's Social Research Bureau, on the new middle class. With several more lectures to go in this series, the Workers Party School is preparing its next series of lectures, to begin in February.

### Detroit Forum

DETROIT — Over 20 UAW-CIO members were part of the audience that heard an analysis of the coal miners strike by Jack Wilson at a forum held by the Workers Party here on Dec. 8.

### Reading Forum

Emanuel Garrett, editor of LABOR ACTION, speaking on "Labor at the Crossroads," analyzed the situation facing the American labor movement at a public meeting called by the Reading Branch of the Workers Party, on December 9. The meeting was attended by fifteen friends of the Workers Party, who contributed \$3.20 to further the activities of the Workers Party.

## With the Workers Party

### AKRON

Write to Box 221 for information.

### BALTIMORE

Headquarters: 21 W. Preston St. Meetings of the Socialist Youth League are held every Friday at 8 p.m. Public forums are held the second Friday of each month.

### BUFFALO

HEADQUARTERS: 639 Main St. Open meetings on Sunday evenings.

### CHICAGO

LABOR ACTION, 1501 W. Madison, 2nd floor, Chicago 7.

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Office hours: 3-5:30 p.m. daily, except Sundays. Tuesday and Wednesday evenings.

On every Sunday evening at 7:30 o'clock, discussion classes of Marxist classics for next four weeks.

### CLEVELAND

The Cleveland branch of the Workers Party meets every Thursday at 8:00 p.m. in Carnegie Hall, 1220 Huron Road.

The Cleveland branch of the Socialist Youth League meets every Tuesday—definite headquarters not yet established.

Youth socials are held every Friday or Saturday night.

For further information write Bernard Douglas, P. O. Box 1190, Sta. B, Cleveland, Ohio.

### DETROIT

The building which housed the headquarters of the Detroit branch has been sold. The Workers Party and Labor Action local offices have been moved to the following address: Labor Action Hall, Rialto Theater Bldg., Rooms 9 and 10, 6351 Gratiot, Detroit 7, Mich.

Our office hours and our new telephone number will be listed soon in this column.

### LOS ANGELES

Headquarters at 316 1/2 W. Pico near Olive. Telephone Richmond 7-2330.  
Office hours: 12 to 3 p.m. daily, except Sunday; also 4:30 to 6:30 p.m. on Monday and Friday.

### LOUISVILLE

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.

### NEW YORK CITY

CITY CENTER: 114 West 14th St., third floor. Open every day from 10 a.m. to 10:30 p.m. except Saturday until 8 p.m.

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You are welcome to attend all open Branch meetings of the Workers Party in New York City.

BRONX BRANCH: Meets every Thursday at 8:15 p.m. at Wilkins Hall, 1330 Wilkins Ave., Bronx.

HARLEM BRANCH: Meets every Wednesday, 8:15 p.m. at the Workers Party Headquarters, 2143 Seventh Ave. (near 126th St.), room 106.

CENTRAL BRANCH: Meets every Wednesday, 8:15 p.m. at the Workers Party City Center, 114 West 14th St., third floor.

CHELSEA BRANCH: Meets every Thursday, 8:15 p.m. at the Workers Party City Center, 114 West 14th St., third floor.

SATURDAY AFTERNOON BRANCH: Meets every Saturday at 2:30 p.m. at the Workers Party City Center, 114 West 14th St., third floor.

BROOKLYN BOROUGH HALL BRANCH: Meets every Wednesday at 8:15 p.m. at the Workers Party Headquarters, 276 Fulton St., second floor.

BROOKLYN-BROWNSVILLE, EAST NEW YORK BRANCH: Meets every Wednesday at 8:15 p.m. at De Luxe Palace, 558 Howard Ave. (near Pitkin Ave.).

SOCIALIST YOUTH LEAGUE: Meets every Friday at 8:15 p.m. at the Workers Party Headquarters, 276 Fulton St., second floor.

