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LABOR ACTION

SEPTEMBER 9, 1946

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

FIVE CENTS

Rigged Vote Returns Monarchy in Greece

By CARL DAVIS

In a plebiscitary election held on Sunday, September 1, an overwhelming vote was cast to recall King George II to the throne of Greece. Like all plebiscites organized by dictatorial régimes, this vote is suspect, especially when it is remembered that the imported King was once before driven from the country by a popular revolt.

The régime which organized the plebiscite was a pro-monarchist government kept in power by British bayonets against the wishes of the people. The man who organized the plebiscite is John Theotokis, the same person who organized a similar vote in 1945 which returned a 97.5 per cent vote in favor of "His Majesty." But it wasn't long after this vote that "His Majesty" was driven from the country by the popular resentment against his régime.

This time, too, the reactionary régime composed of semi-fascists, monarchists and collaborators organized the "Ja" vote. Voters were given two ballots, one marked "George" and the other, "Democracy." They were told to drop their favored ballot into the box and to crumple the rejected one and throw it upon the floor. Although the final tabulations have not yet been reported, indications are that the King's majority is very large.

How is this to be explained against a background of mass opposition to the King, not only of long ago, but of recent months?

SEVERAL REASONS

There are several explanations, all of them contributing to a greater or lesser degree to the final result.

1. Greece is now a pawn in the big power struggle taking place in Paris. She is the object of aggression by the Russian satellite states, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, each of which want to carve off Greek territory and people. At the same time, the British have installed themselves as Greece's pro-

jector because the country is strategically situated in the Mediterranean, which is Great Britain's life-line to empire. The policy of the reactionary Greek ruling class is indistinguishable from British imperialist aims. In this way is reflected the U.S.-British-Russian conflict inside of Greece.

2. The reactionary régime, kept in power by British arms, organized a reign of terror against all opposition to it and to the return of the monarchy. The régime is composed of the same elements which opposed a vote on the monarchy in the days following the liberation of the country from German occupation. Like Stalinist Russia in Poland, the reactionaries withheld an election long enough to consolidate their power in the country and to wage a campaign of extermination against the working class and all other opposition elements. Once having consolidated power and ruling with police brutality, they agreed to hold a plebiscite, which was boycotted by the influential Stalinist party of Greece. This reign of terror enhanced the power of the monarchists.

3. But these two factors do not explain everything about the vote, for it must be acknowledged, even with the above facts in mind, that the King received a tremendous vote. One of the reasons for this is to be traced to policies pursued by the EAM under Stalinist domination. At one period, the EAM embraced all the important elements of the Greek resistance movement. It played a heroic part in the struggle to drive the Germans from the nation. It was at one time the real ruler of Greece. But Stalinist policy paralyzed the mass movement.

As a result of the agreement reached between Roosevelt, Stalin and Churchill that Greece must remain a British sphere of influence, the EAM was halted in its tracks.

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Choose Jim-Crow Jury In Tennessee Trial

By EVA EVANS

The opening phase of the trial of 25 Negro citizens from Columbia, Tenn., accused of the attempted murder of Will Wilson, Columbia policeman, has begun. The 25 defendants who offered resistance to a white lynch mob last February and were consequently arrested, are now witnessing Part II of "Southern democracy at work," the selection of an "unbiased" jury from a group of viciously prejudiced white men.

Upholding protests of District Attorney Paul F. Bumpus, Circuit Judge Joe M. Ingram ruled that defense attorneys must not ask prospective jurors the following questions: 1. Would you believe a Negro on oath? 2. Would you give the same weight to testimony by Negroes as you would to that of whites?

After thus clearing the road for "justice," he proceeded to refuse the elimination of the first prospective juror, Herman Vandiver, a saw mill operator and former county constable, who stated he knew from the local press that "all the defendants were guilty." Vandiver also stated that he did not believe in the equality of peoples. The defense attorneys of the NAACP, X. A. Looby, Maurice Weaver and Dr. L. A. Ransom, had to use their first peremptory challenge to eliminate the prejudiced jurymen.

Since then, almost every one of the 425 prospective jurors so far questioned has in some way or other indicated his belief in white supremacy. The three prospective Negro jurors called up so far were promptly challenged peremptorily by the state. It is clear that only an all-white jury will be acceptable to the state in this case.

Here are some of the attitudes expressed by the prospective jurors that were considered no cause for disqualification by the state:

J. A. Freeman approved "some" of the activities of the Ku Klux Klan. Accepted by the state.

W. E. Staggs, farmer, testified that he could not give Negroes a fair trial, "because of the way I've been raised." He likewise stated that he believed in separate types of justice for Negroes and whites and that some of the principles of the KKK were "very good." Accepted by the state.

Joe W. Eckert, farmer: "The colored should stay in their place. They haven't got the same rights as white men in Tennessee." Accepted by the state.

When Attorney Weaver rose to warn the judge that "if biased men sit in a jury box, the constitutional rights of the defendants are denied," his argument was quickly ruled out.

DEFEND THE TWENTY-FIVE!
It is quite evident that the judge and prosecuting attorney have conspired to exhaust the peremptory challenges of the defense counsel so that they may proceed then to impose a jury of co-thinkers on the trial, ignorant white men, poisoned by anti-Negro sentiments.

The "hanging jury" that will finally emerge from these protracted "selections" will undoubtedly contribute its share to the cynical and repugnant spectacle of "Southern democracy at work." It is therefore mandatory for the labor movement to intervene in this case, publicize the sham character of the trial and give every support to these 25 men who are on trial for defending their right to a peaceful existence. This must not be allowed to become another Freeport, N. Y., or Scotsboro case!

On every front—at the gathering of the "peace" diplomats in Paris; at the meeting of the United Nations Security Council; in half a dozen strategic areas of the world—the fundamental antagonism between the two great powers of the world, Russia and America, has grown. Every political event and action of the day, diplomatic or strategic in character, reflects this struggle between the two master imperialist powers, to one degree or another.

At the Paris Peace Conference, now wearily entering its sixth week with not a single finished job to its credit, the keynote is stagnation, paralysis and delay. Although appointed commissions are now examining the Treaties drawn up, with

LABOR'S LIVING STANDARD CUT BY MEAT PROFITEERS!

What They Said on Labor Day....

As Labor Day rolled around again, we of the Workers Party and LABOR ACTION noted too much of the spirit of the Labor Day and too little of the spirit of May Day on the part of the union spokesmen.

That's a statement that speaks perhaps too much for itself. The two labor holidays are meant to be different. But that's just the point.

Class Struggle Vs. Class Collaboration

Labor Day was made a national holiday to offset the "down tools" holiday that labor had chosen for itself. It was created in the image of class-collaboration to counteract the vigor of class struggle.

By class collaboration we mean the getting together of labor and capital as though the interests of the two were identical, meeting as "partners" instead of as enemies. It is a dangerous policy that has brought terrible defeats to the working class of the world.

By class struggle we mean the independence of the working class in action and in thought, challenging the class of capitalists with the power of labor's assembled might.

Yet, if the statements of labor's spokesmen were too much in the spirit Labor Day was intended to have, they were made at a time when labor's spirit is increasingly anything but class-collaborationist.

Green and Murray Say Congress Failed

Green and Murray took this into account, and accordingly spoke a little more sharply than is the Labor Day tradition. But boil it down to essentials, and there was little direction or solid meaning or progress in their declarations.

Both men accused Congress of having failed labor. We shall not dispute with them whether Congress, as it is, could do anything else. Let them have it their way. The greater fact is that neither of them proposed to do anything concrete to prevent this in the future.

William Green, who has behind him the millions of AFL workers, declared that "on the legislative front" labor had "attained little progress during the last year." Given the situation, that is truly an understatement. Again letting him have it his way, the bald fact requires something more than the feeble message that labor must win public opinion to its side.

Whatever this public opinion may be, and it clearly consists in its majority of the opinion of the great mass of people, the one way to win it is to behave as the champion of the people against the profiteers. The auto workers won

"public opinion" to their side when they fought for the people's interest in low prices. Bill Green did not. What we need, then, is more of the spirit of the General Motors strikers, and less of the spirit of Bill Green.

Philip Murray, who has behind him those millions of CIO workers, noted the "derelictions of Congress with respect to the working man" and said that Congress had "loaned its support" to profiteering "by almost completely wrecking the Price Control Act." True enough, but it was not done on a "loan" but on a permanent engagement.

Here again, more of the spirit of the auto workers, or of the steel workers who were ready to man militant picket lines, and less of the spirit that permitted wage increases to be stolen through price increases, is what we need.

What They Didn't Say More Important

These men, Green and Murray, know the situation on the labor front from A to Z. They know what has happened to wages, what has happened to prices. They detail the record as well as anybody can. But their statements lead up to a terrific let-down.

President Green is going to educate "public opinion," President Murray is going to educate "forward looking Americans" on the voting records of the members of Congress. A pitiful conclusion to the argument that Congress has failed labor!

We pay no attention to Truman's Labor Day message, because we cannot see why any worker should be interested in it. Nor do we pay attention to the ponderous comments of the Steelmen and Schwelmbachs, of the mayors and of the governors. From them it is only natural to expect that they would seek to blunt the edge of labor's struggle against capital with the inanities of "cooperation" and "understanding."

We understand the situation only too well. We understand the standard of living of the Sixty Families, and the standard of living of the 120,000,000 people.

We do pay attention to Green and Murray because, as leaders of our unions, what they say is of the most extreme importance. And what they haven't said is that labor must build its own party, and choose its own representatives to its own Congress. For if they won't say it for us, then we must say it ourselves—in our unions, in our neighborhoods, wherever we are assembled.

To speak of Congress' failure, and to conclude that we have to examine the Congressional voting record is pathetic. Capitalism generally has failed—failed to provide a decent standard of living, failed to provide a world of peace. These are failures that are inherent in the capitalist system. Therefore we must challenge it as a class, and so doing, lead the other sections of the population.

On the "legislative front" we require concrete steps toward the organization of an Independent Labor Day. It is insane to continue to put our fate in the hands of a pack of wolves who tear decency and life itself apart in the name of the rotting system they represent.

It is as much required on the economic front. Political (legislative) and economic issues join. Prices and wages are currently the greatest of these issues. Building a Labor Party is thus in its very essence a campaign to lower prices and raise labor's living standard—along with those other price campaign measures that the Workers Party and LABOR ACTION have incorporated in their program.

And what of such a labor leader as Walter Reuther? The union vote that gave him his position as president of the UAW, was a vote for militancy, for a class policy. He, too, sums up the situation well. He accused the peacemakers of giving lip service to world stability. That, too, is putting it mildly. He called upon labor to fight inflation and religious and racial intolerance. That is most decidedly worth fighting for, and labor should rally to his call. If he issued a call....

Unfortunately, his call consisted of no more than this: "A full ballot box is our best insurance of a full ice box." A full ballot box for whom? For a Labor Party? For a party striving to create a workers' government? Absolutely! That would indeed be an insurance of a full ice box—that, plus the economic action that must necessarily accompany it.

In the Tradition of Labor Militancy

Labor Day, we have said, was created to offset the militancy of May Day. There is, however, no reason why it must remain so. Things change, and we can change anything if we want to—including the Labor Day tradition.

The capitalists and their politicians and the upholders of capitalist rule in labor's ranks may have wanted it to be a holiday dulling labor's militancy. But that they want day in and day out. And there is no reason on earth why we have to leave it so. There is, on the contrary, every reason not to do so!

Thus as we view the Labor Day that has just passed, and ponder over the statements that the day by day custom produces, we conclude as follows:

Let each of us do what we can to spread the MAY DAY tradition in our daily work. Let us tackle the central issue of price and political action in the spirit of labor's need and willingness. Let us engage our unions in the building of a Labor Party, as labor's independent political force.

UE Caucus Dodges Main Issues

Out of the growing resentment and opposition of the membership toward the policies and activities of the Stalinist-controlled officialdom in the United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers of America, CIO, there has emerged a national caucus, "UE Members for Democratic Action," with plans for making a strong bid for leadership at the union's international convention to be held this month in Milwaukee.

However, although large sections of the rank and file are eagerly seeking a progressive and militant leadership that will rally them in a fight to

break the Stalinist stranglehold on the union, the caucus of UE Members for Democratic Action will forfeit membership support if it fails to make a constructive union program its chief issue.

Thus far the caucus has shown much interest in seeking publicity in the capitalist press but not enough in advancing a program to defend the workers' standard of living through a fight for wage increases without price increases and an escalator clause in contracts for automatic wage increases to parallel expected price rises—a program which, for-

mally at least, the caucus has apparently adopted, along with the standard CIO program of higher wages, shorter hours, guaranteed annual wage and so forth.

DODGE CHIEF ISSUES

Over the signatures of Harry Block, international vice-president of the UE, and James Click of Local 1102, a "Statement of Principles" was issued at the national meeting of caucus representatives on August 11. This statement attacked the Communists for trying to convert the UE into an adjunct of the Russian Foreign Office

and quite correctly exposed their undemocratic system of ruling the UE, but completely failed to advance a concrete platform to improve living standards, working conditions and rights, and provide for effective working class political action.

Consequently, although it is far better organized than in previous years, the caucus, in some areas at least, is running the risk of becoming dominated by reactionaries seeking to set up a power machine.

This failure to concentrate on a fight for a constructive program will

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The big meat dealers have won another round. With the intervention of the Secretary of Agriculture, they have won a 5 1/2-cent increase per pound of beef, and 2 1/2 cents per pound of pork.

Nor is this the end. It is estimated that with the cut in subsidies on January 10, meat prices will get another two or three cent boost; and with the complete elimination of subsidies in April it is expected that OPA or Anderson, should OPA prove reluctant, will favor the meat profiteers with another increase.

This steal must be fitted into the total picture: OPA last week allowed another 2 1/2 per cent increase in cotton mill prices; OPA authorized boosts of two to three cents in retail prices of prepared pancake and waffle mix; baby foods were freed of the "restraints" of ceilings; milk and butter gave every indication of rising higher.

As though this were not enough, the American Meat Institute complained that the steal was not big enough, predicted that the black market would flourish if more substantial boosts weren't granted. What this means in plain English is that the meat dealers, especially the BIG PACKERS in this industry, which is so highly centralized, will direct their meat to the black market.

Several weeks ago LABOR ACTION gave publicity to the facts established by the Packinghouse Workers Union proving that, while the big packers were howling loudest about meat shortages, millions upon millions of pounds of meat were in storage. The union figures also proved that while the meat monopolists were clamoring for higher prices and resisting the demands of the packinghouse workers, profits had soared to unbelievable heights.

UNION-CONSUMER ACTION

The packinghouse workers are now engaged in a struggle with the packers. They have a series of demands that represent the minimum needs of the workers in the industry. Commenting on these demands several weeks ago, we noted one weakness in them—they did not include such demands on price control (Wage Increases Without Price Increases) as would protect the people as a whole.

The packinghouse workers, as are most of the CIO workers, are a militant bunch. We think they would be ready to undertake a battle in the name of the entire working class—for that is what resisting the price crookedness of the packers and their representatives in Washington would amount to. In any case, such action

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CONSERVATIVE STATISTICS...

The Bureau of Labor Statistics reported last week that its index of wholesale food prices for the week ending Saturday, August 24, was 5.3 per cent higher than a month ago—and 30.6 per cent over the last week in June. No need to comment on what this means to the pay envelope!

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"Peace" Conference Stymied as Disputes Grow

By HENRY JUDD

On every front—at the gathering of the "peace" diplomats in Paris; at the meeting of the United Nations Security Council; in half a dozen strategic areas of the world—the fundamental antagonism between the two great powers of the world, Russia and America, has grown. Every political event and action of the day, diplomatic or strategic in character, reflects this struggle between the two master imperialist powers, to one degree or another.

