



Open Boarded-Up Mansions to Vets; Build New Homes!

By PHILIP BAGRIAN

There is a housing shortage in every city and town in the country, and it's the men who have returned from the battle fronts of the world who are hardest hit by this shortage.

The housing crisis is rapidly becoming worse, and according to the National Housing Agency, 3,401,000 families will be forced to double up with others by the end of 1946. Nearly 7,000,000 families will be "doubled up," will be living in houses and apartments that are barely large enough for even one family, and according to Wilson W. Wyatt, national housing expediter, millions are forced to live in wretched, sub-standard dwellings that are barely fit for human habitation. "We would have to build approximately 3,000,000 new homes by the end of 1947 just to keep the situation from becoming worse," he stated.

In New York more veterans are without adequate housing than in any other city in the country. A small number of Army and Navy barracks have been converted into small, sub-standard dwellings. About 200,000 Quonset huts, a few trailers and some sectional houses have been promised as relief for the national housing crisis. There are no plans to replace these with permanent housing. And there are not even enough of these temporary dwellings to meet the needs of the veterans.

The following information on the housing needs is from a report by the Committee on Housing and Multiple Dwellings submitted on March 18 to the State Legislature:

The veterans of New York City will need 211,000 housing units, and the veterans in upstate New York will need 148,000 units by December 31, 1946. (A total of only 4,000 emergency units will be provided in New York by state and federal agencies within the next few months!)

Not more than one in twenty-five employed veterans can afford to pay \$80 per month rent, while four out of five cannot afford to pay \$60 per month.

The lowest rent for a new three-room apartment under OPA rules is \$32 per month. In one new project the lowest OPA ceiling for a four-room apartment is \$76 per month, but most of the four-room apartments will rent for \$84 or more. Twenty-seven per cent of the married veterans are unemployed, so the total number who can afford a new three or four-room apartment is actually less than four per cent!

The 1,000 turnover vacancies in New York City, other than those in old-law tenements with private baths—which are a result of death, divorce and related causes—make no dent in the housing shortage, as they are immediately occupied.

There are a total of 18,000 vacant units in partly occupied old-law tenements without private baths or with no heat and in poor locations and 31,000 vacancies in entirely vacant or boarded-up buildings, 23,000 of which are in old-law tenements. Of the 28,000 vacancies in entirely vacant old-law tenements, at least 18,000 are in badly blighted areas which should be the immediate object of slum clearance, and not over 10,000 are in areas suitable for rehabilitation. There are 18,000 vacancies in seasonal units, of which not more than 5,000 can be converted to year-around occupancy.

These are the housing conditions which face the veterans who have returned from their foxholes on all battlefields of the world!

Yet the government which built the most powerful war machine in all history, and in each year of the war constructed billions of dollars' worth of industrial plants at a fantastic rate of speed, is either uninterested or impotent to construct suitable homes to meet the veteran housing emergency. If this government would stop kow-towing before the banking interests and real estate lobbies, it could appropriate five billion dollars for veteran housing, and construct enough homes within one year to remove the present veteran housing shortage from its present critical stage.

In several sections of England, demobilized British soldiers, facing a serious housing shortage, seized the vacant homes of wealthy absentee owners and moved in. On Fifth and Park Avenues, in the exclusive sections of New York (as well as in other cities) there are innumerable boarded-up estates and mansions, each large enough to house adequately from three to eight veterans' families. These estates and mansions are the part-time residences of families who spend their fall and winter months in Florida homes and their summer months in equally spacious mansions at Lake Placid and in the Adirondacks. There appears to be no really pressing housing shortage for these people.

Isn't it inhuman, isn't it criminal, to permit these mansions to remain neatly cased in their unoccupation while veterans of the war tramp the streets looking for a replacement for their recently vacated fox holes?

OPEN THE BOARDED-UP MANSIONS OF THE RICH

The National Emergency Act is still in effect. Washington could, if it so desired, requisition these boarded-up mansions, sub-divide them and open them to veterans as a source of immediate relief in this housing crisis. As it once requisitioned hotels during the war to house military personnel and military and naval installations, Washington can, if it so desires, repeat this performance to provide decent temporary housing for the veterans to fill the urgent need until a five billion dollar one-year veterans' housing program could be completed.

"PEACEMAKERS" BRAWL OVER OIL CONCESSIONS

A Thieves' Kitchen!



Fight for GM Program Continues

By DAVID COOLIDGE

Just one week after the adjournment of the UAW convention, the hired labor "experts" of the capitalist press are explaining that Reuther is already in difficulties because he doesn't have a majority of the UAW IEB, and because Thomas and Addes, according to these hired men, are lining up in a bloc against Reuther.

In the Sunday New York Times, Walter Ruch is certain that Reuther is outvoted in the IEB by 9 to 13, or by 430 votes to 739 votes. Furthermore, says Ruch, Reuther has already been notified by the Addes-Thomas bloc that for the coming IEB meeting in Chicago he must put his whole program in a "package" and lay it before the IEB at one time. According to Ruch, the Addes-Thomas faction will not tolerate Reuther operating

one step at a time to get his program across piecemeal.

PROGRAM IS MAIN FACTOR

We don't know whether or not this is the case, and we are certain that neither does Ruch. The membership of the UAW does not need to be too much concerned with this question either. Reuther was elected after a bitter factional struggle at Atlantic City. The program which he had advanced during the GM strike was the decisive factor in his election. Reuther did not displace Thomas merely because the delegates and the membership of the UAW were tired of Thomas and wanted to give someone else a chance.

It was the power of the new conceptions and the new programmatic ideas advanced in the GM situation which gave the UAW workers, and

above all the progressives and militants, a sense of going in a new direction. Among the rank and file this was, of course, very primitive and confused, but it was there.

This is what the progressives and militants need to concern themselves with today; not what the capitalist press says about who has the majority or the most votes in the IEB.

KEEP THE HEAT ON!

Reuther is president. He will be president for about 16 months before he comes up for re-election. No one can say now exactly what the line-up will be in the IEB. Any maneuvering by the Addes-Thomas forces in the IEB, even if they turn out to be the majority, will not be decisive. It is not a majority in the IEB, whether it is Reuther's or Thomas-Addes', which will be the decisive factor in

The series of diplomatic skirmishes, troop movements, threats, wars of nerves and exits from United Nations Councils, which will some day be known as the Russian-Iranian Incident, has come to a temporary close with an agreement that seems quite "agreeable" to all the governments concerned.

The Iranians are happy because the Russians are moving their troops out. The Russians smack their lips at the thought of the oil concessions they are to get. The British and Americans, thinking of their endangered oil concessions in southern Iran, are relieved. And the defenders of International Morality who dribble columns for the capitalist press are also pleased: they

Reading Steel Local Urges Militant Action

READING, Pa. — Local 2715 USA-CIO, at a meeting held on Wednesday, April 3, adopted a fighting, progressive policy which the local's delegation will campaign for at the May Convention of the USA-CIO. The program is embodied in several resolutions which were discussed and passed at the April 3 meeting. These resolutions sum up the lessons that the members of the local learned anew as a result of their experiences during the recent strike wave, especially the strike in steel in which they had first-hand experience. After eleven weeks, Local 2715 is still on strike. They have cause to be embittered at the course pursued by Murray during the course of the strike.

Another resolution adopted by the local called for the formation of an independent labor party.