For further information concerning the WORKERS PARTY, the SOCIALIST YOUTH LEAGUE and LABOR ACTION SCHOOL in New York City please write or visit the Workers Party City Center at 114 West 14th St., third floor, or phone CHelsea 2-9681.

### READING

For information regarding the activities and affairs of the Reading Branch of the Workers Party address: P. O. Box 1671.

Regular class on the "Role of the Party in the Fight for Socialism" every Monday evening at 8:30.

### PHILADELPHIA

HEADQUARTERS: 1139 West Gerard Avenue (3rd floor).

WP branch meets Wednesday at 8 p.m.;  
Socialist Youth League meets Friday at 8:00 p.m. cents.

Coming events at Labor Action Hall, 1139 W. Girard Avenue:  
Tuesday, December 31—New Year's Eve Dance and Party.  
Sunday, January 5, 8:00 p.m.—Forum, "What is Behind the UNO?" Speaker, Alex Craig.

### SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA

San Francisco Bay Area Branch headquarters at 466 Tenth St. (corner Tenth and Broadway), Room 206, Oakland.

Forums on current problems every other Sunday at 8:15 p.m. The next will be December 1.

### SEATTLE

For information write to P. O. Box 143, University Post Office, Seattle, Wash.

For information of Workers Party addresses and activities in cities not listed above, write to Workers Party, 4 Court Square, Long Island City 1, N. Y.



### LAST CALL FOR XMAS AND NEW YEAR'S OFFERS:

The LABOR ACTION Book Service is offering some excellent book bargains (see advertisement) that we'd like to see more people take advantage of. These books would make ideal Xmas and New Year's gifts. We are also, beginning this week, introducing to those of our readers acquainted with French the latest works published in that language dealing with political, economic and social subjects.

The LABOR ACTION Book Service is a service specializing in Marxist political and literary publications. We'd like to see more of our agents make use of it and help us in the job of building it up. We can obtain all Marxist literature that is available, at reasonable prices, as well as other material advertised. This week, all branches of the Workers Party and agents of LABOR ACTION will receive the new and revised list of books available. We hope this list will be conveniently and conspicuously posted so that people can see it! Send for more copies—we have plenty of them.

### THE NEW INTERNATIONAL CAMPAIGN:

As announced previously, the subscription and expansion campaign for *The New International* is continuing until January 14, 1947—with the \$1.00 introductory subscription offer remaining good until then. We hope that agents of LABOR ACTION will continue their work on behalf of the magazine and help bring the campaign to a successful conclusion.

Subscriptions during the past week showed a decline below our usual average, but the Los Angeles and Newark branches made a fine showing. Here's the list for the past week of new and renewed subscriptions:

LOS ANGELES.....	12
Newark.....	11
New York City.....	7
Akron.....	7
San Pedro.....	5
Buffalo.....	2
Philadelphia.....	1
Seattle.....	1
Streator, Ill.....	1
Miscellaneous.....	5
TOTAL.....	46

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An Examination of the Lessons We Must Learn from the Miners' Strike, by David Coolidge

# Mine Strike Poses Question of Labor's Program

(Continued from last week)

Lewis is dangerous for labor not for the reasons given by the capitalist ruling class, its press, the liberals and the congressional "friends of labor," but for the very opposite reason. They say he goes too far, he is not reasonable, he is power hungry, his acts will prompt anti-labor legislation, he is unpatriotic; and on and on. Lewis is dangerous for labor because he does not go far enough. His program is too narrow and his thinking is somewhat medieval. He has no educational program for his union, not even a trade union educational program such as the UAW and the ILGWU. He has no program for improving the social and cultural status of the miners. There is no housing program or a program for better schools, hospital facilities, recreational facilities, medical care. The miners and their families are left to rot culturally.

Lewis has no political program for the miners. He goes his personal way, supporting now the Republicans, later the New Deal Democrat Roosevelt and then back to the Republicans Willkie and Dewey. If the miners go along, that's good, but if they do not, that is their business. With all this the capitalist ruling class will agree. If Lewis did no more than this he would have the solid support of every proponent of "our system of free enterprise." The capitalist exploiters are willing for the miners to remain in their hovels in the coal patches, without adequate schools and medical care and without civil rights and political opportunities. They have no objection to Lewis thundering out his annual demands. They are only against the miners and the rest of labor backing their demands with mass action; they are against the working class showing its power in the stopping of production and bringing the ruling class to its knees.