At the Paris Peace Conference, now wearily entering its sixth week with not a single finished job to its credit, the keynote is stagnation, paralysis and delay. Although appointed commissions are now examining the Treaties drawn up, with

their multitude of points under dispute, no progress has been made toward resolving these differences. In many cases, the 21 Powers are still disputing the preambles to the Treaties!

The issues of economic control of the Balkan states by Russia, versus Anglo-American efforts to open up these areas for "free trade" still exist; as well as the whole question of Trieste and its delicate implications. Clearly, without an arranged understanding between America and Russia not a single one of these matters can be settled at the impotent gathering of the 21 nations.

With this in mind, the Big Four (America, Russia, England and France) who had arranged the conference, held a private session last week. This session aimed at break-

ing the deadlock and bringing some results before world public opinion's attitude toward the gathering becomes completely cynical. Obviously, something must happen shortly at Paris, or the Conference will simply adjourn with zero as its accomplishment. But even this private meeting of the Big Four failed to yield results, or to provide an impetus to the dying meeting.

Now "no-man" Molotov has gone back to Russia, to consult with Joseph Stalin and receive further instructions in the game of wearing out Russia's imperialist rivals. But it is certain that the Power Masters of Europe and the world will shortly begin to bring forth results in the dividing up of Europe, or else the Paris meeting will be disbanded. The complete powerlessness of the

so-called democratic Small Powers is revealed by the fact that nothing can be done without prior Russian and American accord.

Outside the walls of the Paris assembly, disputes mounted and grew in number and depth. Over and over again, the basic Russian-American clash was underscored, clearly outlining the battle-arena for World War III. Moscow renewed its violent press campaign against Turkey and for the right to participate in military control over the Dardanelle straits; the expanding "civil war" in China passed through a few days of comparative quiet, during which truce talk was timidly renewed, but soon yielded to a new series of clashes between Chiang Kai-shek's nationalist, American-supported forces and Stalinist Yen-an's, Russian-sup-

ported forces. Harsh words were exchanged in the press between Australia and Russia over Stalin's reparation demands from the Balkan countries. (The Australians had better re-examine their reparation demands on Japan before they curse out others as robbers and plunderers.)

Sharpest clash of all was over the Greek plebiscite on the monarchy issue. Greece, now a satellite of British imperialism, even down to the point of being occupied by tens of thousands of Tommies, is considered by the Allies as their last secure foothold in the Balkans. A "fortress of democracy," as the imperialist journalists describe this land of military dictatorship, foreign occupation and now, Monarchy, Russia, bearing down hard upon Greece, for

its conquest and enslavement would mean (a) complete domination of the Balkans, and (b) control of the Eastern Mediterranean, the Aegean Sea and half-encirclement of Turkey, likewise was deeply interested in Greece and its election.

After a week of violent attacks upon one another, during which both sides neatly explained their sinister hypocritical contempt for the Greek people, Anglo-American imperialism won a victory, with the pro-Monarchy vote. Another country had been forced to make the Devil's choice, between "democratic" imperialist occupation and domination, or "totalitarian" Stalinist rule and domination. But, win one or the other, popular democracy and national free-

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Railroad Workers, See Page 8...

On page 8 of this issue we print the first of two articles on the situation in the Railroad Brotherhoods.

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Carpenters Lose on Vet Housing Plan

By MAX HAUSER
CLEVELAND—This city's building trades workers were tied up in a complicated struggle this week, involving wage scales, veteran housing and union assignment to jobs. In rapid succession, local carpenters won a five-week strike, lost part of their wage increase by decision of a governmental agency, decided to work on veterans' housing only, found themselves under attack from the other building trades, and finally went back to "work as usual" under orders of their international office.

Cleveland is no different from the rest of the country. Plenty of non-essential construction (night clubs and such) while 9,000 veterans are listed as in need of a place in which to live. The politicians have been making the usual promises, and the vets have the usual blisters on their feet from searching for homes.

Last week the Carpenters' District Council pointed the way to get vet housing going. The carpenters called their men off non-veteran housing and assigned them to building homes for ex-GI's only. This effectively stopped commercial construction and assured the prompt building of homes. Unfortunately, the carpenters acted without the assistance of the other building trades workers and were

quickly forced to back down on their homes-only policy.

To understand the action of the carpenters and why they had to retreat from their stand, it is necessary to review the background of the current situation. Carpenters in this area have had a lower wage scale than other construction workers. The differential between them and the "top trades" was 22½ cents per hour. Last month the carpenters ended a five-week strike against the contractors, winning a 25-cent raise and bringing their pay to \$1.90 an hour. The Wage Adjustment Board then "adjusted" this to \$1.87½.

The Carpenters' District Council decided that they would not like to make this donation of 2½ cents an hour to commercial contractors, but would prefer giving it to vet housing. Since the carpenters had won the right to decide where their members work as a result of their last strike, they exercised this privilege by calling their men off all commercial construction and assigning them to veterans' housing exclusively.

To enforce this decision, the Council sent union stewards to police all construction. They also announced the creation of a special committee to review applications from contractors for non-housing jobs. This committee was to consist of three union

members and one representative each from the American Legion and Veterans of Foreign Wars. In a statement to the press, Carl J. Schwarzer, president of the Carpenters' District Council, said: "No bowling alleys, outdoor theaters, saloons, night clubs or promotional ventures need apply because they will not be given consideration during this emergency."

The carpenters' action was taken independently of the other building trades workers. The "top trades" men have won two wage increases lately, each for 12½ cents an hour, leaving them now a full 25 cents ahead of the carpenters in hourly rates. The leadership of the other unions had no interest in changing the current building situation. The pay rate satisfied them, and they didn't care what kind of work their men did.

Immediately following the carpenters' assignment to housing only, the other building trades crafts announced a strike of all their workers against this action. Following this, the international office of the Carpenters' Union ordered the local district council to rescind its decision to assign members to vet housing only. The Building Trades Council then ordered its men back to work, and at present all building trades men are at their jobs as before last week.

M. A. Hutcheson, vice-president of

the Carpenters' International, went a step further and specifically denied to the local carpenters the right to assign men to jobs as the union saw fit. Thus one of the gains made in the five-week strike was taken away by the international leadership!

LESSON IS CLEAR

While "construction as usual" is back in full swing, non-essential building is going up, politicians are making speeches and thousands are still homeless. The lesson from this experience should be evident to the unions and the veterans. Action by one union alone was doomed to failure, but action by the unions together could absolutely eliminate trickery, subterfuge and bribery by non-essential builders to get their construction done.

One further point must be made. The top trades should not have allowed the differential to exist between their pay and the carpenters'. Regardless of their specific crafts, these are all skilled workers on the job together. If their rates were the same, the cleavage between them would not exist. Together the building trades workers would easily be in a position to face the contractors and the government with a building program of their own.

And They Say There's Nothing Too Good for a Veteran . . .

During the war every congressman's heart was bleeding for the serviceman. His main stock-in-trade was his love for the potential veteran and the glorious post-war world that the veteran would find. . . .

From the publicity issued when Congress passed the GI Bill of Rights, one would have thought that the veteran was returning to a Utopia.

Every veteran today knows that the GI Bill is totally inadequate. The veteran who is unemployed cannot live on \$20 a week. The veteran who wants to go to school cannot study on \$65 a month if he is single, or \$90 a month if he is married. And, yet, before he can try to do even that he must first find a school that will take him.

The veteran who wants to take advantage of the job training provisions of the GI Bill is being victimized by chiseling employers who use the governmental grant of \$65 a month for single men and \$90 for married men as a means of getting cheap labor. He himself pays the veteran next to nothing. The veteran is trapped between these low sums on the one hand, and an ever growing inflation on the other.

What has Congress done to remedy what is an impossible situation for veterans who are trying to take advantage of the provisions of the GI Bill of Rights?

In the closing days of the late, unlamented Congress, a bill sponsored by Gen. Bradley, which was supposed to rectify some of the "abuses" of the on-the-job program, was passed. The military mind is queer, but this getting rid of "abuses" is the queerest ever. To get rid of the "abuses" by chiseling employers, Congress unanimously passed a bill that will make it a field day for the chiselers. It established a total MAXIMUM wage of \$175 a month for single men and \$200 a month for married men.

The veteran whose maximum wage is now fixed has no recourse against inflation.

Maybe you can figure out how abusing the veteran gets rid of the chiseling bosses?

The Boss's Dictionary

Luxury:



Profiteers In Meat - -

(Continued from page 1)
 by the packinghouse workers, backed by workers everywhere—auto workers and so forth—would meet the needs of the situation.

In this price situation we obviously require a combination of union and consumer action. Vain appeals and pious denunciations of Anderson will get us nowhere. John Thornton, chairman of the CIO's Cost of Living Committee, blasted Clinton P. Anderson, called the new livestock price ceilings a blow to the American people (which it is!) and concluded that "Mr. Anderson's reckless step indicates his unfitness for office. It climaxes a long series of incidents in which Mr. Anderson had acted as mouthpiece for profiteers."

Every word of that statement is plain truth. But it is no less true of Truman and EVERY capitalist politician. They are each and every one of them mouthpieces of big business. Appealing to one against the other, making threats that aren't concretized into a plan of action, will get us nowhere.

A PROGRAM FOR VICTORY

Above all, such a basic commodity as meat points to the obvious: uniting a union campaign by the packinghouse workers with the organization of popular workers' and housewives' committees to control prices in the neighborhood.

If we harp on what the union leaders, above all, those of the CIO, are doing, it is because we expect leadership from them. They have the power behind them to stop the price steal, to prevent our wages from being eaten away in rising costs. Figures published this week indicate that workers today are living on NEXT YEAR'S income, buying on time, borrowing because they cannot afford to pay out of their current earnings.

There is much that can be done about prices, meat, milk, autos and so on down the line. In this situation, the Workers Party and LABOR ACTION say that whatever else is done, three points are essential to an effective program on prices:

1. The GM Formula—Wage Increases Without Price Increases!
2. Popular Price Control Committees.
3. A guaranteed annual wage sufficient to provide a decent and RISING standard of living.

Who's Got the Missing \$12,000,000?

Private Italian assets in Britain are estimated at 14,000,000 pounds sterling. However, Bevin of the Labor Party is now reported to have declared in Paris that the total is only 11,000,000 pounds (about \$44,000,000). Where are the missing 3,000,000 pounds (\$12,000,000)?

Latest reports indicate that the largest private Italian holder of assets in Britain is former King Victor Emmanuel (now in exile in Egypt), who holds 3,000,000 pounds.

Whereas the other 11,000,000 pounds are being held for reparations, it is believed in Italy that the Labor Party has made some shady deal not to claim the King's three million as reparations.

British Soldiers' Wives And Children in Italy

Wives and children of British soldiers stationed in Italy are living in the best requisitioned hotels while Italian workers live in hovels.

Italian servants make the beds, clean the rooms, wash the laundry, serve the meals, wash the dishes.

Principal complaint of the wives is that there is little for them to do.

Workers cannot blame the wives, many of whose husbands are conscripted troops. But starving Italian workers, living without hot water, soap and with very little food in bomb-blasted houses are bitterly opposed to the occupation forces of "liberation."

NEXT WEEK . . .

We have omitted from this issue a brief report on the crisis in the French Socialist Party in view of the latest developments. In our next issue we shall discuss the situation. Other interesting article will also appear, including one by J. R. Johnson on the negro in America.

UE Opposition Caucus Dodges Central Union Issues - -

(Continued from page 1)

also result in a defeat at the international convention, as it has in past years. At previous conventions, the fight against the Stalinist bureaucracy petered out ingloriously as a result of just such a dodging of the chief issues, coupled with a hedging, half-hearted fight on minor questions.

The hesitation that has been manifested by a large number of locals, and groups of members within locals, to support the caucus openly, also can be traced to the failure to put forward an effective program as a rallying point. The caucus of UE Members for Democratic Action has yet to convince the membership that "it is more than an improvised fly-by-night outfit."

Part of the Stalinists' technique is to discourage membership interest in local union affairs, to make it easier for the office-holders to rule. Thus in Amalgamated Local 475 in New York City, for example, less than 350 votes were cast out of a total membership

of 12,000 in the convention delegation election this year. In the previous convention delegates election, 99 votes were cast out of a membership of 8,000 in this same local.

Yet the opposition caucus (now part of the UE Members for Democratic Action) has been unable to mobilize enough support even to overcome this small vote, although the opposition controls a large shop in the local and exercises influence in others. An effective campaign for a progressive program would bring an immediate response.

UE policy and activity are even more blatantly subordinated to the needs of Russian foreign policy than that of most Stalinist-dominated unions. To insure their grip on the union, in the interests of maintaining this policy, the Stalinists have filled local, district and national offices with local-picked men who often have little or no union experience, usually have not worked in any UE shop for more than a "token" period, if at all, and

are always chosen chiefly for their "reliability." Those selected are usually party members or fellow travelers or docile hacks like Albert J. Fitzgerald, the international president. Active and capable militants who have come up through the ranks are excluded from important posts if the Stalinists are not sure they can be completely controlled.

STALINIST POLICY

However, in exposing UE subordination to Russian foreign policy, the caucus of Members for Democratic Action fails to show how Stalinist policy also adversely affected the every-day interests of the workers, especially during the war:

By giving up labor's chief weapon, the right to strike;

By systematic collaboration with the manufacturers;

By favoring incentive pay and various types of wage stabilization.

By tying labor to the Roosevelt Administration and heading off genu-

ine labor political action.

By favoring "free enterprise" private profiteering as against nationalization under workers' control.

Since the war's end, friction between Russian and American imperialism has called for more aggressive action by the Stalinists in this country to bring pressure on American capital and the government, and the UE has made an about-face on such questions as incentive pay. However, in order effectively to use the unions to influence labor leaders and government officials in a pro-Russian direction, the Stalinists are careful not to let their unions get "too far away" from these officials by a "too radical" policy. The UE, therefore, restricts its fight within narrow limits.

In addition, in the UE, the Stalinists fear to jeopardize their control by getting into too serious "difficulties" with either the manufacturers, or the politicians, or more conservative labor leaders. UE policy is therefore dictated by the Stalinists' im-

mediate needs of manipulation, scheming and maneuvering.

Thus we see the spectacle of the UE trying to dress up as victories its failures in Westinghouse with regard to wages, union security and seniority; and its signing of a contract with GM while the UAW workers in GM were still on strike. Pay levels for the unskilled and semi-skilled in the UE are generally far below the levels set in the UAW contracts.

AN ALTERNATIVE PROGRAM

The UE leadership still opposes:

The program of wage increases without price increases through union price-policing committees in the plants, and consumers' committees;

An escalator clause in all contracts for automatic wage increases to parallel price rises;

The demand to have the employers open their books to scrutiny.

By pressing for these demands the Members for Democratic Action will

gain wide support and expose the Stalinist failure to wage a genuine fight to protect living standards.

The UE is an important cog in the PAC. Through the position of the UE and other organizations in the PAC, the Stalinists can exercise influence in the selection of politicians in both major parties satisfactory to Russian foreign policy. They, therefore, oppose the formation of an independent Labor Party that would put forward its own candidate on a labor program.

There is widespread opposition among UE members to the part the UE is made to play in PAC political horse-trading and manipulation. This opposition can only be effective if another political program, that genuinely serves the members' interests, is offered as an alternative.

The Members for Democratic Action can therefore win support if they include in their program the formation on an independent Labor Party.

