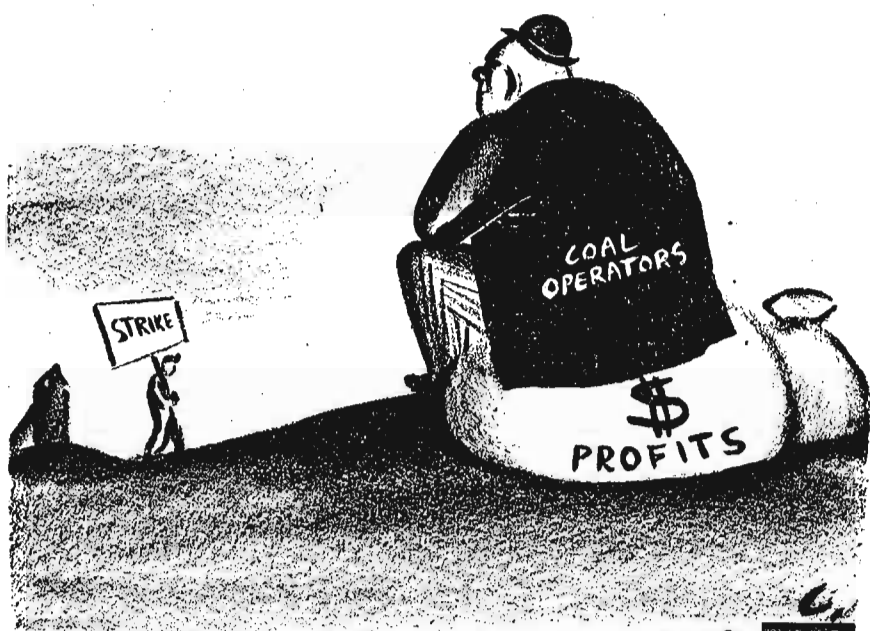


NATIONALIZE MINES, RAILS UNDER WORKERS' CONTROL!

The Bosses' "Welfare Fund"



Truman Tries Seizure Pressure on Miners

On Tuesday, President Truman "seized" the soft coal mines, where the 12-day truce was about to expire, and instructed J. A. Krug, Secretary of the Interior, to "direct and operate them for the United States Government." Seizure of the mines will be played up in the capitalist press as necessary "because the union made exorbitant demands which the industry could not meet." These capitalist papers, along with Truman's friends among labor leaders, will insist that the government continue to operate the mines until the coal owners and the union "get together on an agreement."

The government taking over the mines at this time is just what the coal owners wanted. They knew they could not stall the miners any longer. The miners are determined to get their demands even if they have to stay on strike for another six months. This determination of the miners cannot be broken by the owners, that is why the owners are happy to see the government step in, hoping this will keep the miners from going on strike again.

Government seizure of the soft

WHY LABOR PARTY IS INDICATED STEP

"The United States Congress has not adopted a single piece of constructive social legislation since the year 1937."—Philip Murray, closing address at Steel Workers convention.

coal mines, predicted in LABOR ACTION two weeks ago, is intended to take the heart and guts out of the demands made by the miners. The seizure may inconvenience the owners a little bit. There will be a few governmental office-holders hanging around the mine offices, and other such small irritations, but the profits and the exploitation will continue as before.

But the miners will immediately come under terrific pressure from all angles. They will be charged with "striking against the government," and any attempt by the miners to hinder a scab or even discuss staying out on strike will bring them face to face with possibilities of federal charges against them. These are the reasons why the miners and the entire labor movement must understand Truman's seizure of the mines as a strike-breaking act.

These reasons should clearly prove to any worker that the Democratic Party, as well as the Republican Party, will come to the rescue of the capitalists in any struggle between the workers and the capitalists. These parties belong to the capitalists and their function for the welfare of the capitalists. There is nothing wrong with that—and it should be expected. But what is wrong is for the workers to continue supporting these parties which do not, and cannot, function for the welfare of the workers. The miners' struggle, as well as all the other strikes which had their demands whittled down by the administration, should prove to all workers that we need our own party—a Labor Party.

If the leaders of the United Mine Workers continue to press for the

(Continued on page 2)

You will see on this page a cartoon showing Truman wielding "Government Seizure" as a railroad dick's club. On Friday, May 17, Truman issued his order to seize the railroads and followed that on May 22 with his seizure order for the mines.

You will also have noted that in our headline we call for nationalization of the mines and the railroads *under workers' control*. Take particular note of the last three words because they are decisive words and we shall return to them.

Is there then a difference between seizure by Truman and nationalization? Yes, there is a wide and fundamental difference, and the difference has been evidenced in any number of situations, among them in previous coal strikes.

When Truman, like Roosevelt before him, proposes to seize an industry, it is done with the intent of applying government pressure *against* labor. The profits of the owners are in no way jeopardized, the industry remains the property of the coal operators or railroad magnates.

The railroad or coal situations will serve as examples. In each of these industries labor decided that it had to resort to strike action to win its demands. Industry that is not operating produces no profits; thereby the striking workers mean to back the profiteer against the wall and wrest from him their demands.

Suppose the government seizes the industry. The government, the capitalist government, assumes the management—but ownership remains in the hands of the industrialist, profits continue to go to the profiteer. During the long seizure of the Montgomery Ward concern, profits actually went UP.

The net effect of government seizure, Roosevelt-Truman style, is *strike-breaking*. There is, first, the calculated deception, unfounded in fact and idiotic in theory, that you can't strike against the government—which may serve to drive workers back to work. There is, second, the implied or stated threat that military personnel will be used to operate the industry if the striking workers refuse to return to their jobs.

True enough, industrialists do not always take kindly to government seizure, at least so far as public pretense is concerned. Where their opposition is serious it is not because their profits or ownership are jeopardized, but because they prefer to resist government encroachment on the grand old individualism of the past.

NATIONALIZATION IS A "MUST"! Railroads are obviously a vital public utility. Coal is equally a public necessity. Year in and year out the workers in these two industries have to contest management for wage rates that meet their need. Hardly a man, woman or child in the country is unacquainted, or has any business to be unacquainted, with the case of the

miners, dramatized in strikes and magnificent solidarity. The railroad workers have been hampered by the Railway Act and a backward type of union organization which is discussed elsewhere in this issue. The fact remains that their wage demands are just and that private ownership stands against the people's welfare.

The railroad workers have pointed out how the operators have risked the safety of workers and passengers by skimping on repairs or replacement of stock. The story of disaster after disaster in the coal mines is so heavily documented and so often repeated in the ghastly news stories of page one mine accidents that it requires no repetition here. The very fact that the miners are compelled to make as their number one demand a welfare fund administered by the union (and, whatever the inner union régime may be, it would be sheer lunacy for the fund to be administered by any but the miners' representatives) is proof of the utter need of nationalization.

The point of this is that Truman's kind of seizure is *not* nationalization, but it is nationalization that is a **MUST**. A must not only for railroads and coal, but for all of big industry, though we confine ourselves for the moment to the two. Both are vital to the welfare of the great mass of people. Both have proved the inability of private ownership to serve the interests of the people generally and of the workers in the industry specifically. Both have proved private ownership bankrupt, unable to provide a decent standard of living and safety for those whom it employs to enrich the idle stockholders and coupon clippers.

Nationalization means the taking of industry out of the hands of the private owners, making it the property of the people, operating it in the interest of the people. Every major problem we touch today in industry points to that. Prices? Wages? Safety? Production? Obviously private ownership violates the interests of the workers and those whose interests are best served by labor. Auto workers demonstrated that, as against the industrialists, it was they who defended the interests of the people on low prices. On wages, safety and so forth, the answer is even more obvious.

NATIONALIZATION ALONE NOT ENOUGH But nationalization by itself is not enough, nowhere near enough. The experience in other countries, and any small amount of reasoning, will demonstrate that. Obviously the government is not going to nationalize industry. It is a capitalist government; it will not injure that which is basic to capitalism—private enterprise. The capitalists will fight tooth and nail, and go to any extreme, to hold on to their private ownership of industry—just as they fought the demand of the auto workers to "open the books" as an invasion of the rights of "free enterprise."

(Continued on page 3)

The Railroad Dick!



Brotherhoods' Set-Up Weakens Rail Fight

By GENE TODD

CHICAGO, May 19—In return for "assurances" from President Truman that "further progress" could be made in the nation's railroads and the unions, the heads of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers called off at the last moment the nation-wide strike of 300,000 trainmen and 78,000 engineers scheduled to begin at 4 p.m., May 18. A. F. Whitney and Alvanley Johnston, heads of the two independent unions, postponed the strike to 4 p.m., May 23.

News of the postponement was first greeted with disbelief by members of the two unions, who were eager for a showdown with the rail bosses and who, in many cases, had already walked off their jobs. Crews in Chicago, rail center of the nation, refused to move trains until they received official notice from the union that the strike had been postponed. Two brakemen walked off a train at the North Western station here at 5:10 p.m. and the conductor, a member of neither striking union, refused to move the train. Scores of other trains were held up, some for several hours.

(Continued on page 4)

By HERB MASON

The apparent and potential strength of well organized unions in basic industries has never shown itself to the degree that we see it in the United States today. One after another, the powerful unions struggling against ever-rising prices, show their importance to our economy as contrasted with the role of coupon-clippers, loud-mouthed congressmen and hosts of other parasites who contribute nothing of value to American economy.

After ten weeks of fruitless negotiations between two Railroad Brotherhood unions and the railway owners, a deadline for a strike was set for 5 o'clock last Saturday. At the President's request, a five-day postponement was granted by Alvanley Johnston of the Engineers and A. A. Whitney of the Trainmen. This would not have been an ordinary strike, since President Truman had taken over the railroads on Friday. As is usual in these cases, the bosses remain in control but with the government (their government) and its armed force behind them.