### WE CANNOT FUNCTION WITH OUTLIVED IDEAS

Over against the capitalist ruling class, its deputies in the government at Washington, its yes men of the capitalist press and its most humble and loyal stooges in the ranks of the liberals, the Workers Party supports the demands of the miners and their strike waged in support of those demands. But we do not and cannot stop here. Neither can the miners and the whole host of the labor movement.

We call to the attention of labor leaders such as Lewis, Green, Murray and Reuther that they are not living in the year 1900. The political and economic situation today is not the same as 1900. The working class cannot function properly today with a 19th century program. Capitalism today is not the exuberant system of "free enterprise" which it was in 1900. The world is in such economic and political turmoil and uncertainty as never known before in the history of capitalism. Capitalism blunders and stumbles along, groping for a way out and some means to assure its salvation from decay and for some way out short of fascism. The world still reels from the impact of the last imperialist world war.

The peace makers talk peace in the open while their governments either pile up the atom bombs or explore the secret of their manufacture. The capitalist ruling class, sensing some sort of threat to its continued rule,

tries to restore its world market, raises prices and piles up the biggest profits of its fabulous existence. It seeks to hold down what this class is pleased to call "labor costs," or the "unit cost of production." This means a lowering of wages and the standard of living of the masses. It seeks to pull the teeth of organized labor and turn the working class into a group of mere petitioners. Its chief and ever-willing weapon today is its government at Washington. At the same time of course this class carries on a struggle against its government whenever this government does not do its will. The government at Washington on its part, ever mindful of its obligations as the protector of the "real" interests of the capitalist ruling class, holds on to its wartime emergency powers, to be used primarily for the adjudication of "labor disputes" in such manner as will keep production going without giving in too much to labor.

It is in such a scene that the miners' strike came, threatening to para-

lyze all basic production, transport and power. This threat could not but alert the government in the interest of the capitalist ruling class. It would not put it this way, of course. The government would say that its intervention was in the interest of production of the maintenance of law and order, of the constitutional rights and the rights of the public. The miners were not prepared by their leaders to face this concrete situation.

The strike came this time just as strikes have come before. The miners were totally oblivious as to what the strike really meant. It was only one more strike to them, called because they had no contract. The social and political implications in the strike were not clear to them. Suppose they did get their contract with some increase in wages and a betterment of working conditions? Suppose this occurred at the end of each contractual period? They will still be living in the coal town shacks. The one-room school shanties will be there. Hospi-

als, medical care and recreational facilities will not be there. They will still be forced to buy in the company stores, work in the criminally hazardous surroundings and live in daily denial of full civil rights.

Also, what will they do when faced with \$3,500,000 fines imposed by a capitalist court? Lewis writes to the miners that "the Supreme Court is, and we believe will ever be, the protector of American liberties and the rightful privileges of individual citizens." This is an extremely reactionary piece of nonsense. It is bombast and the most fatuous statement which could have been made in this situation. It is cut from the same piece of cloth as Murray and Reuther depending on Roosevelt, or the belief of Green that labor and the employers can get along together if the government will keep its hands off. There is one difference, however. Dependence on Roosevelt was induced by a situation in which, under a New Deal, labor had made material and organizational gains.

How Lewis can contrast the courts which only interpret the Constitution and acts of Congress, and say that they will protect labor, over against the legislative and executive branch of the government, is a mystery. This is a demonstration of the essentially medieval character of Lewis' thinking. Labor can't be protected by Congress and the President but it can and will be protected by the Supreme Court.