Paris Postal Strike Still Rocks French Labor Movement

Special to Labor Action

PARIS, Aug. 7—The rebellion of the overwhelming majority of the 150,000 postal, telephone and telegraph workers in defiance of their Stalinist-dominated union leadership and the successful conduct of a national strike are continuing to rock the French labor movement from one end to the other.

On July 30, following fruitless negotiations with the Minister of Finance and Communications, a ten-hour "protest" strike was declared by the Federation of Postal, Telephone and Telegraph Workers (see LABOR ACTION of August 26).

But the rank and file worker, in-

tuitively sensing that only through militant use of the strike would they be able to achieve their demands, decided to remain on strike until their demands were met. The movement for the continuation of the strike commenced with the "postiers" of Bordeaux (the most important communications center of France), Lille and Clermont. On August 1, 24 hours later, 40 departments joined the strike. On August 2, a national strike committee was organized at Paris and a call for a national strike was issued. By August 3, 80 per cent of all postal and communications workers in France had joined the picket line or occupied the post-offices.

The Communist Party-dominated official national bureau of the union, which had violently condemned the strike, was left practically without any power or support. On August 3, the national strike committee, which met with Finance Minister Schumann, was promised satisfaction of the major demands of the strikers. The strike was then immediately terminated, with the strike committee declaring that if no action was taken by the government to meet their demands before September 1, the strike would be commenced again.

One of the most interesting aspects of the strike is that it had not been

preconceived or organized by any political or trade union group. It was simply the spontaneous and militant reaction of the rank and file to the betrayal of his interests by the reactionary and class-collaborationist policies of his Stalinist union chiefs. Breaking party discipline, many Communist Party postal workers solidarized themselves with the strikers. Postal workers who are members of the Christian CFTC postal union joined the strike against the orders of their leaders.

Local strike committees throughout the country promptly unseated local Stalinist union leaderships and elected new leaders, democratically elected by the strikers.

Since 1936 the postal and communications workers of France have been the most notoriously underpaid of government workers. The conditions of work and the lowness of salaries have been so bad that in many cases the government has had difficulty finding personnel to fill job openings.

Such a malodorous situation could only be resolved by the militant action of the "postiers." The Stalinists, being collaborators in the government, forced the workers to submit to the salary freezing policy up to June, 1946, at which time they abruptly reversed their line to the extent of demanding a few crumbs from the bosses. As a result of a compromise with the bosses and the government, an 18 per cent wage increase was agreed to, notwithstanding the fact that this represented nothing but a sop to the workers and left them substantially with about the same reduced purchasing power as before.

For purposes of show and to drain off the prevailing feeling of discontent in the working class a series of demonstrations and "symbolic" strikes of several hours' duration were staged by the Communist Party-dominated CGT. All went fairly well until the insurrection of the postal workers.

MILITANTS CALL CONVENTION
 The national strike committee of the postal workers has demanded of the national bureau of the union that a special convention of the union be convoked during the latter part of August, inasmuch as the overwhelming majority of its members have in-

Vote for Security and a Living Wage

SMASH THE PROFITEERS

Published by

5¢

WORKERS PARTY
CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE

You Will
Want to
Read This
Pamphlet
Written by
Irving Howe
for N. Y.
Election
Campaign

Order from
Local
New York
of the
Workers
Party
114 W. 14
N. Y. 11,
N. Y.

Program of the Workers Party

I. For Price Control by Labor and the Consumers

Wipe out profiteering and high prices by action. Only the workers can control prices. Labor must have the decisive voice in determining the prices of consumer commodities. For wage increases without price increases. For popular price control committees.

II. For a Living Wage

1. For an immediate wage increase to meet the rising cost of living.
2. For an escalator clause in every union contract to provide for automatic wage increases to cover any additional price rises.
3. For job and wage security through a guaranteed annual wage, providing for a \$5000 annual minimum per family.

III. Clear the Slums! Build Homes!

1. For a 250 billion dollar five-year program to provide decent housing at low rental for all and an extensive public works plan to provide schools, hospitals and other needed community facilities.
2. For a national plan to begin work immediately on the erection of 25 million permanent low-cost housing units.

IV. Tax the Profiteers

For a 100 per cent tax on all wartime profits above five per cent on invested capital. For a \$25,000 ceiling on all annual incomes.

V. Nationalize Big Business

For the nationalization of the big monopolies; the industrial establishments, transportation and communication systems and the banks. To be owned by the nation and operated under workers' control.

VI. End Discrimination Against the Negro People

For full social, political and economic equality for Negroes.

VII. Open the Doors to the Jews

1. For full and unrestricted immigration into the United States by the persecuted and homeless Jews of Europe.
2. For the right of the Jewish people to unrestricted immigration to Palestine or any country of their choice.

VIII. For Full Economic and Educational Opportunities for Veterans

1. Readjustment allowance, on-the-job training subsidy provided by the GI Bill of Rights, to be based on a wage of \$40 a week for single veterans and \$55 for married veterans, plus \$5 a week for each additional dependent.
2. For immediate granting of a federal bonus of \$1,000 for each year of service.

IX. For Peace and Freedom

1. For the right of all peoples and nations to decide their own future. For self-determination for all nations. For freedom of the colonies.
2. For the withdrawal of all armies of occupation. Bring the American troops home. For an end to conscription.

X. For an Independent Labor Party and a Workers Government

For an independent Labor Party of the workers and working farmers based on the trade unions. Break with the Republican and Democratic Parties. For a government of and by labor.

FOR A SOCIALIST AMERICA AND PLENTY FOR ALL!

MAGAZINE ACTION

September 9, 1946

A Paper in the Interests of Labor

Page 3

Political Perspectives of American Labor

Real Labor Party Is a Prime Need!

By EMANUEL GARRETT

In a recent issue of the CIO News, there appears a special supplement prepared by the CIO's Political Action Committee. The greatest part of this supplement consists of a lengthy box-score of the voting in the late and unlamented 79th Congress. Twelve issues are selected for the Senate, and twelve for the House. How each of the Senators and Congressmen voted on these twelve issues (they are not the same for the House and Senate) is presumably an indication of how labor's vote should be cast in the election. Why twelve and not thirteen, fifteen or fifty were selected as the test issues is best known to those who compiled the record. There is something suspiciously pat about twelve issues selected for each body, something too carefully designed for convenience. However, we accept it as is and conclude that PAC put in a lot of effort... proving nothing! Worse than that, it is dangerously misleading.

Consult the record: this senator has so many misuses, that one so many pluses. These are things worth knowing. But, presented in the way PAC does, it is utterly futile. Senator Mead, according to the compilation, is a fine fellow; he voted "right" on all twelve issues. But the fact remains that Mead is a servant of capitalism, a capitalist politician. He is NOT, and cannot be a representative of labor. As a New Deal liberal, he believes it necessary to uphold the capitalist system through "palatable" means. To say that he is a capitalist politician does not answer all questions. Nor do we intend it to. It makes perfect sense for him; there is no reason why he should not be, for it is the system under which he and others who live by expropriating the labor of others, prosper. Accordingly he voted right for capitalism on the imperialist war, and wrong for labor. The point, however, is this: it does not make sense for labor. The capitalists govern through their representatives in the state machinery which is fashioned after the image of their economic system. If some are more ruthless than others in dealing with labor, it is merely a difference among the rulers as to what method is most suitable in effecting their purpose. By the same logic, labor requires its OWN representatives, its own government. And therein is the fatal weakness in the PAC strategy.

Let us pursue the point for another moment. Mead voted "right" on these twelve issues. How would he have voted, however, were the chips down? Would he have voted for a bill nationalizing industry under workers' control had there been labor representatives to present such a bill? Quite obviously not. He voted right on cloture rule for the FEPC and anti-Poll Tax bills, but we do not recall his summoning a genuine campaign to set the Bilbos back on their heels. Mead's party, the Democratic Party, is also Bilbo's. And the liberals in the Democratic Party joined with the "liberals" in the Republican Party to make a deal whereby Bilbo ended his filibuster and FEPC went out the window.

Or take another illustration. There are a number of congressmen who, we assume, are believed to have had favorable scores. That is, they didn't vote according to CIO policy on all of the twelve issues, but on most of them. Some get a plus on, let us say, ten issues, but neither a plus nor a minus on two others because they didn't vote.

THIS IS POLITICS, NOT BASEBALL

There's a Representative Gordon Canfield (N. J., R.) who voted right on the Case Bill, the Patman Housing Bill, the Elliott Rider to the NLRB (CIO opposed this rider which has limited appropriations to the Labor Board), and four OPA amendments. On an amendment to the USES that was opposed by the CIO he didn't vote. On two issues—the rule for vote on the anti-labor Hobbs Bill and the un-American Committee Appropriation—he voted wrong. Were he a baseball player, he might have retained his big-league standing on percentage points. But we are here dealing with something vastly more important. Is a vote on FEPC worth more than a vote on the Case Bill, and vice versa? A ridiculous question, and a ridiculous way of approaching political action whether in whole as it pertains to the entire set of congressmen, or in part as it pertains to a single one.

What then is the purpose of all this careful listing and combing of records? PAC is preparing to go into the next campaign. No one really knows whether Kroll, the new head of PAC, can get out the labor vote as did Hillman. The interpretation generally given is one confined to the mechanics of machine politics. Read the press, and you find PAC discussed in terms of ability to ring doorbells, coordinate a machine, and so forth. All that is fundamentally inconsequential in this situation. Politics and orientation are the proper basis upon which

to judge the merit of ringing doorbells. The successes that PAC had in the past were a demonstration of a growing desire in labor's ranks to show political independence. Unfortunately, PAC was and is entirely dependent on capitalist politicians. PAC was originally created to get the labor vote for Roosevelt, and it succeeded. PAC's approach remains the same today—reward our "friends," defeat our enemies. The very use of the word "friend" indicates the fallacy. So and so is a "friend"; if he knifes us, he will do it gently, administer ether first—as Roosevelt did. What we need, however, are not "friends" but men and women chosen from our ranks who are ONE with us.

In the recent primary elections a number of PAC supported candidates were beaten by machine candidates. Columns of newspaper and magazine space have accordingly been devoted to proving that labor's efficacy has decreased, the labor vote routed. Nothing could be further from the truth. Nor is it necessary that we prove how here and there a PAC supported candidate polled a big vote, how an outspoken reactionary was driven to cover. For it is really beside the point.

PAC has not appeared before the people as a Labor Party. As a Labor Party, based upon the unions, presenting itself as a class, a working class instrument, it could rally the overwhelming majority of labor. That much it has proved—it has demonstrated that hundreds of thousands of workers seek an avenue of political labor action. And by the same token, it has declined in some cases to the extent that labor has critically judged its choice between two capitalist candidates—one with a Democratic or Republican Party label pure and simple, the other with a Democratic Party label adorned with the PAC emblem.

IS IT TOO EARLY FOR A LABOR PARTY?

We think that the American working class is ready for a Labor Party, given concrete direction. We think that American labor is overcoming its weakness of divorcing economic action from political action; that is to say, more and more workers are beginning to relate the need of political action with their long-established economic militancy. It would be almost impossible for it to be otherwise. Consider this past year. Every economic issue that arose catapulted labor into political thinking. The strikes? Government intervention was immediate. Strike gains? Stolen in Washington through price increases. The railroad situation, the price situation, every issue pointed directly to political action.

And it has risen concretely in union after union. Many locals, Reading steel, Goodrich rubber, and others have declared themselves for a Labor Party. The question has arisen in the auto union, where it was unsatisfactorily resolved by the leadership's indecision, vacillation and disorientation. Walter Reuther, for example, had an unparalleled opportunity to pose the Labor Party issue at the last UAW convention in a way which would have given an irresistible impulse to the formation of an Independent Labor Party. He had behind him the support of the militant auto workers who wanted to see the spirit of the General Motors strike continued into general and permanent union policy. Reuther, however, skidded around the Labor Party issue, and declared himself for some kind of third party.

There is currently a small vogue for third partyism. And it can serve the single purpose of heading off the development of a genuine Labor Party. We say single purpose, because a third party can accomplish exactly nothing for labor. It cannot challenge the fundamental needs of labor in combatting capitalist rule for the reason that it is not a class organization of labor. It is, in short, another Democratic or Republican Party, more liberal perhaps, more devoted to "clean" government perhaps, but that is all.

A NEW THIRD PARTY PLAN

A National Educational Committee for a new party has been set up, with A. Philip Randolph of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, as its temporary chairman, and with the participation of some other union leaders, liberals, Socialist Party members and the like. It held a conference some time ago in Chicago, and decided to postpone concrete action until after the November elections. It is currently operating from New York, and proposes to move soon to Chicago. On our desk is its most recent release. And from this release it is clear that the best the NECNP offers is a delusion. "We need," says the latter, "our own political party, one that will be truly representative of the interests of the majority of the American people." Very good. BUT such a party can only be a Labor Party, vigorously pursuing a working class, anti-capitalist policy.

A little brochure that accompanies the letter indicates the dangerous shoals of third partyism. This new third party is

going to be "modern." The atomic bomb is also modern. "We live in an age and world which require... the substitution of the principles of cooperation for those of exploitation." Undoubtedly, but how else can it be achieved? By the revolutionary action of the masses of the world? The two old parties have "failed to meet the American challenge." Pure gibberish, for the two old parties have met the challenge of preserving as best they can the bankrupt, intolerable system of private enterprise, whereas the challenge we need to be concerned with is that of pitting labor's strength against capital's rule.

The new party, continues the brochure, must be dedicated to "thorough-going democracy in industry, in government and in human relations." Noble sentiments, but the only genuine democracy which embraces all three is the destruction of the capitalist rule and its replacement by workers' rule. It speaks of public ownership, but tip toes around declaring itself under what system of society, and with what class content this public ownership will be effected. In fact, instead of speaking of labor leading those sections of the population whose interests labor alone can serve, it speaks in the very "unmodern" language of ancient progressivism—"grass roots" control. Why not, workers' control? That would mean something. And so on. Much of it sounds fine, and leads exactly nowhere.

The Educational Committee may eventually be converted into a party formally. But we doubt that it will ever amount to anything; certainly not from labor's view point. It will seek to combine Henry Wallace New Dealism (though Wallace has lately disappointed the third partyites with his inner Democratic Party tinkering) with union leaders and "progressives." We have seen such parties before, in one degree or another. Whatever role they played in the past, good, bad or indifferent, their time is past. The LaFollettes have disbanded their Progressive Party, and the last of the politically active LaFollettes was beaten in the recent primary. Presumably this new third party will be more progressive than LaFollette's Progressive Party, but it will serve the people no better. The issues of today are posed first between capital and labor, and must so be decided.

FOR A LABOR PARTY NOW

This is not the only third party movement. The Stalinist Party is trying to cook one up for their own interests as agents of Stalinist Russia. Casual elements in the two big parties are flirting (only flirting!) with the idea, but on a solid capitalist basis—no nonsense about public ownership. Veterans are clearly stirred by the palpable degeneracy of the big parties, and are seeking to make a go of "clean" politics, as in Athens, Tenn. While it is a welcome sign, one that offers excellent opportunities, it can be too easily subverted into nothingness. "Clean" government is realizable only to the extent that it is a reflection of a clean society. As an objective by itself it cannot transcend the limits of ferreting out graft and corruption, leaving intact the major corruption of a society based upon human indignity and exploitation, hurtling from a war just ended to another and more devastating one.

