

**Work for a Workers World;  
Join the Workers Party!**

# LABOR ACTION

AUGUST 25, 1947

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

FIVE CENTS

## Monopolists Get Stranglehold On American Economic System

The meaning of free enterprise is made abundantly clear by the following article which we reprint from the "People's Lobby Bulletin." It provides all the evidence necessary to prove that "free enterprise" in the minds and in the practice of big business is the right and privileges which accompany their economic activity consisting in engulfing the wealth of the nation in their hands through an enormous exploitation of the working population.

Just what their cries for the rights of business and "free enterprise" mean can be seen in the light of the following figures, which indicate how monopoly capitalism has a complete stranglehold on the economy of the country.

We publish this article all except the last two paragraphs which deal with the right of the government to take back the wealth which it granted so freely to these merchants of profit. In calling for the socialization of much of the wealth controlled by the billionaire corporations, the Bulletin declares that it is not in favor of confiscation but proposes purchase. Imagine, buy back what successive capitalist governments gave to big business in the form of billions of dollars in the natural wealth and land which the country possesses.

Yes, we are for confiscation. And we are for socializing the great wealth of the nation, natural and that created by the toil of millions of every generation, without compensating with a penny the profiteers who, by plunder, graft, thievery and the simple buying of government, have come to control so much land and natural resources which formed the basis of their great wealth.—Editors.

The United Press reports there are now forty-five concerns, financial, industrial and transportation, having over one billion dollars of assets.

Their total assets are about \$103.5 billion, or \$3.5 billion less than fifteen months ago, due to Treasury calling of securities held by financial institutions, in the government's program of debt retirement.

The United Press reports the two new members of the Billion Dollar Club are the First Bank Stock Corporation of Minneapolis with assets of \$1,104 million, and the Massachusetts Mutual Life Insurance Co. of Springfield, Mass., with assets of \$1,085 million.

The following eighteen companies have assets of over \$2 billion

Company	Assets
Metropolitan Life Insurance Co.	\$8,045,443,467
Bell Telephone Co.	7,380,925,721
Prudential Ins. Co. of America	6,829,542,249
Bank of America N. T. & S. A.	5,538,321,000
National City Bank of N. Y.	4,873,737,691

Chase National Bank of N. Y.	4,860,581,123
Equitable Life Assurance Society	4,273,313,396
New York Life Ins. Co.	4,026,689,280
Guaranty Trust Co. of N. Y.	2,841,800,875
Standard Oil Co. (N. J.)	2,659,987,889
Manufacturers Trust Co. of N. Y.	2,250,225,889
Continental Ill. Bank & Trust Co.	2,227,056,285
Pennsylvania Railroad	2,180,349,028
First National Bank, Chicago	2,097,755,803
General Motors Corp.	2,079,607,229
Northwestern Mutual Life Ins. Co.	2,052,432,583
John Hancock Mutual Life Ins. Co.	2,037,505,696
U. S. Steel Corp.	2,003,517,407

The occupational distribution of membership in the Billionaire Club is:

Banking and finance	18
Insurance—life, fire and marine	12
Transportation	6
Industrial	9

The most significant facts about the 45 princes of plutocracy are that all of them are affected with a public interest; and most of them either operate under an exclusive charter from some government agency, federal, state or local, or seek exclusiveness in their respective fields and have some special privilege.

The total assets of these 45 companies—\$103.5 billion—is about one quarter of the national wealth, at present highly inflated prices.

Banks, through Congressional legislation, are allowed to manufacture credit, and theoretically they may extend credit up to ten times the amount of their deposits though usually it is restricted to two or three times as much—but this is legislative velvet for private profit.

Life and fire insurance companies enjoy a quasi-monopoly through legislative action, and bitterly and successfully fought the efforts of former Republican Congressman Charles M. LaFollette of Indiana to bring them under the anti-trust law, and to regulate them.

The six railroads in the Billionaire Club are Pennsylvania, New York Central, Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe, Union Pacific, Southern Pacific and Baltimore & Ohio. The three western roads are all land-grant railroads, while the other three have received valuable franchises and grants of city lands.

Among the nine industrial giants, garnering of special privileges has been the specialty of Bell Telephone, U. S. Steel, Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey, General Motors, Consolidated Edison Co. of New York and E. I. du Pont de Nemours Co.

U. S. Steel got the government steel plant in Utah for about one fifth of the cost of construction—which the taxpayers of America paid for.

Privileges include monopoly of land and other natural resources, patents, tariffs and franchises.

## Sham Hearings on Trusts and Prices!

Let's Get Organized!



One week after the announcement that Attorney General Tom C. Clark would begin an investigation to determine whether there were any conspiracies (!) to increase prices on all commodities, especially consumer goods, the Attorney General announced an investigation of the Steel Trust!

The anti-trust division of the Justice Department is not going to make this investigation. Instead, it will fall into the hands of what PM called the "moribund Federal Trade Commission." This is certain to produce nothing at all.

The stated aim of the government is to determine if there is any connection between the big trusts, the monopolies of the country, and the tremendous rise in prices and the cost of living.

The whole business is a grim joke. It is a gesture to the swiftly rising protests of millions of people in the country against the continuous rise in prices which has depressed wage levels and lowered the living standards of the majority of the population. So, the same government that removed all control measures on prices and assisted big business in coining its present high profits, is now going to investigate the cause of these high prices.

What does the government hope to discover in its sham investigation of the Steel Trust? That it is a trust? That it controls prices and beats down competitors? But everyone already knows that and the government knows it better than anyone

(Continued on page 2)

## Mayor Jeffries Seeks Political Support from CIO in Michigan

By HERMAN BENSON  
Workers Party Candidate  
For Mayor of Detroit

DETROIT—The Wage Earner, published by the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, is quite pleased that Mayor Jeffries was introduced at the recent Wayne Council Council of the CIO "as a great pal of organized labor." According to the editor, there is a lot of truth in this praise of Jeffries. And he says: "There never was any good reason for the CIO to embark upon its costly crusades against Jeffries in the first place."

Not true! Not true! The "crusades against Jeffries" prove the opposite. The Wage Earner has things upside down. We are presented with a dramatic illustration of the stupidity of the present CIO political policy of seeking out "friends of labor." Support to Jeffries NOW, as before, is a desertion of the real interests of the workers.

In two campaigns, in 1943 and in 1945, Mayor Jeffries centered a series of especially vicious attacks against the CIO and against the Negro people. In both years he had been badly beaten in the primaries and in desperation he appealed to the most backward, most degenerate, most reactionary prejudices of the middle class elements and of the inexperienced, backward workers. He had to whip himself up into a frenzy of reactionary demagoguery in order to rally these elements who did not have enough interest to vote in the primaries, to flock to the polls in the final election and overcome the big primary leads of his opponents. With the aid of the pro-capitalist Free Press and News, which turned out daily front-page hysterical editorials concocted of pure lies, he appealed to his poor dupes to vote against a "CIO dictatorship" and save America.

Vague, mysterious rumors circulated about the "plot" by the labor "barons" to "coerce" the "poor workers" into voting against Jeffries. Front-page daily editorials were not enough. These veiled hints were printed on little one-inch cards and scattered anonymously by fascist groups on the streets.

In June, 1944, at a speech before the Executive Club of Chicago, a capitalist outfit, Jeffries summarized his real opinions about the labor movement as follows:

"The labor union is the best example of complete regimentation existing in the country today." And he also said: "Under this (union) system, a new species of industrial baron is being created—the men who control the shop committees. Under this system an industrial worker can get ahead only on the basis of seniority."

Jeffries, the "friend of labor," years for the good old non-union "red-apple days" when seniority did not curse our gr-r-r-rear American democracy.

Richard T. Frankenstein, his opponent in the 1945 elections, describes the above speech in these words: "He then attacked the American Federation of Labor, the CIO, and ALL of organized labor. He specifically smeared the seniority system of union protection. He attacked the principle of the closed shop."

These are FACTS made public in 1945 by the Wayne County Council Political Action Committee (CIO). Its chairman at this time was a man named Tracy Doll. Was this "the job, well done"? Is this why Doll now praises Jeffries?

The Detroit Street Railway strike of April, 1946, showed Jeffries in his true colors. Just before the strike, he said:

"I anticipate... that if a strike is

called it will be a long one. If they call a strike, the city will be without transportation only until public opinion is sufficiently aroused TO JUSTIFY THE TURMOIL THAT ACCOMPANIES THE BREAKING OF A STRIKE." And when the strike was called, Jeffries proposed that the Common Council break the strike by licensing private operators of jitneys at \$1.00 a head.