Such a reactionary and anti-labor outlook will only push the miners and all labor farther away from the road over which we must go. Not by appeals to capitalist legality as established by a capitalist court, even the sacrosanct Supreme Court, but by working class political action; that is, by working class political action oriented toward working class legality. Working class legality can only be established under a workers' government in which workers have their law-making bodies, their own administrative branch and their own workers' courts. Lewis not only puts the

cart before the horse, but his position obscures the real issues involved. He also tells the workers that the capitalist courts, the most reactionary arm of the capitalist government, will be a friend to working men and women. This has not been our experience with the courts and the police.

Are we saying here that this strike should not have been called? Not at all. We are saying something far more important. We are saying that the miners cannot continue with the over-simplified formula: "No contract, no work." They cannot and must not continue to do this without understanding all the things which we have been saying; without understanding the political situation and the political nature of the strikes which they engage in.

### POLITICAL ORGANIZATION INDICATED AS NEED

The miners must rise out of the political slough of despondency. They and all of labor must proceed to political organization and political action. The Workers Party says to those miners and other workers who read LABOR ACTION that economic organization is not enough. The union is not enough. The miners have a powerful union and this union has demonstrated again and again that it can tie up the economy and stop production. It can and has raised wages and improved working conditions. This is as it should be, but it is not enough. This last experience of the miners should teach this. Their union cannot combat the capitalist ruling class and its political arm: the government at Washington, including the capitalist courts.

The miners and all labor must have a program for keeping production going under the control of the workers and, eventually, by workers' control in a socialist society.

Such demonstrations of economic power as just displayed by the miners, without a program and an organization for taking hold of the economy and the government, will only lead the capitalist ruling class and its government to prepare for taking the harshest measures against labor. Labor cannot resist these attacks with its economic organization only. For such political resistance labor must have a political organization: a party of labor ready to become the government and assume the total leadership of the nation.

### MINERS WERE NOT PREPARED PROPERLY

We are not here supporting those labor bureaucrats who talk to labor very militantly about keeping quiet lest the militancy of the workers bring down upon the head of labor reprisals from the ruling class government. We oppose such a craven and cowardly attitude from any labor leader. We say that labor must fight, it must strike, it must engage in mass strikes.

But we say, also, that we must be in a position to combat any and all measures which the capitalist ruling class and its government take against us. The miners and the rest of labor are not prepared today for carrying through such a struggle as Lewis led his union into. Lewis has capitulated and the union has retreated. Retreat is often or usually necessary to some degree. There is nothing wrong about a union retreating. What was wrong in this strike was that the union was not prepared either for the advance nor for the retreat which Lewis ordered.

We say that the miners were not

prepared properly for the strike. For instance, aside from the nonsense which Lewis utters about the Supreme Court, he says that the country needs the coal. Didn't Lewis know this when he called the strike? Didn't he know that industry must have coal if it is to keep going? Didn't he know that the mines were under government control? Didn't he know that the Department of Justice would resort to the courts? Was he ignorant of the fact that the capitalist monsters would put on their three-ringed circus about freezing children, hospitals with no coal, schools closing for lack of coal, trains suspended and all the rest of the capitalist appeal to prejudice and ignorance? How did Lewis expect to wage this battle to which he called the miners? Merely have the miners and their families sit it out in their miserable shacks? Take a holiday and go hunting?

It is to the everlasting glory of the miners that they will sit it out, that they will hold the line, that they will remain firm even though they go hungry and freeze on the bleak hillsides. But they deserve something more, much more than this. They and all the working class deserve and must have food, clothing and shelter in abundance. They deserve and must have wholesome and nutritious food, decent and sanitary homes, paved and light streets, schools, hospitals, culture, health, peace and freedom. They deserve the life of a human being. They have the power to get all of this and more. All that is needed is for this potential political power to be made actual.

The miners are back at work without a contract. We suppose that later they will get their contract and a few gains. But they were not prepared for the sudden and "dramatic" about-face of their leader. They did not participate in this decision.

### OUR RESPONSIBILITIES

What comes next? The case is still in the courts. The \$3,500,000 fine stands. Suppose the Supreme Court should reverse the little judge Goldsborough? Suppose the government returns the mines to the capitalist banks which own them? What will the miners do on April 1 if they have no contract? Should they strike, the government will step in again. What then? Will they simply demonstrate once again that labor has tremendous economic power, that production can be stopped? This will get labor nowhere.