How then shall we sum up the situation?—taking PAC, third party moves, the veterans demonstrations into consideration. We think it adds up to a developing realization among the people of this country that we must overcome our political backwardness, that the big questions of social life require our own political intervention, that they cannot be left to the representatives of monopoly and privilege. There is still uncertainty as to what shape this political intervention should take. Direction and guidance are missing. When the leaders of the railroad brotherhoods denounced Truman, when Murray denounced Truman, it was possible to feel the eagerness to hear more, to concretize the sharp words into the reality of organization. That direction did not come from Murray nor from PAC. PAC under Kroll is the same as PAC under Hillman, an adjunct of the Democratic Party, with an occasional flyer into Republican affairs.

The situation demands a Labor Party, a party embracing the trade unions, founded on a political platform that challenges capitalist bankruptcy in the name of the working class. Were Murray or Reuther or other union leaders to issue the call, the response would be unquestionably clear. Inasmuch as they will not give that leadership, we must promote the formation of a Labor Party through our own activity and agitation in our unions. An Independent Labor Party is today an indispensable need. That is why the Workers Party and LABOR ACTION inscribe the formation of a Labor Party high on their program. We must enter the political scene under our own banner, and with our own program. The responsibility of revolutionary socialists is clear.

Some Economic Facts About the South

By DAVID COOLIDGE

We resume this week a discussion of the kind of area the South is and what the conditions are which the labor movement is called upon to face in that section. What we have been emphasizing in this series of articles is that the South is not merely a place where, for some unknown or unknowable reason, there is a poll-tax, ignorance, poverty, lynchings and Bilbos and Talmadges. We are trying to show that there are social, political and economic foundations for the Bilbos, just as there are these same foundations for the Tafts. There are economic reasons for the Southern mobs, just as there are economic reasons for the Northern labor spies and capitalist goon squads.

Social, political and economic phenomena of the South are as much a part of capitalist development in the U. S. as are similar phenomena in the North. These phenomena, as they manifest themselves in the South, must be approached just as one approaches the analysis of social phenomena in the North: with the same method of analysis and with the same analytical instruments. Lynching, poll taxes and ignorance are no more a part of the "nature" of the people of the South than are corrupt urban political machines, Jim Crow and acceptance of trade unions a part of the "nature" of the Northern people. With these observations we can renew our discussion of the kind of place the South is and why it is what it is.

ASSESSED VALUATION OF SOUTHERN PROPERTY

The poverty of the South can be dramatically exposed by comparing the total assessed valuation of property in a few Southern states with the assets of some Northern corporations. The figures are taken from A. G. Mezger's book, "The Revolt of the South and West." The figures given are the "total assessed valuation of every bit of property inside each" state named. The figures for the states are for 1937; for the corporations they are for 1935. Both have increased in the past ten years but the ratios have not changed in any significant way. For simplification, I have "rounded off" the amounts.

All the property in Texas was assessed at approximately three billion dollars, which was about equal to the assets of the Prudential Life Insurance Co. and considerably less than the assets of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co. and the American Telephone & Telegraph Co. Texas has the highest assessed valuation of any Southern state equalling that of Georgia, Alabama, South Carolina and Florida combined.

The total aggregate assessed valuation of ALL PROPERTY in the nine

states of Louisiana, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Arkansas, South Carolina, Tennessee and Texas (the lynching states) was less by five billion dollars than the combined assets of General Motors, Pennsylvania Railroad, U. S. Steel, Metropolitan Life and American Telephone & Telegraph.

The Consolidated Edison Co. (electric light and power) in New York City had assets greater than the total assessed value of Mississippi, South Carolina and Arkansas.

It must also be remarked that these huge Northern corporations are also worth more than a combination of Western states. Many of the Western states have assessed valuations greatly below the Southern states. For instance, U. S. Steel has larger assets than the total assessed valuation of all property in Nevada, Wyoming, Montana, Idaho and North Dakota.

It has to be emphasized, however, that there is one very significant difference between the Southern and Western states; that is the difference in population. The five Western states mentioned above have a total population that is millions less than five Southern states.

INDUSTRIAL PROPERTY TAXED LIGHTLY

It must also be mentioned that while the assessed valuation of property in a Western state may be lower than in a Southern state, the per capita income in the average Western state will be far higher than in the Southern state. For instance, the assessed value of all property in Mississippi was more than twice that in Nevada but the per capita income in Nevada was \$960 while in Mississippi it was only \$195 per capita. Again, while in Wyoming taxable property was not great, this state spent \$1,820 annually per classroom while Texas, the best Southern state, spent only \$1,395. Mississippi, of course, was low with \$448.

In order to reveal the full significance of these statistics we must take into consideration the probability that industrial property in the South, particularly Northern industrial property, is not taxed as high or as rigidly as in the North. This will also apply to a state like Montana, the home of the Anaconda Copper Co. That is, it is probably true that if industrial property in the South was taxed as in the North, these states would show a higher assessed valuation and there would be available greater resources for education and other state-performed functions.

Furthermore, legislatures and city councils which paid more attention to the levying and collection of corporation taxes would at the same time be legislatures which were more

(Continued on page 3)

Business Reporter Laments Over Capitalists' Lack of Confidence in Their Own System

By J. R. JOHNSON

Why should any worker have confidence in the future of the capitalist system? If he has, he shows more confidence than the capitalists themselves, for they are frightened at what this powerful and unmanageable economy may do to them in the near future. While they shout to the workers about the marvelous achievements of American capitalism during the war and the wonderful benefits it holds in the near future (if only the workers will keep quiet), the big capitalists sing a very different tune to one another.

On Sunday, August 25, in its business section, the New York Times published a long article by one Mr. Russell Porter. The very title and sub-title of the article should arrest the attention of every worker:

BUSINESS, INDUSTRY WORK TO PROVE DEFEATISTS ERR—WARNING IS GIVEN AGAINST TALKING OF INEVITABLE FALL OF CAPITALISM HERE.

Who are these defeatists? Revolutionary Socialists? Marxists? Trotskyists? Members and supporters of the Workers Party? Readers of LABOR ACTION? No. It seems that there are other people beside ourselves who distrust the American capitalist system. We learn from Russell Porter that: "Making a survey to see what business and industry were doing about the situation, this reporter

found their leaders fully aware of the dangers and working overtime to maintain economic stability."

And what are these dangers they are fully aware of? Nothing else but a repetition of the great crash of 1929, or as Porter calls it, the "national catastrophe." They are, I repeat, terribly frightened. Says the Times reporter:

"For example, the whole reason for being of the Committee for Economic Development is to maintain economic stability."

That is number one. Now for number two: "The National Association of Manufacturers is working toward the same objective."

Number three: "Similar activity is under way in the Chamber of Commerce of the United States."

Number four: "For the Government, President Truman has an Economic Advisory Council, headed by Dr. Edwin G. Nourse... to guide the Administration in measures in Congress for the promotion of maximum production and consumption."

The terror which inspires them all can be seen through the pseudo-optimism which the writer tries to build up. He says:

"The theory of the inevitability of the fall of American capitalism, which, if generally accepted, could create a fatal spirit of defeatism, has an interesting background."

Just look at those words I have un-

derlined. If the theory is accepted, it could create a "fatal" spirit. This is how these gentlemen talk about their own system. But to go on. "Much of it stems from Karl Marx, but extreme rightists in business, as well as extreme leftists in labor have given it currency from time to time."

The extreme rightists are the fascists who claim that their system is not capitalism but something else which they never define (except to insist that labor unions must be smashed). The Times goes on to say that Hitler believed in the theory. Stalin now has "returned" to it, and "The British have leaned toward it, but seem to be wavering now..." One is tempted to ask: "Who then does NOT believe in the theory?"

WHAT KIND OF SOCIETY?

And what is the solution of "free enterprise" to this danger which everybody it seems can see or at any rate fears. They have none. They have none, because they can have none. How can they have any? The first thing necessary is to free the workers from the degrading, humiliating and exhausting slavery to the capitalist machine. Tens of millions of workers who could contribute their energy, their intelligence, and an improved education to the problems of production, now spend their time either in total enslavement to the capitalist system or in struggle against it? How can the capitalist class accomplish

this? The workers alone can emancipate the workers.

We have to plan the economy, plan it in order to produce for use. But, these capitalists are in continuous conflict, always with the workers or with one another, or with capitalists abroad. They breathe disorder, confusion, anarchy, war. Only the whole working class and its allies organized and free of capitalist tyranny, can plan production.

And so with all other problems, large and small. The Negro question has disrupted the material and moral progress of this nation, above all during recent years. It has kept the whole South in bondage to a small clique of exploiters. The capitalists maintain the degradation of the Negro. Their educational system, their radio, their newspapers, all combine to teach the people that domination of the Negro is a necessity. Thus the South in particular remains one of the most backward and unproductive of economic areas. Who can alter that? Capitalism? But capitalism can only live and thrive upon the subordination, the division, the suppression of the working class, and where it cannot entirely suppress all, it suppresses some. Only the power of the workers can change that.

And, lastly, capitalism is a worldwide system. For international cooperation and economic stability we need free and thriving peoples. But today the United States and Russia

between them are tearing Europe into two parts. They each back one side in China. The rapacity of these two powers knows no bounds.

How is it possible to avoid devastating economic crises and wars? The workers alone have no interest in imperialism. They alone, through a Workers' Government, can carry out such a policy abroad as would rebuild the shattered world economy on a new basis, instead of continuing to destroy it on the old.

But all this demands the abolition of the capitalist system. It means using the means of production for society as a whole and not for the profit of a few. That is the socialist society. That is the solution. And all the committees of all the capitalists in the world cannot arrive at any solution, because the only solution is socialism, that is, the abolition of themselves. But, precisely because they cannot see the way out they are ready to try anything, fascism, war, whatever their bankruptcy drives them to. The workers have no reason to submit to any more of their crazy experiments. The thing to do is to help the capitalist class go whither it now belongs—into the rubbish heap of history. We are thankful to learn from the Times of capitalist bankruptcy and fright. It only gives us more confidence and conviction that the time for the power of the workers is long overdue.

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. 36

September 9, 1946

EMANUEL GARRETT, Editor
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Subscription Rate: \$1.00 a Year; 50c for 6 Mos. (\$1.25 and 65c for Canada, Foreign) Re-entered as
 Second Class Matter, May 24, 1940, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y.
 Under the Act of March 3, 1874

Editorials

When Will the New War Come?

In a front page editorial last week, we discussed the political moves that form the background of the new world war that is in the making. To those political moves—Yugoslavian dispute, Polish dispute, Greek dispute, etc.—must be added the purely physical preparations.

The atomic bomb is being streamlined so that its devastation will be boundless; micro-biological weapons are being fashioned—one expert recently told a Congressional committee that the atomic bomb is pale stuff compared with the murders a few well placed containers of microbes can take care of (after all, bombs destroy property as well as humans!); scientists are this week experimenting with the use of cosmic rays, the results of which may be a thousand times more terrifying than the atomic bomb. With a few laudable exceptions, the scientists, to their shame, are lending themselves to this perversion of science. And so it goes.

In our editorial, we wrote that despite the vigor of diplomatic insult and anger, war was not likely to come today or tomorrow; that it would take several years in the making. Three years? Five years? Ten years? Who can tell? In the meantime, the preparations go on; the stock piles and reserves accumulate.

But consider the enormity of it! There are people who will complacently breathe a sigh of relief—oh well, we've got a couple of years in which to live! A few years! That is how we now measure the space between wars!

Since the dawn of civilization there have been wars; and as class division in society has progressed, these wars have become more frequent, more bestial. Now we have reached the pinnacle of civilized refinement. If wars used to occur at intervals of decades, generations, decades are now too great a time lapse. A little over

"Officer Justice" in Germany

The court-martial at Bad Nauheim which held hearings on the brutalities at the Lichfield detention camp has finally handed down a verdict on Col. James A. Kilian, commander, who ordered "harsh, cruel and unusual" punishment of GIs. It found him guilty, fined him \$500, and gave him a reprimand! Of the thirteen subordinate officers and men already tried, eleven were found guilty. Since the subordinates were found guilty and fined, the court-martial could hardly acquit their commanding officer.

What stands out in the action of the court is the ludicrously light sentences handed down on fellow officers and sub-

ordinates who carried out their order, and the heavy sentences repeatedly given the ordinary GI for the most trivial offenses. In contrast to the sentence against Col. Kilian, eight witnesses against the officers of Lichfield have been sentenced to six months of hard labor for "offenses" committed during the period they were held to testify at the court-martial hearings.

Despite the propaganda of the brass hats about democratic reforms in the army, the court-martial system remains a vicious organization dispensing "officer justice" to the rank and file soldier, contrasting sharply with the leniency displayed in dealing with the officer caste.

That is to say, war is coming if we—and the people all over the world—do not prevent it, do not fight the war makers today. Now is a good time to revive the bill that languished in Congress, calling for a people's referendum on war. Now is the time to demand that all the occupying armies quit Europe and Asia! Now, before barbarism engulfs us, is the time to join hands with the oppressed everywhere and destroy this society that breeds war with oppression and the exploitation of peoples.

Not today; not tomorrow; but in a few years! After the First World War, far-seeing men like Lenin and Trotsky, and revolutionists everywhere, predicted the inevitability of a second world carnage. The capitalist lickspittles and propagandists, heaped public scorn on the revolutionists who spoke with the knowledge of scientific investigation, though the capitalists and their hirelings knew the truth and secretly prepared for war.

We do not have to wait for the sound of the first shots to know that war is coming. Such wisdom we leave to the profound journalists of our cosmopolitan press who rushed into print with the prediction of war... after war had swept half of Europe.

What stands out in the action of the court is the ludicrously light sentences handed down on fellow officers and sub-

Need Anything More Be Said?

This is an editorial in which the single fact it reports speaks for itself—and volumes!

In Collins, Mississippi, three young white holligans were fined \$10 for attempting to rape three Negro girls at the point of guns.

Think of this "brutal" punishment in comparison with the lynchings and vio-

lence that are sweeping the South. Think of Macie Snipes, Negro ex-GI, who was shot for daring to vote. Think of the trial in Columbia, Tennessee. Think of the "hunt" for the lynchers of four Negroes in Monroe, Georgia. Think of the terror visited upon countless Negroes under the false charge of "rape." Think of these, and many more.

DON'T MISS—

The September Issue of The New International
A Trotsky Memorial Issue

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WORLD POLITICS

(Translated from LA VERITE, organ of the Parti Communiste Internationaliste, French section of the Fourth International.)

The discussions between the French Government and the Viet Nam continue at Pontainbleau, far from indiscreet observation. In a preceding number of La Verite we have already expressed the doubts which Ho Chi Minh's policy inspires in us for the future of Viet Nam.

The present position of Ho Chi Minh and of his colleagues can be in general summarized as follows: Let France grant us political freedom; in return we shall remain a part of French Indo-China. Viet Nam, to be more precise. Ho Chi Minh is disposed to guarantee the security of capital invested in its territory by France; that is to say, Viet Nam will remain in fealty to the trusts and bonds of France, of French imperialism. Under these circumstances political independence is a snare.

VIET NAM'S POLICY AT THE BEGINNING

The present time, as a matter of fact, is a long way from the declaration of independence of the Republic of Viet Nam issued on September 2, 1945, which stipulated among others, the following:

"We members of the provisional government, representing the people of Viet Nam, declare that henceforth we have broken off all relations with French imperialism, we declare null and void all the treaties which France has signed relating to Viet Nam, we abolish all the privileges which the French have arrogated to themselves in our country."

Ho Chi Minh, the president, personally declared: "The independence of Viet Nam can only be of assistance to China. Our two countries possess thousands of kilometers of common frontier. Viet Nam is no longer a French colony and China therefore will no longer have cause to worry over its Southern areas; it is known that certain French politicians, among them Paul Doumer, have long cherished imperialist prospects for France in connection with the rich provinces of Southern China, such as Yunnan, Kwang Tun and Hwanghi. Viet Nam has the same relation to China as the lips have to the teeth."