What is the railroad conflict about? There are twenty-two major railway unions, encompassing 1,345,000

(Continued on page 2)

A Report on the Steel Workers' Convention

Murray's Speech Makes Headlines, But Is Not Discussed

By DAVID COOLIDGE

The United Steelworkers of America held their biennial convention in Atlantic City last week. The first comment which has to be made is that this convention was a very dull affair. The convention was not only dull and flat when looked at in comparison with a UAW or UMW convention but also from the standpoint of the steel workers themselves and the way their own problems were presented and handled by the leadership of the International.

The steel workers' convention had more the appearance of a large mass meeting than of a convention. There were 2,600 delegates seated as in a mass meeting. There were no tables, and should a delegate desire to make a few notes for a speech or take down anything which was being said, he

would have to use his knee after he had dug for a piece of scrap paper in his pocket. There were no tables and writing material supplied the delegates as in a convention of the automobile workers. There were no banners, signs or placards. One delegation or local could not be distinguished from another. All one could see was over two thousand men and women seated in an auditorium as an audience listening to speeches being made from the platform where the leadership of the international and its top functionaries sat. Of course, the audience participated in the meeting by speaking from the floor and asking questions. On the whole, however, it was a case of the leadership calling a conference to report to the membership.

A most astounding thing occurred on the first day of the convention.

Philip Murray made what has been called his warning to "outsiders." He said that "we are run solely by our membership." To be sure, this isn't true, but we will let that pass for the moment. He then went on to say that "this union will not tolerate efforts by outsiders—individuals, organizations or groups—whether they be Communist, Socialist or any other group, to infiltrate, dictate or meddle in our affairs. I do not direct that remark to any one person or group. . . . At the same time, however, we will not permit any limitation on the free and democratic right of full discussion of trade union problems in our ranks. . . . We have no ulterior or subversive aims and we will not tolerate any attempts to divert our activities into such channels. . . . As a democratic institution we engage in no purges, no witch hunts."

What was astounding is the fact that there was no discussion from the delegates. Nobody wanted to know what Murray considered "meddling" or what was his conception of an "outsider." Furthermore, it might have been pertinent for some delegate to rise and ask Murray to explain and clarify his conception of the "full discussion of trade union problems in our ranks." Also, what are "trade union problems" to which discussion must be confined? What does Murray mean by subversive aims? Does he mean the same thing as Fairless, Ford or Truman? We would also like to know just what is Secretary-Treasurer David McDonald's conception of trade union or any other kind of democracy. But more about McDonald later.

No delegate seemed interested in any of the questions raised above.

If they were, they did not let it be known. It was clear that Murray's speech was directed at the Stalinists and the Communist Party. It is reported that the source of the speech was some agitation which occurred in the Board meeting just before the opening of the convention. There were some Board members who wanted a clause in the constitution barring "communists" from membership. Murray's formulation in his speech was a compromise position. This ambiguous speech was adopted as the official policy of the union without discussion.

WHO ARE "OUTSIDERS"?

We don't know how Murray intends to carry out and apply this "policy." The Workers Party and LABOR ACTION will certainly not "meddle" in the affairs of the steel union or in

the affairs of any other union. But we are certain that we do not agree with Murray's notion of what meddling is. Furthermore, neither the Workers Party nor LABOR ACTION considers itself an outsider.

Murray and McDonald, while not outsiders, function as outsiders occasionally, in a very important sense. They bring notions, ideas and programs into the labor movement from the outside; that is from the capitalist ruling class. They and other labor leaders bring in capitalist ruling class politics. They brought the Second World Imperialist War into the labor movement and insisted that the workers support that imperialist slaughter. They organized the PAC for the support of the Democratic Party, a capitalist party. They have consistently opposed a party of, for and by labor. They are organizing now in the PAC

for the support, not of labor candidates, but of Republican and Democratic Party candidates in the fall congressional elections.

To Murray, it is meddling by "outsiders" when the Workers Party and LABOR ACTION speak out against these practices and try to win the support of a working class program and an independent labor party. To oppose the late imperialist slaughter and tell the workers that they should do likewise, is to Murray, meddling by "outsiders" with "subversive aims."

The Workers Party is a revolutionary socialist party. That means that it is a working class party. It is a part of the labor movement, a politically advanced part of the labor movement. LABOR ACTION is a working class

(Continued on page 2)

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Auto Speed-Up Cuts Into Pay Work Standards

By JACK WILSON

DETROIT, Mich.—The 18 and a half cent wage increase recently won by the UAW-CIO in its major contracts in the auto industry is rapidly disappearing in an infamous scissors squeeze.

The story of the wage increases disappearing before the rising cost of living has been told repeatedly, and is known to most people. That can be called one blade of the scissors.

But the other side of the story hasn't received enough attention, although it is now the burning issue in the shops.

This is the wiping out of wage increases by the introduction of speed up. In some cases, wages have actually been CUT by the use of the speed-up. This may be called the other blade of the scissors squeezing labor.

In many shops this is accomplished simply by speeding up the rate per hour of the assembly line. In one plant, for example, the number of cars assembled in one hour increased from 40 to 45 to 50. Since this was done without increasing manpower, the result was that each man was doing roughly 12% more work each hour!

SET PRE-UNION STANDARDS

At Ford Motor company, the rate of production is set by 1939 standards, according to an agreement between the union and the company. This means that pre-union standards now prevail, for the 1939 standards were exactly that.

At Chrysler, the 1941 standards of production are set as "normal."

In a word, the production standards of five and six years ago are

being used by the corporations to judge the amount of work each man should do per hour. Many of the hard-won gains of the shop committees and the stewards are wiped out automatically by this device. Is it a wonder that dissatisfaction intensifies in the shops?

The change from war-time production standards to the old peace-time speed-up technique produces sharp reaction in every shop. The recent Briggs strike arose from a dispute over production standards. The workers just refuse to go back five years to the old standards. In other shops, the "right" of management to speed up the line, and thus the work of every man on it, is protested by slow-downs, a very high rate of quitting, and absenteeism.

It is becoming increasingly evident that the next major profit-making move of the corporations is going to

be not along the lines of price increases, but rather by extraction of more work per hour from each man through the speed-up. Thus the struggle within the shops is becoming more acute, and unrest greater. Unless the UAW-CIO meets the next crisis with an additional point in its program, higher wages without the speed-up, in addition to the program of higher wages without higher prices, the gains of the auto workers will be built on a quicksand foundation.

In the fight against speed-up, the shop steward system is the key to the answer. A powerful system, backed by a solid rank and file, can inter-

vene, and must intervene, in the production process. Management can not be permitted to control production, independently of the will of the men on the line. It is the assembly line worker whose tired body feels the effect of the speed-up. In self-defense, the assembly line workers must, and are beginning to take a hand in production control.

The speed of the line must be subject to renegotiation. The old pre-war rate is just too fast. And stewards must get out those stop clocks again, because the companies cheat on the speed every chance they get, and everyone knows it.

Rail Labor Fight - -

(Continued from page 1)

railroad workers. Last July these unions asked for wage increases averaging \$2.50 a day and changes in the working rules. After following the sequence of steps set up by the Railway Labor Act of 1926, the purpose of which is to hamstring strike action by the rail workers, eighteen unions in January agreed to arbitrate the wage issue, shelving their demands for rule changes. They were handsomely rewarded with \$1.28 a day by the "public" representative, who invariably thinks only corporations and not workers make up the public. The unions politely called the award "adequate" and are negotiating again as of this moment.

The Trainmen and Engineers refused to arbitrate in January or to separate working conditions from wage demands. Truman set up one of his fact-finding boards in March under the Railway Act. By sheer coincidence an increase of \$1.28 was recommended and the question of working conditions referred to further negotiation. Then followed the strike call for May 18, when Johnston and Whitney turned down the board's miserable offer. As this is written, negotiations are proceeding again and it seems likely that sufficient pressure will be put on the carriers to scratch their wartime profits and offer at least 18 cents an hour.

Truman's labor policy has not suffered from inconsistency. It revolves around two points: (1) Hold the wage line to a minimum increase which is now around 18% cents an hour for basic industries; and (2) where some never-say-die boss in a pivotal industry won't meet even this paltry sum, Truman, in the interests of the capitalist class as a whole, puts a little pressure on to encourage such increases. But it is obvious that even 18% cent increases are possible only by the utmost militancy on the part of the working class.

COLLECTIVE POLICY NEEDED

Looking at the current railroad strike in its larger aspects, there are two important lessons for all of us to draw:

(1) One of the chief defects in the position of the two striking brotherhoods is the division among all of the brotherhoods, i.e., that two brotherhoods are striking while eighteen unions are negotiating. This makes some strike-breaking inevitable. This situation stems from the class-collaboration policy followed by Johnston and Whitney at the end of 1943. The then Senator Truman offered a bill for an eight-cent raise for rail

workers. Roosevelt opposed the raise and appealed to Whitney to let the President be the sole arbitrator. Whitney and Johnston were for arbitration as against Fraser of the conductors, Robertson of the firemen and Cashen of the switchmen, who at least stood for consideration of militant action.

Today Whitney and Johnston are reaping the results of their servile attitude in 1943. In their petty way the three militant rail leaders of 1943 are laughing at Johnston and Whitney today. Especially at Whitney's poem about "three blind mice." As is usual in such top level quarrels the general interests of the rank and file suffer most. Class collaboration always yields such results.