The magnificent spirit of the miners, their courage and their fortitude must not be frittered away by a mere repetition of the recent strike. Surely workers must strike. Of course, we must fight on the economic level. But we must move ahead to independent working class political organization and political action. This is the only effective way now to give force to our economic demands.

Labor must not walk into any traps laid by the capitalist ruling class, nor into the swamp prepared by those who believe that labor needs only its unions to win, nor fall into the conservatism of those who prate that, "you can't strike against the government."

Labor can and will have to strike against the capitalist ruling class in whatever form this class confronts the working class. But labor can do this only if we are prepared and organized to take the responsibility for operating industry, leading the nation and governing the nation with and through a workers' government.

These are the imperative and pressing lessons which labor can and must learn from the miners' strike.

## Labor Action Reporters Find Miners Disturbed by Retreat But Confident

By KEN HILLIER

SPRINGFIELD, Ill., Dec. 8.—Bewildered, confusion, anger at the latest events—these are the sentiments today of the members of the United Mine Workers Union in the Springfield-Taylorville region in Southern Illinois.

The John L. Lewis order calling the men back to work has created these feelings.

We talked to enough members in the area to get a cross section of their sentiments. They simply cannot understand the order. One puts it plainly: "Why did he (Lewis) have to back down? He had all of labor behind him." Another, a wife of a miner says: "John must have something up his sleeve, some secret agreement whereby our hours are reduced." This woman says: "You know we're going back to work at the same hours. Nine hours a day is a long time to spend in the mine. It used to be seven hours a day before the war. That was the main idea of the strike, getting less hours and keeping the same pay envelope."

One gathered a picture of the true independent feeling of these miners and their critical attitude toward all events and personalities, including John L. Lewis. One understands why Lewis had to write the paragraph: "Let there be no hesitation upon the part of any individual member with respect to the effectuation of the policy herein defined. Complete unity of action is our sole source of strength. We will, as always, act together and await the rendition of legal and economic justice."

That paragraph was a way of begging the miners to follow his leadership and stick together. They did. They were going back, but they didn't like it, and after discussing with LABOR ACTION representatives they opened up and talked their hearts out.

### SNUB CAPITALIST REPORTER

This was in contrast to the handling Hub Logan, reporter of the Chicago Sun, received in town the day before. In his dispatch from Taylorville, he said: "The miners who work the Christian County pits are cagey.

They've learned not to talk to strangers, not to show their feelings too readily. But they gathered in knots on the Taylorville Square and discussed among themselves the return to work. A stranger might overhear but that's all." Yes, a reporter for a capitalist paper would have a tough time getting a response from a miner. They have learned the lesson of treatment by the boss press. But that wasn't how the representatives of LABOR ACTION were received.

We distributed several hundred copies of LABOR ACTION. We received twenty subs in a couple of hours' soliciting. The miners after carefully glancing through the paper and noticing the play and support we gave to the Mine Union's fight, were eager to read our point of view. One invited us to the meeting of the local so that the whole local could subscribe. We were backing them in their fight and it was a relief to them, after taking the pounding they had in the daily press. One other told us: "I haven't listened

to the radio or read a paper the last few weeks. Just can't stand seeing and hearing all those lies."

Bernard Shore, one of the LA reporters, in getting a sub from a miner, heard the old-timer say: "Son of a capitalist; they beat us this time, but I'm going into that mine and ..." (He gave a motion of one sitting a throat.) Marty Young had a long discussion with another about socialism, the Labor Party, the old Progressive Miners' movement, etc. This miner was bitter about the status of the world working class political movement, and of John L.'s "retreat."

Yes, bitterness, disillusionment, anger was the mood of the miners. They're going back to the drudgery of nine hours a day, six days a week. They have retreated. But their eyes are on March 31, and their mood is one that insures the victory of the 40 hour week at 54 hours' pay. No one will beat them the next time. That is the unmistakable picture one gets from these old-time union men, among the best fighters in the working class.