If Jeffries keeps his real anti-union purposes under cover, it is only because his defeat for the Republican nomination for Governor has taught him to look for new roads to "public opinion." He has learned that public opinion does not yet justify "the turmoil that accompanies" union-wrecking. So he must bide his time.

### A JOB "WELL DONE"

Jeffries' police force escorted scabs in the telephone strike. After a big picket demonstration in April, 1947, broken up by the police, Leon A. Couzens, attorney for the union, charged that police should have maintained order by "shutting the door" to the Bell entrance. Instead, he said, they "shut the door on the right of citizens to picket."

Was this too part of "the job, well done"?

Despite all the hullabaloo about (Continued on page 2)

## Rio Meeting Part of U. S. War Plans

By ARTHUR STEIN

To those of us who are neither professional dollar diplomats, nor advertising experts specializing in commercial "good will," the hustle-bustle at Rio these days offers a weird sight. If the conference holds to the agenda which has been worked out for it by the P. S. delegation, the scope of the meeting will be restricted to working out "in principle" an agreement for joint military defense of the countries of the western hemisphere. But this "principle" has already been adopted time and again by numerous other conferences of similar nature.

It is not expected, therefore, that the Rio conference will be very important in terms of what it will actually accomplish. It is highly significant, however, from another point of view: a new approach to world politics by the diplomats of American imperialism. This new approach, though radically different from that of the early post-war conferences (especially those in connection with the UN), is similar to that of the "Truman Doctrine" in Greece: it is the abandonment of all pretensions at peaceful aims, and an open military preparation for a new war.

It might well be, as a matter of fact, that this is the ONLY real purpose of holding the Rio conference at this time: a demonstration of the fact that American imperialism "means business."

Latin America has traditionally



SECY OF STATE MARSHALL

been dominated by U. S. imperialism. This domination, however, has seldom taken the form of direct military intervention in the political life of the various countries. As a result, there is a measure of political independence on the part of the native ruling groups. The most independent nation is Argentina, which has had a richer native capitalist development than any of the other countries. Consequently, there

are significant strains between Washington and one or the other of the Latin American countries.

### POLITICAL STRAINS

Most of the governments of Latin American countries consist of dictatorial cliques of militarists and corrupt politicians. Civil liberties and political freedom for minority groups are usually non-existent. But it is not these things that make for strains with the Washington administration: on the contrary, South American dictators—Estime of Haiti, Andino of Honduras, Ibarra of Ecuador, to mention just a few—are favored by the State Department.

There are, nevertheless, a number of economic factors which do often cause differences between the government of Washington and that of the Latin native capitalists.

Such strains are evident at Rio at this time, where, under the leadership of Argentina, a few of the Latin countries wish to broaden the agenda of the conference to include a discussion of problems other than those of military defense policy—they wish to discuss a program of U. S. economic aid to Latin America.

Underlying the uneasiness with which native capitalists eye their big brothers in the States is a desire to develop industries under their own auspices.

Thus the Cuban delegation wishes to insert a clause against "economic aggression" into the proposed treaty. The Cubans deeply resent a law which the U. S. Congress passed against them on July 25 of this year which gives the State Department the power to restrict imports of sugar from sources against which U. S. nationals "have valid claims." The Cubans here have the naive hope of being able to resist the blackmail of Yankee imperialism by writing a clause into a treaty.

### CONFERENCE AIMS

The most important immediate aim of the U. S. delegation at Rio is the mobilization of Latin American resources for the next war. An important part of this aim is the effective militarization of the Central and South American countries.

At the present time, the U. S. Army and State Department are working on a plan to standardize armaments in all the countries of the western hemisphere, in preparation for another Pan-American conference which has been scheduled for next January at Bogota. At that time, it is expected that the U. S. will pro-

pose a vast program of peddling its weapons in all the Latin countries.

This scheme, of course, is especially coddled by that sector of American capitalism which is engaged in the manufacture of munitions. The Army, too, pushes this plan, since it is interested in maintaining a stable munitions industry in preparation for World War III.

Rio, then, if one bothers to look behind the pompous "good neighbor" decorations and the enormous volume of hot air, is but another step toward a new and deadly war. To revolutionary socialists, it is a confirmation of their claim that the peace of the world cannot be entrusted to the big powers that make up the UN, but only to revolutionary socialist action of the workers in all countries.

### Honor the Memory of

### LEON TROTSKY

The Workers Party commemorates the life and works of the great leader of world socialism and co-founder with Lenin of the first workers' state in modern history. He was murdered by Stalin on August 22, 1940—an act which symbolized the victory of the counter-revolution in Russia.

### Speakers

**MAX SHACHTMAN**  
Nat'l Chairman, Workers Party

and

**EMANUEL GARRETT**  
Editor, Labor Action

at

**HOTEL DIPLOMAT**  
108 West 43rd Street  
New York City

Friday, Sept. 5, 8:15 P. M.

### Auspices:

Workers Party, Local New York

## CIO Pickets Show Strong-Arm Boss Where to Get Off

By WALTER JASON

DETROIT—Like a breath of fresh air in the stale atmosphere of class collaboration came the militant demonstration of the UAW-CIO flying squadrons at Clinton, Mich., to smash the union-busting tactics of Don Thomas, president of the strike-bound Clinton Machine Company.

Organized and led by Emil Mazey, co-regional director of the powerful East Side region, the UAW-CIO pickets put a stop to picket line crashing and gave Michigan employers something to think about.

"We're going to demonstrate to employers in small towns that they are not going to push our workers around," Mazey told the workers over the microphone. "This demon-

stration by Detroit and Toledo locals is just a sample of what's going to happen if this strike continues."

The strike-breaking stopped and the UAW-CIO got its contract.

Detroit papers tried to make a field day out of this militant action. Mazey's entire political history was printed. His fight in the army against the demobilization slowdown was reviewed. The total effect of this anti-Mazey campaign was simply to build him up some more.

To alarm the employers of Michigan even more was the stand taken by the UAW-CIO in the Murray strike. Here again Mazey assumed direction of the negotiations and within 24 hours the papers and the corporation were screaming bloody revolution.

Mazey informed the corporation,

and this was reprinted in large advertisements paid for by the corporation, that "We want a complete guaranty that there will be no lawsuits of any kind or even a threat of a lawsuit."

"To put our position simply and bluntly, what we are saying is, in order for us to operate your plants, you will have to agree you will not sue the union under the provisions of the Taft-Hartley bill. PERIOD. Even though that is the law of the land we have got to agree you are not going to use a law of the land."

Mazey told the workers at Murray, who backed this stand enthusiastically, to get set for a long strike and gave the company until Tuesday, August 19, to come to terms or other Murray plants in the country would also be closed.

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Isthmian Seamen "Hit the Decks"

NEW YORK—The Isthmian S. S. Co., a wholly-owned subsidiary of U. S. Steel Corp., was struck this past week by the Seafarers International Union and the Sailors Union of the Pacific, AFL. Around-the-clock picket lines were thrown in front of every pier in the country at which an Isthmian ship is docked. All other ships at these same piers were given 24 hours to shift or be declared as "hot."

Sary. Support has been pledged by every maritime union, AFL & CIO. To date, of the 29 Isthmian ships in American ports, 29 are "dead." As others arrive in port, the crews will come off and picket lines will be formed. If the strike continues for any length of time, the entire Isthmian fleet of 100 scows will be tied up.

The strike was called on Wednesday, August 13, at 12:01 because the company refused to sign a contract calling for union hiring with rotary shipping from the union hall. This action is the climax of an intensive two-year organizing drive carried on by both the AFL and the CIO. The NLRB election conducted many months ago resulted in:

1256 votes for the SIU
813 votes for the NMU
89 votes for no union
2158 total votes.

Jeffries --

(Continued from page 1)

the "rights of free Americans," about the terrible dictatorship of the union which coerces the workers, etc., etc., we heard not one word from Jeffries or from all the papers which echo his arguments about the actions of the General Motors Corporation after the April CIO demonstration. Hundreds of men were disciplined by GM with fines and layoffs simply because they participated in a POLITICAL demonstration. This took place in the city where Jeffries is Mayor. But he was tongue-tied.

We must conclude that all the talk about "labor and CIO dictatorship" is just a cover for Jeffries' support to the dictatorial rights and privileges of a tiny capitalist class elected by no one but themselves.