(2) It should be clear to all working men today that the effectiveness of the strikes has suffered as a result of lack of concerted planning and action. The fundamental principle of unionism is collective action. So, too, a unified national strike committee is an indispensable necessity if workers' demands are to be realized. The settling of strikes by the steel workers and the electrical union in the General Motors plants behind the backs of the GM auto workers is the reason that the 30 per cent demands have resulted in 18% cent settlements. This is also true in the case of the railroad unions.

Railroads are the veins of our economy and the only way to maintain them and the rail workers in healthy conditions is to nationalize the railroads and for the rail workers through their elected committees to control the railroads in the interests of all workers and farmers.

READ AND SUBSCRIBE TO THE NEW INTERNATIONAL

Newark Holiday Social FREE MOVIES! REFRESHMENTS! DANCING!

AT SPACIOUS LABOR ACTION HALL IN NEWARK, 248 MARKET ST. (NEAR MULBERRY), 3 BLOCKS FROM PENN STATION, SATURDAY, JUNE 1, 8:30 P. M. (MOVIES WILL START AT 9:30.) ADMISSION 75 CENTS.

WORKERS PARTY

Pre-Convention Discussion . . .

The articles that appear below are DISCUSSION ARTICLES published as part of the pre-convention discussion in the Workers Party. Because our space is limited, it will be impossible to devote more than two columns per issue to this material. Contributions will therefore have to be brief, not exceeding 750 words. Pre-convention discussion articles are also appearing in The New International and in the Workers Party Bulletin. Copies of the latter may be obtained by sending 25 cents to the Workers Party, 114 West 14th Street, New York 11, N. Y. Readers will understand that these articles represent neither the views of the party nor of LABOR ACTION, but are written with a view toward establishing policy at the coming convention of the WP.

The Negro Question And Party Position

Much confusion still abounds in the party on the two resolutions on the Negro question before the convention.

There are aspects of the National Committee's resolution which need to be stressed in order to bring clarity out of confusion. The need arises because of the distortion of the discussion which has occurred especially in the branches.

The minority, to defend its own position that the Negro is a "national" oppressed minority, suffers "national" oppression, is forced to be little, misstate or ignore certain aspects of the National Committee's position.

The minority's development of its position is something else again, but the adequate defense of the National Committee's resolution, under the circumstances, requires emphasizing the following:

1. The insistence of the resolution that the Negro question is a special question—that the struggle for democratic rights for Negroes must not be placed in the same category as the general struggle of the working class for democratic rights, and its warning against the reformist position that the only struggle against Jim Crow is a direct struggle for socialism.

2. The resolution's call to the party and its members to support and work in all movements for democratic rights for Negroes, and the strategy it outlines for the party in its work in such movements.

3. The party's support of the Negro's struggle for democratic rights when of necessity it is independent (example of this in its own small way—the coming meeting of the Harlem branch in defense of the Columbia, Tenn., victims awaiting sentence for defending themselves against lynch terror).

4. The party's support of such a struggle when it is not an independent struggle (example of this—precisely the fight against the poll-tax). The party's support of and policy statement on the March on Washington is good illustrative material at just this point—its attitude to independent struggles and its demand upon the labor movement to give support.

"OPERATION DIXIE"

But in limited space one has to choose, and what I wish to emphasize in this discussion article is that the Southern organizing drive of the

CIO makes its own contribution to our discussion on the Negro question.

The New York Times of April 27 in reporting on the convention of the Textile Workers Union of America heads its article: "War on CIO Drive by South Is Seen."

The report to the convention on the campaign to unionize the South shows quite clearly that the CIO plans its own, organized "war" against organized reaction in the South. George Baldanzi of the Textile Workers Union and vice-president of the CIO's Southern Organizing Committee, stated: "No matter what the obstacles may be, the CIO has made a decision. We are going to dedicate not a year but as many years as are required until such time as we re-establish the right of citizenship for the workers in the South and take them out of this economic bondage in which they find themselves."

James B. Carey, CIO secretary-treasurer, declared that elimination of the poll-tax and of race prejudice were part of the CIO aim in the South.

The \$1,000,000 fund allotted by the CIO to the Southern drive is "only a first installment." They take the PAC along with them. (Not yet a Labor Party, but "neither is the door closed" to its formation.)

It need not be pointed out to LABOR ACTION readers that this is indeed "one of the most historic things that has happened in this country."

The organized labor movement (here and now the organized labor movement is the trade union movement) poses this problem as "not only a trade union" task.

PART OF CLASS STRUGGLE

They march South to organize the South of the open sores, to "eliminate the poll tax" and, brave words, to "eliminate race prejudice." As they organize, and being organized, they will strike blows that undermine. This is a political task of the highest order. Political tasks of the highest order require independent working class political action. We point this out; the struggle also will teach it.

The blows so struck, the increase in the power of the organized working class will undermine more than the backward sectionalism of the South. It will undermine the national policy of Jim Crow and the power of the ruling class from which this policy flows.

The majority's position is that the struggle for democratic rights for Negroes must become and remain an integral part of the class struggle in the U. S. The conditions of the development of the Negro in the U. S. make this necessary for victory in this struggle and the struggle of the working class for emancipation will be hampered, be incomplete and fail unless this happens. The majority says the choice is up to the working class and that is why both our full program and our transitional program call for "full economic, political and social equality" for Negroes.

This integration of the Negro's struggle with the class struggle is necessary. There is a sense in which it is also inevitable. The projected Southern organizing drive demonstrates this. It is a verification by events and coming events of the National Committee's resolution.

There is no better test of resolutions, of analysis and prediction available in politics.

KATE LEONARD.

Steelworkers' Convention - -

(Continued from page 1)

lieve in the independence of the trade unions. But independence for a labor organization should mean first of all independence from the capitalist ruling class and independence from Republican and Democratic Party capitalist politics. It should mean independence from Roosevelt, Truman and the capitalist government at Washington.

Let Murray see to it that the program of the capitalist employer and the programs of the capitalist government at Washington do not "infiltrate" the labor movement. That is a cornerstone of the Workers Party program for the unions, and that in fact is what Murray means when he talks about "meddling" and being subversive.

ON HOUSING NEGROES

Another event at the convention deserves comment. At the 1944 convention in Cleveland, Secretary-Treasurer McDonald, who is really the overseer of the USW, sent out a notice on housing of delegates in which it was recorded that Negro delegates would be accommodated at Negro hotels. This was a decision on the part of McDonald that no effort would be made to house the Negro delegates with their delegations. The Negro delegations raised this question on the floor of the convention and McDonald replied that he had adopted this procedure because he felt that the Negro delegates would rather stay with their own people. Here was a clear case of discriminatory practice by a high official of a CIO union.

At the recent convention in Atlantic City McDonald proceeded to accomplish the same ends by a different route. He merely sent out a circular prepared by the Hotel Bureau of Atlantic City. But this circular notified the delegates that such and such hotels were for "colored only." It was understood, of course, that the Negro delegates would stay at "colored" hotels and the white delegates at "white" hotels. This was not the procedure at the UAW convention and never is, but this is the way that McDonald does it, even after he has received warning.

The Negro delegates brought this discriminatory practice to the attention of Murray and to the floor of the convention, where it belonged. McDonald replied in a very weak attempt to prove that what had happened was a mere routine practice carried on by the Hotel Bureau in Atlantic City. He, however, was in agreement that all hotels should get some of the business which the convention brought to a city. To the Negro delegates this was a very tame excuse. And they were correct.

The miners' struggle is the fight of all labor. The entire labor movement must answer the savage attacks made against the miners by solidifying itself with the miners and their strike.

Everybody, including Truman and his Administration, knows what the conditions are: The accident and disease rate, the penniless widows of mine disaster casualties, the insurance company-manipulated doctors, the lack of hospitals and clinics, the impossible insurance premiums, the high cost of living in the mining communities and the terrific OPA-approved prices in the company-owned stores, the miners' homes with their 1860 plumbing and the 24-hour notices to move out when the owner wills it. Truman knows the facts and figures on all these things. Who is he trying to kid?

Truman is trying to stall, hoping to break the backbone of the union demands, and then work in some watered-down formula for the improvement of the mines and the miners' homes. He knows the safety, health and welfare demands are real fighting issues with the miners and that something must be done about them. So Truman wants to see how LITTLE he and his class can settle for.

Truman is trying to stall, hoping to break the backbone of the union demands, and then work in some watered-down formula for the improvement of the mines and the miners' homes. He knows the safety, health and welfare demands are real fighting issues with the miners and that something must be done about them. So Truman wants to see how LITTLE he and his class can settle for.

Truman is trying to stall, hoping to break the backbone of the union demands, and then work in some watered-down formula for the improvement of the mines and the miners' homes. He knows the safety, health and welfare demands are real fighting issues with the miners and that something must be done about them. So Truman wants to see how LITTLE he and his class can settle for.

Truman is trying to stall, hoping to break the backbone of the union demands, and then work in some watered-down formula for the improvement of the mines and the miners' homes. He knows the safety, health and welfare demands are real fighting issues with the miners and that something must be done about them. So Truman wants to see how LITTLE he and his class can settle for.

Truman is trying to stall, hoping to break the backbone of the union demands, and then work in some watered-down formula for the improvement of the mines and the miners' homes. He knows the safety, health and welfare demands are real fighting issues with the miners and that something must be done about them. So Truman wants to see how LITTLE he and his class can settle for.

Truman is trying to stall, hoping to break the backbone of the union demands, and then work in some watered-down formula for the improvement of the mines and the miners' homes. He knows the safety, health and welfare demands are real fighting issues with the miners and that something must be done about them. So Truman wants to see how LITTLE he and his class can settle for.

Truman is trying to stall, hoping to break the backbone of the union demands, and then work in some watered-down formula for the improvement of the mines and the miners' homes. He knows the safety, health and welfare demands are real fighting issues with the miners and that something must be done about them. So Truman wants to see how LITTLE he and his class can settle for.