A FOOL'S BARGAIN

The road travelled by Viet Nam in the international field can best be seen in the light of the article by Phan Nuan, which appeared on July 12 in ACTION. In order not to be an official declaration, this article expresses itself in a roundabout manner. Here are some of the most characteristic passages:

Milan After the Bombings

By JACK ARMOUR

MILAN, Aug. 18—All along the train route from Basle, Switzerland, into the huge industrial center of Milan there is terrible destruction. The hills, now covered with green verdure, bear mute testimony to the effectiveness of Allied imperialist bombing. Houses are gutted or burned-out skeletons. Trains, locomotives and some few tanks lie along the road. (Most tanks have already been collected and salvaged as junk in the Fiat auto works.) As you look at the destruction you think that, oh, well, this is just like St. Lo in France or the devastated port of Le Havre.

Then you come into Milan. Here the destruction is different. In ancient Milan, chief industrial city of Italy, largest city in the country, and containing the largest industrial proletariat, there is a section of town known as Stalingrad. It is named after the devastated Russian city of Stalingrad and with good reason. A predominantly working class neighborhood, it stood directly under the American bombing planes which on the one single, solitary night of August 15-16, 1943, wiped out hundreds of working class homes. An entire large neighborhood is levelled. Workers' houses were destroyed. Many

workers, even whole families, were killed by blast or burning from fire bombs.

Even the bombs had class aims. In the richer sections of town, few bombs fell. Few indeed are the bourgeois houses that were destroyed. And fewer still are the industrial plants which were struck by the bombing planes of "democratic" America. It is estimated that more than forty per cent of the workers' homes in Milan are now rubble or charred skeletons. The resulting housing shortage for workers is something terrible to behold. The lack of adequate plumbing, sharing of the water facilities and crowding into apartments is worse than in the most crowded tenement districts in America. Even "Tobacco Road" in the older, less developed sections of the American South are better off. The first raids did their work well.

In company with several Italian comrades, we looked at the ruins of the workers' quarters of town. It is not a pleasant sight. But the bombs did more than destroy houses and plumbing and parks and workers' lives.

Along the streets of Milan, in the workers' quarters, you see everywhere empty, thin faces. Children are

ragged and hungry. Child malnutrition is very high among workers' families. In comparison, the U. S. soldiers who come to Milan on furlough are plump, rosy-checked. They should be forced to get up early and see the Italian workers taking the trains to go to work. Weak. Wan. Little food. Lack of calories, of fats, of vitamins. The workers of Italy are the principal victims of the bombings, of the Allied "victory."

All the hospitals in Milan are filled. But getting a bed in a hospital, difficult as that is, doesn't have too much meaning. For there is a serious lack of medicine and of medical supplies. Most medicines had been imported from the U. S. or Germany. Now that supply is cut off or so reduced that it cannot be of much assistance. The U. S. government has cleverly propagandized its UNRRA shipments of medical supplies, but between the propaganda and the facts of enormous sickness there is no correlation.

Here is where many workers' children are suffering the diseases of malnutrition.

Here is where many workers and their families were burned to death or blasted to bits.

Books You Should Know...

BABBITT, by Sinclair Lewis. Bantam Books, 25 Cents.
 Reviewed by ABE VICTOR

Sinclair Lewis acquired the art of mimicry as easily as some men learn to whistle. In smoking cars, in hotel lounges, in the back rooms of country clubs, wherever the leading men of America's businesses and professions gather for relaxation to converse in their clichés and platitudes about life and love, about success and failure, about a code for getting along in the world—in those places Sinclair Lewis cocked his ear and made a mental recording which he reproduced with infallible accuracy in his best novels, **Babbitt**, Main Street, Dodsworth, Elmer Gantry and Arrowsmith.

The recent appearance of **Babbitt** in a 25 cent edition is, therefore, a valuable addition to any man's collection of novels which describe this world in REAL terms.

Lewis gains his effects by accretion. His characters talk—they repeat over and over again the Pollyanna phrases of the social strata which they represent. And as these conversations accumulate, layer upon layer, thickness upon thickness, a personality begins to emerge as it does from a canvas upon which some capable painter has created a face by the use of oils squeezed from a tube and applied for a heavy cumulative effect.

The people who take shape on Lewis' canvas are for the most part ugly; they suffer from the aggravation of all those human weaknesses that are intensified by man's emotional conflicts in which standards of success clash with standards of personal integrity. Their morals and their values are horrible—yet one realizes that they are merely conforming to a pattern which American society has set for them. The implied conclusion, in fact, is that these people are to be pitied and even to be loved.

George F. Babbitt, for example... Babbitt is forty-six years old in 1920. He is a college graduate, not a frivolous product of Princeton or Yale, but a sound and standard ware from that great department store, the State University. He does nothing creative; but he is nimble in the art of selling houses for more than people can afford to pay. Babbitt and his friends are sound—they are supporters of the state, defenders of the evangelical churches, of domestic brightness and of sound business.

CORRUPTED BY MONEY

George F. Babbitt is not in love with his wife; he never has been and 25 years of married life have reduced their existence to a bored routine. Myra Babbitt has become so dully habituated to this routine that in her

full matronliness she is completely sexless. She is a good woman, a kind woman, a diligent woman, but no one except her daughter is at all interested in her.

George has a repeated wish-fulfillment dream which occurs in the early hours of the morning—a fairy child comes to him. Where others see but George Babbitt, she discerns gallant youth. She waits for him in the darkness behind mysterious groves. When at last he can slip away from his crowded house he darts to her. His wife, his clamoring friends seek to follow, but he escapes, the girl fleet beside him, and they crouch together on a hillside. She is so slim, so white, so eager! She cries out to him that he is gay and valiant, that she will wait for him, that they will sail—and at this point some inevitable interruption... and George Babbitt awakes, his petulant sleep-swollen face set in harder lines. He suddenly seems capable, an official, a man to contrive, to direct, to get things done.

On his sleeping porch, where he so often holds rendez-vous with the dream-girl, Babbitt is a sulky child, at the breakfast table he becomes a domestic tyrant, at some real estate deal he is the crafty money-changer. His whole life is corrupted by his passion for money and for what, in Zenith, is considered social position.

OFF LIMITS

By
James M. Fenwick

General Omar Bradley who, according to the New York Times, "long since has established his reputation as one of the hardest-headed and sympathetic friends of the veteran" recently stated that abuses of the on-the-job-training provisions of the GI Bill of Rights constituted a national scandal.

There is a scandal, all right, but it does not center around those few individuals in the more comfortable income brackets who have sought to take advantage of the job-training program while holding down very cushy jobs. The scandal lies in the recent sandbagging given by Congress to some 300,000 veterans in the job-training program. The scandal lies in Bradley himself with his generalizations which he is so fond of making.

CONGRESS RUNS TRUE TO FORM

Congress wasted no time in picking up the cue given by Bradley. After effortlessly passing the largest peacetime military budget in history, they raised their own salaries from \$10,000 to \$12,500 a year—plus \$2,500 for expenses—and in the last days of the session got down to business and chopped one of the reasonably good portions of the GI Bill of Rights to bits.

One week after the bill's introduction into the Senate, and without a single hearing being held on it, the bill was on Truman's desk. Flashing That Old Prudential Smile, Truman quickly signed the bill and then, weighted down by the cares of office, Boss Pendergast's boy took off for the fair Bermuda.

It didn't take veterans long to find out what had been done to them.

NOTHING'S TOO GOOD FOR THE VETERANS

It would seem that NOTHING is almost too good for the veteran. Under the amended GI Bill of Rights, ceilings of \$175 per month for single veterans and \$200 a month for married ones are imposed for the period of training. This figure includes the government subsistence grant as well as the worker's wages.

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union immediately pointed out that this "represents wage cuts ranging from \$25 to \$50 a month to trainees in the industry." With the current inflated prices, the difficulties of living on the resulting income are obvious.

Further, subsistence grants will not be paid on programs which last longer than two years. The normal apprenticeship in most trades, of course, runs longer than two years. In the printing industry it is six.

Hardship has been accentuated because in many cases veterans have made commitments on the assumption that the original provisions of the bill were to prevail. Now they find themselves with homes partly bought, furniture unpaid for, babies begun—and a very unpromising future confronting them.

A FEW CONCLUSIONS

If the revised rates for the on-the-job-training program continue it will mean the effective destruction of the program. If the new rates remain, the whole program will turn into a source of cheap labor for industry. The new rates will also serve as a depressant on current union scales. The only real solution is union control of the on-the-job-training program, just as unions in many trades now control the conditions of apprenticeship.

It would not be difficult for any union to devise a program which would guarantee a living wage, provide for a full apprenticeship program, forestall veterans from being used as a pool of cheap labor, and prevent the veteran from being pitted against the organized worker.

If there is to be a better post-war world it will be hewn out by labor and not by the creatures of capital like Bradley, the United States Congress and... what's his name?—Truman.

HISTORICAL MOMENTS DEPARTMENT...

The State Begins to Wither Away In Stalinist Russia!

MOSCOW, Aug. 24—Military training for boys and girls in the fifth, sixth and seventh grades and for girls in the eighth, ninth and tenth grades, will be abolished in the new school year, which begins Sept. 2, it was announced today.

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Stalin's New Purges and Ukraine Independence

By ALBERT GATES

In the midst of the great diplomatic struggles which aptly characterize the Paris Peace Conference as the meeting ground of imperialist brigands, the news of another nationwide purge in Stalin's Russia has been reported in more or less subdued terms. This purge extends everywhere: in Great Russia, the Urals, Siberia, White Russia, the Ukraine; it embraces functionaries of the "Republics," factory managers, and the high-level summits of the Stalinist parties. And nowhere is the purge as severe as it is in the Ukraine. Two highlights of the situation occur to one immediately: the general purge itself and its relation to Russian society, and the severity of the purge in the Ukraine. While the two problems are related, they have, nevertheless, distinctive qualities and touch, as it were, two separate questions.

In general, the purges are a preparation for the commencement of a new five-year plan to be completed by 1950 with goals approximating pre-war levels. Like all previous "victories of the five-year plans" this one, too, if successful, will be achieved by the sweat, blood and tears of the workers, peasants and convict laborers of the "federated Republics."

PURGES EXPLODE MYTH OF "SOCIALIST" STATE

The regime of the Kremlin, which has just emerged from the war a somewhat battered victor with immense new prestige and power as an imperialist giant, prepared for the expected post-war dissatisfaction of the masses and their demands for "a new and better and more fruitful life" by a campaign against scores of small bureaucrats. Several things are thus achieved by the purge:

1. It strikes fear into the hearts of millions of lower functionaries, technicians, specialist and industrial engineers creating the condition for abject submission to the regime; 2. it creates a frenzy of industrial planning and operation and produces superhuman efforts by the workers and peasants to achieve the norms of the plan at the expense of their physical well-being; 3. it postpones again, on the grounds of the destruction caused by the war, the question of increasing the production of consumer goods and raising the living standards of the people (Russia is surrounded by enemies; now is not the time for luxuries); 4. it prepares in advance all the alibis for bureaucratic failures which are inherent in the backwardness of the nation and the totalitarian regime which acts as a brake upon progress; 5. it prepares for new repression against the masses.

One need not listen to the professional apologists for Stalin, who raise their feeble and often indistinct voices against capitalist exploitation and more loudly condemn its imperialism, while they are totally silent about Stalinist imperialism and the exploitation of the masses who compromise the new Russian empire.

(Did I say silent? Pardon me. They are the loudest and most vulgar supporters of the new exploitative society!) One has only to recall the history of the successive purges to see through the camouflages created by the regime.

The purges often take on a ludicrous form amidst the terrible tragedy that is Russian society. We have been told that Stalin's Russia is a socialist nation. That it has not only entered the stage of socialism, but as long as fifteen years ago completed nine-tenths of socialism. Obviously, the other tenth has long ago been reached. Russian society, however, has nothing in common with socialism; it is a new form of exploitation; a new class society emerging from a defeated revolution. It contains many vices which are characteristic of all class societies and therefore has many similarities to capitalism. Its exploitation is, however, even more primitive than that of the advanced capitalist world; savage under the most complete totalitarian police regime in the world.

Socialism presupposes a classless society, a social organization without exploitation and where the state diminishes in importance as the economy rises and finally enters its decline on the road of disappearance, to be replaced by administrative bodies of the people. It is not complete socialism, i.e., communism. This signifies the actual disappearance of a state power of coercion. But this distinction is not really as great as would appear at first glance. A dividing line between the disappearance of the first stage and the appearance of the second is difficult to fix. The achievement of the socialist stage of development implies a new advance of culture, a complete and irrevocable defeat of capitalism and capitalist ideology. Mankind living in a socialist state would have lost completely the strivings, interests and desires which spring out of the insecurity of capitalist property relations.

If Russia had achieved only five-tenths of socialism, there would be no need to be concerned with the recrudescence of capitalist ideology unless it was forcibly introduced over a period of years from the outside. In addition, Stalin's Russia is a hermetically sealed land. Few ideas from the outside world penetrate its borders (unless there has been some disaffection brought back by the returning soldiers). Despite the claim of having achieved socialism, the regime has constantly to mobilize its police apparatus to combat "alien" ideology. This type of struggle is employed as a method of combatting opponents of the regime; at the same time it is a reflection of the new exploitative character of the Russian social order.

REFLECTS A WIDE DISSATISFACTION

The masses who observe through their own experiences the character of Russian exploitation, the miserable factory conditions, the speed-up systems, piece-work payments, the im-

mense poverty and deprivation on the one hand and the well-being of the bureaucracy on the other, are themselves influenced in part by the anti-socialist nature of the economic, political and social system that prevails. Older workers who lived under Tsarism, recall the similarities of exploitation between the two systems. The social system in Russia having a logic of its own, creates conditions under which socialist ideology cannot flourish; it can only be the property of revolutionists who seek the overthrow of the regime and the social system which it has imposed. The regime itself, as an anti-socialist force, is a reactionary influence in the land.

Thus, almost thirty years after the revolution, the Kremlin continues to "combat survivals of private ownership among farmers, especially in areas occupied by the Germans during the war, where hostile propaganda against the Soviet state structure and collective farming was carried out by the enemy." The conscious, thinking, socialist worker must say to himself: How is it possible that after a decade and a half of socialism Russian workers and peasants could be influenced by such a reactionary movement as German fascism? It makes no sense... that is, if you accept the premise that Russia is a socialist society. It does make sense if you accept that some elements of the population could have been influenced by the Germans because of the oppressive, class character of Russian society.

We consider this, however, to be the least important factor in the situation. The attack upon the farmers "in whose consciousness survivals of

private ownership are still strong" is a reflection of a deep dissatisfaction with the rule of the bureaucracy which fattens off the labor of the workers and peasants. And what better instrument can the Kremlin employ against dissatisfaction among the people than to accuse dissident elements of representing capitalist ideology and capitalist restoration. The



GENERALISSIMO STALIN

fact that these "survivals" are most noteworthy among peasants illustrates not only the strong urge for ownership among this class, but indicates the whole regime for its anti-socialist measures and conduct. What is very likely true about some peasants, is certainly not a nationwide phenomenon. The workers and peasants of all Russia are not desirous of a return to capitalism.

Some Facts About the South - -

(Continued from page 3)

mindful of low wages, ill health and bad housing conditions. Therefore, the escaping of tax payments by Northern corporations operating in the South is only one more means at their disposal for further impoverishment of the South.