In future articles I will cite the record of Jeffries' fascist policies on Jim Crow and discrimination. And I hope to make clear how it comes about that the CIO can reach the low point of considering the possibility of supporting such a reactionary politician.

For a Price List of Marxist Literature in English and Other Languages Available Through Labor Action Book Service, Write to

LABOR ACTION
4 Court Sq., Long Island City 1, N. Y.

With the Workers Party

All readers of LABOR ACTION are invited to attend meetings, class lectures and socials sponsored by local branches of the WORKERS PARTY. Visit our headquarters listed below to purchase Marxist literature, the NEW INTERNATIONAL and LABOR ACTION. For information of WORKERS PARTY activities in cities not listed below, write to WORKERS PARTY, 4 Court Square, Long Island City 1, N. Y.

- AKRON: Write to Box 221.
BALTIMORE: 21 West Preston St., 2nd floor. Meetings every Monday, 8 p. m.
BUFFALO: 639 Main St., 2nd floor. Office hours: 11 a.m.-2 p.m. Monday through Friday. Open meetings Sunday evenings. Discussion group Thursday evenings.
CHICAGO: 1501 W. Madison Ave., 2nd floor, Chicago 7. Telephone: CHESAPEAKE 5798. Office hours: 3-6:30 p. m. daily. Tuesday and Wednesday evenings.
CLEVELAND: WP Branch meets Sundays, 8 p.m., in Room 4, Slovenian Hall, 6409 St. Clair Ave.
DETROIT: 6341 Gratiot, Room 10. Telephone: PLAZA 5559.
LOS ANGELES: 3314 So. Grand, Los Angeles 7, Cal. Telephone: RICHMOND 7-3230 (if no answer, phone AX 2-9067). Office hours: 2 to 5 p. m., daily.
LOUISVILLE: Write to: Robert Durant, Box 1181, Louisville, Ky.
NEWARK: 248 Market St., Newark 2. Open house Friday evenings.
NEW YORK CITY: CITY CENTER: 114 West 14th St., 3rd floor. Open every day from 10 a. m. to 7 p. m. Wednesday and Thursday until 10:30 p. m. Telephone: CHELSEA 2-9681. BRONX BRANCH: Thursday, 8:15 p. m., at Wilkins Hall, 1330 Wilkins Ave., Bronx.
HARLEM BRANCH: Wednesday, 8:15 p.m., at the Workers Party headquarters, 2143 Seventh Ave. (near 126th St.) Room 16.
CENTRAL BRANCH: Wednesday, 8:15 p. m., at the City Center, 114 West 14th St.
CHELSEA BRANCH: Thursday, 8:15 p. m., at the City Center, 114 West 14th St.
INDUSTRIAL BRANCH: Thursday, 8:15 p. m., at the City Center, 114 West 14th St.
B'KLYN - DOWNTOWN BRANCH: Thursday, 8:15 p. m., at the Workers Party headquarters, 276 Fulton St., Brooklyn, 2nd floor.
B'KLYN-BROOKLYN BRANCH: Wednesday, 8:15 p.m., at the De Luxe Palace, 538 Howard Ave. (near Pitkin Ave.).
SOCIALIST YOUTH LEAGUE: Friday, 8:15 p.m., at the Workers Party headquarters, 276 Fulton St., Brooklyn, 2nd floor.
PHILADELPHIA: 1129 West Gervard Ave., 3rd floor. Meetings Wednesdays at 8 p. m. Forums every Friday, 8:15 p. m.
SATURDAY, Aug. 23--Pre-election SOCIAL and RALLY. Speeches, dancing, entertainment, refreshments. All welcome.
READING: Write to P. O. Box 1671.
ST. LOUIS: Write to: Douglas Bridge, 6517 Corbett Ave., University City 14, Mo.
SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA: Write to: Labor Action, 466 Tenth St., Room 206 Oakland 7, Calif.
SEATTLE: Write to: P. O. Box 29, University Post Office.
YOUNGSTOWN: Write to J. P. Walters, Box 605.

accused the SIU-SUP of being company-dominated. Some few months back the charge of collusion with Isthmian was leveled against the leadership of this same union. Can the CP explain now how it is possible for a bunch of Isthmian stooges to encourage and conduct this struggle? The SIU-SUP action proves once again that the statements of the CP are a pack of lies, designed to pit the rank and file of the two unions against each other.

Support the SIU-SUP against Isthmian! Defend the union hiring hall, maritime labor's most cherished possession!

(Since this article was written, LABOR ACTION has learned that the union decided to conform with the Taft-Hartley bill by withdrawing its demand on the hiring hall in favor of stiffer wage demands. Another article will follow next week.—Editors.)

Pickets Protest Against Dutch War on Indonesian Nation

NEW YORK—One hundred and fifty pickets demonstrated their solidarity with the Indonesian people when they marched in front of the Dutch Consulate, Friday, August 15, demanding withdrawal of all Dutch troops from Indonesia and immediate independence for the Indonesian Republic.

The picket line, consisting of people representing eight colonial and working class organizations, demanded that no further loans be made to the Dutch government until it withdraws from Indonesia. The picket line also made an appeal to the labor movement to follow the example of the Australian dock workers, who refused to load Dutch ships with military supplies.

The sponsors of the picket line were the Indonesia League, the Viet Nam American Friendship Association, the Workers Party, the Socialist Workers Party, the War Resisters League, the Committee for a Non-Violent Revolution, the Provisional World Council of Dominated Nations, the Ethiopian World Federation, and the Socialist Party.

The picket line was followed up by a mass meeting held in Harlem at the Ethiopian World Federation Hall on Sunday evening, August 17. Representatives of some of the above mentioned organizations spoke. Ernest Erber, New York organizer of the Workers Party, in a brief speech pointed out that none of the big countries in the United Nations could consistently call for the withdrawal of Dutch troops because every one of them shared the guilt of the Dutch. The United States occupies Korea, Germany and Japan; England's troops extend to her far-flung empire; France remains in Indo-China; Russia occupies most of Eastern Europe as well as part of Korea.

George Schuyler, columnist for the Pittsburgh Courier and principal speaker of the evening, gave an excellent speech which outlined the parallel course of British and Dutch imperialism and detailed all the economic advantages which a handful of Dutch capitalists gain by the cruel exploitation of the Indonesian natives. He also pointed out the fact that American imperialism provided the Dutch with the military equip-

ment which permits them to war on the Indonesian Republic.

A very responsive audience, consisting primarily of minority peoples, left the meeting with a clear understanding that any reliance upon the imperialist United Nations to solve the problems of oppressed peoples would lead to disaster. Only the masses of people by actions of solidarity such as the picket line, the refusal to load ships, the refusal of Dutch workers to fight against the Indonesians in addition to the courageous struggle of the Indonesian people, can achieve the democratic right of self-determination.

Congress --

(Continued from page 1)

because it assists the Steel Trust as well as other monopolists in their great game of robbing the people.

In the meantime, the demand of the CIO for a special session of Congress to take up the question of reducing prices and establishing new controls to safeguard the interests of the majority of the people and their living standards is going by the boards.

Thus, we are given another lesson in the meaning of politics which is so intimately connected with economics. The government, in the hands of big business, operates in their interest to the detriment of the people. What should be done is already indicated: labor, the largest and potentially the most powerful force in the country, must establish its own political arm, an independent Labor Party, with a militant labor program (such as the UAW employed in the strike against General Motors last year), to fight for power, to win the government, to make of it a workers' government with a workers' program to meet the needs of the people against the profiteers.

Continued reliance on the two parties of capitalism and their government can only produce such fakes as the present investigation of the Steel Trust, which will not lower the price on a single commodity by a single penny.

Herman Benson for Mayor!



Don't throw away your vote on capitalist politicians who represent big business!

Stop the Democratic and Republican Parties in their nation-wide attack against labor!

Cast a working class ballot for the candidate of the Workers Party and for its fighting socialist platform!