Truman is trying to stall, hoping to break the backbone of the union demands, and then work in some watered-down formula for the improvement of the mines and the miners' homes. He knows the safety, health and welfare demands are real fighting issues with the miners and that something must be done about them. So Truman wants to see how LITTLE he and his class can settle for.

Truman is trying to stall, hoping to break the backbone of the union demands, and then work in some watered-down formula for the improvement of the mines and the miners' homes. He knows the safety, health and welfare demands are real fighting issues with the miners and that something must be done about them. So Truman wants to see how LITTLE he and his class can settle for.

Truman is trying to stall, hoping to break the backbone of the union demands, and then work in some watered-down formula for the improvement of the mines and the miners' homes. He knows the safety, health and welfare demands are real fighting issues with the miners and that something must be done about them. So Truman wants to see how LITTLE he and his class can settle for.

Truman is trying to stall, hoping to break the backbone of the union demands, and then work in some watered-down formula for the improvement of the mines and the miners' homes. He knows the safety, health and welfare demands are real fighting issues with the miners and that something must be done about them. So Truman wants to see how LITTLE he and his class can settle for.

Truman is trying to stall, hoping to break the backbone of the union demands, and then work in some watered-down formula for the improvement of the mines and the miners' homes. He knows the safety, health and welfare demands are real fighting issues with the miners and that something must be done about them. So Truman wants to see how LITTLE he and his class can settle for.

Truman is trying to stall, hoping to break the backbone of the union demands, and then work in some watered-down formula for the improvement of the mines and the miners' homes. He knows the safety, health and welfare demands are real fighting issues with the miners and that something must be done about them. So Truman wants to see how LITTLE he and his class can settle for.

Fight Jim Crow In Coleman Case!

Editor:

The South has no monopoly on Jim-Crow. Festus Lewis Coleman has already served five years of a sixty-five year sentence, in San Quentin, for "rape and robbery."

This is another case of swift justice so dear to the hearts of the Southern lynchers. According to the Coleman Defense Committee, "the principal witnesses against him were an army lieutenant and a seventeen-year-old girl, who were together on a blanket in Golden Gate park, when Coleman unluckily stumbled upon them." The story is a familiar one.

The other facts, too, follow the typical pattern. No evidence of robbery, no gun and no money was found on Coleman's person. The prosecution witnesses conveniently "forgot" the names of the two hospitals where the girl was examined.

Typical, too, are the judge, jury and defense attorney. The court record is studded with prejudicial remarks made by the judge; the jury was selected in forty-five minutes—no Negro served on this "impartial" jury. The defense attorney apparently made no effort to defend him. This public defender had once been suspended for "unethical practice," and since the trial has been barred for "moral turpitude." THE TRIAL

LASTED ONE AND A HALF DAYS AND WAS HELD IN SECRET.

After the verdict was reached, the judge offered to drop the rape charge if Coleman would not appeal the case. Coleman replied, "I would rather spend ten thousand years in jail than plead guilty to something I did not do."

He was convicted in 1941 and his case was appealed. In a split decision the District Court of Appeals refused to grant a new trial. Presiding Judge Ray Peters dissented on the grounds that the prosecutor was guilty of "errors of the most prejudicial character."

The Coleman Defense Committee in Los Angeles has already gathered 10,000 petitions to be presented to the Parole Board when Coleman's case comes up in a few weeks.

Write to the Adult Authority, 33 Ferry Building, San Francisco, urging a parole. Write to Festus Coleman, Box 66593, San Quentin, telling him you are behind his fight for freedom and vindication.

The 31 Negroes arrested in Columbia, Tennessee, the murder of the Short family in Fontana, Calif., and the Coleman case are a few examples of American capitalism's treatment of the Negro people. The defense of the most elementary rights of the Negro people, the defense against terrorism must be the job not only of the Negro organizations but of the entire trade union movement.

J. BRENT.

Navy Yard Workers March on Washington

Editor:

Twenty busloads of New York Naval Shipyard workers joined with delegations from the navy yards at Norfolk, Portsmouth, Boston, Philadelphia, and Washington in a march on the national capital to bring home to congressmen the facts about the discriminatory lay-off being practiced.

Workers who have put in as much as 30 years service in the Navy Yards are being laid off by the thousands. All this has come at the heels of a reduction in take-home pay because of the end of overtime. They have laid their protests before all the "peoples" legislators and are demanding the passage of the Magnusson-DeLacy, the Farrand, and the Murray bills which will provide unemployment insurance, strict seniority lay-offs, and a 25-year retirement system.

The present efficiency system is a perfect weapon of political favoritism which completely ignores the amount of years a worker has been on the job. On the surface this system is supposed to favor the veteran. But after a year, the efficiency mark can put the veteran out on the street as fast as the non-veteran. As it is the unions have gone even a bit too far in aiding the veteran in the bill they propose for passage. This would give the veteran 2 years of seniority for every year in the armed forces.

One trap the yard workers are falling into is the demand for Naval appropriations in order to get some work at the yard. Instead of asking money for weapons of imperialist destruction—there should be a comprehensive program of production to get consumer's items and materials needed for veterans' housing. The yards, with their foundries, can make radiators and pipes; the carpenter shop can make window frames; the machine tools, and welding torches can be put to other constructive production. All this can be proposed, and worked out with committees of union workers controlling production.

C. S.

On Photography And Socialism

Dear Editor:

What future would there be for photography under socialism? Under the present system of capitalism photography has advanced a great deal, but under socialism where the progress of mankind is not controlled for a greater profit from its improved product, it would surge ahead for the benefit of all mankind.

Photography can be used for the further education of the working class of people towards socialism. The greatest service the photographic camera can perform is in the documentary film whose principal purpose is to reveal intimately and accurately

the lives of people wherever they may be. All over the world, it is capable of establishing a better understanding and a closer social acquaintance between people of every race, color and creed. The roots of all horrors which exist today are nourished by capitalist false propaganda. . . .

Take, for example, what the line of photographic magazines was in World War II. Magazine after magazine published war photographs and pictured war in all its glory. Once in a while you would pick up a copy that would show war's horrors. . . .

Can you imagine the tremendous possibilities toward socialism in showing the world through pictures, the true picture of labor's plight.

Through pictures we could show the true conditions in some of our large cities with our filthy disease-spreading slums, which are not in one area in our cities but in many different localities. Show through pictures how labor must go on strike time after time for the betterment of its kind. Labor does not go on strike for fun. It has a reason for striking against its exploiter. This should be shown through pictures and explaining why workers strike. It will wake up labor to what is actually going on. And will also gain the support of the middle class towards labor's side: to help build a party for labor—a labor party that will represent labor's point of view.

JERRY O'MALLEY



LABOR ACTION
114 West 14th St., N. Y. 11, N. Y.

SUBSCRIPTION: 35 Cents for 6 Mos.

60 Cents for 1 Year

Good Only Until June 15

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ Zone _____ State _____

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

Published Weekly by the

Labor Action Publishing Ass'n

114 West 14th Street, New York 11, N. Y.
CH. 2-9681 (Third Floor)

Vol. 10, No. 21

May 27, 1946

EMANUEL GARRETT, Acting Editor

ALBERT GATES, Editor

MARY BELL, Ass't Editor

Subscription Rate: 60c a Year; 35c for 6 Mos. (75c-40c for Canada, Foreign, New York City, Bronx)
Re-entered as Second Class Matter, May 24, 1940, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y.
Under the Act of March 3, 1874WORKERS PARTY PROGRAM FOR ORGANIZED LABOR
IN THE RECONVERSION AND POST-WAR PERIOD

FOR THE UNEMPLOYED AND VETERANS

1. Full Unemployment Insurance

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.

THIS PROGRAM TO BE CARRIED OUT BY

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

Race Prejudice Is Capitalist Product

By J. R. Johnson

During the last few weeks this column has laid great emphasis upon the importance for the Negroes and for the nation as a whole of "Operation Dixie." It is necessary now to draw attention to another aspect of the Negro question, as it affects the national life.

First of all the nation is shaken to its economic vitals by the coal strike. The politicians, the newspaper writers and the columnists concentrate their fire upon John L. Lewis. Yet even these dishonest propagandists know that the strength of John L. Lewis is in the support that he gets from the United Mine Workers. Few people, however, stop to remember that the United Mine Workers contains over a 100,000 Negroes, among its half million members. Everyone speaks of "the miners" and rightly so. Whatever differences and difficulties there may be between white and Negro workers in the UMW, they are of such an insignificant character as not to disrupt, even in public estimation, the rock-like front which the miners present to the mine owners and to the capitalist government. This should be noted by those Negroes in particular, who frequently wonder what the fate of Negroes would be in a socialist society, that is to say, a society run by the workers. Instead of speculating as to whether race prejudice is not permanent among Americans, they should do well to study the industrial record of the United Mine Workers during the last 20 years.

AT THE STEEL CONVENTION

Two recent conventions of labor unions have brought to the fore the question of the relationship between white and Negro workers in the union movement. I have heard an account of how the question was raised at the recent steel workers convention. The account goes as follows:

Towards the end of the convention a Negro worker raised the question of a third vice-president for the steel workers union who should not be elected but appointed. He reasoned that inasmuch as Negroes were only 25% of the steel workers he saw little opportunity of a Negro being elected as one of the two vice-presidents. However, inasmuch as Negroes had special problems in the factories and in the union, a Negro vice-president

should not be elected, but appointed so that a Negro, familiar with Negro problems, should occupy a leading position in the officialdom of the union.