One resolution strikes hard at the short-sighted and timid policy of Murray. It reveals the real source of the capitulation and retreat in steel. The resolution declares that the basic error made was the refusal of Murray to take up arms against a price increase for the steel companies. As a result, in a short time, the steel workers will realize that they have been handed an empty victory. It was because of a refusal to make a vigorous and courageous fight

(Continued on page 2)

add the ludicrous note to the whole sorry business by seeing in the imperialist deal a victory for the principles of "sovereignty for small nations" and "world cooperation."

WHO WON, WHO LOST?
In this atmosphere of happy hypocrisy, it seems almost brutish to ask: What has really happened? What is the real meaning of the Soviet-Iran treaty? Who won and who lost what? But the questions must be asked and answered.

The Russians have agreed to leave Iran. That is clearly a partial defeat for them. They discovered that the pressure of the Anglo-American bloc was too strong in this instance and that they would therefore have to postpone, though not abandon, their own imperialist plans for OPEN domination of Iran. With typically bland hypocrisy, the Stalinist government pretends that it intended to withdraw its troops from Iran all along. Only...only it neglected to mention it before, and in fact invaded Iran even more deeply AFTER the date originally set for its withdrawal.

But if defeat it is for the Stalin government, it is only a temporary and partial one. For the Russians have been promised an oil concession in northern Iran, which is what they were primarily concerned with all along. At the moment, they are not challenging the 100,000 square mile British concession in southwestern Iran, but are to limit their robbing of Iran's resources to the northern sections of that unhappy country. And they are to do it—here is the central point—with the agreement and consent of Britain and America. According to an article by Russell Porter, in the April 4 New York Times, "if Russian troops and pressure are withdrawn, and friendly negotiations are substituted, this Government's (that is, the United States—Ed.) attitude could be expected to be one of 'benevolent interest.'" In a word, as the headline to Porter's article says, U. S. Favors Iran Oil Grant to Russia.

All the stormy rhetoric at UN Council sessions about "self-determination for small nations"—where has it evaporated? American and British imperialism cared not a whit for Iran's independence; they merely wanted to prevent Stalin's Russia from having the same exploitive privileges in Iran that they themselves had. It's an invariable rule: when an imperialist diplomat starts talking about morality, his hand is always slipping into the pocket of some weak, resource-rich country like Iran which cannot defend itself.

But this temporary agreement can (Continued on page 4)

Get Behind Drive for a Bigger, Better L. A.!

By ALBERT GATES, Editor of Labor Action

The field of labor and socialist journalism is in capitalist society a unique form of expression. The very purpose of a workers' press takes it out of the realm of customary journalism as we experience it every day of our lives.

All newspapers are vehicles of propaganda. The capitalist press, the most corrupt and biased press in the world, pretends to be impartial. It pretends to be impartial in a society of classes, of bosses and workers, of rich and poor, of the well-fed, well-housed and well-clothed and the hungry, ill-housed and ill-clad. It pretends to be impartial in attitude toward the great problems produced by capitalism: war, unemployment, starvation, the class struggle.

Yet, the capitalist press, a big business enterprise closely allied to finance and industry, is indeed the most partial press we know. It lives on insinuation, subtleties and outright lying. It is pro-big business and unmistakably anti-labor. It is capable of big lies, as well as small ones. It never ceases in its venomous outpourings against the interests of the working class.

A BIAS TOWARD LABOR

A workers' paper stands as a living answer to the corruption and morality of the capitalist press. It openly takes the side of the wage earner and all exploited people against their exploiters and oppressors. It never pretends that in a strike one must see the bosses' side of it, for a workers' paper is always on the side of the workers. In a profit society, in which one class lives by exploiting another, a workers' paper frankly and boldly takes the side of the workers.

LABOR ACTION is that kind of a paper. It is a labor paper in that it represents the interests of the working class. But it is more than that; it is a socialist paper because it seeks not merely an improvement of the conditions of the workers under capitalism, but the abolition of this system of scarcity and insecurity and its replacement by a social order of security and plenty for all. LABOR ACTION fights for socialism in order to end the exploitation of man by man for all time; to eliminate wars and unemployment and hunger.

Those who have read LABOR ACTION during the war years came to know it as the hard-hitting champion of the working class. LABOR ACTION's handicap was lack of sufficient space to deal with all the great questions of the day. In the complex world in which we live there are far too many occurrences of importance to the working class to compress into four pages.

LABOR ACTION DEPENDS UPON LABOR

An eight-page LABOR ACTION is a matter of life and death. LABOR ACTION is not an advertisers' paradise. It cannot count among its supporters men of wealth. It has no secret funds. It gets no assistance from any great power—LABOR ACTION depends for its existence on the support and aid given it by its readers. I cannot add anything to what has already been written by my associates.

I merely want to add my appeal to all friends of LABOR ACTION to get behind the \$15,000 fund drive of the Workers Party to enable us to launch a bigger and better LABOR ACTION, the finest labor and socialist weekly in the United States.

WE'RE GOING TO HAVE AN 8-PAGE LABOR ACTION!

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

Name _____
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NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Fight for GM Program Continues in UAW - -

(Continued from page 1) who were responsible for his election, proceed in this manner they will rally the rank and file to their support and behind the new program to which Reuther is committed.

It is correct pressure of this type which will determine where the IEB members will jump, and what they will vote for and what they dare not vote against. It is the pressure of the rank and file under the leadership of the progressives and militants which will determine who has the majority on the IEB.

PROGRAM WILL PREVAIL

If Reuther stands up and fights for the program which he has been given a mandate to carry out, that program will prevail in the UAW, even though for the present, Thomas and Addes may succeed in organizing a voting majority in the IEB.

FOR REAL POLITICAL ACTION As written, the program does not ignore political action; it does worse: it makes a miserable farce of the very idea of independent working class political action.

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within the existing party structure.

But at the same time he is for "independent political action." Where? When? How? Inside the Republican-Democratic Parties? Does he expect to elect enough "candidates pledged to this program" to capture the Republican and Democratic Parties?

URW Must Undertake Fight Against Piecework

By GEORGE WHITNEY AKRON, March 25—All the locals of the United Rubber Workers have not yet ratified the agreement with the Big Four rubber companies and already the Akron companies are attempting to steal back the wage raises.

sary to bring the wages of the working class up to what is termed the "normal" ratio between wages and prices (in other words, just enough for the average worker to exist on).

The task of the militants and progressives right now is to render full support to Reuther in every step which he takes to carry out the program which has been adopted. It is their task, also, to demand that he carry out this program. It should be the function of the militants and progressives to understand this program to win the rank and file to its support.

This plank is a masterpiece of contradiction and skulduggery. Even from a literary standpoint it is incoherent. Politically it is incomprehensible. The Republican and Democratic Parties are called upon to convert government owned plants "into public corporations and cooperatives under democratic controls in the public interest" if "private enterprise will not use these plants."

But it is precisely at this point that the progressives and militants have a job to do. It is the job of changing the program to include a demand upon Reuther and the IEB for action in connection with independent working class political action NOW.

TIME-STUDY MEN

Time-study men can be found in most departments of these two plants, re-studying the jobs. The intent is to cut the base rates on all jobs so that when the 18 1/2 cent raise is added, it will do no more than bring them back up to the level from which the whole thing started.

If it weren't for the fact that the rubber companies work on piecework, this sneak attempt could not possibly be put over. That is the biggest failing of the URW, that it has never succeeded in eliminating piecework, Bedeaux system, etc.

Negro Paper Launches Fight in Detroit Against Discrimination

DETROIT, March 21—The Detroit Tribune, one of Detroit's leading Negro weekly newspapers, today entered its fourth week in a progressive battle, to date, fruitless fight to open responsible jobs to qualified Negroes in downtown stores.