Issued by the WORKERS PARTY, 6341 Gratiot St., Detroit

Primaries: TUES., OCT. 7

Read: LABOR ACTION

Platform of the Workers Party in the Detroit Elections

- 1. For real rent and price control laws enforced by committees representing unions, consumers, housewives, tenants. Against rent and price increases. Fight against evictions.
2. For a \$250 billion five-year program of public works on a national, state and city basis to provide low-cost housing, slum clearance, modern transportation, community and recreational facilities. Of this, \$3 billion to be utilized in the Detroit area for such purposes and to provide new housing for up to 200,000 families. Finance this program by taxing the profiteers.
3. For a guaranteed annual living wage for all workers, with automatic increases to meet rising costs of living.
4. Defend labor's rights. Against the Taft-Hartley and Callahan laws and all such anti-labor legislation.
5. Full social, political and economic equality for Negroes and all minorities. Enforce the Diggs law. Abolish restrictive covenants.
6. Open the doors of the United States to the homeless Jewish people and other victims of the war and oppression.
7. Freedom for all nations. Against the occupation and domination of countries by the United States, by Russia, or by any other imperialist powers.
8. Expropriate America's Sixty Families. Operate big industry under the control of democratically elected shop committees.
9. For an Independent Labor Party. For a Workers' Government.
10. For a world of security, peace and equality through the socialist reorganization of society.

Gangs Attack Negroes in Detroit

DETROIT—On guard against the Ku Klux Klan in Detroit! Prepare the Union Flying Squadrons to meet the possibility of organized anti-labor, anti-Negro violence!

A series of gang attacks on Negroes has been taking place in Detroit in the last month, recalling the events which prepared for the fascist-inspired riots of 1943. Three weeks ago, Algie Hamilton, Negro, was refused service, in violation of the Diggs Civil Rights Law, at Tom's Bar at Mt. Elliot and Le Grand. As he left the bar he was attacked by a group of white hoodlums, who beat him almost into unconsciousness. Police made a routine check and ignored the incident. Later in the day, a group of Negroes, incensed at police tolerance of Jim Crow, demonstrated in the area and someone threw a brick through the window of the bar. The police this time swung vigorously into action. A group of squad cars and a score of policemen poured into the neighborhood to search Negroes for arms. They arrested Negroes, they beat Negroes. While the police held one Ne-

gro he was struck by a white hoodlum.

Two weeks ago, a gang of whites massed on the corner of Nevada and Monohart to eject a Negro, Ben Cummings, from a home he had established in an old truck body on a vacant lot. Another crowd threatened Israel Kappan, a Negro who is constructing his home at 18022 Lumpkin. A white grocery store owner at Henry's Market at Stockton and Buffalo was threatened with violence if he did not stop serving Negroes in his store. It is reported that a Negro girl who accidentally bumped into a white man was beaten.

Reporting these incidents, the Detroit edition of the Pittsburgh Courier writes: "A wave of racial tension seems to be sweeping the city."

It was just such a wave of "tension," provoked by gang attacks on Negro neighborhoods, which led to the riots of 1943. Just as in 1943, the police appear as the tolerators of fascist attacks on the Negroes and swing into action only in order to beat back the inevitable wave of protest from the Negroes themselves.

Just as in 1943, the police intervene in order to disarm the Negroes, who are thus left defenseless against white Klanist hoodlums.

We do not know just who is organizing these latest attacks on Negroes. We DO know, however, that in 1943 organized fascist groups were exceptionally active before the riots. And we do know that any reactionary grouping encouraged by the tolerance of the police is able to take full advantage of any incidents in order to transform them into an all-out attack on minorities. We do know that Prosecutor James N. McNally and his assistants have been winking at the continued violation of the Diggs Civil Rights Law.

No repetition of 1943! If the gangs organized by Ku Klux Klan elements gather on the streets to repeat their vicious anti-Negro, anti-labor performance again, they must be met as they deserve. The Flying Squadrons and the union membership as a whole will have to be mobilized by the tens of thousands (just as they were mobilized to picket in Clinton) to drive these gangs off the streets.

Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor...

British Labor Party And Palestine

Dear Editor:

I read the recent issues of the Trotskyite press and was gratified to see that both LABOR ACTION and The Militant denounce the cruelty of the British Labor Government (whom they supported in the elections) toward the Jewish refugees of the "Exodus 1947" and for not allowing them to land in Palestine.

One thing puzzles me. I have been told that you are opposed to Jewish immigration into Palestine. In that case, what would you have [done] to enforce your opposition to Jewish immigration under the same circumstances?

I realize of course that your opposition to immigration is not immutable. Have you changed your position? If so, why? Yours truly, H. S., Brooklyn, N. Y.

tion taking over the job of custodian of the British Empire. But it was and is the party of British labor. And in hailing the victory of the Labor Party in the last national election we pointed out that this victory reflected the tremendous ferment in the working class; that the victory of the Labor Party, given the prospects outlined above, could hasten the radicalization of the British working class and elevate the struggle for socialism.

In the period in which it has been the ruling party, the BLP has carried through a partial nationalization under the most difficult world and domestic economic situation, made doubly worse because the Labor Party tries to solve the problems of the nation on a fundamentally capitalist basis, employing socialist phrases in the place of socialist action.

It goes without saying that we are sharp critics of this regime and if we were in England we would oppose its verbal socialism with a consistently revolutionary socialist program which would seek the reorganization of the country on a genuinely socialist basis as the only means of solving the problem of the masses and inflating once again the world movement for socialism against capitalist imperialism and Stalinism.

The fact of the matter is that the bulk of the working class in an overwhelmingly working class country is in the Labor Party and while many of them are dissatisfied with the party they are dissatisfied with it because of its watered-down policies and lack of strong revolutionary action. Yet they know that the deep crisis which afflicts the country is the fault of capitalism and the capitalist political parties which governed for so many years, and they continue to this very moment to support unequivocally the Labor Party.

The need in Great Britain is for a genuine revolutionary socialist party; the base for that party lies within the Labor Party with its millions of worker members, there to carry on the struggle against the party bureaucracy and lay the basis for a party of British socialism.

We are not, never were and could not be supporters of British imperialist policy whether it be under the helm of a Churchill or an Attlee and we are vigorously opposed to the latter's policy in Palestine. That should be obvious since we call for an independent Palestine, an end to the mandate and British rule.

You have been misinformed about our position on Jewish immigration to Palestine. As socialist internationalists we have everywhere and always opposed border restrictions, the passport and identity systems, restricted immigration, etc. In the specific case of Palestine, we have been consistently for the right of Jewish immigration since the development of this new situation several years ago. Naturally, as Americans, our first slogan is "Open the Doors of the U. S." to the homeless Jews. But it would be nothing short of hypocrisy if we were for the right of the Jews to emigrate to Palestine but not to the United States, or vice versa.

You have confused our position with that of The Militant, which is opposed to Jewish immigration to Palestine, though it favors such immigration everywhere else.

The Editors.

Reader Defends Right Of WP in Elections

Dear Sirs: Detroit election methods allow all the tricks played elsewhere to be

played here with impunity. Crooked elections endanger our liberties. Even if all the 20,000 Wayne County election officials are as honest as Detroiters swear they are, we cannot be assured that at no time in the future dishonest ones might not get control. For that reason we have no right to allow a system to continue that protects trickery.

Section 3152 distinctly says the count shall be public. Detroit is wrong in locking the doors at night and can be compelled to allow the public to be present.

The counting of the ballots to protect against padding the ballot box. That is Section 3153. It is not done like that here and the method they use allows for many tricks to be played. We should protest.

If we allow the city election to be carried on unwatched, we risk a great deal. For it is the "City Hall crowd" that picks the election officers for general elections. Sections 2748 and 3108 make it clear that party credentials do allow challengers

present at the city elections. We should not let them get away with this wrong.

I do not agree with the platform you will put out, but I would fight to the limit to protect your right to have such a platform and to get the names of your candidates on the ballot and an honest count of the vote for those candidates.

Mrs. M. P. H., Detroit, Mich.

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Editorials

Independence Of India

On August 15, India achieved a formal "independence." For those who longed to see a truly free, independent and unified India, the division of the country into two nations, Hindustan and Pakistan, as part of the British Commonwealth of Nations, is a severe blow. But now the two nations have the power to decide whether they shall remain a part of this Commonwealth or to sever all ties with the Empire. In the meantime, British military forces will remain in the great sub-continent until the new nations organize their military forces and give a sign to London that they are capable of "their own" military defense.

That India has achieved this much is due, not to the magnanimity of the British Empire, which still maintains an economic stranglehold on the land, but to the volcanic force of the national independence movement of four hundred million people who have slowly but surely driven the decaying British Empire against the wall. The gesture of Great Britain trying to maintain even the tiniest hold on India, supported by such an unreconstructed imperialist as Churchill, is a real measure of the times, of the general decay of capitalism and the slow but steady march of the colonial peoples against imperialist aggression and oppression.