It will be remembered that a similar problem was faced by the UAW in its convention a few weeks ago. I do not propose for one minute here to take up either in general or in detail the rights and wrongs of these and similar proposals. I wish instead to draw attention to certain facts which may be lost sight of in discussing these union problems.

CLASS VERSUS CLASS

LABOR ACTION and the Workers Party, in fact Marxists of all shades, have repeatedly maintained that the solution of the Negro problem in the United States rests with the organized labor movement. The capitalist class abolished slavery in the Civil War. That is true. But it must never be forgotten that the organized labor movement in the North was one of the most powerful supports of Lincoln and the Republican Party. Furthermore, when the Civil War was over, the capitalist class used the Negroes only insofar as it was necessary for capitalism to consolidate itself in the South. As soon as it had done so, it had abandoned the Negroes to the mercy of the old slave owners.

Many Negroes, keenly aware of this, are profoundly sceptical as to the future fate of the Negro minority after a successful proletarian revolution.

First of all, the capitalist class which led the Civil War for the abolition of slavery had nothing in common with the class of Negro slaves once the power of the slave owners was broken. As a matter of fact, once the power of the slave owners was broken, the capitalist class had much more in common with the class of cotton plantation owners than they had with Negro labor. Both of them could unite and had to unite because both were protectors of the dominant property relations in the United States. If space allowed we could show how similar treachery was practiced against the serfs or semi-slaves in every European country whether slavery or serfdom had to be broken by the capitalists.

The class position of the workers puts the white workers into a funda-

mentally different relation with Negro workers. "Operation Dixie" is a case in point. The capitalist class of 1861-1876 had had no basic solidarity with the Negro slaves and therefore could desert them as soon as the battle was won. Today organized labor moves into the South to organize workers, white and Negro, knowing that it must maintain labor solidarity as a condition for the future development of the labor movement as a whole in the United States. The class solidarity is evident. It is not a question of the racial prejudices of this or that individual worker. It is a question of class interests and class solidarity which molds the minds of the large majority of the workers and in the last analysis is decisive. It is this which explains the tremendous advances the CIO has made in handling the race problem in its own ranks. It is this class solidarity which will more than ever assert itself after a social revolution in the United States.

Why? Because the race prejudice that exists is fundamentally a product of capitalism. It is instilled into the working class by capitalist propaganda which by now has become almost instinctive in the capitalist press and in capitalist society as a whole. Not only is labor working out its own proletarian attitude to these questions. When labor breaks the power of capitalism, it will break the fundamental source of race prejudice and what is today a difficult task, its struggle for racial equality, in a socialist society it will be able to accomplish with infinitely greater ease.

That Negro workers in the UAW, and in the steel workers union should raise their problem is a healthy sign. The capitalists have created this problem, as they have created so many others for the labor movement. Labor tackles them and deals with them on their merits. But it is a tremendous sign of progress that society as a whole speaks of the miners, of the steel workers, of the UAW and never stops to consider what a large proportion of these are Negroes. Negroes themselves raise problems, not outside the union, but as a regular part of union procedure in the solution of union difficulties. That, properly understood, is a sign not of weakness but of strength.

Goldman Asks To Be Heard At Nuremberg

We print below a letter which Albert Goldman, who served as attorney for Leon Trotsky, has written to Sir Geoffrey Lawrence, the British prosecuting attorney at the Nuremberg trials. Goldman's letter comes after a statement signed by a group of prominent Americans which urged that the Nuremberg trial interrogate the Nazi prisoners in order to see if any evidence could be produced in connection with the infamous charges made at the Moscow trials against the great revolutionary leader, Leon Trotsky.

Sir Geoffrey Lawrence
Chief Justice, International Military Tribunal
Nuremberg, Germany
Esteemed Chief Justice:

You have by this time undoubtedly received two letters requesting you to ask the Nazi defendants, especially Hess, certain questions calculated to elicit information as to whether or not any of the defendants ever entered into any agreement with the late Leon Trotsky, who was murdered in August 1940 by one of Stalin's hired assassins.

One of the letters is signed by prominent American citizens, among whom is Norman Thomas, James T. Farrell, Matthew Woll, and Dorothy Thompson. The other letter is signed by prominent English citizens, among whom is H. G. Wells.

In both of the letters you were informed that the indictments upon which the infamous Moscow trials of 1936-38 were based charged that Leon Trotsky and his son Sedov had entered into an agreement with the defendant Hess, acting as agent for the Nazi government, for the purpose of waging war against the Soviet Union and dismembering that country.

One of the chief defendants (or better, victims) of the Moscow trials, Pyatakov, testified in support of the above allegation of the indictment.

CHARGES PROVED FALSE

That particular charge of the indictment (as well as all other charges), together with Pyatakov's testimony, was proved to be false and the Commission of Inquiry, headed by John Dewey, the famous philosopher and educator, after an exhaustive examination of all the available evidence, found Trotsky and his son not guilty and designated the charges as frame-ups.

The alleged accomplices of the alleged conspiracy are now on trial. They can be examined. The Nazi archives are in the possession of the governments now occupying Germany. The persons who signed the letters mentioned above have requested, in the interests of historic truth, that you and all others who are helping conduct the trial examine the defendants and ask all those who have charge of the Nazi archives to produce any documents dealing with the alleged agreement between the Nazis and Trotsky.

I was the attorney for the late Leon Trotsky when he appeared before the Dewey Commission; I am now the attorney-in-fact of his widow, Natalia Trotsky.

Both Mrs. Trotsky and I take the position that the findings of the Dewey Commission are conclusive. Nevertheless, for the purpose of convincing those who are not yet convinced that the Moscow trials were frame-ups, we are perfectly willing to have the Nazi defendants, especially Hess, examined and to ask the governments now in control of Germany to search the Nazi archives for any documents dealing with the alleged conspiracy.

RIGHT TO CROSS-EXAMINE

But we know the methods of the Russian prosecution; we realize that the NKVD, commonly known as the GPU (the Russian secret police), includes experts in the art of frame-up. We know that the NKVD can easily forge documents which they deem necessary for their purposes.

While we support the request for an examination of the defendants and of any documents produced by the Russian prosecutors, we insist that we be given the right to cross-examine any witness who testifies on this question and to examine any documents that might be produced by the Russians in support of their frame-up. Mrs. Trotsky has authorized me to represent her at the trials and to examine and cross-examine any witness.

I realize that the overwhelming probability is that the Stalinist prosecutors and judges will object strenuously to any proposed examination of the witnesses on the subject of their alleged relationship with Leon Trotsky. Once more would the Moscow trials be shown to be frame-ups.

I submit, however, that it is your duty to go ahead with such an examination in spite of the objections of the Russians.

Should you decide to proceed with the examination, please let me know and I shall leave for Nuremberg immediately.

Very truly yours,
ALBERT GOLDMAN

AG:LJ

NOW READY FOR SALE:
ALL THE ISSUES OF LABOR ACTION
FOR 1945
Handsome bound in a single volume
\$2.50 Each
LABOR ACTION FOR 1945 gives you a permanent record of the momentous events of the year!
Order your copy now: LABOR ACTION, 114 West 14th Street, New York 11, N. Y.

BACK ISSUES OF

THE NEW INTERNATIONAL

From 1942 Through 1945

Each Issue—25 Cents

Editorials

Nationalize Mines and Railroads!

(Continued from page 1)

However, let us say that popular pressure compels the nationalization of one or more industries. That has happened in England. For no reason at all, except its unwillingness genuinely to undermine the capitalist system, the English government paid the dispossessed owners. That, however, is a detail. More important: that kind of nationalization leaves labor exactly where it was before. The workers do not control the operation and management of industry, hence nationalization does not meet the basic purpose. In Russia and in those lands conquered by Russia, industry is nationalized but the workers remain enslaved.

WORKERS' CONTROL is therefore indispensable for nationalization. Together they constitute the basic demands of a working class platform, and a realistic solution to the situation in railroads, mine and other big industries.

WORKERS' CONTROL means exactly what it says. Workers' control of production means that committees of miners and railroad workers, for example, would decide upon working conditions, production schedules, prices and other related matters. They would control the administration of industry for their own good, that is, the common good.

It goes without saying that such a demand must be linked with a government

that corresponds to that type of economy. Such a government is a Workers' Government. Today we have a capitalist government. Its executive head is Truman; its legislative body is Congress. Their purpose is to uphold the capitalist system and wield the power of government against labor. Witness the rash of anti-labor bills that pop up with predictable frequency.

From time to time and under pressure they throw labor a concession. Often they try to dress up their anti-labor acts as above-class decisions on behalf of labor. Truman's threat to seize the railroads is such a case. The thing to remember is that, whatever it does, it remains a capitalist government, doing the bidding of the capitalist class in war and in peace.

The exact opposite of that is a Workers' Government dedicated by the class which puts it into power to the interests of labor and of society as a whole. We shall have a Workers' Government; of that we socialists are convinced, and to that all our work is devoted. But it will not come out of the air, nor will the capitalists give it to us. We must do the job ourselves, organizing a party of our class, a Labor Party which will champion our interests in political and in economic action as our unions and stewards champion our demands in the shop.

A Labor Party and a Workers' Government go hand in hand with the demand that industry be nationalized under workers' control. They are inseparable parts of a single program. They are our specific and immediate need TODAY.

The Stalinist Frame-Up Is Bared

The prosecution at the Nuremberg Trials, at which the leading Nazis are being tried by a joint tribunal of the victors in the Second World War, has finished its case. It has done so without introducing a shred of evidence—either in documentary form or in verbal statement—which would give the slightest substantiation to the charges made at the Moscow Trials that the great revolutionary leader, Leon Trotsky, was involved in a "plot" with the Nazi gangster, Rudolph Hess. The Stalinist prosecutor who, we may be sure, would have jumped at the chance to try once more to smear Leon Trotsky, had not a word to say about the charges made at the Moscow Trials. As a matter of fact, he connived to keep secret the sensational bit of news that there was some kind of secret military pact between Hitler and Stalin, a bit of news which leaked out inadvertently but which

the Stalinist prosecutor would not permit the court to investigate further.