## N. Y. Workers Party in Rent Campaign

NEW YORK—With the proposed increases in rent ceilings planned both by the landlords and the government, hundreds of thousands of workers and their families in this city are now preparing to meet the rent onslaught with a firm and stubborn resistance against any new dip into their pockets. Local New York of the Workers Party proposes to throw as many of its forces as it can into the struggle to prevent rent increases. To this end the New York Local has drawn up a plan of action.

Readers and sympathizers of LABOR ACTION in all the New York shops and factories are urged to discuss this question with their fellow

workers. This question can be raised in the form of solidarizing all the unions with the tenant-committee movement.

Readers and sympathizers of LABOR ACTION in every neighborhood in New York are urged immediately to initiate discussions with their neighbors in order to begin carrying out activity against lifting the rent ceilings.

Readers and sympathizers of LABOR ACTION in every veterans' organization, housewives' organization and consumers' organization are urged immediately to propose a discussion of the rent situation at their next meeting, to pass resolutions and form committees to cooperate in the tenant-committee movement.

### WP PROGRAM

The Workers Party, Local New York, proposes to all of its readers and sympathizers that they urge these trade unions, these tenant committees and the committees formed in veterans' organizations and consumers' organizations:

1. To send immediate protests against the lifting of the federal rent ceilings;
2. To demand the immediate calling of a special session of the New York State Legislature to strengthen the New York State Rent Control Law to the effect that if the federal rent ceilings are raised, a state law immediately comes into operation once again for freezing rents. This state law should provide for the enforcement of this rent freeze through committees composed of representatives of the State CIO, AFL and railroad unions, and veterans' organizations, tenant, consumers' and

### HOUSEWIVES' ORGANIZATIONS.

The Workers Party, Local New York, pledges its unqualified support to all public meetings which are called for the purpose of making public sentiment known on the rent situation. LABOR ACTION will publicize all such meetings and urges workers and their wives in the neighborhood to attend and support the meeting.

### SEEKS CONFERENCE

Sympathizers of LABOR ACTION are urged to issue petitions based on the above program. Go from house to house and get signatures from your neighbors. Get as many people involved as possible. Workers Party, Local New York, offers assistance and technical help in getting out petitions to all tenant leagues. We will put every resource we have behind this drive.

## Joint Strategy --

(Continued from page 1)

the kind of business represented precisely by the militancy of the auto workers, who elected Reuther because they thought he would not be a namby-pamby leader.

Even if Riesel is discounted in whole or in part, the meeting, at least as it was reported, smacked entirely too much of labor statesmanship and too little of labor militancy. Equally disturbing is the absence, in the published reports of the meeting, of any reference to the position adopted by the CIO convention for A WAGE INCREASE WITHOUT A PRICE INCREASE. There are references to such excellent demands as a guaranteed annual wage, portal-to-portal pay, uniform group insurance and so forth. These are excellent demands, and it is most decidedly proper to include them in an overall union strategy. However, none of these will amount to the real achievements they can be, unless they are used in the context of what must be the axis of the campaign, namely the wage-price slogan that LABOR ACTION has called the GM PROGRAM.

That the ranks of the CIO want exactly such an approach is proved by the reaction in the various union journals to the decisions of the CIO convention. In case after case, they featured Murray's speech for a wage raise while prices are held in line. So, for example, the United Automobile Worker, UAW, featured Murray's statement, "Raise Wages, Hold Prices," in its December issue.

As we have previously commented in LABOR ACTION, Murray has failed to give any indication of his intention to effectuate his speech at the CIO convention. He has, instead, evidently spoken what may for him be "equivalent" terms, but which are not at all real equivalents—such as acknowledging that certain industries cannot grant a 5 per cent wage increase without passing it on to labor consumer, and similarly misleading references.