Death of a Scoundrel

The entire labor movement will rejoice at the death of Pearl Bergoff. The only regret which can be expressed over his dying is that it did not occur sooner. When future socialist historians fish out his name from the slime of his activity, Bergoff will be viewed as a fitting symbol of capitalist society. For behind all the lofty idealism of the theory "free enterprise" lurked the professional strike-breaker Bergoff and his gang of murderers, stool pigeons, provocateurs, rapists and gangsters—human filth, suitable instruments for the jobs for which capital hired them.

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When Bergoffs next appear on the national scene they will be invested with the full power of the state. They will be the American counterparts of Hess, Streicher, Himmler and the rest of the Hitler gang. That time is not yet, nor ever need be. The same power that put an end to the business career of Bergoff can prevent his successors from coming to power.

Congressmen On Housing

Another piece of evidence of the rank hypocrisy which characterizes the politics of the capitalist government in Washington is the "determination" of the joint Senate-House committee to investigate the housing situation and to decide whether or not powerful real estate interests have had anything to do (1) with the lag in the construction of dwellings of millions of people who need a place in which to live. Before the committee has even begun its work it has already indulged in the usual by-play which accompanies the work of all congressional committees.

A struggle broke out over the chairmanship of this investigating committee, presumably set up in response to President Truman's sop to the labor movement when, in signing the new rent bill which allows "voluntary" increases in rent, he asked that the real estate lobby be investigated to find out whether it had anything to do with pushing the new law and holding up the construction of new housing.

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Economic Conditions Behind Puerto Rican Immigration

By EUGENE VAUGHN

The City of New York, the large metropolitan gateway to the vast spaces of the United States, is referred to in textbooks, and likes to think of itself, as the "Great Melting Pot." The Statue of Liberty stretches out its welcoming hand when the immigrant passes through the Narrows between Brooklyn and Staten Island from the Old World. It bears the inscription: Give me your tired, your poor... your huddled masses... the homeless...

The hypocrisy upon which the legend of the welcoming Statue of Liberty is based can at this time be seen in the recent migrations of Puerto Ricans to the streets of New York. These Puerto Ricans, who are fleeing intolerable conditions in Puerto Rico and who are moreover citizens of the United States, have been ghettoized and treated to insult, slander and libel. Sickening, disgraceful slurs can be read or implied from reading between the lines in almost every New York newspaper. The New York Times, the respectable New York Times, the respectable New York Times ("All the News That's Fit to Print"), descended to gutter level with a series of articles on the Puerto Rican migration.

The Puerto Rican immigrants are maligned as indolent, illiterate, disease-ridden, unassimilable people who migrate to New York City and immediately join the relief roles in order to live a parasitic existence on the back of New York City. The slightest knowledge of Puerto Rican economic conditions and a few bits of information about the Puerto Rican migration into the United States are enough to throw these insults back into the teeth of the slanderers.

Puerto Rico, at the time when American imperialism captured it from the decadent Spanish Empire was basically a self-subservient agricultural island which afforded its population a livelihood despite the Spanish suppression of political freedom and democratic rights. Along came the American colossus, and everything changed. It turned the island into a vast sugar plantation for the American sugar interests. In the place of a diversified farm economy, it set up a one-crop sugar economy. Thus the population of the island became entirely dependent upon whims of American sugar interests and the world sugar market.

During years when sugar is in demand and can be transported, a part of the population finds employment on the sugar plantations and supports the balance of the population, which remains chronically unemployed. During the year when there is an oversupply of sugar on the world market there follows a precipitous fall in that part of the population which can normally gain employment. When, as in the beginning of the recent war, there develops a shortage of shipping space, stocks of sugar accumulate, the price of sugar falls on the island and unemployment follows.

In this way the economic condition of the Puerto Ricans vacillates between chronic unemployment and outright starvation. The tragic effect of American imperialism on the island can be appreciated in the light of the statement by Harris L. Present, counsel for the Spanish American Youth Bureau, Inc.: "Of the Puerto Rican population, 1,000,000 people will have to be resettled." This is 50 per cent of the Puerto Rican population. Half of the island's population has been decimated and made superfluous as a result of the imposition of the American sugar economy on the island.

WAVES OF IMMIGRATION

In view of the economic plight of the islanders, the constant and increasing migration from the island to the United States can well be understood. Migration of Puerto Ricans offers no quota problems, as they are considered American citizens. The wave of immigration first began in 1917, as American imperialism strengthened its economic stranglehold on the island, and continued until 1931. From 1931 until 1935 there was a movement back to the island. This counter-movement indicates the nature and purpose of the migration. These economically desperate islanders come here to find employment and escape from the economic plight of the island. They consequently went back to the island from 1931 to 1935 when they could no longer find employment in the United States. Among the migrants many express the desire to work for a year and go home. This doesn't indicate indolence and a desire to sponge on relief. It indicates the normal desire of people to find employment even if it means traveling thousands of miles from home.

In 1935 the movement back to the island reversed itself and migration to the United States increased at a very rapid rate. In 1939, 4,488 immigrants came from the island as compared to 1,017 in 1935. During the years of 1940 and 1941, the islands were momentarily favored by a rise in the demand for sugar and a sufficiency of shipping space to carry the sugar. Migration to the United States fell to 988 in 1941. This indicates a desire on the part of the Puerto Ricans to stay at home if economically possible. From 1942 on, however, the

lack of shipping space caused sugar stocks to accumulate on the island while the rest of the world hungered for sugar. The economy of the island was again out of kilter and migration to the United States increased continuously until in 1946 21,531 migrants came to the United States. Immigration has been increasing ever since.

These dispossessed islanders converge upon the City of New York by divers means and under the most inconvenient circumstances, according to their scarce means. They arrive here on filthy cargo ships, third rate steamers, "bucket seat" runs on airplanes, in many cases standing all the way. When they finally reach the land of golden opportunity, they are forced by racial discrimination and by the scant funds at their disposal, to crowd into the highly congested area of Spanish Harlem between First and Fifth Avenues from East 97th Street to East 116th Street. These areas are permeated by racial tension, juvenile gangsterism and the general rot of slum and depressed area dwellings, rats, vermin, venereal diseases, housing congestion, lack of playgrounds for children and what have you. This quagmire of depression, like a cancer, shoots off its growths into other parts of the city. The jobs that are offered to these unfortunates are of the most menial type: service work, the lowest paid jobs in the needle industry, and in restaurants.

To the argument that these people can do no better and are illiterate, there is the simple answer gathered by the Office of Puerto Rico, an information center. Out of a sampling of 965 immigrants: (a) 90 per cent are between 15 and 50 and are willing and able to work; (b) 63.7 attended elementary school; (c) 22.3 attended elementary school; (d) 22.3 attended college; (e) 1.9 had industrial arts training; (f) 6.2 (including children of pre-school age) had no schooling. It must be remembered that if there is any inadequacy in their schooling, and there is, it is the fault of American imperialism.

PLACING GUILT

The Puerto Rican immigrants are reluctant immigrants. They would much rather forego Yankee culture if their island afforded them a livelihood. The island could again be self-sufficient if it were allowed to develop fisheries, refine its own sugar, develop diversified farming, start food processing industries, build railroads and develop its own commerce. Any slur against Puerto Ricans must fall back upon American imperialism, for the Puerto Ricans are the ones who have been violated by Yankee imperialism and not the other way around.

OFF LIMITS
By James M. Fenwick

ZOOK FOR CHIEF OF STAFF!

In line with our policy of intervening in political events as far as practicable, we hereby advance the candidacy of Dr. George Abner Zook for the post of army chief of staff. Lest, dear reader, wherever you are, you assume that Dr. Zook is one of those mythical characters of American folklore, like Paul Bunyan or the late Addison Sims (of Seattle), we hasten to add that Dr. Zook is an actual person. He is, or was—the difference would be imperceptible in any case—United States commissioner of education.

GROOMED FOR PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

It should be obvious that our candidate is exceptionally endowed for the post of chief of staff. Ridiculous! You are probably saying to yourself. No more ridiculous, you force us to reply, than was the recent appointment of Eisenhower, the present chief of staff, to the presidency of Columbia University. Even the capitalist press gingerly skirts the question of Eisenhower's qualifications, generally resting its case on the assertion that, well, anyway, Eisenhower's brother is a college president.