The innocence of Leon Trotsky of the slanderous charges thrown against him by the Stalinists has long ago been proved; the investigation of the Dewey Commission gave further substantiation of his revolutionary integrity and honor. But now when the Stalinists had a likely opportunity to attempt to buttress their wobbly case which they manufactured at the Moscow Trials, by dragging the matter once again into the Nuremberg Trial—now that they have failed to do so, they have given involuntary evidence of their inability to prove their case before the world. It is they who have really confessed: they confessed that the Moscow Trials were frame-ups, that they had no proof or evidence to offer which would stand up in open court before the judgment of the world.

WORLD POLITICS

SWP FINALLY ENDS ITS SILENCE
ON APPEAL TO NUREMBERG COURT

By IRVING HOWE

Last week LABOR ACTION published an editorial entitled "Why Is The Militant Silent?" This editorial inquired why The Militant and its sponsor, the Socialist Workers Party, had remained silent for several months while the SWP's sister parties in Europe and a group of American trade union leaders, intellectuals and radicals, supported by the Workers Party and LABOR ACTION, independently initiated campaigns to request the court at Nuremberg to interrogate the defendants and check their records to see if any evidence could be produced in connection with the infamous charges made against Leon Trotsky at the Moscow Trials.

The very same week that we published this editorial, The Militant appeared with a belated statement issued by the SWP's National Committee on this matter. This statement was the FIRST public recognition which the SWP or its Militant has given to this matter. For many MONTHS it failed to say a word about this burning issue despite the fact that its sister party in England had issued a call to the Attlee government urging it "through its representatives at Nuremberg, to bring out the relevant issues in the Moscow Trials, to call upon the Russian representative to produce the 'evidence' relating to the connection between Leon Trotsky and his son with the Nazis, as a vital part of the present Nuremberg Trial." (Reported in LABOR ACTION, February 4, 1946.)

Later when over 100 trade unionists, intellectuals and radicals issued a similar demand (reported in LABOR ACTION, April 1, 1946) The Militant again had nothing to say, despite the fact that most newspapers and almost every radical paper either printed a report about or comment on the appeal.

WHY THEY WERE SILENT

The SWP tries to explain why it has been (a) silent on this matter and (b) in seeming disagreement with the position which the European Fourth Internationalists and the Workers Party of this country have taken. It informs the readers of The Militant of the various appeals and statements (weeks after their appearance) but it fails to inform them that when leaders of the SWP were requested to add their names to the appeal, they did NOT respond. Thus by their refusal to add their names to this statement, the SWP in effect indicated disapproval of its issuance. Now then, let the SWP tell its members and friends, honestly and openly: were they right or wrong in refusing to sign the appeal? And further: if the SWP leaders believe they were right in refusing to support this appeal, which the Workers Party through its national secretary, Max Shachtman, did sign, let them explain precisely why they so believe.

The SWP is also under obligation to explain to its members and to the revolutionary public why it refused to agree to the request of the Workers Party to cooperate in a joint campaign on this issue; why it continually procrastinated on this matter and informed the Workers Party that it would take it "under advisement."

The statement of the SWP National Committee says that "The SWP, on its part, did not participate in any of this activity. (A masterpiece of understatement, in view of the facts listed above—I. H.) Our hesitation was not prompted in the least by lack of interest in the question. . . . In our opinion the Nuremberg Trials offered not only great propagandistic opportunities to the defenders of the memory of the martyred heroes of the Russian Revolution; they were also fraught with great dangers.

The Nuremberg court of imperialist and Stalinist judges operates outside of all control. These judges are just as capable of perpetrating another frame-up as were the judges in the Moscow Trials if it serves their purposes. . . ."

That is the reason the SWP "hesitated" to support the appeals to the Nuremberg court. Let us see if it was a valid reason. We of the Workers Party are ready to admit that there was a danger that the Stalinists might try to utilize the Nuremberg Trials to smear Trotsky; but that danger existed independently of whether or not we would call for an investigation; it was a danger that would come to fruition on the basis of two possibilities: (1) that the Stalinist prosecutors could cook up a new frame-up and (2) that the British and American imperialists would agree to it. We supported the appeal to the court partly because we were aware of that danger and because we felt that the matter made it necessary for the Trotskyist movement to be bold and aggressive on this issue. Furthermore, we remembered how effectively our movement and the many people outside of our movement who were interested in seeing justice done, had succeeded in exposing the Moscow Trials themselves.

CORRECTING A MISTAKE

The question arises: who was right and who was wrong? We ask this, not out of any petty vindictive spirit, for everyone, including ourselves, makes mistakes. We ask it rather because it is important as a means of judging the METHODS of the SWP, as contrasted to the WP, of discussing its mistakes. The WP has followed a fairly consistent policy of admitting such mistakes openly and frankly; the SWP statement is evasive and shamefaced. But the very fact that it has felt it necessary to publish this statement informing its readers for the first time of the issuance of such appeals to the Nuremberg courts, of the point of view of the European Fourth Internationalists, which contradicts that of the SWP and of its reasons for "hesitating" to do or say anything about this matter—this fact indicates that it is uneasy about its position and feels called upon to make a partial shift of line.

Thus the SWP statement continues: "It has become quite apparent by now, however, that the sharpening conflicts between the imperialists and the Stalinists have thus far prevented them from coming to an agreement to perpetrate a supplementary frame-up against the Old Bolsheviks."

Two questions arise immediately in connection with this remarkable sentence:

1) How explain the SWP's belated recognition of such an obvious fact? The Militant, in fact, has been continually skirting the realms of fantasy by its talk about an imminent war against the "Soviet Union"; it has emphasized and overemphasized the immediate depth of the conflict between Russia and the Anglo-American bloc. Since it was aware of this conflict, why then did it have to wait until now, months after the appeal to Nuremberg was issued, in order to draw the conclusion contained in the sentence we have quoted?

2) And, perhaps even more important, having made the admission, in ever so subtle and tacit a manner, that it was wrong in the matter, what does the SWP propose to do now? Will it endorse the appeal issued by the more than 100 signatories to the Nuremberg court? Will its leaders add their signatures? What will it say to the offer of the Workers Party that a joint campaign be conducted on this issue?

Starvation Stalks the World

Imperialist Politics Aggravates Food Crisis

By WILLIAM BARTON

(Continued from Last Week)

A few countries have the food surpluses; most of the others are in dire need. The solution of current shortages is at present primarily the job of getting the necessary staples from the surplus group to the other. The responsibility for this is supposed to rest with several publicized and powerful organizations. In the workings of these bodies are revealed the fundamental reason for the seriousness of the food crisis—profits and politics remain more important than human welfare.

The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) is the first name that comes to everyone's mind. It is strictly an emergency set-up; its operations are expected to end in Europe by the end of 1946 and in the Far East by March, 1947. Its essential task is the purchase of food in the world market for those countries that have neither the cash nor the credit themselves. (Subsidiary functions like its work among "displaced persons" need not concern us here). It has nothing whatever to do with supplying food for "paying" countries, even though these include near-famine areas like India, and does nothing about Occupied Germany and Japan, except for DP's stranded there. Created by the Anglo-American powers to provide for "stability" in their victorious post-war world and, thereby facilitate their control, it has obviously failed to do even that. Forced to beg for its supplies and having little control over supplies, the long-range perspectives of its chieftains and the good intentions of its social worker personnel are sacrificed to immediate economic and political needs and intrigue on all sides.

COMBINED FOOD BOARD

The actual struggle-hold on all food surpluses is held by a war-time international government-managed cartel—the Anglo-American-Canadian Combined Food Board (CFB). As a New York Times writer said: "...No

international commerce in food is possible without CFB sanction." It is the central market exchange which pools all surpluses and allots them as it sees fit. Its activities are in direct accord with those who run it—the direct representatives of the business interests and imperialist politicians of the respective countries. Much of what it does is clouded in semi-secrecy. But a few typical items have been revealed.

Of the 365,000 tons of surplus linseed oil available last year from Argentina, CFB has allotted 3,000 for UNRRA. The bulk is being shipped to the U. S. and Britain for "non-food" (industrial) uses. For the last quarter of 1945 the American soft drink industry was given three times as much sugar as UNRRA. When the Siamese rice supply became available as much was sent to British-occupied Hong Kong as to all of China. A returning observer described vast amounts of surplus grain, meat, and fats in Ethiopia being criminally ignored by CFB.

And only a meager amount has as yet been uncovered about the machinations of this most dangerous and unnecessary imperialist octopus. Some of the motivation of its directors might be gleaned from a statement by an "official British food authority, Sir John Boyd Orr, Director General of the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization. Recently eulogized by the New York Times, this titled symbol of Empire internationalism stated unambiguously at the March Atlantic City UNRRA Conference that the prevention of "huge marketable surpluses" (as occurred after World War I) is "as important for humanity as the solution of the more immediate problems of hunger in parts of the world."

RUSSIA AND FOOD

The Anglo-American imperialists in control of the CFB have been doing most of the manipulating with food simply because they are in control of most of the available supply. How-

ever, in their necessarily modest fashion the cohorts of the rival Russian imperialism are likewise guilty. The actual food situation in the homeland of Stalin's Empire is about as public as anything else there. After an urgent request by President Truman for supplies to needy countries, a Moscow radio commentator dramatically reported the aid that had been sent to various places. The meagerness of the shipments can not be criticized offhand, for Russia was hit as hard as any nation by the war. But the manner in which they were sent is revealing.