By BEN HALL

DETROIT, April 7—The strike of bus and street car operators on the city-owned transportation system (DSR) ended today when the leaders of the union, the Amalgamated Association of Street Railway and Motor Coach Employees (AFL), accepted a 15 cents an hour increase in wages and submitted all other issues in dispute to arbitration.

its old contract which expired on March 31. It is these demands of the Mayor which will go to arbitration.

RANKS AGAINST RETURN

Three days ago, on Thursday, a mass meeting of more than 3000 strikers had almost unanimously turned down arbitration and had voted to remain on strike until their demands were granted.

Party Fund Drive Gains Momentum

By NATHAN GOULD, National Organizer, Workers Party

Last week, Albert Gates, editor of LABOR ACTION, promised that the Akron Local would make a determined drive in behalf of the \$15,000 Party and Press Expansion Drive.

Special congratulations are due to Baltimore, which moved from the very bottom of the list to 100 per cent fulfillment of its quota; to Detroit, Philadelphia, Chicago and Reading, which are in there plugging.

And a special note is due the New York Local, which from the very beginning has set a remarkable example. The New York Local of the Workers Party at the very start of the drive increased its already high quota of \$4,000 to \$5,000. That is, it agreed to raise one-third of the total of the National Fund Drive.

NEW YORK LOCAL BRANCHES

Table with 4 columns: Branch, Pledge, Contribution, Per Cent. Rows include Harlem, Brooklyn, U. E., Chelsea, Yorkville, Queens.

New York has set itself a goal of fulfilling its quota by May 1. The branches are just beginning to approach sympathizers for contributions, an effort which has already netted \$288 in cash and a good deal more in pledges.

Table with 5 columns: Branch, Quota, Current Contribution, Total Contribution, Per Cent. Rows include Hibbing, Minn., Baltimore, Md., Newark, N. J., New York, N. Y., Buffalo, N. Y., Akron, Ohio, Youngstown, Ohio, National Office, San Francisco, Cal., Philadelphia, Pa., Reading, Pa., Los Angeles, Cal., Chicago, Ill., San Pedro, Cal., Detroit, Mich., Louisville, Ky., Seattle, Wash., Boston, Mass., Cleveland, Ohio, St. Louis, Mo., Streator, Ill., Totals.

Readers of LABOR ACTION: Send your contributions for an eight-page LABOR ACTION to: LABOR ACTION, 114 West 14th Street, New York 11, N. Y. Be a LABOR ACTION Booster.

A survey conducted before the fight was announced three weeks ago revealed that Negroes are hired only for menial tasks in Detroit's major retail establishments.

BUCK-PASSING TECHNIQUE

Out of a total of 25 stores contacted, nine have replied. Typical answers were these classic buck-passers:

"Our policy with regard to the employment of Negroes as sales people, clerical help, buyers, etc., is to conform with the practice followed by the majority of retail establishments in the communities where we operate stores."

Responding to a request that readers with the qualifications and experience needed for sales jobs contact the Tribune, many Negroes were interviewed at the Tribune office last week.

Workers at Sam's Cut Rate (one of the stores contacted which has a large volume of Negro business) are members of the United Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Employees, CIO. Ironically enough, they enjoy one of the best union contracts to be found in any retail establishment in the nation, but no anti-discrimination in employment clause can be found in the contract.

Reading Local - -

(Continued from page 1)

against price rises that the workers in the fabricating industries find themselves out on strike six and seven weeks after the settlement in Big Steel.

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A third resolution calls for the need, within labor's ranks, of unity in action on a nation-wide scale.

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NOW AVAILABLE:

Basic Documents of the Workers Party—Series No. 1 Contains: Majority and Minority Resolutions on the Russian Question (1941) Order Now Single Copy, 25 Cents

Dave Beck Should Have Spoken to C of C

Editor:

A pillar of Seattle society spoke at a meeting here last week. It was a speech worthy of applause and back-slapping from a luncheon gathering of the Young Men's Business Club or the Chamber of Commerce.

But that is the rub. This speech was made at the opening session of the Tenth Annual Conference of Teamsters. The speaker was Dave Beck, an international vice-president of the Teamster's Union, and local labor faker.

"Good old Dave," as he is affectionately called by his plug-uglies and body guards, has made quite a name for himself in Seattle by his peculiar organizing methods reminiscent of Murder, Inc. as well as his importation of the best strong arm talent in the country.

Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor...

worked together for Boss Pendergast in Kansas City.

He gave his audience of some three hundred teamsters from eleven western states a good old fashioned red scare and a few sick headaches.

To erase any doubt in the minds of his listeners as to just how they were to speak and act in the face of this threat, he declared that "union members must support the free enterprise system. We must realize industry cannot pay us and operate at a loss. We must take our part in seeing that industry is profitable. We are vitally interested in seeing that labor is giving an honest day's work for its higher wages (remember take-home pay, Dave) and working conditions."

Likes "Full of Facts" Labor Action

Dear Editor:

Your nice letter received, and I assure you that I will do my very best to get your "full of facts" paper into as many hands of "stupid America" as I possibly can.

It is generally presumed in these parts that he was just being funny when he denounced "power-drunken labor leadership."

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Office, 127 South Broadway, Room 310. Office open daily 11 A.M. to 3 P.M. except Friday and Sunday. Open evening: Wednesday 6:00-8:30.

NEWARK

LABOR ACTION HEADQUARTERS in Newark at 248 Market St.

LABOR ACTION Hall is available to organizations for meetings. For rental terms and arrangements, write R. Shaw, Labor Action Hall, 248 Market Street, Newark, N. J.

FORUM: "The Negro and the Coming American Revolution." Speaker: Emanuel Garrett, editor, LABOR ACTION, April 12, 8:30 p.m.

Friday, April 19—Round Table Discussion—"Labor Must Build Its Own Party." Speaker: Robert West.

NEW YORK CITY

CITY OFFICE—114 West 14th St., open all day until 7 p.m. Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday—open until 10 p.m.

CHELSEA BRANCH—Wednesday, April 17, 8:30 P. M. THE UNO AND POWER POLITICS. Speaker: Steve Parker. Place: Labor Temple, 14th Street and 2nd Avenue.

Third Semester of the Workers Party School opens April 16. Classes will meet Tuesdays and Thursdays. Register NOW!

PHILADELPHIA

HEADQUARTERS, 1105 Walnut St.

SAN PEDRO

LABOR ACTION HALL, 1039 So. Meyer St.

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

SOCIALIST YOUTH LEAGUE

The Socialist Youth League, youth section of the Workers Party, has youth units in the following cities: Manhattan, New York; Brooklyn, New York; Philadelphia, Penna.; Baltimore, Maryland; Boston, Mass.; Detroit, Mich.; Chicago, Ill.; Cleveland, Ohio; Madison, Wisconsin, and Seattle, Washington.

If you live in any of these cities and desire to attend the youth meetings, write to Socialist Youth League, 114 W. 14th St., New York, N. Y.

Leaders Force End to Transit Strike

DETROIT, March 21—The Detroit Tribune, one of Detroit's leading Negro weekly newspapers, today entered its fourth week in a progressive battle, to date, fruitless fight to open responsible jobs to qualified Negroes in downtown stores.

strike was a mistake but that the AFL would unitedly fight against any attempt to operate the transportation system with scabs.