The real reasons for the appointment of Eisenhower to Columbia lie elsewhere than in his qualifications or the school's needs. Eisenhower is being groomed as a presidential strong man for the period of the contemplated war against Russia. This was most recently stated by Senator Reed. Eisenhower, he said, is "the best man in the United States to deal with Russia in this world emergency."

Given a certain anti-militarist tradition in the United States and the current spathy toward things military, to pop a general into the White House requires a little finesse. Hence the proposal for a tour of duty in civilian life for Eisenhower. After a year or two, it is hoped, Tamara will be able to present himself as Dr. Faust. "As an educator," the United Press points out, "Eisenhower would be unfettered by the traditional restrictions that keep army brasshats from participating in politics." Marshall, it will be recalled, went through a similar routine, having been sent to China for a period before assuming his post of Secretary of State.

SIGNIFICANCE OF APPOINTMENT

Seen in perspective, the appointment of Eisenhower is part of the process of the militarization of all aspects of United States life which has been—and is being—systematically organized by the capitalist class through its political and military representatives. More immediately it reflects the current extensive reshuffling of military personnel in preparation for the war against Russia.

Though Columbia is being used as a marriage broker in this instance, bringing the presidency and Eisenhower together, it has established a precedent dangerous to itself and to other schools throughout the country. It has placed at the head of one of the largest and finest educational institutions of this country a representative of those who have proved themselves the deadliest enemies of culture: the military caste.

That Eisenhower is not a blood-thirsty boor like a Patton or Montgomery is only to say that he well represents the military caste of a rich, bourgeois democratic country lacking in a feudal warrior tradition.

But the tendency represented is the same.

Philosophy Corner
(Ends and Means Department)
"GARMISCH - PARTENKIRCHEN, Germany, June 4 (AP)—Johann Georg Lang, director of the last three Passion Plays in Oberammergau, was ruled a Nazi follower today and fined 2,000 marks (\$200) by a German denazification court. He said joining the party had been the only way to prevent the Nazis from abolishing the Passion Play." (New York Times, June 5.)

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Hollywood Touches A Serious Theme in Movie "Crossfire"

By IRVING HOWE

"Crossfire" is the first Hollywood film to mention the word "Jew" in the context of an anti-Semitic situation. It is a distinction which has caused reviewers to hail the film as a daring exposé of social evil and as a bold advance for Hollywood. Well, in one obvious sense it is an advance: that Hollywood even admits the existence of the category "Jew" is a step forward. It raises hopes, perhaps utopian, that some day Hollywood will admit the existence of Negroes other than Uncle Toms—Stepin Fetchits—and that still later it may even admit the existence of yet another category—a genuine human being.

Yet it is a striking comment on the cultural primitivism and regimentation of Hollywood that one of its films should be hailed merely because it is the FIRST to present the anti-Semitic problem. The movie reviewer of The Nation, James Agee, aptly remarks that "In a way it is as embarrassing to see a movie Come Right Out Against Anti-Semitism as it would be to see a movie Come Right Out Against torturing children."

What is most interesting about "Crossfire" is its attempt to superimpose an earnest but very simple-minded message about anti-Semitism onto a traditional Hollywood thriller. The film thereby functions on two levels, neither of which has a necessary connection with the other. On one level there is a seductively exciting murder mystery. I say "seductively" because the Hollywood melodrama momentarily engages our attention in the soothing and LOOS-ENING darkness of the movie house; it grips the surface of our emotions and often involves them by the sheer slickness and gruesome brutality of its effects; but in the end we know we have not been involved deeply and honestly in the way a genuine work of art involves us. After a great book or great film we feel elevated and pleased that we have given of our emotions; after a Hollywood melodrama we feel empty and perhaps a little ashamed: we won-

der "how they did it to us," we feel we have been MANIPULATED.

"Crossfire" fits into this pattern. Those who have seen a few of the "tough guy" films, of which the prototype is "Double Indemnity," or who have read the novels of James M. Cain, know what to expect: People who are hard, rough, bruised by experience, and therefore cynical—though with a soft core of inner emotion. Dialogue which is monosyllabic, sharp, curt and elbowy. Scenes which are played in sharp contrasts, black and white juxtapositions, after which the camera lingers for a moment to make its mute comment. And above all, the approach of understatement, the fear of emotional embarrassment—that great American inhibition-tradition.

FILM'S DISUNITY

In "Crossfire" most of these elements are present. There is in addition rather accurate observation about soldiers—Robert Mitchum is first rate as an intelligent but skeptical GI—together with some strictly Hollywoodian nonsense about GIs who are "stuck" in Washington, D. C. (which is where most of the army wanted to be "stuck") becoming neurotic because of their "guilt feelings."

One of these soldiers, played by Robert Ryan with a very keen eye for the telling detail of facial movement and gesture which is the true visual index of character in the movies, hates Jews. He hates without conscious motivation or reasoning; he "knows" that Jews evade war duty. He then kills a Jewish veteran because he "won't have a Jew-boy tell me how to drink my liquor." The movie moves along largely on Ryan's performance: his cold terrorism, his articulate prejudice on the level of articulation which makes a system of bestiality—whoever was in the army must have met this type frequently. The movie then develops in terms of the traditional cop-catches-killer.

Toward the end Robert Young, the prosecutor, makes a speech in which he exorcises anti-Semitism—"it's like a loaded gun: if you play with it, it goes off." But here is where

the internal disunity of the film becomes most obvious. The melodramatic aspect provokes a certain excitement which is the basic emotional-visual charge of the film. But the anti-Semitism theme is never integrated with and never impinges upon the melodrama. The sermon on the Jews is as simple-minded as the film's treatment of the Jewish problem: it does not explore, it does not implicate, it does not write into the living substance of the problem; hence it does not involve the audience's emotion. The spectator's emotion may be stirred to some extent by the melodrama; he may even comfortably nod his head in agreement with the sermon on tolerance. But his emotion is not stirred by the anti-Semitic theme even to the small extent that it is stirred by the murder. For in the film the theme is abstract and general; it is not realized in the melodramatic structure. It is tacked on.

FAILURE OF FILM

And the sermon on anti-Semitism really clinches the failure of the film to make the audience FEEL about anti-Semitism. If anti-Semitism were really like a loaded gun, then the problem would be very simple: prevent people from carrying loaded guns. And if anti-Semitism is the practice of isolated hateful psychotic types, such as the killer in this film, then the problem is again very simple: put them in hospitals.

The boldness of "Crossfire" consists only in its statement, its mere use of the word "Jew." Once the spectator knows that, the film does not involve him any more, at least in terms of this problem. Really and movingly to make a dramatic representation of the anti-Semitic problem would have required not merely the initial step of naming the problem—which is really fairly respectable and safe these days—but rather the attempt to burrow beneath its surface, beneath the smug and complacent calls to tolerance, and deep into the implications, ambiguities and behavior patterns which the problem assumes in human life and in its manifestation in human values.

# In Memoriam: Sacco and Vanzetti

Shortly after the First World War and during the aftermath of the Palmer "Red raids," two New England workers, Bartolomeo Vanzetti and Nicola Sacco, were arrested on the charge of robbery and murder. This was no ordinary murder case. The trial turned into an anti-working class witch-hunt in which the search for the philosophical and political opinions of the two men were the main objects of the prosecution.

Sacco and Vanzetti were anarchists. They hated the exploitation and poverty of capitalism. They were idealistic workers, the one a shoemaker, the other a fish peddler. Both were known to small circles of workers in the communities in which they lived. They did not lead masses of great and powerful workers. Were it not for their arrest and legal murder, Sacco and Vanzetti would have finished their lives as simple and good workers who strove in their little ways to make a better world—but in that way they would have lived like countless millions of workers all over the world.

The Sacco and Vanzetti trial, however, made world-renowned figures of them. From that moment forward they became a symbol of the living struggle between capitalism and the heralds of a new and better world. For Sacco and Vanzetti were framed up by the state of Massachusetts and murdered by its legal servants. The testimony of witnesses that neither Sacco nor Vanzetti were near the factory where a payroll was robbed and company guards killed was unavailing. Trumped-up charges and false witnesses merely buttressed a rotten case against two men whom the reactionary forces of New England wanted to kill as a warning against militant and rebellious workers who wanted to fight for a better life.

So flagrant was the frame-up against Sacco and Vanzetti, so powerful a symbol did they become, that it produced one of the greatest world-wide movements of protest ever seen. In all countries of the globe,

Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committees were born. They held strike meetings, demonstrations, protests; they raised funds to aid the legal defense of these two poor workers.