No matter how much improvement can and should be made in the South in the way of increasing the income from corporation taxes, this would not materially change the figures given above nor the relative weight of the wealth-producing potentialities of the two sections. From Texas to the Atlantic south of the Ohio is a vast agricultural and raw materials area. North of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi is a vast industrial area. There has been discovered no way to get as much wealth from capitalist land as from a capitalist factory.

This situation which we have described in this and in previous articles has much to do with making the South what it is politically, socially and culturally.

It is a situation which demands the intervention of the Northern working class, or there can be no substantial improvement. The Southern workers and toilers are too poor and too backward to go it alone. And when to the general backwardness of the toilers is added the all-pervading racial tension and hatred, it should be easy to realize that the solution must begin with the extension of the trade union movement to the South, especially the industrial union movement.

Our analysis gives the reasons why "Operation Dixie" today must be a proletarian operation. It is only the Northern working class which can bring relief to the Southern workers and toilers. This is particularly true in the case of the millions of Negro toilers, who are the most oppressed, the most exploited, the most degraded, and upon whom the greatest insults are heaped. If the Northern proletariat, black and white, does not understand this, it only paves the way for its own harassment by Northern capitalism. Negro proletarians in the North need to remember

The attack on the "backward elements" is related to Stalinist policy toward the Ukraine. The purge has been most inclusive there. A mass replacement of personnel in the state and party apparatus has taken place. One-half of the party leadership has been replaced in addition to 64 per cent of the presidents of executive committees of regional soviets; 38 per cent of all secretaries of regional committees of the party; two-thirds of all directors of machine and tractor stations. In the Sumi district of Northern Ukraine, 91 per cent of all presidents of executive committees of regional soviets have been changed. Eighty-three per cent in the Nicolaiev district and 83 per cent in the Rovno district were similarly removed.

CHARGES HAVE FAMILIAR RING

The charges have that familiar monotonous ring: "falsifying production figures"; "plans unfulfilled," "fraud," "machinery very poorly employed," "careless attitude toward machinery," work "badly organized," "rotten liberalism and petty-bourgeois looseness."

The report of Nikita S. Khrushchev, principal secretary of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, criticized the training of party officials and called for the organization of six-month training courses for "soviet workers of district and village organizations." He criticized the Central Committee of the party for not giving sufficient attention to "ideological-political training" which brought about a situation where "there are ideological mistakes and distortions and attempts to give rebirth to bourgeois-national-

ist conceptions." According to the New York Times, "some of these writers were accused of 'idealizing the past.'"

It is obvious from the nature of the situation that Khrushchev is not really deploring the lack of proper training of officials—it is inconceivable that the regime would appoint "untried and untrained" officials. What Khrushchev is actually saying is that the Great Russian rule over the Ukrainians is meeting with difficulties. The Ukrainians are restless under the oppression of the Moscow regime and carry on, under the totalitarian regime, various forms of resistance to Stalin's endless campaign to Russify the Ukraine. The officials have been found wanting in this campaign.

The charge that there are "attempts to give rebirth to bourgeois nationalist conceptions" is not really very funny coming from a tyrant who has introduced the worst kind of chauvinism into the nation. The difficulty of the regime is readily apparent: the Kremlin, which has resurrected Peter the Great, the old Tsarist generals, Gen. Chelmskiy, the pogromist, and has decorated its own generals with diadems, medals and platinum stars in the manner of ancient potentates, is not opposed to great Russian nationalism; it is fighting the new growth of Ukrainian nationalism which cannot possibly develop except in a struggle against the Kremlin.

REVOLUTIONARY POLICY IN THE UKRAINE

The Ukrainian question is not new; the Bolsheviks had long ago adopted in its program the right of self-determination for the Ukraine even to the point of separation from the "Soviet Federation." There was a struggle over this question in the Central Committee of the Bolshevik party in which Lenin, vigorously opposed the Great Russian nationalism espoused by Stalin. In an important article written in 1939, Trotsky again issued the slogan of the independence of the Ukraine, precisely because under the Stalinist regime it became a necessity for the Ukrainian masses. He wrote:

"The Bolshevik Party, not without difficulty and only gradually under the constant pressure of Lenin, was able to acquire a correct approach to the Ukrainian question. The right of self-determination, that is, of separation, was extended by Lenin equally to the Poles and to the Ukrainians. He did not recognize aristocratic nations. Every inclination to evade or postpone the problem of an oppressed nationality he regarded as a manifestation of Great Russian chauvinism."

Lenin constantly urged the government to "accede as far as possible to these nationalities that have been oppressed in the past. In the proposals and declarations of Stalin, on the contrary, the tendency to bureaucratic centralism was invariably pronounced. In order to guarantee 'administrative needs,' i.e., the interests of the bureaucracy, the most legitimate claims of the oppressed nation-

ality were declared a manifestation of petty-bourgeois nationalism."

The Stalinist regime, which has resurrected the Tsarist dream of "pan-slavism," also demanded the unification of all Ukrainians during the war—after Hitler broke his pact with Stalin and invaded Russia. But prior to this demand for the unification of all Ukrainians in Eastern Europe who were oppressed by Poles, Rumanians and Hungarians, Stalin was ready to make various diplomatic deals against the best interests of these people, deals which violated their right of self-determination.

In the Ukraine, more than any other place, bureaucratic hooliganism has been employed against the longing of the masses for their freedom and independence. The regime combats the healthy and progressive character of Ukrainian nationalism with reactionary oppressive Great Russian nationalism. No wonder, then, that the Germans were able to make headway in the Ukraine by giving lip-service to the desire of large masses for national freedom. It is Stalin's Great Russian nationalism in the Ukraine which gives rise to reactionary chauvinist sentiments among the people. But even this, on the scale of progress, is less offensive than the oppression "big power" policy of the Kremlin.

FOR UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE!

Thus, purges, changes in personnel, new policies, new practices, all take place by order from above without consultation with or the participation of the Ukrainians, except through Stalin's hirings. The masses of workers and peasants constantly feel the whip-lash of the bureaucracy and the dissatisfaction therefore is undoubtedly widespread. This is revealed in the very character of the present purge.

If it was correct to raise the slogan of the "independence of the Ukraine" almost ten years ago, it is even more important to do so now. In a dishonest way, and for reactionary diplomatic purposes, Stalin has unwittingly granted the validity of this slogan, as well as verified the position of Lenin and Trotsky by insisting that the Ukraine be accepted as an independent nation at the Paris Peace Conference and in the United Nations. This "formal" recognition, however, is counteracted by the real state of affairs, i.e., by the iron rule of the Kremlin over the country.

Thus, if the purges in the Ukraine are any symptom, they are a symptom of the immense dissatisfaction of the masses and their desire for genuine national freedom. The slogan, "For an Independent Ukraine," is a progressive, revolutionary, socialist slogan which coincides completely with the interests of the socialist revolution. It becomes an indispensable measure in the struggle against Stalinist totalitarianism and counter-revolution.

Excerpts from a Forthcoming Pamphlet on WP-SWP Unity, by Albert Goldman

TROTSKYIST UNITY AND THE NATURE OF THE PARTY - V

A most natural question that I am frequently asked is: why did not the Minority remain in the SWP to fight for its ideas? Under normal circumstances a minority is not justified in leaving a revolutionary party because its ideas are not accepted. It was possible for us to remain and by patient, persistent work attempt to win a majority to our ideas. As a matter of fact our struggle against the Cannon clique was not without some success. No more of the leader-worship articles by Hansen appeared in the SWP press. After our fight against the idea that members of the SWP should not even talk with members of the WP the claim was made that by censuring four comrades for discussing the Russian question with WP members it was not meant that party members should not talk with WP comrades. The term "renegade" ceased to be thrown about so freely when referring to the leaders of the WP. Cannon stopped referring to discussions as "kibitzing."

Our decision to leave the SWP and join the WP was based on the fundamental premise that if there is no unity we can do far more fruitful work for the cause of revolutionary socialism in the WP. Were there not in existence a party composed of comrades with the same ideas of a revolutionary party as ours, there would be no alternative for us but to accept the discipline of the Cannonite majority. But with such a party in existence it seems much more effective to unite the forces that are opposed to a monolithic conception of a party than to keep them divided. To unite them means to strengthen these forces.

A prolonged and severe factional struggle represents a tremendous waste of energy under the best conditions. A factional struggle under a regime of people who see in maneuvering the solution to all political problems means wasting ninety per cent of one's efforts on the most petty issues. For instance, the whole question of unity was transformed into a question of loyalty and disloyalty. The question of democratic demands was shifted to an argument as to whether the United States would or would not send food to Europe—the leading Cannonites stoutly maintaining that this country would not send any food to the European countries.

Another reason for leaving was the fact that had we remained we would have been expelled for fraternizing politically with the comrades of the WP.

Before we proposed unity and before the WP accepted our proposal we regarded the comrades of the WP as devoted revolutionists. After the WP accepted our proposal we regarded them as a tendency in the Fourth International, as Trotskyists. It is significant that the widow of Trotsky who understands Trotsky's method and approach to problems better than any one living, speaks of the two Trotskyist parties in the United States.

It was inevitable that the Minority should fraternize politically with the WP. What did this fraternization consist of? Mainly in discussing the problem of unity and all other political problems and in getting together in social and classes. The fact of the matter is that for most of the Minority comrades it was impossible to discuss with the leading Cannonites and it was easy and profitable to discuss with the WP comrades.

The idea of treating devoted revolutionists as renegades is repulsive. Even if I recognize the necessity of splitting and remaining apart for a period I must treat those who are with me in the great struggle for a socialist society as revolutionists. I can fight them on the point upon which we disagree but act in the friendliest manner and join with them in all actions on those tasks upon which there is no disagreement. Cannon's attitude of trying to create a stone wall between the members of the two parties was hateful to me. Nothing infuriated and alarmed me so much as the inculcation of hate among the members of the SWP to the members of the WP.

Under the circumstances, the Minority decided to continue political fraternization with the WP regardless of the policy of the Majority. I do not say that the question of fraternization was a principle with us, although the policy against fraternization with revolutionists seemed monstrous to us. Were the SWP a mass party we would have accepted the policy of the Majority in order to remain in the mass party. But since the SWP, although larger than the WP, is still a very small group it seemed to us to be contrary to the interests of the revolutionary movement to abide by the policy of the majority.

To the hue and cry raised against us on the ground that we were violating the principle of democratic centralism we answered that this principle should be observed by revolu-

tionists only when its observance means the building of a revolutionary party and not when it is used to cover up a crime against the revolutionary movement. We understand very well that in the last analysis this means that every revolutionist must judge for himself whether a certain act is so detrimental to the revolutionary movement that he must disregard the principle of democratic centralism. The rejection of unity was a criminal act against the revolutionary movement and democratic centralism played a secondary role with us.

Comrade Felix Morrow and other comrades who were with the Minority have decided to remain in the SWP. While I am of the opinion that their efforts there will not be one-tenth so fruitful as working in the WP I wish them all the success in the world. Their success is our success for it will mean eventual unity of the two parties and a tremendous union officialdom of a capitalist state, they tried to confound strengthening of the Trotskyist movement.

Many comrades want an explanation for the situation that has developed in the SWP. The "theoreticians" of that party constantly demanded of us to show the "social roots" of the Cannon clique. Starting from the premise that Stalinist tendencies must come from a bureaucracy which has social roots either in a degenerated workers' state or in the trade union workers' state of the trade union bureaucracy. We simply laughed at this formalistic thinking driven to a nonsensical extreme.

It is undeniable that when Trotsky was living he did all of the theoretical thinking for the Trotskyist groups of the world over. We all recognized his great genius and for the most part accepted his ideas without critical analysis. It was a tremendous asset to have a Trotsky at the head of our movement, guiding its intellectual life, but it was also a disadvantage in that it prevented the development of independent thought on the part of Trotsky's followers. The struggle in the party in 1940 showed that to many of the Trotskyists independent thinking was a subject of scorn. The hardened Cannonites not only disagreed with the Minority of that period but they laughed at the idea of arriving at conclusions independent of and opposed to Trotsky.

So long as Trotsky was living, Cannon did not openly express any of his "independent" ideas about organizational questions. To a few who knew him he confided that he was "not a Trotskyist but a Leninist" on the organizational question. On theoretical, strategic and tactical questions he was more than willing to follow Trotsky's lead.

Lacking confidence (and justifiably so) in his own ability to deal with theoretical ideas and not having sufficient confidence in any one else, it was only natural for Cannon, after Trotsky's death, to proclaim that Trotsky had furnished us with sufficient ideas and that all we need is to follow them. Anyone who presented any new idea or even a modification of an old one was looked upon as a disturber of the peace, a "kibitzer," to use Cannon's expression for those who wanted to discuss problems. In a movement founded by one who had nothing of the conservative in him it was declared highly desirable and commendable to be conservative!

The greatest importance was placed on organizational questions and by that is meant the creation of a machine which responds automatically to the will of the controllers of the machine. The machine was to be kept in good order through a system of education based on questions and answers derived from Cannon's handbook "Socialism On Trial." That constitutes the catechism.

The concept of a party as a living organism with intellectual controversy and participation in the class struggle as the two vital necessities of its life is completely alien to Cannon. As I indicated above he is the product of the Zinoviev period of the Communist International. He once wrote an article declaring that the weakness of the Communist Party was due to the fact that it was not sufficiently monolithic.

As part of the explanation of the success of Cannon one must not overlook the role which a machine plays even in a small organization. Many who otherwise would be working for a capitalist under adverse conditions find themselves doing easy and pleasant work, find themselves in a position where they appear as leaders—on a small scale it is true, but still leaders with some prestige. They could not possibly play that role outside of the machine.

(To be continued)

International Socialist Notes

We are, with this issue, changing the title of this column from "Fourth International Notes" to "International Socialist Notes." The purpose of this change is to permit us a broader reference to socialist and working class activities among the peoples of the world. As partisans of the Fourth International (Trotskyist) movement, we will of course continue to give primary emphasis to the activities of the Trotskyist organizations internationally. We wish, however, to include in our column reports on socialist activity generally, or activity that is socialist in its objective meaning as reflecting the struggle of the working class against capitalism or Stalinism.

FOR TROTSKYIST UNITY IN THE U. S.

As reported in last week's LABOR ACTION, the French Trotskyist Party (PCI) is preparing for its national convention. Various resolutions will

come before the convention, including resolutions on the Russian Question. One group in the party is developing a point of view on Russia similar to that of the Workers Party. This same group has introduced a resolution which reads as follows:

"In the U. S. we believe that the fusion of the Socialist Workers Party (with the Workers Party is an urgent task. To prevent that organization from joining the Fourth International is to deny the possibility of collaboration by comrades having different points of view on Russia. We recall the fact that Trotsky in 1937 was for the maintenance of unity in the French POI (former name of the PCI) between majority and minority on the defense of the USSR. We protest against the decisions of the International Secretariat and the lack of information of the comrades of the International on this question and de-

mand the rapid realization of the unification of the Trotskyists in the U. S., with this sole reservation: that all tendencies accept the necessary organizational discipline." (This the Workers Party takes for granted.)

LA VERITE PUBLISHES SPECIAL STRIKE ISSUE

The PCI put out a special edition of its newspaper, La Verite, in support of the postal strike reported in this column last week and elsewhere in this issue of LABOR ACTION. The PCI also sent telegrams of support to the strikers. Comrade Arpin writes that "A number of Postal, Telegraph and Telephone workers, including former Communist Party men, have written in to La Verite praising the PCI for its stand and many have asked for application blanks in the only party that carries on the struggle for labor's interests." E. G.

ANTI-SEMITISM IN POLAND

By A. RUDZIENSKI

Special to LABOR ACTION August 24, 1946.