Three days ago, on Thursday, a mass meeting of more than 3000 strikers had almost unanimously turned down arbitration and had voted to remain on strike until their demands were granted.

The strikers had originally demanded an increase of 18 cents. Edward Jeffries, mayor, had offered 15 cents but had qualified this offer with a number of demands for concessions and retreats by the union from

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(Continued from page 1)

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of Amalgamated Division 26, and Andrew Sayed, business agent, pressed for an end to the strike.

One speaker, Stephen Singler, former business agent, denounced the proposed settlement and spoke against going back to work.

BUREAUCRATS WIN

Before any real discussion could take place, Storey, who was chairing the meeting, suddenly declared the debate closed. He called for a surprise standing vote of all who favored a work return.

Hundreds of strikers broke into a roar of denunciation of this undemocratic procedure. Many of those objecting and shouting for continuation of the strike were men wearing military service buttons.

The strikers may get a lesson in arbitration. The board of arbitration consists of a representative of the union, one from the DSR, and a third, holding the decisive voice, Police Commissioner John F. Ballenger.

WORKERS PARTY ANNIVERSARY A HUGE SUCCESS

NEW YORK CITY—More than 300 friends and sympathizers of the Workers Party celebrated its sixth anniversary at Caravan Hall on Sunday evening, April 7. The fine spirit of fun and gaiety, always a prominent feature of these affairs, made it a social as well as a financial success.

The large hall was decorated with posters and slogans that indicated some of the activities of the Workers Party. Comrade Max Shachtman made a moving speech on the party and its program.

At the mass meeting today, all the leaders rose to "sell" the idea of arbitration and a work return that had been rejected only three days before.

man's representative government, and force the "coupon clippers" onto the assembly line where they'll earn their salt or starve. Don't think for a moment I'm a radical; I'm merely bitter because of so much unfairness dealt out and gotten away with.

The messy way things are handled in this country of ours makes me sick, but there is an object in view, and that object always forms the rich man and stomps all over the poor man...

Oh, we are doing very nicely, thank you. We could do better if the coupon clippers were working as we do. But we want it better for everyone, not just for us. Somehow I just can't be selfish, must be socialistically inclined, eh?

More power to your paper, and more power to your views and ours. Sincerely, —MRS. HELEN RICH Wmsph 15, Penna.

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

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

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IN THE RECONVERSION AND POST-WAR PERIOD

FOR THE UNEMPLOYED AND VETERANS

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

2. Less Hours—More Pay
Absorption of all workers thrown into unemployment during reconversion by reduction of the work-week with no reduction in weekly take-home pay.

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

FOR THE POST-WAR WORLD

4. Jobs For All at a Guaranteed Annual Living Wage
A job for every worker with a guaranteed minimum annual wage of \$2,500 per year. A rising standard of living, by means of government planning to insure the highest national production and income.

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

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

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

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

THESE AIMS TO BE ACHIEVED THROUGH

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

9. Nationalization of Big Business
Nationalization of the banks, big industrial monopolies and transportation systems, and no handing over of government-built and owned plants and facilities to private ownership.

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

11. Workers' Control of Production
Control of production by democratically-elected workers' committees.

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

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

One-Tenth of the Nation

On Organizing the South

By J. R. Johnson

Workers, take note; Negro workers especially. The conflict between the southern wing of the Democratic Party and the sections headed by organized labor in Congress is sharper than ever. The forces of organized labor and the masses of the Negroes must intervene. This is what is happening:

Truman and Hannegan cannot so far pacify the southern Democrats. They send 22 Senators and 103 Representatives to Congress.

"They come from the poorest and most underprivileged section of the country, but they represent only the upper economic crust which, with the aid of the poll tax, still rules the South." So says a writer in the New York Post today, Monday, April 8. That is what we are saying. If those underprivileged people were free to vote as they wished they would follow the lead of the CIO. But they are held in chains by means of the poll tax and Negro segregation.

Now, despite all its weaknesses, organized labor is hammering away at a solution of the Negro question in its own ranks. Anyone who followed the UAW Convention can see this. This means death for the Southern Negro-baiters. They are acting in Congress like a third party. They defy Truman and Hannegan who need the labor vote to keep in power. These Southern enemies of civilization oppose all pro-labor legislation and all pro-Negro legislation. They know that they must fight both labor and the Negro.

WHAT CAN LABOR DO?

What does Truman do? He has capitulated to them. He said in Chicago that the Southern States must work out their poll tax problem for themselves. It is a peace offer to these

enemies of labor and of the Negro people. He tells them that he will not fight any longer. They can settle it, that is, they can keep it as they have always had it, or fool around with it leaving it pretty much as it is.

Clark Forman of Atlanta says that this means Truman will not run in 1948. He is aware that he cannot get his program through Congress and is giving up. Maybe. When we have time we'll send a telegram of congratulation to Truman and tell him that before he goes he should declare himself for an independent labor party. But whether he as an individual goes or stays causes no excitement among us. We are concerned with something else. How can labor intervene in this critical political situation?

That is exactly what this column has been talking about for the past two weeks. Philip Murray says the CIO is going into the South to organize labor. Good. In fact, wonderful. Now listen to him at the UAW Convention. This is from the account in the CIO News:

"There is a great gateway," he said, "a gateway of opportunity lying wide open for this mighty movement of ours to go through." When the CIO passes through that gateway, he added, it will do so "to bring about the economic and political emancipation of millions of people who are deprived of these opportunities today.

"There is no other instrumentality I know of anywhere in America that seems quite so capable of performing that task as the CIO. We have been reading about many things in the South for many years—poll tax, low wages and the inability of the average poorer wage earner to vote on election day."

"I have a notion there is only one way to cure that condition down

there. It isn't by confining our task exclusively in Washington to the Bilbos and the Rankins and their ilk. No, the CIO has got to go into the South and carry the message of America to the people down there."

This is splendid, particularly where he says that the CIO will not confine itself exclusively to action against Bilbo and Rankin in Congress. That is exactly what LABOR ACTION and the Workers Party think.

FLY IN OINTMENT

But LABOR ACTION and the Workers Party have no confidence in Philip Murray. And among other reasons this is why: Immediately after that good section of the speech he says, "We are not going into the South to violate the law; we are going into the South in the year 1946 like we went into the North 10 years ago to carry the message of the CIO."

Now this is precisely the question. No one expects the leader of the CIO to say that he is going into the South "to break the law." But if he is not going there among other things to help the people abolish the poll tax, then all his talk about political emancipation of the people is pure froth. For in the South the poll tax is the law. We want to break that law, to abolish it. Truman has said that he is not interfering. The CIO must interfere.

While not forgetting Truman and his friends, Bilbo and Rankin, organized labor and the Negroes must make their voices ring in Philip Murray's ears. In the United States today, only the CIO can lead in the solution of this problem, and the CIO must do it. The telegrams and the resolutions should pour into Philip Murray's office, not Truman's!

Albert Maltz Confesses to His "Crimes"

By Irving Howe

The intellectual section of the Stalinist movement has been wracked by a "literary discussion" in recent weeks. This discussion was initiated by an article by Albert Maltz in the New Masses in which Maltz made a very hesitant, timorous plea for a certain amount of discretion in condemning writers who had strayed from the "party line"; or rather for discretion in condemning writers merely on political grounds.

He gave as an example the indiscriminate condemnation of James T. Farrell in which the Stalinist movement indulges, a condemnation motivated exclusively by the fact that Farrell is sympathetic to revolutionary Marxism and therefore opposes Stalinism. Maltz, of course, has no sympathy for Farrell's politics; but he wistfully hinted that Farrell's politics were insufficient reason in themselves for which to condemn his novels on artistic grounds.