The Sacco-Vanzetti defenders named countless millions and gathered into its ranks not merely the working class but tens of thousands of liberals and genuine democrats who were revolted by a frame-up that was identical to the Tom Mooney case. But where Tom Mooney's life was saved so that he might live his best years in jail, the great movement in behalf of Sacco and Vanzetti did not prevail even to such an extent.

Faced with this great challenge of the world's poor, oppressed and exploited, the state of Massachusetts, with grim determination and a feeling of its own power, a power resting on the immense and rich foundation of American capitalism, put these two noble workers to death by the electric chair.

The new generation of workers in this country know little or nothing about Sacco-Vanzetti. They do not know of the tremendous movement of labor in this and other countries in behalf of two men who symbolized the struggle of the working masses of the entire world. Yet the great movement of the 1920s was a stirring example of the enormous power inherent in labor's great numbers. Given a program, a great ideal and goal, and labor can rise to noble heights in its struggle against inequality and injustice.

In commemorating the lives of these two simple workers who were executed twenty years ago, we are printing the following selection from James T. Farrell's novel, "Bernard Clare." This selection captures part of the spirit of thousands of workers who waited silently and protestingly in scores of cities all over the world on the fateful day, LABOR ACTION takes this opportunity to thank Mr. Farrell and the Vanguard Press for permission to publish this section of the novel.—Editors.

his face, his muscular long arms limp at his sides, his huge frame relaxed, his wide shoulders sagging. "HOOOOOOOOOO!" It was a young man in a dark suit who was bent forward, hands to ears, moaning. "HOOOOOOOOOOOOOO!"

This terrible moan of the crowd persisted amid the torchlights, the milling crowd, the moving policemen.

The moaning young man was led into a taxicab by others. The cab moved off.

On his left a woman shrieked almost in his ear.

Others ran.

Policemen were closed in on all sides.

"Break it up! Break it up! Break it up!"

"HOOOOOOOOOOOOOO!"

"Break it up! Break it up! Break it up!"

A policeman shoved a man. He looked back. He moved off. He passed Bernard with lowered head. Bernard heard him spit out the word:

"Cossacks!"

"HOOOOOOOOOOOOOO!"

From the windows of the Communist newspaper, the sign still hung:

VANZETTI MURDERED

It was removed, and the earlier sign replaced it.

The crowd on the walk formed into a parade. She led them toward the center of the Square, and they sang.

*Arise, ye prisoners of starvation!*

*Arise, ye wretched of the earth!*

*For justice thunders condemnation,*

*A better world's in birth.*

Bernard marched behind the tall woman. Her gray coat seemed dusty in the vague light. Her shoulders narrow. From behind, he saw that she held her head high.

He was neither afraid nor courageous. He was one with many. His only emotion was this sudden one of solidarity. Together they were parading, singing, lined as if arm in arm. Powerless to fight in the face of the organized police with their clubs and guns, they sang as before they had stared with unflinching hostility. And he was one with everybody in this straggling parade, one with the nameless and wonderful old woman leading it.

*'Tis the final conflict,*

*Let each stand in his place,*

*The International Soviet*

*Shall be the human race.*

"All right, all right! Break it up!"

Reaching the middle of the Square, the parade was still hemmed in by cops. Here and there a policeman shoved someone. A woman was jammed against Bernard's shoulders.

"Thank you, comrade," she said in a foreign accent.

"Break it up! Break it up!"

The parade lost motion, order. The marchers, the singers, were separated into atoms. Bernard became an atom. The parade dispersed, evaporated.

Bernard walked diagonally out of the Square toward Fourteenth Street. Policeman looked at him with confident hostility.

At the curb he saw an armed motorcycle policeman sitting relaxed on his machine, chewing gum, his cap pushed back on his head, a mop of hair emerging from under it. Chewing his gum, he looked idly at Bernard. Near by, Bernard saw newspaper reporters, with press cards stuck in the bands of their hats, talking with a police captain. In a slanting ray of lamplight he saw the gold on the captain's uniform. One of the reporters was nodding his head. Another was watching the exodus of people with a practiced eye. His eye met Bernard's. Bernard's didn't flinch. There was nothing in the glance of the reporter, no sympathy, no recognition. A cold, practiced eye, gazing at him, at these shabby workers, streaming by, as if they had come here for the precise purpose of giving this journalist a story.

(Reprinted with permission of Vanguard Press and James T. Farrell.)

# General "King" Lee Of the MTOUSA!

By JAMES M. FENWICK

The king business certainly isn't what it used to be. Always trouble. If it isn't as in the case of Leopold of Belgium, some badly misunderstood relations with the Nazis, then, as in the case of Carol of Rumania, it is some all-too-well understood relations with Magda Lupescu—with the saving grace, in this last instance, of having furnished the world with a socially useful limerick. Or it's those sudden business trips which recent kings of Greece and Italy have had to make—the business being what an aroused people was about to give them. Or it's being a ruler on an international WPA basis—as is the situation of George in England, which is rather *infra dig*, y' know.

Definitely, the king market is on the bearish side. The most historically conscious of the international haemophilic set have wisely taken to advertising cosmetics or have thrown themselves onto the otherwise contracted export market for marriages abroad. It's not such interesting work, perhaps, but it's more steady.

The world king market, like the international market in fertilizer, movies, or atom bombs has been cornered by United States imperialism. From now on kings wishing to practice will have to get a license from the U. S. State Department.

Not that we wish to imply that the field is closed. There's always room at the top for those who, to use Engel's phrase, are able to realize that freedom is the recognition of necessity. One of those who proved the truth of this dictum before his unlamented death was General Patton, who by his antics became known to the German people as George S. Patton III, the Mad King of Bavaria.

## THE NEW "KING"

A new crowned head has arisen in the U. S. Army abroad. He is Lt. Gen. J. C. H. ("Jesus Christ Himself") Lee, supreme commander of MTOUSA—Mediterranean Theater of Operations, USA. The Scripps-Howard Press, as a little circulation builder and out of concern for the creation of an army which has exceptional world imperialist tasks to perform, has recently carried a series of exposés on conditions in Lee's kingdom, written by a staff writer, Robert C. Ruark.

Actually, the conditions described are not exceptional, as any GI will verify from his own experience. But for the benefit of those among the civilian population who may be affected by the recent eyewash in the press concerning the democratization which is allegedly taking place in the army, a review of the bill of particulars presented by Ruark may not be amiss.

In one of his great dramas, Marlowe has one of his characters inquire:

"Is it not passing brave to be a King,  
And ride in triumph through Persepolis?"

## A LIFE OF SPLENDOR

With far greater unction than the barbaric Techelles, Lee can similarly reply: "O my Lord, 'tis sweet and full of pompe." For his personal use he has the following: A private train containing a moving picture car, lounge cars, sleepers, diners and a car for transporting his Cadillac and Buick convertible, a specially equipped C-47, always maintained on the alert, and numerous other more mundane vehicles such as a \$14,000 trailer, command cars, and jeeps. How Lee must envy Hannibal his elephants—always assuming, of course, that Lee ever heard of Hannibal.

When weary of the sophisticated pleasures of the French Riviera, he can rough it for a while in any one of the suites he maintains at Rome, Florence and Viareggio. While at Caserta he sweated out his stay there in a \$22,000 nest. It was here that, with truly Roman splendor, a so-called Paulina's Pavilion was constructed at a cost of \$5,000 for a farewell party given the daughter of General Sir Frederick Morgan, KCB. It was used once.

The minor brass manages to muddle through. One major, says Ruark, "has a showplace here in Trieste. It is huge and cool and beautifully equipped. There must be about eight rooms. It costs him \$105 a month, and he couldn't duplicate it in the States for \$1,000. The average Army wife has two Italian servants, sometimes three.... The servant costs her about \$10 a month."

## RUARK'S REPORT

The average GI fares somewhat differently. Of the physical conditions of the 700 men in headquarters and service company at Leghorn, Ruark says:

"They have 12 showers, two of which weren't working when I saw them. A WAC company of 121 women, in the same area, has 10 showers.

"The HQ men eat in a mess hall, off mess trays. The heat is so intense that many of the enlisted men either skip the meal entirely or dine off doughnuts and coke in the snack bar at noon, going to town in the evening to eat at their own expense. "I had lunch there. Fat pork was

served in the 95-degree temperature. No man finished his meal.

"The HQ men have no day room in their barracks. There is no place to sit off duty."