"Since 1925 and above all since 1926, anti-Semitic demagogues, well camouflaged, unattackable, go hand in hand with symbolic trials against avowed pogromists."

Thus Leon Trotsky defines the anti-Semitic politics of Stalinism in his article "On the Jewish Problem." (New International, Dec. 1945.)

There is no better key to decipher the phenomenon of the anti-Semitic pogroms in Poland, especially the pogrom in Kielce, than this opinion of the old master.

The pogroms which are now taking place in Poland are the greatest in our tragic history. As is known, the first pogroms were "imported" to Poland by the "Black Hundreds" of Tsarism to combat the growing socialist movement in Poland. Polish reaction, then personified by the National Democratic Party, which stood for the submission of Poland to Tsarism, embraced the pogroms as its very own and as an excellent instrument to combat Polish socialism. The pogroms reached their climax in the process of decline of the 1905-06 revolution in Russia and Poland. The second wave of pogroms broke out in the independent Polish republic when reaction, frightened by the specter of the socialist revolution, loosed the pogroms in Lwow. But none of the pogroms of that period, or of the period of the Bonapartist dictatorship of the colonels, went to such lengths or covered so many victims as the pogroms under the "democratic" and "left-wing" government imposed on Poland by Stalin.

The tragic pogrom in Kielce confirms completely the point of view of Trotsky. According to the New York Times of July 6, in front of the building of the Jewish community in Kielce, growing in half a day to several thousands. The crowd, according to the same source, could not enter the building; but the officials who arrived from the Polish army (Stalinist) entered the building and under false pretext took the Jewish victims outside and handed them over to the mob. The official version of Warsaw is that the "bandits of the NSZ" (national armed forces) assaulted the city and killed the Jews.

It is only too clear to us that the mob assembled without any intervention of the militia or the Russian and Polish armies, for the space of a few hours, in a city department (Woyewodia) where there are strong Russian and Polish garrisons, several kinds of police and militia and the notorious "security" police of Radkiewicz, controlled by the NKVD. There is no doubt of the intervention of the Stalinist officials on the side of the mob.

Furthermore, the circles of exiled Polish socialists inform us that Kielce has always been the fortress of the Socialist Party and that the democratic and progressive population of Kielce never knew pogroms there. These same circles contend that the Kielce pogrom was the work of agents provocateurs of the "security" police to counteract the reports of the foreign press on the referendum fraud and to appear in the eyes of proletarian opinion as "defenders" of the oppressed Jews against the reactionary

Polish opposition, underground and legal, the latter represented by the party of Mikolajczyk.

This thesis is certainly confirmed by the earlier pogroms which occurred in Lodz, the most industrial city of Poland, and in Cracow, the old capital, in broad daylight under the noses of the "Red Army"—which declared in answer to passers-by that it could not intervene in the "internal affairs" of Poland. The judicial hearing before the military tribunal in Cracow revealed that the Polish soldiers accused of intervening in the pogrom declared that they had been instigated by the police agent Skrypek, who had been absolved.

The "demonstration" trials in Kielce which terminated with shootings only confirm the thesis of Trotsky, i.e., they serve as a camouflage. Beneath this camouflage are enacted the biggest and bloodiest pogroms in the history of Poland. The government reactionaries have tolerated the pogroms "unofficially," but the police, however sympathetic to the anti-Semites, intervene against the anti-Semites under the pressure of the "left." The notorious minister of Pilsudski, Slawo-Skladkowski, has been widely attacked for his statement that the economic fight against the Jews will be tolerated, but not the pogroms; the Stalinist "democrats" instigate the greatest pogroms without public opinion or the free workers' and peasants' press being able to intervene and unmask the Machiavellian puppets. Under the reactionary governments there were three and a half million Jews in Poland and the Jewish press attacked the anti-Semitism of the Right and the government. Now there are only 150,000 Jews. There is a government of "Judophiles," and the Jews hear beautiful declarations against "anti-Semitic reaction," but behind this curtain of smoke occur the greatest pogroms organized by the police agents provocateurs, reminiscent of the times of Stolypin and his "Black Hundreds."

WHAT DO THE RULERS WANT?

Many readers will ask, "What ends does the Warsaw government pursue with the pogroms, which lower the prestige of the government itself?"

In the first place, they utilize the pogroms in the fight against the legal opposition of Mikolajczyk and the worker-peasant party, supported by the worker masses who are outside the reach of the Stalinist party machine, and also by the bourgeois opposition. The presentation of the worker-peasant opposition as "reactionary" and "anti-Semitic" in its entirety and its identification with the nationalist and reactionary opposition will facilitate for Stalin the "liquidation" of the Peasant party, the introduction of the totalitarian police dictatorship in Poland and will justify the occupation of Poland by Russian troops and direct military intervention in the case of a civil war against the occupiers and their puppets.

In the second place, the toleration of the pogroms causes an exodus en masse of the Jewish population, which pleases the traditionally anti-Semitic bourgeois rightwing and reconciles it with the Stalinist regime. The Stalinists are bringing to a conclusion Hitler's work of exterminating the Jews in Poland and east-central Europe. This point of view is confirmed by the exodus of the Jews from Russia itself and the mass desertion of the Jewish soldiers from the Russian army.

In the third place, they serve the ends of Russian international politics which wants to foment an exodus of the Jews of Europe to Palestine, in order to cause difficulties to British politics. The recent declarations of LaGuardia that the Russian agents in UNRRA are fomenting and organizing the Jewish emigration from central and eastern Europe confirm this thesis. And on the other side the Russian government foments Arab resistance against the Jewish immigration and Arab anti-Semitism, declaring that they should open all the frontiers to the Jews, with the excep-

tion of those of Russia and its sphere of influence in Europe.

The Polish nationalist reaction and the Catholic Church in part assist the Kremlin in this reactionary policy with their declarations and their attitude. But this role is secondary; their master and director is in the Kremlin. In the armed underground movement only the NSZ (armed nationalist forces) professes any anti-Semitism. But these forces number scarcely 1500 men and in the past their principal centers were liquidated. This organization is very easy to liquidate. The fact is that the Stalinist police tolerate, facilitate and instigate its anti-Semitic excesses in order to "repudiate" them politically. The "Home Army" (Cracow Army), the remainder of the powerful Polish underground army, condemns anti-Semitism officially. The declaration of Cardinal Hlond which tries to justify the pogrom—by the presence of the Jewish Stalinist executions in the Warsaw government—only adds grist to Stalin's mill, and corresponds to the point of view of the old rightist reaction in Poland, which also collaborated with Tsarism and embraced the anti-Semitism of the "Black Hundreds." But it is necessary to add that the majority of the Jews saved from the ghettos have survived thanks to the aid of the workers, the Polish peasants and many of the Catholic clergy which hid the Jews in convents and churches.

The anti-Semitic pogroms in Poland are the best proof of the counter-revolutionary politics of Stalinism. History does not know mass pogroms effected against the will of a regime. Pogroms exist in Poland because the Stalinist regime permits them and desires them. The anti-Semitic politics of this regime is proof that it is the advance guard and the main body of reaction in Poland, with the old clerical and anti-Semitic nationalist reaction playing a secondary role as instrument of the Kremlin in order to facilitate the complete domination of Poland.

The international left wing of the working class must open fire against Stalinist anti-Semitism, visible to the eye in Poland, thus aiding the fight of the working class and the peasantry of Poland and defending the Jewish victims.

A Report from Spain:

The Fight Against Franco Goes On!

(The following paragraphs are reprinted from "La Battalla," July 31, 1946, organ of the Spanish Workers Party of Marxist Unification (POUM), which is printed in France. This article was received from Spain itself and is necessarily anonymous. As one of the indications of the critical situation in Spain, the article cites the failure of the Franco regime to celebrate with customary public fanfare the tenth anniversary of the fascist military insurrection which took place July 18, 1936. It states, however, that the underground anti-fascists in Spain observed secretly their "July 19," which is the tenth anniversary of the uprising of the Spanish people, when the working class in Barcelona, Madrid, Valencia, Gijon and many other cities took to the streets to defend itself against fascists in one of the most heroic efforts for freedom in all of Spanish history.—Tr.)

These last weeks discontent with the franquista [Franco—Tr.] regime has approached a climax. The economic crisis is terrible. It coincides, moreover, with a wave of hope. Among the people the idea is taking hold that we are on the verge of important political changes. Misery and hope create a special situation which has repercussions in all parts of the country.

The Falangists [Spanish fascist organization—Tr.] and the elements most compromised by the shameful years of repression do as much as they can to maintain themselves in power while, with an eye to the coming changes, they make ready to rob the people with greater effrontery than ever. The capitalist class is in a state of profound vacillation. It fears, on the one hand, the perspective of strong revolutionary convulsions which might cause a change of regime. But, on the other hand, it sees in the present economic crisis pronounced

A German Experience and Its Lesson:

Cost of American Occupation

By HENRY JUDD

The American Army now numbers 1,550,000 men in uniform. Approximately one-half of the armed forces (704,000) remain in the United States. Over 800,000 American soldiers are still overseas:

(1) There are 346,000 men still in Europe, with 300,000 of them in the occupation of Germany.

(2) There are 438,000 men still in the Pacific areas, with most of them stationed in Japan.

(3) There are 40,000 men stationed in Caribbean bases, plus 22,000 up in Alaska.

Some 800,000-odd American boys, scattered over Europe and the Pacific: 1,550,000 soldiers altogether, to cost \$8 billion for upkeep and expenses during 1946. Such are the basic facts of the American Army today, according to the United States News, May, 1946. What is the story in its smaller, more human terms? Here is the story of Erika Krebs and Robert E. Flannigan:

Her name is Erika Krebs, blond, rather plump and pretty, and 21. She comes from the completely flattened city of Nuremberg, Germany. Now she is living in an American-run German prison and will doubtless remain there the rest of her natural life.

His name was Robert E. Flannigan, a sergeant. He came from the quiet and conservative American city of Peoria, Ill. Now he is six feet underground, in an American cemetery in Germany, and will doubtless remain there for the rest of time.

Erika Krebs would undoubtedly also be resting underground today, with a garrotted neck or a few bullet

holes through her body, were it not for the fact that she is pregnant. For Erika was found guilty of murdering Sergeant Flannigan of Peoria, with his .45 revolver. Within a few months she will give birth to a child, an offspring of German-American relations; a fruit of the occupation of one-third of Germany by 300,000 American youth.

TRAGEDIES BRED BY SYSTEM

At first, the stupendous brains of our military leaders forbade fraternization in any form. GI's, hardened and calloused in battle, "fraternized" in their own way, with the aid of pistols, bayonets and threats. The writer knows of men, tried and convicted for rape and criminal assault, who, among other counts, were indicted on the charge of "fraternization." The military mind decided that rape likewise constituted a violation of the non-fraternization law! This system didn't last long and met its finish a year ago.

But what system replaced it? Remember that hundreds of thousands of young American boys now live under this system, from one to two years, during part of the formative period of their lives. It isn't exactly a minor matter. Their experiences and observations will have their effects upon them. It is a system of reactionary, imperialist occupation of a foreign country, based ultimately on superior force, and wrong in every respect. It is a system that the American people would surely oppose, provided they knew enough about it and had the opportunity to express their opinion. It is a system that breeds such tragedies as the one we have outlined, that creates cheap

and sordid relationships between men and women, that spreads disease and villainess everywhere. It is the system forever associated with an unwanted occupation.

WHOLE SET-UP IS POISONED

Amid the ruins and wreckage of one-third of Germany—an agricultural area of great beauty, with several large but destroyed cities—are living 300,000 American youth. Contrasted with the poverty of those about them, they form oases of wealth, security and comfort. They have all the symbols of wealth. Cigarettes, symbol of physical comfort; coffee and food, symbols of nourishment; chocolate bars, now symbol of sex. They have all the symbols of power. Tanks on the ground, airplanes in the air, carbine on the shoulder, pistol on the hip. They are masters over approximately 16,000,000 Germans—one GI for each 533 German men, women and children. What they do is the law; they cannot be arrested or tried by any German tribunal. Who believes that these 300,000 American boys—mostly just out of high school, green and inexperienced, unmarried kids who never even had the battle experience associated with war—who will believe that they are not affected by the situation? That is, that a process of moral and emotional corruption and decay does not begin its work? It would be fantastic to expect otherwise.

What happens? Black markets, frauleins, "housekeeping," arrogance and swaggering, sordid situations and, often, personal tragedies. It is inevitable. The whole set-up is poisoned to begin with and poisons everything related to it.

Is it difficult to imagine what happened in the case we have mentioned? Erika Krebs, 21 now, was eight years old when Hitler took control of her. Her middle class Munich family joined the Nazis out of expediency, and Erika learned a few simple, wrong "ideas" from her weekly meetings, as a member of the Hitlermaedel organization. Hitler died, Germany collapsed and Erika's "ideas" went with them. A single idea came into her mind—to have a good time with the "Amis," to make up for all the unpleasant war years. To smoke, eat chocolate and fool around. Robert Flannigan, American sergeant, came along and was agreeable. He was running this conquered country, and he enjoyed the servile willingness with which people listened to him and made way for him. He enjoyed being with his fraulein, but he wasn't serious—he was also fooling around.

The time came for him to be shipped home and discharged, but Erika Krebs was pregnant. With everyone around him, particularly his officers, setting the example, that didn't bother him. He prepared to leave. The rest we know about. So, a family in Munich lost its daughter; a family in Peoria lost its son; and the world will have another illegitimate child, born in a nation itself regarded as "illegitimate" by its occupiers.

This is how the imperialist occupation of Germany works out, not in political terms, but in simple personal terms. The sooner it is ended, the sooner the 300,000 American youth are brought home and withdrawn, the better for them and the better for the German people.

A Socialist Program For Palestine

By ED FINDLEY

For more than a year since V-E Day there has been a lot of talk about what to do with displaced persons, and especially with the Jewish refugees and gas chamber escapees. But there has been little or no action.

One million five hundred thousand Jews face another hard winter of unemployment, want and lack of housing, without any prospect of establishing themselves in the countries in which they live. Two hundred thousand of them are in former concentration camps (now called replacement camps). No Jewish property stolen by the Nazis has been returned. The feeble attempt of the so-called local governments have been hampered by the Allied Control Commissions. This is especially true in Russian-controlled countries, where the Stalinists are claiming the Jewish property as their own under the Potsdam agreement that gives them "German assets."

The ranks of the Jewish DP's are continuously being augmented from the 150,000 Polish Jews being sent out of Russia, who pause in their native land only long enough to make connections with the underground railroad leading to Palestine. Czechoslovakia refuses to grant Jews minority status and proposes the expulsion of all Jews who registered as German-speaking in the last pre-war census.

Thus, the Marxist prediction that decaying capitalism leaves no hope for the Jews has more than been ver-

ified. Nowhere can capitalism organize society in a sensible manner and provide for the needs of the population, especially for the minority population. The exodus from Europe by the most persecuted peoples of the world grows stronger daily. In their need and despair they cry out aloud to the hypocritical rulers of the world for a place of refuge. But there is no response from anywhere.

GROWTH OF RESISTANCE

The Jewish resistance movement, having weathered the two repressive moves of the British armed forces, faces with confidence the third phase of the British actions. A new mass arrest and search of all Tel-Aviv is expected in the near future. This time the Hagana urges complete non-cooperation with the British searchers. The past attempts of the resistance to institute complete and long-term civil disobedience have been vetoed by the reactionary leadership of the Jewish Agency, especially its president, Chaim Weizmann, an avowed Anglophile.