"BROWDERISM" IN ART

For this seemingly platitudinous statement—which all sensible people, let alone those professing to be Marxists, take for granted; that is, that art is not to be judged on the basis of party loyalty—Maltz drew upon his head a shower of abuse and condemnation which ended in his being labeled with the newest and most terrifying heresy: Browderism. The issues involved in this interminable dispute among the Stalinist intellectuals—or more accurately, in this hatchet campaign by them against Maltz—are of considerable importance. LABOR ACTION has simply lacked the space to comment on them in detail, though we have followed the matter with a detailed discussion by James T. Farrell in the April New Internationalist, which we recommend to every interested reader.

A new development has arisen, however, which we cannot pass in silence: our scruples about space are overcome by this excellent opportunity to demonstrate the true intellectual level of Stalinism.

Albert Maltz has confessed! He has seen the errors of his ways! In the April 9 New Masses he prints as craven, as belly-crawling, as positively sickening a recantation as it has been our displeasure to read. (If Maltz were in the dock, you'd swear his piece was part of the Moscow trials.) And remember: in line of duty, we've read a good many Stalinist recantations, in which the offender humbly confessed to having betrayed everything from Socialism to Dialectical Materialism (the betrayal of which is of course the cardinal crime of all!)

TOTALITARIANIZATION IN ART

Listen to Maltz: "I severed the organic connection between art and ideology..." (Horror! Can there be anything worse than that crime?) And "... a word of comment on Farrell. I agree now that my characterization of him was decidedly lax, and that it was the inadvertent, but inevitable, result of the line of thinking in my article that separated art from ideology and politics." (Ha! Betrayal that Maltz is! Giving aid and comfort to Farrell, than whom none is held in lower repute... by the Stalinists!) "It seems clear to me... that I have been discussing and illustrating revisionism, and that my article, as pointed out by others, was a specific example of revisionist thinking in the cultural field." (It is clear that if Maltz has condemned himself to the lower depths, it is only because he hopes to sneak back into purgatory. He further flagellated himself with the onus of "Browderism" which makes it impossible, he informs us, to "really love the people." (Oh woe, oh woe: Browder, the source of impotence which makes it impossible to love the people! But Foster, there's a really virile chap, from whom writers can gain the ability to really "love the people.")

But what really gets under Maltz's all-too-delicate skin is this: his article was praised by the New Leader, the Social-Democratic weekly. And so, with the praise of the New Leader hanging like a millstone around his neck, Maltz confesses. "Good art," he writes, "has always and will always come from the writers who love people, who ally themselves with the fate of the people, with the struggle of the people for social advancement." And does it not follow as B follows A—to put it in the language of the Beloved Stalin—that those who do not "ally themselves with the people" (that is, are opposed to totalitarian Stalinism) must necessarily be bad writers?

ART IN RELATION TO SOCIETY

Of course, this point of view happens to ignore history a little, but that has never fazed the Stalinists. It ignores the fact that there have been great writers who were not allies of "the struggle of the people for social advancement"—to mention only a few of the titans: Balzac, Dostoevsky, Coleridge, Wordsworth, etc., etc. (You can fill in your own examples at will.) Art is not a mechanical replica of politics; it is an autonomous cultural activity which, while related to and drawing deep inspiration from social currents, can by no means be equated to them. This is not to say that the socialist movement does not desire and need the support of writers and artists; on the contrary. But it is to say that no political movement has the right to dictate what a writer shall write, how an artist shall paint, how a critic shall judge.

What a contrast between this point of view, which is, simply put, that of revolutionary socialists, and the point of view of Stalinism. Does a pathetic little soul like Maltz dare suggest that art is not the handmaid of the Stalinist line? He is publicly whipped, denounced, humiliated. He is berated by that expert dialectician, Howard Fast. Stalinism cannot tolerate intellectual independence or critical thought. It either drives thinking writers from its midst... or they confess and crawl back into their intellectual stockades.

Such is the sad case of Albert Maltz, once again goose-stepping in behalf of Stalinism. Of him, it will perhaps be said: he once tried to think—ever so slightly, to be sure—but the results were so terrifying, so unlike the slogans of others which he had habitually parroted, that he returned to the intellectual position which he had always occupied: horizontal prostration before the intellectual dictatorship of Stalinism.

And to all the other little writers and artists who had sold their souls to Stalinism, it was a warning too: if you dare to think for yourself, you too will meet the fate of Maltz and will have to confess.

That is the way Stalinism works.

The Miners and the GM Program

The leading demand of the country's 400,000 soft coal miners who are now on strike for a new contract is for a health and medical care service fund. Terrible health hazards, danger of serious injury and the possibility of death without parallel in other industries face every miner.

John L. Lewis, president of the Miners' Union, has already taxed the coal operators with responsibility for over 28,000 human lives and 1,400,000 "mangled, crushed and shattered" bodies which went into the cost of the soft coal mined during the past fourteen years. So incontrovertible is the evidence that soft coal operators have been unable to reply to Lewis' damning indictment of their mismanagement and greed.

The present method of insurance on the part of the mine owners extracts \$10 to \$12 monthly from the miners' paychecks to pay for substandard medical service and hospitalization whose value is estimated at a third the cost to the workers. It is "company insurance."

No one, except the operators and stockholders who coin their profits out of the heartache, misery and deaths of miners can oppose the legitimacy of the miners' claim.

The question arises, however: who will pay the cost of adequate health insurance for the mine workers?

Lewis seemed unconcerned with this question at the beginning of his campaign. But it is obvious that if the mine union succeeds in levying a royalty on every ton of coal, the mine owners will attempt to pass this increase on to the consuming public, including the miners themselves, in the customary capitalist manner—by price increases.

Meanwhile, something new has occurred in the labor movement, something that indicates the solution to this problem which confronts the entire labor movement, whether it asks for a wage increase or insurance benefits. We refer to the GM PROGRAM, enunciated by Walter Reuther in the fight of the auto workers against the General Motors Corporation. The essence of the GM PROGRAM was not in its wage demand but in that it related wages, profits and prices, in that it demanded wages be increased without a price increase and that the corporation books be opened.

No price rise means that wage increases, or as in the demands of the miners, insurance benefits, must come squarely out of corporation profits, not out of the pockets of the consuming public. Otherwise, any benefits the workers secure are immediately erased by rising prices.

To the squeals of the employers that they can't afford to pay wage increases out of profits, labor answers: Open your books! Not to government pseudo-fact-finding boards, but to union committees. Let us determine whether you can pay those increases. Let us see how much you allocate to wages, how much to profits, how much to hidden reserves, how much to advertising campaigns against our union, etc. Your own statement that you can't pay us a decent living wage is itself a confession of social bankruptcy. Through our workers' committees, which are not interested in profits, but in production for use and guaranteed jobs and a high standard of living, we shall make proposals for the management of industry. Our workers' committees will demonstrate that we can control production, plan production, toss considerations of profit out the window and assure labor higher standards than it has ever had, and not penalize the public by price increases. These committees to inspect the books, amount to schools of planned production.

What follows from these two cardinal principles in the GM program is one not called for by Reuther, but which is a logical follow-through and one which LABOR ACTION and the Workers Party have been campaigning for since their inception. That is: an independent labor party which will represent labor on the political front as it is now represented on the economic front. In order to plan production, in order to remove the economic royalists from the domination over labor, it is necessary for labor to replace the parties of the capitalist class with its own party which will represent labor, small farmers and little people.