Grain and fertilizer were given to Finland in return for a concession on a power plant. Well-known is the story of the "gift" of Russian wheat and barley to France, one of the cheapest political tricks of all time. The offer came not from any official Russian source but from Thorez, leader of the French Communist Party. American and French ships arrived at Odessa, but at first found no grain. The initial shipment had to be on a Russian vessel. The purpose was obvious—to give prestige to the French Communist Party and its Fatherland. Incidentally, there has been no an-

nouncement about any Russian food being sent to the more stricken countries in their own "orbit," such as Yugoslavia and Hungary.

The miserable record extends further. The Russian Army requisitioned enough land in Austria to feed 250,000 starving inhabitants. Some of this land had been previously owned by Jews and political opponents of the Nazis; the Russians claimed they had title because it had since become German property.

In the Russian-occupied area of Germany, it is universally accepted that the way to extra rations is to join the Communist Party. The Russian representatives have been persistent in attempting to deny UNRRA aid to political opponents among DP's. The Stalinists have been more than blunt in using hunger for political purposes.

WHERE MAJOR BLAME LIES

And so it goes in one place after another. Anti-Tito supporters claim that they are discriminated against in Yugoslavian government distribution of UNRRA supplies; anti-monarchical groups, say they are being

subject to similar treatment in Greece. Badly needed UNRRA-given trucks have been repeatedly used to haul military material in Yugoslavia. Stories have also been spread, with no denials heard, of government sale at high profits of UNRRA-distributed food. One correspondent reported that a significant part of the Czechoslovakian budget is being financed by such sales. All this, besides the channeling of so much into the black market, sometimes with semi-official sanction.

But the greatest blame rests with the United States. One country has the surplus food, the transportation and fuel to ship it, and the money to buy it elsewhere. And those in power in no other country have done so sorry a job. In no other place have money and politics been so flagrantly placed above human suffering. The leaders of no other nation have been so cynical and smug about the whole thing, despite pious-sounding speeches. Only the United States can avert world famine and nowhere have shortcomings and abuses been greater.

(Conclusion Next Week)

Set-Up Weakens Rail Labor - -

(Continued from page 1)

Officials of the two operating brotherhoods, following the postponement, immediately spread the word that "assurances have been received from the White House that the carriers would have something substantial to offer the organizations in the way of wage increases and working conditions."

Both Truman and officials of the bosses' union, the Association of American Railroads, said there was no agreement by the carriers to go beyond previous offers, but that negotiations would be resumed immediately.

Officials of the Office of Defense Transportation, which, on Truman's orders, had already taken over the railroads, are utilizing the present period to try to intimidate rail workers. Charles H. Buford, vice-president of the Milwaukee Road, who has been appointed federal manager of the roads, said he had ordered employers to recruit strike-breakers and to call upon the Army for troops to protect them, when necessary. Director Johnson of the ODT announced that, "we will continue to develop our [strike-breaking] plans and have them ready so that, if the strike does come after the postponement, it will cause minimum damage to American transportation."

Acting War Secretary Kenneth C. Royall said he was ready to place "all resources of the Army" at the disposal of the railroads. Attorney General Clark was preparing to seek injunctions against "interfering with

the mails," the same strike-breaking trick that was used effectively against Eugene V. Debs and the American Railroad Union back in the Pullman strike in the early 1890's.

ODT take-over of a struck railroad is in essence a ritual calculated to paralyze the workers' will to struggle by covering the rail trust with the American flag. It has no other significance. Last summer the Illinois Central was taken over by ODT when a strike threatened, and is still under government operation. Rail officials joke among themselves about this, and even the boss papers in Chicago have exposed the fact that the ODT manager of the Illinois Central has only called at his office twice in eight months. Everything proceeds as before, the workers stay on the job and the bosses take the profits.

WHAT STRIKE IS ABOUT

The background of this dispute illuminates two things in particular: (1) The Railway Labor Act is a stone around the neck of the rail workers; and (2) The government's wage formula is used to block wage increases.

Last July the trainmen and the engineers filed demands on the railroads for wage increases of \$2.50 daily and changes in forty-five working rules, plus a number of additional rules changes for yardmasters and dining car stewards. Subsequently, eighteen other railroad unions filed similar demands. In January, 1946, the fifteen non-operating railroad unions, representing 1,100,000 employees, and three operating unions, representing another 120,000 workers, waived demands for rules changes and agreed with the railroads to arbitrate the demand for a \$2.50 daily wage increase. The trainmen and the engineers refused to join the other eighteen unions in this course.

On April 3, the arbitration boards announced they had awarded the workers 16 cents an hour, or \$1.28 a day, retroactive to January 1. Union officials immediately denounced the award as "wholly inadequate." Carl J. Goff, assistant president of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, said that the award "does not provide additional compensation to railroad workers to meet the increased standard of living, nor does it give them a share in the increased output per employee. It does not eliminate gross inequalities resulting from greater increases in wage rates in non-railroad industries as compared to transportation employees on the railroads prior to World War II. The increase awarded is lower than the 'pattern' established in non-railroad industries during the post-war period."

The fifteen non-operating unions subsequently filed on April 15 new demands for an additional wage increase of fourteen cents hourly, the difference between their original demand and the sixteen cents awarded them. The three non-ops have acted similarly.

WHY WORKERS ARE SPLIT

The trainmen and the engineers pursued a different course. They called a nation-wide strike, to begin March 11. The ritual of the Railway Labor Act became operative. Truman appointed an emergency fact-finding board, the strike was automatically postponed, the board came to Chicago for a hearing.

On April 18 the board reported to the President—same story. Sixteen cents an hour. "This increase," stated the board, "represents the maximum amount allowable under the government's wage stabilization cost-of-living program." The emergency board further stated that the two preceding arbitration boards had "fixed a pattern binding upon this board."

As to the rules changes demanded by the two unions, the emergency board made weak recommendations on 14 rules and referred the whole lot back to the parties for further negotiations. (There have been no rules changes on the railroads for decades, a fact which helps considerably to swell the coffers of the rail trust.)

Unlike the arbitration awards, the emergency board findings were not binding. The two unions met with the railroads on April 29, the carriers sat tight, and on May 2 the union broke off negotiations. They had already, on April 25, called a strike for May 18, after receiving an overwhelming strike vote of the memberships.

In the present situation, Whitney of the Trainmen and Johnston of the Engineers appear in a more progressive light than leaders of the other rail unions, but this is only an illusion. Back in 1928 Whitney broke the strike of the Chicago Switchmen's Union, in order to obtain jurisdiction over certain yard jobs. And in late 1943, when a similar strike situation was brewing on the railroads, Whitney and Johnston made a back-door settlement at the expense of the other 18 unions, causing the then President Roosevelt to exclaim: "Thank God for the two A's (Whitney and Johnston)."

The truth is that the nation's railroad workers—over 1,500,000 strong—are hopelessly split up into over a score of unions, each headed by brittle bureaucrats, jealous, distrustful of each other, always more eager to extend their jurisdictional rights than to fight the rail trust for better wages and conditions. These unions have gag laws to prevent progressive members from voicing their opinions of the messy situation.

Of course they are contemptuous when the brotherhood leaders, under pressure from the ranks, advance wage demands. Why should they give the rail workers something when the workers are split up hopelessly into a score of mutually hostile armies? Thank God, they don't have to deal with a solid outfit like the United Auto Workers.

It is possible that the carriers have let Truman know that, in the present situation, they'll toss a couple more cents to the unions—enough to give a semblance of a talking point to the union leaders to assuage the members and preserve the union set-up on the rails for a while longer. The rail trust can always take care of itself. On April 15 the railroads filed with the Interstate Commerce Commission a petition asking permission to increase freight rates and charges 25 per cent. Nobody doubts that the Commission will grant them substantial rate increases. Their coffers bursting with the super-profits of war-time business, the railroads could well afford to grant a 30 cent hourly increase to all employees. But the present divided army of railroad workers, led by conservative bureaucrats, will never win that amount.

WP Meeting Demands Freedom for the 31 Arrested in Columbia

By HENRY SALTER

On May 27, thirty-one men of Columbia, Tennessee, among them a group of veterans who have just returned from fighting in a war that they were told was a war for democracy, will stand trial on charges ranging from "carrying dangerous weapons" to "intent to commit first degree murder."

Their crime? Defending themselves from a mob of white hoodlums and Tennessee militiamen who invaded and ransacked their homes, firing whenever and wherever they pleased. The entire community was left in a shambles.

None of the white mob or Tennessee troopers was arrested for this outrageous assault on an entire community, but scores of the Negroes who were defending themselves were taken to the Maury County Jail.

On May 27, 31 of these will stand trial. Their jury will be a Jim Crow jury, and the chances that they will receive justice are slim.

TRACE JIM CROW PATTERN

On May 19, the Harlem Branch of the Workers Party sponsored a meeting protesting the arrest and detention of these men. All of the speakers of the evening emphasized that the incident at Columbia, Tennessee, was not an isolated incident but was part of a pattern. It was part of the pattern of Jim Crow segregation and discrimination that originates in the high places of the country, the White House, Congress, and Wall Street, and extends throughout.

Florence Freeman, in introducing the speakers of the evening, pointed out that this pattern has been described by some as "second-class citizenship." In the North and West this pattern takes the form of discrimination in jobs, segregation in living quarters, and race hatred in the form of riots. In the South, a reign of continued naked terror in the form of lynchings, shooting, and arson is added.