It may be that the Pittsburgh meeting did consider a plan to put forward the demand for a wage increase without a price increase, that it did consider the systematization of a policy of joint strategy, and that the union leaders have preferred not to make it public at this time for good and sufficient reasons. That, at least, is the interpretation we would like to make of their deliberations.

Unfortunately, given Murray's well known position of last year on price rises and his failure to restate in concrete terms what was a clear mandate of the CIO convention on wages and prices, there is little reason for so assuming. It is, therefore, clearly a situation demanding the intervention of the rank and file, who do not want an endless round of strikes for wage increases that are quickly cancelled by price increases and who do see the advantages of a campaign waged at the same time and on the same level by workers in all the principal industries.

## Some Thoughts on Christmas...

Soon the worn phrases and dried-out cliches will be here again.

The air will be clogged with syrupy platitudes; radio voices will take a break from advertising the virtues of Lanolin, Kreml and Puffed Wheat in order to speak unctuously of the "brotherhood of man"; the armament firms will insert ads in the newspapers urging "peace and goodwill"; and "turning the other cheek"; the preachers who disdain the struggle for a good life in this world will praise the good life in the next world. The New York Daily News, interrupting its calls for a swift atomic war, will print sermons on the Prince of Peace.

### PROCEEDS WILL GO TO EUROPEAN SOCIALISTS

CHRISTMAS DAY OPEN HOUSE  
At New York City Center  
Workers Party, 114 West 14th Street

### COME TO INFORMAL COCKTAIL PARTY AND DANCE

DECEMBER 25, 4:00 P. M.  
Contribution, 75 Cents plus any package of Food or Clothing you may want to send to Europe's Needy Socialists

the season's greetings to the victims of the imperialist world war.

For Christmas is here. And just as with every other holiday—from Thanksgiving to Mother's Day—American capitalism and its commercial culture have constructed a whole series of false, synthetic and frankly hypocritical means of celebration. For does not everyone know that the day after Christmas, after all the sugary standardized "good cheer," we will again face the rottenness of our society—its exploitation of man, its extremes of poverty and wealth, its eruption into war?

Yet the ideas and ideals presumably celebrated on Christmas are fine and noble. The "brotherhood of man"—does not every socialist yearn and live and fight for that? "Peace on earth"—is that not what we dream of?

How then, we wonder, can we hear these phrases rolling off the slick and commercialized tongues of capitalism's literary and radio and newspaper hucksters without a feeling of revulsion? For we cannot forget the world in which we live—

• The world where millions lie rotting in the ground, victims of

an imperialist war they never caused nor wanted; a whole generation destroyed.

• The world where potential plenty and actual scarcity form the most glaring contrast; where the society in which we live makes possible the good life of luxury and leisure and instead gives us constant insecurity and deprivation.

• The world where peoples are slaughtered, as the Jews of Europe have been; or where peoples are degraded, insulted, discriminated against, as are the Negroes of the U. S.

• The world where no man feels secure of his job or his future; where men wonder if the depression will come again—or more accurately how soon it will come again.

• And the world where the new menace of total destruction—the atom bomb—hovers over us unrelentingly; the ultimate madness of capitalism in decay.

### BY OUR OWN ACTION

Those to whom the words used as Christmas decorations have meaning, to whom these words are not mere holiday phrases

taken out of and quickly reinserted into mental moth balls—they will try to build a society in which these words will take on flesh and blood, will become real. The paradise on earth on which dreamers mused in days gone by has now been made possible by man's mastery of the machine. If to that mastery, he merely adds a rational organization of society, which is socialism, then these Christmas words will become descriptions of the present rather than vague wishes for the future.

That is why we socialists reiterate our message, contradict the hypocrisy of the Christmas sermons. We stand for the brotherhood of man, and we believe that the sword should be beaten into a ploughshare. But we urge men not to wait for miracles from above; it is in this world that we shall either rise or fall.

So LABOR ACTION wishes all of its readers a merry Christmas, a most merry Christmas indeed. Doing so, we ask you to remember that the noble words that hang on the lips of the Christmas salesmen like so many glittering baubles can become a reality only by the liberation of humanity which is the socialist promise.