These are the implications of the GM PROGRAM, which still must be fought for even in the auto union where Reuther was elevated to the presidency because of his identification with the program. Lewis has given some sign recently of withdrawing from his completely indefensible stand that the operators are entitled to a price increase. That, however, is not enough.

The GM PROGRAM should be applied in the miners' fight. The insurance prerogative should be assumed by the miners and paid for by the operators, but without a price increase. To the operators' thunderous silence upon this demand of the miners' union, the union should call for the opening of the operators' books.

Add to that, participation in independent political action, and the miners, together with the rest of organized labor, would be invincible.

WORLD POLITICS

What is happening inside Germany—that wracked and wretched land to which the Allies were going to import their blessed democracy?

A series of amazing reports in the last few days indicate that the mismanagement, reactionary blundering, brutal imperialist suppression and plain looting which have characterized the occupying powers' behavior have now reached an absolutely fantastic point. You may remember that last week this column reported the harrowing news that the concentration camps of Buchenwald and Sachsenhausen, in which hundreds of thousands of anti-Nazi workers and Jews had been slaughtered, have now been reopened by the Russians and in them they have incarcerated Social-Democrats, left-wing Socialists and other unidentified radicals whose only crime has been political dissent from Stalinism.

Further information has reach us via the February 26 issue of the English newspaper, Manchester Guardian, which reports a series of specific instances in which anti-Nazis have been returned to the concentration camps from which they were presumably "liberated." Among them is Dr. Hermann Brill, a Thuringian Social-Democrat who was arrested for underground work in 1938 and was still in Buchenwald when the Americans arrived. Brill had been a leading member of the secret prisoners' committee organized in Buchenwald, which organized international cooperation among them. And now he has been thrown back into Buchenwald by the "liberating red army!"

An ironic footnote is the fact that Dr. Brill, within the Social-Democracy, had been an advocate of fusion with the Stalinists, but had merely opposed some of the specific conditions on which the Stalinists insisted. Brill's fate, both personally and politically, should be an object lesson to those within the labor movement who still so mistakenly believe that it is possible for any honest socialist group to have any truck whatever with Stalinism. Stalinism must not be courted; it must be smashed!

MORE NEWS FROM THE RUSSIAN-CONTROLLED ZONE IN GERMANY

The Stalinists have thus far suffered a severe moral defeat in the poll taken within the Social-Democratic Party on the proposal to fuse with the German Communist Party. By an overwhelming proportion, nearly five to one, the members of the Social-Democracy in the western zone voted against fusion. As soon as news of this vote got around, the Russian military government forbade the Social-Democrats to continue the poll in the eastern zone! Apparently they don't like elections which the NKVD can't completely control—though they've utilized ever conceivable terrorist method to force through the fusion. The Russians hope by this projected fusion to control completely the labor movement of Germany and to forestall any possible channel of critical or independent political action. It is believed in Berlin that, regardless of the results of the poll, the Russians will force the fusion, in their zone at least. The Social-Democrats, never famous for intransigence, will for the most part capitulate.

Another interesting item from the eastern zone is that the Russians have recently made their second "clean-up" of industrial equipment and factories in the part of Berlin they control. This time, they promise, is the very, very last—probably because there's not very much left to grab!

IN WESTERN ZONE—WHERE POLICE KILL JEWS

Scandalous as is the behavior of the Russian occupation, it is fully equalled by that of the American and British. The Americans have pursued the totally reactionary policy of employing German policemen previously employed by the Hitler régime, to supervise displaced persons' camps. Since, naturally enough, the Jewish and non-German people in these camps can feel nothing but bitter hatred toward the Nazis and their police, such a policy can mean nothing but deliberate provocation of the very people who suffered most under Hitler. Last week, in one such camp in Stuttgart, the Nazi-trained police provoked the Jewish inmates to a

riot and then shot several, killing one, a man named Samuel Damzger, who had survived four years of Nazi concentration camps only to fall from a bullet fired by the agent of the "democratic liberators."

RESULTS OF THE POTSDAM AGREEMENT

In the meantime, chaos reigns in Germany as a result of the Potsdam Agreement of the Big Three. And with chaos there reigns demoralization, hunger, wretchedness.

The dismemberment of Germany has produced results that might have been expected. Economic coordination between zones is impossible. The Russian zone, for instance, has more food and the British-American more coal, but a proper and rational distribution of these commodities is sabotaged by the imperialist tug of war among the occupying powers. France, by its veto power in the occupying council, insists upon the separation of the industrial Ruhr from the rest of Germany and hereby prevents—on the formal plane at least—any unified policy. The Russians insist that Germany, the most highly industrialized country in Europe, not be permitted to attain a high level of production, while the British favor a comparatively high level. All of these rivalries are based on imperialist counter-rivalries and leave the people of Germany in an impossible situation.

Is it any wonder then that, as reported here last week new feelings of nationalism are arising among the German people, new tendencies toward reactionary chauvinism are perceptible? It is precisely on the Allied repression that the reactionary German nationalists thrive. Just as once before Wilson, Lloyd George and Clemenceau paved the path for Hitler, today their contemporary counterparts are paving a path for some future Hitler.

In this situation, the task of revolutionary socialists in Germany should be not to succumb one inch to the nationalist demagoguery which is sweeping the university circles, but all the same to understand and give proper significance to the genuine sentiments toward national freedom which undoubtedly exist among the German people. The reactionary dribble of the pan-Germans is not at all the same thing as the desire of the German masses for national freedom: that is, to kick out the armies of the victorious conquerors which today fester upon them and make impossible a democratic reconstruction of the German labor movement. It is only by demonstrating that these national liberation desires can be achieved by opposing the chauvinists and by a mass struggle under progressive working class leadership, that the revolutionary socialists in Germany can make real contact with the German masses and raise before them a genuine prospectus of their historic task, a task which can only end in the socialist revolution.

WP PRE-CONVENTION DISCUSSION ARTICLES TO APPEAR IN LABOR ACTION

Starting next week, LABOR ACTION will devote two columns each week to the Workers Party pre-convention discussion. This discussion has already been in progress for several weeks inside the Workers Party in preparation for the coming national convention.

Because our space is limited, it will be impossible to devote more than the two columns per issue to pre-convention discussion material. Contributions will therefore have to be brief, not exceeding 750 words.

Pre-convention discussion articles are also appearing in The New Internationalist and in the weekly Workers Party Bulletin. Copies of the latter may be secured by sending 15 cents to the Workers Party, 114 West 14th Street.

Chicago Readers:
Saturday, May 4, 8:30 p.m.
5558 S. ELLIS AVENUE
ADM. \$1.00, FED. TAX 20c
Dinner—Dancing
Floor Show
Join with the Workers Party in a gala evening of fun and frolic. Dinner à la Maria—

Trotsky Attorney Adds Name To Nuremberg Court Petition

Albert Goldman, attorney for Leon Trotsky and his counsel during the hearings of the Dewey Commission investigating the Moscow Trials, has added his signature to the list of men and women prominent in labor and public life who recently sent a cablegram to the Nuremberg Tribunal calling for an examination of Rudolf Hess and other Nazi defendants on the charges of Nazi collaboration made in the Moscow Trials against Leon Trotsky and the other old Bolsheviks finally murdered by Stalin's GPU.