Of what are graciously known in the army as "pass privileges," Ruark says the following:

"Viareggio, 30 miles away, is a wonderful resort, and would ordinarily provide a happy recreational outlet for the men. Unfortunately, all Viareggio is completely off limits to everyone but residents. And I don't have to tell you who the residents are. If anything serious ever happened at night, they'd have to set up headquarters in Viareggio, account of there wouldn't be anybody important in Leghorn after dark....

"It is nice to go to Florence, a short distance away, to enjoy the rest hotels afford there. If an enlisted man is good, he can enjoy Army hospitality every 64 weeks. The ratio of seven men to the company, each week end, works out to one pass to every 64 men. There is, naturally, beautiful accommodation for the you-know-whats."

GIs are dogrobbers not only to the officers but to their wives as well. GIs are detailed to take officers' children to the beach. One staff sergeant runs a day nursery. Chauffeur-ing officers to their favorite bar or to—shall we say?—the opera and then waiting hours for them to stagger out is, of course, Standard Operating Procedure.

The officers, with that idiotic petty-mindedness which is a mark of what humorists call the military profession, are salute-crazy:

"Col. Remington Orsinger, commander of the Port of Leghorn, so busy commanding the port that he carries a disciplinary report book to note the names of all who fail to salute his car when it passes. He also interrupts his work to lean out the office windows to bawl at the enlisted personnel in the street. He is said to carry a special pair of scissors for the abrupt removal of stripes from the arms of nonconformists, but that I never saw."

For men who reach a point beyond which they cannot stomach such officer conceit, stupidity and brutality there is a DTC—a disciplinary training camp—at Pisa. Here petty inventions of petty minds are used to correct the effects of petty inventions of petty minds. One favorite punitive measure is the cleaning of messkits with a needle.

Currently there is the usual talk about looking into the situation. Congress promises to investigate. Eisenhower issues his traditional mealy-mouthed statement. Bradley, off on an inspection tour of Europe, says nothing. We can be sure, without having to bring into play the whole arsenal of Marxist historical method, that the total result will be of no great significance.

## THE "REFORMED" ARMY

Lee has figured in the news before. It was his blundering which caused the late arrival of winter equipment on the continent in 1944, thereby resulting in widespread suffering. Nothing ensued. Patton was involved in more than one scandal. He was puffed up into a hero. Kilian, the notorious commander of the Lichfield prison camp (and the subordinate, incidentally, of Gen. Lee) was recommended for promotion. Lee does no more than other army brass. He merely adds his own airs and graces. To expect Eisenhower or Bradley to act against one of their cronies is to be very naive, indeed.

This is a capitalist army and as long as capitalism exists the army will reflect the class structure of society as a whole. Changes in the army can be made, but only through organized mass pressure. Periodic exposés on the order of the current one are of little value. We have heard considerable of the reforms which the army has recently been instituting. Conditions in the kingdom of MTOUSA shows of what practical worth such reforms are in actuality:

King Lee rules.

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## SACCO MURDERED

Torchlights flared in Union Square. A detachment of motorcycle policemen swept in file onto the scene from Fourth Avenue. Their motors barked. Their open cutouts shot bullets of sound through the air. The mechanical whistling moan of sirens. The moan of this mass, growing in volume, mingling with that of the siren, with the bark of the cutouts, and with the muffled roar of a subway train. The crowd milled. Some dashed away. A little man in front of Bernard lowered his head and ran off at breakneck speed. The crowd moaned, howled. A woman fainted near him. Three men carried her away. Milling men and women were all about him. Others stood fixed, dazed. He stood in his tracks. A young man put his hands to his ears, lowered his head, and shrieked. Policemen moved about very efficiently. A detachment appeared on Fifteenth Street, appeared as if from nowhere, and entered the square.

—Murdered!

In his thoughts, this was the word that he had not used.

—Murdered, he told himself amid this milling confusion.

And another sign:

## VANZETTI MURDERED

More people ran. A powerfully built man in work clothes sobbed pitifully. Bernard saw him in the vague light, tears streaming down

## ONLY WORKERS' COURTS WILL GIVE THE WORKERS JUSTICE

And standing in the midst of all this Bernard suddenly realized that the tragedy was consummated. It was sealed, sealed with the finality of death.

—Murdered.

"Break it up! Break it up! Break it up!"

"Move on! Move on!"

"Break it up! Break it up!"

Bernard found himself on the walk in a crush. Police hemmed in this crowd. Others still milled on the grass, and many more ran away.

"All right, break it up!"

"Break it up. It's all over now!"

The cop who had said this was close to Bernard. He sounded as if he were snarling. Bernard glared at him. There was a sneer on his face. Bernard trembled. He turned away from the policeman. His sense of identification with the mass was complete. He was one of them. The policeman shoved him. He was elbowed and pushed about.

"Come on, boys, let's sing the *Internationale*," an old woman said defiantly.

She was immediately in front of Bernard. He saw her clearly. She was tall, and her gray hair was uncombed. Her face was stonelike, firm and strong; it seemed gray in the dimness. Bernard considered it a noble face, full of character.

# Dubinsky Earns Appellation of "Labor Statesman"

By MARY BELL

When the capitalists or their government representatives or journalistic cohorts want to give a merit badge to a labor leader who has done them an especially good turn, they call him a "labor statesman."

Last week when David Dubinsky, president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, advised the locals and joint boards of the ILGWU to continue signing "no-strike" agreements and not to boycott the new, Taft-Hartleyized NLRB, the big business newspapers praised his example of "labor statesmanship" and called his policy "intelligent," "astute," "enlightened," "realistic," etc., etc.

On this particular issue, which has solidified the AFL and CIO as no other blow by the reactionaries has done during their ten-year split, Dubinsky has a virtual monopoly of such "statesmanship." For at the same time that Dubinsky was binding the 400,000 members of his union to no-strike pledges in return for a union shop agreement, his own AFL through its general counsel was advocating exclusion of "no-strike" clauses from contracts. It and the CIO were fighting, in the battle of legal interpretation of the Taft-Hartley law, for recognition of the validity of union contracts minus the no-strike pledge.

Dubinsky's unasked-for and un-called-for "no-strike" pledge on behalf of his union was not merely out of step with the leaders and ranks of CIO and AFL but was an obstacle placed in their path.

## "LABOR RESPONSIBILITY"

However much Dubinsky finds the Taft-Hartley law "vicious and inequitable," he "declared his union would not use it as an excuse for shirking its responsibility to maintain stability in shops that had contracts with the ILGWU." (New York Times.)

"Labor statesmen" are always great for RESPONSIBILITY. But so is Raymond S. Smethurst, Washington counsel of the National Association of Manufacturers! Speaking for the NAM, the latter said: "Employers should resist attempts by labor organizations to escape legal respon-

sibility for the contracts they make. The elimination of "no-strike" clauses or similar commitments from labor contracts can defeat the primary advantages of the collective bargaining agreement."

The NAM isn't going to find Dubinsky shirking his RESPONSIBILITY.

It is indeed a shame that the leader of a union with a progressive and intelligent membership has taken such a step.

## WHAT IS BEHIND IT?

What produced this move? Certainly the unique relationship between the Ladies Garment Workers Union and the needle trades bosses, wherein labor-management collaboration has been elevated to a first principle, and the interests of worker and boss assumed to be identical in this small-scale, precarious and seasonal trade. The lack of major strikes in the needle trades is one of the biggest boasts of the union leadership in recent years, whereas the earlier years of struggle, militant and prolonged strikes and socialist radicalism are being "lived down."

Without going into the necessity and importance of the right to strike for the needle trade worker, we condemn Dubinsky's move from the broader standpoint of the general welfare of the labor movement, whose strongest segments in heavy industry are now embattled over this right. The question of labor solidarity is involved here. And the action

of the ILGWU is out of consonance with the strategy of the rest of the labor movement; it breaks the united front of the union movement in the struggle against the Taft-Hartley law.

As an industry dependent on a consumers' market, one can easily see how the weakening of the struggle of the workers for higher wages can in turn affect the needle trades industry and the union. So that even from the extremely narrow interests which dominate Dubinsky, his action

was a blow against the ILGWU.

In order to be able to obtain higher wages, the workers must have, untrammelled and unfettered in any way, that primary right of all free labor, the right to strike. The no-strike pledges that the Taft-Hartley law would exact from all organized labor are the first serious step—in peacetime, too—to abrogating that right completely.

So, please, no "labor statesmanship," Mr. Dubinsky; just a little labor solidarity.

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