During the entire past six months of military actions by the Jewish resistance movements not a single clash occurred between Jews and Arabs. This fact has had a great effect on the average Arab worker and peasant. He had been told by the British and reactionary Arab leaders of the fabulous quantity of arms the Jews have ready to use against the Arabs. The arms, however, have been used exclusively against the British, with the result that there is noticeable a feeling of greater unity among the

masses which might possibly result in the anti-British unity of both peoples. In an attempt to stir up Arab against Jew, the British have transferred the Arab Legion from the puppet state of Trans-Jordan to patrol Palestine.

The British Foreign Office has announced that it will seek sole U. N. trusteeship over Palestine in the near future. British or any other imperialist control over Palestine will be no better, whether by League mandate or U. N. trusteeship. It is expected that this time, however, the British will attempt to exclude a commitment for a Jewish national homeland from the trusteeship.

PARTITIONS FOR ALL

As was to be expected, both the Arabs and Jews have rejected the "cantonzation" scheme of the Anglo-American experts. This scheme would have set up small Arab and Jewish provinces, with self-rule limited, for all practical purposes, to the regulation of the divorce laws and even that to be subject to veto by the British High Commissioner. Complete control of the country would have remained in the hands of the British.

This plan, however, is still very much alive. It is reported that unofficially the Arab governments of Egypt, Iraq, etc., have accepted the plan in a modified form. The Jewish Agency has proposed secretly a real partition and division of the country into two independent states. Having no program for Arab-Jewish unity, and despairing of any real Anglo-American

support, the leaders of the Jewish Agency are left with one solution: to divide the country artificially. The plan proposes that the Jewish portion be enlarged by the addition of Galilee, Jerusalem and, most important, the entire Negev. Sufficient bases are supposedly guaranteed to the British to maintain Britain's imperial position.

The aims of this plan are, first, to establish a Jewish state—no matter how small—which, while it may not satisfy the immigration needs of the Jews, will satisfy the "statehood urge" of certain Jewish politicians. Secondly, many Jewish leaders believe that agricultural settlement in Palestine is impossible and only the irrigation of the Negev offers any possibility of large-scale settlement. The Negev is the southern portion of Palestine, comprising approximately 5,000 square miles of uninhabited, semi-desert country. The Lowdermilk plan proposes to irrigate the Negev by creating a Jordan Valley Authority to divert the waters of the Jordan for irrigation.

What the Zionist leaders forget, and what seems to be the basis for the opposition of the Jewish masses to this plan, is that it can succeed only by giving up Jewish rights in the rest of Palestine and by the cooperation of the British in establishing the JVA. The Jewish masses know well enough what to expect from British "cooperation."

At best, partition begs the question of how to get joint Jewish-Arab action for the economic development of the country. It is sure to leave large minorities in both sections of such a "Balkanized" Palestine, which can only result in strong nationalist, irredentist movements, leading to conflict.

A SOCIALIST PROGRAM

A more direct and simpler solution would be a unified, independent, binational Palestine, giving recognition to the national rights of both the Arab and the Jew through universal suffrage. As long as the British maintain control, whether by mandate, trusteeship or bases in a "Balkanized" country, they will continue to subordinate the economy of Palestine for their own imperialist aims.

The first step in the direction of improving the economic position of the Arabs and Jews, and to increase the absorptive capacity of Palestine, is to get the British overlords out entirely. For this is needed a mobilization of the entire population, led by a party of the only revolutionary class in Palestine—the working class. This party must elaborate a political program that will reconcile the national interests of both the Jews and Arabs. Palestine, being an economically backward country, with remnants of feudalism, particularly lends itself to an application of Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution. The revolutionary party must elaborate an economic program that will be capable of mobilizing the peasantry behind the working class.

The elements of such a program are contained in the following:

1. Out with the British.
2. Immediate convocation of a Constituent Assembly, based on majority rule.
3. Free and unlimited immigration into Palestine.
4. Free land and free credit to the Jewish and Arab peasantry.

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Cable Seeks Release of Trotskyist

NEW YORK—Leading spokesmen of the labor and civil liberties movement have sent a cable to the Bulgarian Minister of Interior protesting the arrest of Dr. Dimitar Gatchev...

"We protest the political arrest of Dr. Dimitar Gatchev, regional secretary of the Bulgarian League for the Rights of Man..."

(Signed) Liston Oak, editor, New Leader; Morris Milgram, chairman, Workers Defense League; Norman Thomas, Socialist Party; Farrell Dobbs, editor, The Militant; Herman Frank, editor, Freie Arbeiter Stimme; Herman Singer, editor, The Call; H. Rogoff, editor, Jewish Daily Forward; E. R. Frank, editor, Fourth International; Max Shachtman, editor, The New Internationalist; Benjamin Gebiner, secretary-treasurer, Workmen's Circle; Emanuel Garrett, editor, LABOR ACTION.

Prior to this, Roger Baldwin of the American Civil Liberties Union and international chairman of the League for the Rights of Man, cabled the Bulgarian government...

Socialist Confidence Keynotes N. Y. Trotsky Memorial Meeting

NEW YORK, August 30—Two hundred and fifty friends and members of the New York branch of the Workers Party assembled last night to honor the memory of that great revolutionist, Leon Trotsky...

Abby Anderson, New York City organizer of the Socialist Youth League, told the audience "if one is to become a revolutionist—a person who strives with his whole being for the economic and moral liberation of the working class..."

Leon Trotsky was murdered by the Stalinists in 1940. After being driven out of Russia and exiled in Turkey, in France, in Norway and in Mexico,

Prison Scandal Breaks in Washington

SEATTLE—Recent scandalous disclosures have come to light as a result of investigations of the Washington State Interim Committee to investigate state penal and charitable institutions that have caused indignation and bitterness among liberals and progressives in the Northwest.

It has been said that when thieves fall out, honest men have a chance. It is just such a "falling out" that is taking place now in Washington.

The committee appointed by the State Legislature has four Democrats on it, headed by Senator Mohler, and two Republicans, Wall and Cory. Under oath before this committee, school officers testified that at least thirty strap whippings, one of thirty-five lashes, had been meted out in the past ten months.

POLITICAL EXPEDIENCY This same Senator Mohler, in 1943, when there was a Republican state administration, torpedoed a bill in the State Legislature which would have improved and modernized the antiquated Chehalis dungeon.

The Republicans, anxious as always to economize at the expense of the poor and weak, were eager to fall in with the defeat of the prison reform bill of 1943.

Now, however, the political complexion of the State Legislature has changed. The Democrats have the upper hand, so the bad conditions existing in Chehalis and elsewhere are now used as ammunition against the

Democrats, and the Republicans try to pose as the champions of civic virtue.

One could not ask for a better and clearer example of the dishonesty and outright lack of principle of the spokesmen of the two main parties. The inmates of Chehalis suffer and will continue to suffer at the hands of incompetent and sadistic "jailers" so long as their conditions are used as a political football...

PROVES LABOR PARTY NEED Cynical disregard of human rights, political deceit and trickery are only mild words with which to describe the actions of these representatives of what is considered to be the "liberal" wing of the Democratic Party...

CANNOT DEPEND ON MOHLERS To top off this white-wash report, Senator Mohler stated that "A new administration building, hospital and isolation department are needed immediately." You see, a liberal is really a liberal after all.

Greece -- (Continued from page 1) The British moved troops into the country and placed the reactionaries in power. The Stalinists at the head of the EAM adopted a policy of surrender to the Teheran decisions...

Sugar Plantations Struck in Hawaii

The biggest strike in the history of the Territory of Hawaii began this week when 28,500 workers set up picket lines on 83 giant sugar plantations throughout the islands.

In this first contract, gained without a picket line struggle, the major demand was, of course, the recognition of a union by the planters for the first time in the industry.

More solidly organized and union conscious now, the plantation workers are out in a real fight for a living wage. Their chief demand is for a 65 cents an hour minimum...

With the world market ready to take all the sugar Hawaii can supply, and with the tremendously efficient, rationalized methods characteristic of the Hawaiian agricultural industries...

The bosses' maximum offer thus far has been a raise of minimums to 65 cents, with the loss of prerequisites. Now, with the strike on, press dispatches state that the companies are allowing the strikers to stay in the most important "prerequisite," the company-owned houses.

This strike marks the coming of age of Hawaiian labor because it is the first plantation strike run by an affiliate of the organized labor movement of the United States.

At first, there were the struggles of the Japanese workers, later replaced by Filipino organizations as the earlier immigrants moved to the cities or became skilled workers and foremen.

In a sense the most progressive feature of the labor movement in Hawaii today is the fact that vertical unionism has been carried to the point where a single union, the International Longshoremen's Union; CIO, functions virtually as a "one big union," covering the following industries—sugar plantations and mills, pineapple canneries, railroads, shipyards, in addition to the experienced core of the union, the longshoremen, organized at the time of the big Pacific maritime strike of 1934.

The sugar workers, by a strike vote of over 15,000 against only 160 dissenters, have shown their determination. With the solidarity of their union brothers throughout the Territory, they can achieve an historic victory.

should Senator Mohler worry?—the inmates don't have a vote.

But let us do further justice to the good senator. A hospital and an isolation unit are proposed by him. Why? Does he expect that the inmates, who describe the food they are given as "pig slop," will become ill? Does he anticipate that what is really needed is not an immediate halt to the beatings of these kids, but rather a hospital to take care of them AFTER the beatings are administered?

Reform is needed, radical reform. The Democratic and Republican Parties, tied to their outmoded system, capitalism, tied within their respective parties to each other by party loyalty (known to you and me as "You scratch my back and I'll scratch yours"), cannot be depended upon.

Greece --

The British moved troops into the country and placed the reactionaries in power. The Stalinists at the head of the EAM adopted a policy of surrender to the Teheran decisions and proceeded to war against the genuine democrats...

LAST WORD UNSAID The reactionary policy of the Stalinists contributed to disorganization and disorientation of the movement of the Greek masses, many of whom undoubtedly turned to the existing régime out of desperation...

Thus, after the heroic struggle of the EAM, after the prospects of a new régime, a new workers' democracy, the movement of the masses has been turned back. The elections were a setback for the people of Greece; a defeat for the working class.

"GAY NINETIES" IN CHICAGO

CHICAGO, Aug. 24—A gala open-air beer garden party was held by the Chicago branch of the Workers Party tonight, with an attendance of over eighty people.

It is true that certain labor leaders are following this policy, and it is equally true that when these economic policies end up badly for the workers, as they are sure to do, then the labor leaders will end up badly—or should.

Says Trotsky Issue Was Inspiring

I want to rush to the typewriter to congratulate you on the "Trotsky Memorial Number" of LABOR ACTION. The "Old Man's" life and ideas never seemed so vivid and inspiring.

Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor...

Likes Fenwick Articles in LA

Dear Editors: New style LABOR ACTION is fine. Especially like the articles by James M. Fenwick. Keep up the good work. Sincerely, AL GAZA, Seattle, Wash.

Sat Eve Post Peddles "Advice" to Labor

Dear Editor: It has been a consistent policy of the Saturday Evening Post to present a reactionary viewpoint, varying more or less, with the swings to right or left of the American public...

Axis in combat munitions by more than 50 per cent, made more than 40 per cent of the total armament output of all the nations at war and did this with only 40 per cent of its production plant, the rest being devoted to consumers' goods.

So far Prof. Walker has told us nothing new, but now we are approaching it. He says "What the world needs is another miracle in production..." Management is back in a competitive economy, or at least trying to get there, cost-plus-fixed-fee contracts are out, strikes are endemic and epidemic!

trade unionist, so only comment upon his "partnership" is necessary. He points out that since all the basic and major industries in the U. S. are now under contractual relations with organized labor or will be at the end of this year, management must produce with union workers on most of its lines or not produce.

It is true, we have the necessity, but we don't have a common stake! He says "Look at the partnership where it counts, on the production line..." Management is now demanding company security, which the unions are yielding reluctantly.

Henry Ford II said "While no single human industry can promise complete security because of the complexity of modern civilization, labor and management can work toward more certain, more stabilized employment." Isn't "complexity of modern civilization" a longer way of saying capitalism?

To sum up, Mr. Walker advocates the following policies directly and indirectly: 1. Modernize machinery. 2. Set up work standards. 3. Set up incentive pay. 4. Get the union to OK the new procedure from the viewpoint of a partner.

With the Workers Party

AKRON

The Akron Branch of the Workers Party invites readers of LABOR ACTION to attend a class on FASCISM AND STALINISM—THEIR SEEDS IN AMERICA, Tuesday evenings at 8. Write to Box 221 for further information.

BUFFALO

Open meetings on Sunday evenings. On September 8 the topic will be THE TRANSITIONAL PROGRAM AND THE WORKERS PARTY. Herb Ferris will speak. Time: 8:30 p.m.

CHICAGO

LABOR ACTION, 1501 W. Madison, 2nd floor, Chicago 7. Office hours: 3-5:30 p.m. daily, except Sundays. Tuesday and Wednesday evenings.

A series of classes is being held on each Friday night at party office at 8 o'clock on "The Fight for Socialism."

DETROIT

Headquarters, 3773 Gratiot (at Mt. Elliott). Office hours: Tuesdays and Thursdays, 11 a.m. to 2:30 p.m.; Wednesdays, 7:30 to 10 p.m.

LOS ANGELES

Office Telephone: Richmond 7-3230. Class in "Socialism & Capitalism" every Monday evening at LABOR ACTION headquarters.

NEWARK

LABOR ACTION HEADQUARTERS in Newark at 248 Market St.

NEW YORK CITY

CITY OFFICE—114 West 14th St. —Open all day until 7:00 p.m. Telephone: Chelsea 2-9681.

MANHATTAN—Meets every Wednesday at 8:00 p.m. Labor Temple, 242 East 14th St., Room 39.

EAST HARLEM—Meets every Thursday at 8:00 p.m. Rand's Harlem Terrace, 210 East 104th St., 2nd Floor.

HARLEM—Meets every Wednesday at 8:00 p.m. Workers Party Headquarters, 2143 Seventh Ave., Room 196 (near 127th St.).

QUEENS—Phone City Office. Meets every Thursday evening.

BROOKLYN DOWNTOWN—Meets every Wednesday at 8:00 p.m. Workers Party Headquarters, 276 Fulton St., 2nd Floor.

BROOKLYN-UTICA AVE.—Meets every Wednesday at 8:00 p.m. 259 Utica Ave., 2nd Floor.

BROOKLYN—Sunday Evening Branch meets every Sunday at 8:00 p.m., 276 Fulton St., 2nd Floor.

READING

Ernest Erber, national educational director of the Workers Party, will address a public meeting on "The Fight for Price Control and Housing." Date, Tuesday, September 17, Time, 8:00 p.m. Place, Slovak Home, 214 South Sixth Street.

PRESS MANAGER'S PRESS ACTION

BY HENRY JUDD

This week's sub report is not as good as it has been 'til now. We hope that the only reason is that everyone was getting ready for the Labor Day holiday. Our agents throughout the country have been trying hard, but we will need much better results in both subscriptions and renewals.

Table with columns for city and subscription count. Total 31.

Lucy, our San Pedro agent, writes, "Our plans are to conduct a more or less continuous but intermittent sub drive. We'll visit as many expired subs as possible—covering one area in an evening, which is possible because of the concentration in the projects."

We like this plan to keep a steady stream of subs coming in from San Pedro, and we suggest this scheme to agents in all sections. Last week's column in which Newark headed the list for subs gave most credit to Saul Berg. Loud cries of protest from the branch inform us that seven of these subs were obtained solely by Johnny B. from workers in his shop.

I Want to Subscribe to THE NEW EIGHT-PAGE LABOR ACTION 114 West 14th St., N. Y. 11, N. Y. Name Address City Zone State 50 Cents for Six Months \$1.00 for a Year