As is known, neither the Tribunal as a whole nor the Russian judge or prosecutor has reacted to the proposal made in the cablegram. Hess, though examined on a score of points, was not asked a single question about the charges made in Moscow during the big trials. This failure, especially on the part of the Stalinists in Nuremberg, provides supplementary proof of the fact that the Old Bolsheviks, Leon Trotsky included, were subjected to the most monstrous frame-up in history and that they now stand even more clearly vindicated than ever before.

Albert Goldman, whose signature was added to those of Max Shachtman, national secretary of the Workers Party, and Emanuel Garrett, editor of LABOR ACTION, and to those of more than a hundred other prominent men and women, is also the leader of the minority group in the Socialist Workers Party.

SWP SILENT

However, the official leadership of that party has brought great discredit upon itself both by its failure to take the initiative in this campaign and to join in it when others took it, and its failure even so much as to men-

tion the cablegram and its sponsors in the columns of the SWP paper.

Following the campaign begun by the English Trotskyists of the Revolutionary Communist Party, which resulted in an address to the Nuremberg Tribunal signed, among others, by H. G. Wells, Arthur Koestler, etc., American supporters of the fight to vindicate the name and revolutionary honor of Leon Trotsky and the other Bolshevik martyrs met to make plans for a similar campaign in the United States. To help in this work, the national secretary of the Workers Party proposed in an official communication to the Socialist Workers Party that the two join forces to make the campaign as wide and representative as possible and to discuss practical measures toward this end. The Socialist Workers Party, in its reply, rejected this proposal.

During the campaign, conducted not only by members of the Workers Party but by many others, including Norman Thomas and James T. Farrell, the Socialist Workers Party did not lift a finger to give any assistance.

After the cablegram and its sponsors were made public, not only in LABOR ACTION, but in part in such papers as the New York Times, the World-Telegram and others, the organ of the Socialist Workers Party, The Militant, allowed the event to pass without a single reference to it.

For this incredible conduct, responsibility falls exclusively upon the shoulders of the leadership of the SWP. It shouts at the top of its lungs that it is the "only Trotskyist" organization, but is so blinded by its factional hostility to the Workers Party and to any enterprise with which the Workers Party is connect-

ed, that it resorts to actions which cannot be called anything less than sabotage of a magnificent and successful effort to vindicate all over again the great name and the revolutionary integrity of Leon Trotsky.

"Peacemakers" Brawl - -

(Continued from page 1)

only be an uneasy interval. Already the Stalinists are making plans for a more thorough infiltration into Iran. Reuters dispatches from Teheran report that the Russians in the forthcoming negotiations will insist upon fifty "pro-Russian" members in the next Iranian Parliament. The Russian troops which pull out, reports the Associated Press, leave their weapons with the so-called "rebels" (really Russian tools) to use against the central government. The more disorganization in Iran the better it suits the Stalinists' purposes.

In a statement issued by the Brookings Institute and written by A. C. Millsbaugh, a former "advisor" to the Iranian government, there is detailed the picture of Iran as totally disorganized, with an incompetent and unrepresentative government made up of the same corrupt oligarchy that has dominated that country for so long. The Iranian ruling class exists on its guaranteed rake of \$16,000,000 a year as a MINIMUM out from the profits of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Co. To this already appalling graft and corruption, the Russians will add their share of internal disintegration in order to prepare their

By JACK BRAD

On April 7 some 15,000 Japanese workers demonstrated in Hibiya Park, the Union Square of Tokyo, against the reactionary regime of Premier Shidehara. Carrying red flags and singing revolutionary socialist songs,

these workers followed this political demonstration with a parade to Shidehara's official residence, where the rally continued to demand the Premier's resignation. Japanese police, who have been re-armed by General MacArthur, were unable to disperse

way for further imperialist exploitation. In the meantime, the poor people of Iran suffer most: they are triply exploited by their own feudal oligarchy, by the imperialisms of Britain and America and now soon by Stalinist imperialism.

The final payoff in total hypocrisy is seen in a statement issued by a Professor Leontev, a Stalinist hack, which appeared in the Pravda of April 4. He writes that "Thinking in the abstract, one could say that wars could be averted if it were possible periodically to redistribute the spheres of influence by peaceful agreement." In other words, says this Stalinist savant, wars can be avoided—not by abolishing imperialism or by struggling for national independence but—"thinking in the abstract" by a periodic redistribution of the spoils of imperialist conquest among the big robber nations. Of course, Prof. Leontev is only "thinking in the abstract"—because at the moment Britain and America are not quite ready to be that "abstract." But Leontev's statement shows how crudely imperialistic are the Russians' moves at the present time.

And what about the congregation of windjammers called the United Nations, now meeting in the very

same hall where the Hunter College girls used to do their daily dozens? The UN as such played no real role in this affair, which was created, provoked and settled by the imperialist powers themselves. Gromyko walked out; Byrnes orated. But it was in the secret corridors of imperialist diplomacy that the odorous deal was consummated. The UN itself is nothing but a showpiece in which only liberal journals and maiden aunts have any confidence. Power rests where it always has and, as long as capitalism continues to exist, always will rest: in the hands of the big nations. Russia tried to grab; it stretched its paws a little too far; Britain and America got tough; Russia retreated a little; but it got the oil concessions which were one of its main objectives. There, crudely put, is what really happened.

And so another war crisis has passed by. The war-weary world, still under the shadow of the Second World War, breathed a sigh of relief, but oh such an uneasy sigh! For the basic imperialist rivalries continued; the sore spots were still exposed; the last had not yet been heard from either gang of robber nations. And the basic threat of war remained; so long as the capitalist system continued to exist that threat would never be absent.

Hunger and Misery Mount Japanese Workers Stage Mass Protest

the crowd, whereupon the real police of Japan, MacArthur's American soldiers, were called in to do the dirty work.

This demonstration is the largest explosion thus far of the simmering hunger and hatred wracking this defeated nation. Hunger, inflation, unemployment are rife. Every step taken by the Shidehara regime and endorsed by MacArthur has attempted to resolve these difficulties at the expense of the working class and small peasantry.

On February 16, under the guise of checking inflation, the old currency was invalidated and a new limited yen issue released. Workers were suddenly cut off from all income and millions went hungry while the presses failed to supply enough new yen to permit circulation of goods. Instead of crushing the rampant black market, this measure not only increased the black market, but also threw the new yen on the black market making money one of the most unobtainable commodities for the working class and poor peasantry. Bankers and owners of businesses and corporations were permitted to draw "operating expenses."

Workers who had been unable to find work and tens of thousands who had refused to work for the prevailing low wages, and tens of thousands of others who were too feeble and petrified with hunger to work, were driven by the "deflationary measure" to seek any kind of work at any wage. Production has not increased. Commodities remain scarce, and the inflation has not only regained but surpassed its old rate of increase. From February 16 to March 30 the amount of yen increased about 50% and was rising at the rate of 700 million yen daily. And prices follow suit. Eggs now sell for 15 to 20 yen a piece, or from \$10 to \$13.

Unemployment figures are unreliable and vary from 3 to 6 million. The true state of jobs is indicated by manufacturing, which is at 9% of the 1935-1937 level. Reconstruction of the cities to relieve the desperate housing shortage has not even begun. Getting food is a task that takes hours of travel and barter, going into the country and shopping from farm to farm.

MacARTHUR'S PROGRAM

Over all this misery looms the American army of occupation under Gen. MacArthur. His policies have been to strengthen those sections of the Japanese capitalist class that accept a pro-American policy, and to oust the militarist imperialists who were enemies of American imperialism. MacArthur has unmade and made three prime ministers in order to accomplish this purpose. But he has not permitted the working class and peasantry of Japan to acquire any power. He has simply redistrib-

uted the political power to the American would-be stooges of the Japanese ruling class.