In expressing the solidarity of the Socialist Youth League with the Negro people in their struggle for equality and justice, Ray Lawrence mentioned the widespread activities of the Ku Klux Klan. She told of an incident at a Brooklyn skating rink. Several friends had started to go skating. The Negroes in the group were refused admittance and the whites were let in. The pattern of Jim Crow echoes everywhere.

CITES ARMY POLICIES

Nathan Gould, chairman of the Veterans Committee of the Workers Party, emphasized that segregation and discrimination were OFFICIAL POLICY in the army. While public relations officers worked overtime disseminating propaganda about the existence of racial equality in the army, Jim Crow outfits were being organized, officered by white officers,

many of whom were given the command "as punishment" after they had been judged incompetent to lead. They took out their resentment on those beneath their command.

In a few isolated instances, notably in Europe, a few confessions were made out of cold military necessity. But at demobilization centers Negroes were shorn of any illusions they may have had about fighting for "democracy." There they were told: "In Europe you were permitted certain liberties; but now you are going back to the good old U.S.A. There things are different. Remember your place!"

In the meantime, the Southern Bourbons were resolving that, as soon as the war was over and they no longer needed the Negro worker to fight their imperialist battles, they were going to "teach the Negro a lesson." And when the Negro failed to respond to their provocation to give them an excuse to "teach him a lesson," they resolved to act anyway. And Columbia, Tennessee, is one of the ways how they acted, one of the "lessons" they are teaching.

"OPERATION DIXIE"

But the Negro is learning another lesson. Not the lesson of the white Bourbon to "stay in his place," but the lesson of the organized labor movement. That is, the Negro and white workers must unite to fight their battles side by side.

One of the great steps forward in this fight was pointed out by David Coolidge, Labor Secretary of the Workers Party and main speaker of the evening. That step forward is "Operation Dixie" of the CIO, which Comrade Coolidge referred to as "the most potent long term campaign for doing away with Columbia, Tennessee." He emphasized that "there is no other force in the country to begin this long overdue assault on Jim Crow in the South except the labor movement, the organization of white and black workers together in the same unions. 'Operation Dixie' must become an offensive not only against capitalist economic exploitation but also against Jim Crow segregation, hatred, and ignorance."

But he explained that "Operation Dixie" is not enough. "Jim Crow will end only when black and white sharecroppers have replaced the representatives of the cotton planters and when they make the laws. Lynchings and violence will end only when black and white coal miners form the courts and deal out justice, only when black and white steel workers together head the government. This can be the only final answer to Columbia, Tennessee. The road to this consummation is through the labor movement, through the economic and political organization of the entire working class. This course is not an easy one. It is beset with many trials and tribulations, but it is the only way. This is what we must work for, organize for, and fight for."

Trotskyist Rally in Paris Applauds Internationalism

By D. ARPIN

PARIS, May 17—The meeting last night at the Mutualité Hall was a real success. Some 2,000 Parisians, overwhelmingly workers, came to hear and applaud the revolutionary program of the Parti Communiste Internationaliste, French section of the Fourth International. The first speaker, P. Frank, hounded by the Daladier government in 1939 for his opposition to French imperialism, castigated the present coalition government for its failure to provide for the needs of the working masses. The second speaker, Pierre Bousset, trade union secretary of the PCI, showed how the Socialist and Communist Party leaders, with their slogan of "Produce!" were only helping the capitalists to make bigger profits while keeping workers' wages down.

The next speaker, Marcel Beaufrére, aroused the audience to thunderous applause by his defense of internationalism—for which only the Trotskyists stand today. Beaufrére, who was tortured and deported by the Nazis to the Buchenwald concentration camp during the war, denounced the Socialist and Communist members of the French government who calmly allow the Indo-Chinese fighters for freedom to be submitted to the same sort of tortures—standing at attention for thirty hours at a stretch, being forced to perform their natural necessities where they stand, being clubbed and bayoneted and shot for the greater "glory" of French "democratic" imperialism—and the rubber plantation owners.

Beaufrére also attacked the anti-German attitude of the Stalinists and other French imperialists, pointing out that Aachen was freed of the Nazis before the arrival of the Americans by Wehrmacht soldiers who, under revolutionary leaders, attacked and cleaned out the Nazi SS diherd. The last speaker was Albert Demazière, who, sentenced under the occupation to life imprisonment for

his anti-Nazi activity in the underground Trotskyist movement, broke out of jail in a mass prison-break aided from the outside by a band of FTP (Francs-Tireurs et Partisans). Demazière pointed out that the big powers are preparing the Third World War that can only be avoided if the working people take power and establish the United Socialist States of Europe and the World. The meeting ended with an enthusiastic singing of the "Internationale."

Demazière, Beaufrére and Marcel Favre-Bleibtreu (chairman of the meeting and general secretary of the PCI) are the party's leading candidates in Paris for the elections of June 2.

The party's drive for one million francs being over-subscribed by its militants (1,007,613 francs to date), it already has 79 candidates in the field and hopes to have more. That means that the Trotskyists will be before more than one-fifth of the voters.

A Boss's Dictionary

Career-man



What 2 Weeks Can Mean for 8-Pager

By NATHAN GOULD, National Organizer, Workers Party

The next two weeks will tell the tale. The \$15,000 drive for an eight-page LABOR ACTION is in the very last lap. We're close—but the \$15,000 is not yet in the bag. The next two weeks must bring \$2,078.72 to ring the bell. Everyone must pitch in now.

Of our twenty-one competing units, four (Hibbing, Boston, San Francisco and Newark) have oversubscribed their quota. Four others (Baltimore, Chicago, Stretcher and Youngstown) have filled their quotas 100 per cent. These eight branches have contributed a total of \$2,432.62 to the drive thus far. Four other units (Seattle, New York, Buffalo and the National Office) are either on or within three per cent of the time schedule. These have contributed a total of \$8,174.41 thus far. Nine units are behind schedule (Reading, Akron, Los Angeles, Cleveland, Philadelphia, San Pedro, Detroit, Louisville, St. Louis). These have contributed a total of \$2,313.25 thus far.

If, in the next two weeks, every branch fulfills its quota 100 per cent it will net us a total of \$2,203.59. That will put us over our quota by \$123.87. But Detroit has already notified us that because of unemployment difficulties it will be unable to meet its schedule. And this week San Pedro conveyed a message of similar effect. San Pedro requests an extension of one month in order to meet its quota. It is evident then that it will not be sufficient for all the branches to fulfill their quotas but for a majority to oversubscribe their quotas if we are to reach the \$15,000 goal by June 1.

Chicago and San Francisco joined the 100 percenters, and Seattle and Buffalo came within a hair's breadth of doing likewise. We're still dizzy from the whirl Chicago has given us. Starting with a quota of \$750, they increased this to \$1,000 before the drive was three weeks old. In the last three weeks Chicago has bombarded the drive committee with checks totaling \$550. That's the kind of music that will put the eight-page LABOR ACTION across.

Frisco, in its own quiet way, has done the same in effect. Ellen Barbee, an old friend and good comrade, sends the Frisco checks in with little comment. But they have come with a consistency that has put Frisco in third place in the drive. They have already raised \$46.62 over their quota. Greetings again to Frisco and our thanks to Ellen.

LET EVERY BRANCH VOTE FOR AN EIGHT-PAGE LABOR ACTION BY REPORTING 100 PER CENT FULFILLMENT BY JUNE 1.

Branch	Quota	This Week	Contributed	Per Cent
1. Hibbing, Minn.	\$25.00	\$10.00	\$55.00	220
2. Boston, Mass.	50.00	60.00	89.00	178
3. San Francisco, Cal.	500.00	86.00	546.62	109
4. Newark, N. J.	500.00	14.50	517.00	103
5. Baltimore, Md.	50.00	00.00	50.00	100
6. Chicago, Ill.	1000.00	175.00	1000.00	100
7. Stretcher, Ill.	25.00	00.00	25.00	100
8. Youngstown, Ohio	150.00	00.00	150.00	100
9. Seattle, Wash.	300.00	25.45	282.81	94
10. New York, N. Y.	5000.00	112.90	4675.95	93
11. Buffalo, N. Y.	200.00	20.00	185.00	92
12. National Office	3550.00	663.65	3030.65	85
13. Reading, Pa.	50.00	5.00	40.00	80
14. Akron, Ohio	500.00	00.00	360.00	72
15. Los Angeles, Cal.	600.00	10.00	398.00	66
16. Cleveland, Ohio	200.00	28.00	127.00	63
17. Philadelphia, Pa.	350.00	00.00	233.00	63
18. San Pedro, Cal.	400.00	37.50	253.75	63
19. Detroit, Mich.	1250.00	00.00	751.00	60
20. Louisville, Ky.	200.00	00.00	110.00	55
21. St. Louis, Mo.	100.00	00.00	40.00	40
Totals	\$15,000.00	1249.65	12,920.28	86

WE ARE GOING TO HAVE AN EIGHT-PAGE PAPER!

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. Fill out the blank below and send it to us at once. Make all checks and money orders payable to LABOR ACTION, 114 West 14th Street, New York 11, N. Y.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ Zone _____ State _____

Amount \$ _____

YES, IT IS NOW ON SALE:

THE FIGHT FOR SOCIALISM

The Program and Principles of the Workers Party

By MAX SHACHTMAN

176 Pages Attractively Bound Price \$1.00—Paper Edition

Order from: THE NEW INTERNATIONAL PUBLISHING CO.

114 W. 14th St., New York 11, N. Y.

NEW YORK WORKERS PARTY

DANCE

SUNDAY, MAY 26, 7 P. M. CARAVAN HALL 110 East 59th Street

ORCHESTRA • PRIZES REFRESHMENTS Admission \$1.20 (tax included)