Two acts, above all, prove MacArthur's anti-democratic and anti-working class program. First, the retention of the emperor against whom there have been numerous demonstrations since last October. Second, the framing of the new reactionary constitution by conferences with the Shidehara cabinet group, which contained and still represents some of the most politically disreputable elements in Japanese society, instead of through a popularly elected constituent assembly. This is how MacArthur is teaching democracy to the "backward" Japanese.

WORKERS ORGANIZE

The Japanese working class has shown an amazing growth and quick political and trade union development. Whereas in October there were but a handful of unions beginning from scratch, there are now 1300 unions with an estimated 900,000 workers. In February alone there were 132 strikes.

Most of the strikes have been for higher wages. But the Japanese workers feel now the possibility of making fundamental economic and social changes. Many strikes have been held for the purpose of ousting the managers or bosses because of their reactionary affiliations. The slogan of "Workers Control of Production" has taken hold of the minds of many organized workers as the answer to the inability of the capitalists to operate the industries and in order to enforce their wage demands against reactionary employers who are unable to run the factories and pay living wages. In several dozen plants and newspapers the workers have taken over and attempted to run the enterprises under the fighting slogan of "Workers Control of Production."

They have employed this program of workers' control and operation as a unique and effective strike weapon. The demonstrations of last Sunday were led by the Social Democratic and Communist Parties of Japan. They were the direct political reply to the statement of Premier Shidehara on Saturday that he would attempt to keep office regardless of the results of the election of April 10. This dictatorial statement, which would have been impossible without MacArthur's sanction, threatens to nullify any possible election results. The Communist and Social Democratic Parties have pursued an uncertain Peoples Front policy, which has proven unsuccessful, except to tie up and repress the growing discontent and desire for action of the working class. The elections of April 10 cannot decide anything under the given circumstances. However, they will be some indication of the shifts in Japanese politics.

Sub Drive Close to 5,000 Goal

By REVA CRAINE, Press Manager

Sunday, April 21—that is THE DAY—the day in which we are going to go over the top in the LABOR ACTION SUB DRIVE. With only 567 subs to go as of April 8 to reach our national goal of 5,000, we are setting aside the wind-up LABOR ACTION SUNDAY as the day on which we are going to get those excess subscriptions which will top that goal.

Every WORKERS PARTY BRANCH will be out in full force, starting at 10 a.m. and winding up at 2 p.m. Ten branches have already completed their local quotas, but these too will be out to see how far above their quotas they can go. The other branches will be out with the aim of completing their quotas on that day.

The WORKERS PARTY needs your help—the help of every reader and supporter of LABOR ACTION to put this LABOR ACTION SUNDAY across. You can join with the members of the Workers Party on Sunday, April 21, in this effort to surpass the goals set in the Subscription Drive. OR—if you can't come out on Sunday, you can clip the special subscription blank in this issue of the paper, and send in four subscriptions to LABOR ACTION for only \$1.00.

Follow the example of E. C. S. of Reading, Pa., who writes: "Enclosed please find \$1.00 for four six-month subscriptions to your paper. I have seen a few copies of the paper and I think it tells a good story. I hope some day to see a real labor political party formed so that we can get the good things out of life because after all are we not the ones who produce it? Yours for success, E. C. S."

SOCIALIST YOUTH LEAGUE JOINT LABOR ACTION DRIVE!

It is never too late to join the drive to expand the circulation of America's leading labor paper. This week we heard from the Socialist Youth League in the form of 20 subscriptions. With a quota of 75 subscriptions, the League is well on its way and we know that once having gotten started it is only a matter of a couple of weeks before its quota is completed. Members of the Socialist Youth League will be out on LABOR ACTION SUNDAY together with the members of the Workers Party in the big final push in the drive.

HIBBING TRIUMPHS OVER WEATHER

In recent weeks we haven't heard from our Hibbing comrades as we had during the beginning of the drive. This week, however, we received the explanation—Old Man Weather has been holding up the LABOR ACTION Sub Drive in Minnesota. H. J. writes: "The weather was pretty rough today. We are experiencing the worst sleet storm of the year. However, I ventured out for a few hours, with the enclosed subs as a result. I sincerely hope the weather will be more favorable on our next LABOR ACTION SUNDAY." And J. E. adds: "The weather was impossible. The highways were not even safe with chains on your tires." But LABOR ACTION subs keep coming in from Hibbing just the same. And with half a break in the weather, we know that Hibbing is going to double its quota by the end of the drive.

Branch	Quota	Week Ending		Total	Per Cent
		April 8	April 15		
Akron	200	36	201	100	100
Baltimore	10	—	5	50	50
Boston	10	—	44	440	440
Buffalo	200	13	49	24.5	24.5
Chicago	350	15	373	106.6	106.6
Cleveland	100	—	20	20	20
Columbus	25	—	4	16	16
Denver	25	2	25	100	100
Detroit	1000	95	573	57.3	57.3
Hibbing	100	19	150	150	150
Los Angeles	250	50	185	70.4	70.4
Louisville	50	—	43	86	86
Muskegon	—	—	—	—	—
Newark	150	30	175	116.6	116.6
New York	2000	112	1648	82.4	82.4
Oregon	10	—	5	50	50
Philadelphia	500	—	240	48	48
Reading	75	22	91	121.3	121.3
San Francisco	200	10	240	120	120
San Pedro	250	—	111	44.4	44.4
Streator	25	4	28	112	112
Seattle	200	4	107	53.5	53.5
St. Louis	25	—	32	128	128
Socialist Youth League	70	20	20	26.6	26.6
Miscellaneous	—	1	36	—	—
Totals	—	433	4433	88.7	88.7

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Send Us Your May Day Greetings!

We are going to publish an eight-page LABOR ACTION for May Day. Greetings will be an important feature of this issue. Send us your greetings today. Deadline is April 22. Rates:

10.00—twelve inches
\$0.50—one line
1.00—one inch
2.00—two inches
2.50—three inches
5.00—six inches

Send cash or money order to LABOR ACTION, 114 West 14th Street, New York 14, N. Y.

WORKERS PARTY MAY DAY MEETINGS

Workers Party Branches and Socialist Youth League units will celebrate May Day at a series of meetings throughout the country. All meetings will take place on Wednesday, May 1, at 8 p.m. Attend the May Day Meeting in your city! A partial list of the meetings follows. Next week's LABOR ACTION will carry the full list.

NEW YORK: Speaker: ERNEST ERBER, National Educational Director, Workers Party. **NATHAN GOULD**, National Organizer, Workers Party. **JACKIE ROBINS**, Socialist Youth League. Place: Hotel Diplomat, 108 West 43rd St. Admission: 40 Cents.

AKRON: Speaker: ALBERT GATES, Editor, Labor Action. Place: Milk Drivers Hall, 324 Perkins.

PHILADELPHIA: Speaker: EMANUEL GARRETT, Editor, Labor Action. Place: Grand Fraternity Building, 1626 Arch St. (Room 20).

CHICAGO: Speaker: MAX SHACHTMAN, National Secretary, Workers Party. Chairman: Robert Ferguson, Chicago Organizer, Workers Party. Place: Midland Hotel, 172 W. Adams St.

READING: Speaker: JAMES F. FENWICK, Philadelphia Organizer, Workers Party. Place: Labor Lyceum, Reed and Walnut Sts.

