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## LABOR ACTION

SEPTEMBER 23, 1946

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

FIVE CENTS

## SEAMEN SMASH PAY FREEZE!

Flimsy Pretext  
Used to Rule WP  
Off Harlem Ballot

## BULLETIN

NEW YORK—Sept. 18—The New York City Board of Elections sustained the objection of Powell's men by a vote of 4 to 0 today at 10:55 a.m. The board allowed the Workers Party attorney only fifty seconds in which to state his case and refused to listen to any testimony.

The attorneys for the Workers Party are now preparing a petition to the Supreme Court of New York State demanding a reversal of the decision of the New York Board of Elections.

The objections were sustained on the basis of the absurd technicality listed in the story below.

In the meantime, the New York City Election Campaign Committee of the Workers Party took immediate steps to form a committee to protest

the undemocratic, machine politics of the Board of Elections.

Conrad Lynn, prominent Negro attorney, has stated his intention to participate in and to help form such a committee. Lynn made the following statement:

"Never in my experience as an attorney have I witnessed such high-handed and undemocratic procedure as that which was indulged in by the New York City Board of Elections at today's hearing. It was a pure case of railroad. And when we asked for the right to present testimony, we were brushed off with the advice that the Board of Elections does not take testimony and that we could take the case to the Supreme Court. They know quite well that a small minority party can ill afford the court expenses of a Supreme Court case. But we will find a way to beat the Democratic machine politicians."

Sees Tight Race in Harlem,  
Reports on WP Campaign

Representative Adam Clayton Powell's forces showed decided alarm this week. Representative Powell, who is running on the Democratic and American Labor Party tickets, acquired the services of the law firm of Harrison S. Jackson and the services of Herman Laster, an enrolled Democrat, in an attempt to remove Ernest Rice McKinney from the ballot. Searching for every possible technicality even on the most flimsy of pretexts, Jackson and Laster have been working on the Workers Party independent nominating petitions for the last seven days.

## AMSTERDAM NEWS STORY

At the same time the *Amsterdam News* headlined a story about Ernest Rice McKinney as the third candidate in Harlem while the Democratic and Republican politicians prepared to begin what is anticipated as the most heated contest in Harlem's political history. Representative Adam Clayton Powell, the incumbent, has the nomination of the Democratic Party and the American Labor Party. Grant Reynolds has the nomination of the Republican Party and the Liberal Party. The contest is expected to be so close that the forces representing Representative Adam Clayton Powell fear to lose any votes to the candidate of the Workers Party.

"Candidate No. 3 in the widely discussed 22nd Congressional District race is Ernest Rice McKinney, an old associate of labor leader A. Philip Randolph and formerly a columnist for a Pittsburgh newspaper," said today's *Amsterdam News*.

"Mr. McKinney, sponsored by the Workers Party, a red group violent-

ly opposed to the Communist Party," the *Amsterdam News* continued, "was nominated by petition. Only 3,000 signatures were required but, according to the writer's campaign managers, the WP filed a petition containing more than 5,000 names."

## WP TO FIGHT CHALLENGE

The *Amsterdam News* continued its two-column story with a biography of McKinney and with a description of the tense political atmosphere in Harlem as the campaign is about to begin.

The Democratic Party politicians are so desperate in their hunt for some excuse or technicality which they can use to have McKinney removed from the ballot that they filed a complaint to the effect that one of our witnesses, who gathered 2,300 of the signatures was not registered under the name used in the petition in 1945 but was registered under her maiden name. On these grounds, Herman C. Laster and attorney Harrison S. Jackson seek to throw out 2,300 of the Workers Party signatures. This would leave only 2,800 signatures and make the Workers Party petitions invalid.

The Workers Party will not permit this scheme to succeed, however. The 5,200 signers of the Workers Party petitions will have their right to a third candidate in Harlem defended at the Election Board hearing on Wednesday, September 18.

No objections have been filed to the petitions nominating Max Shachtman, and he undoubtedly will be confirmed by the Board of Elections as being entitled to a place on the ballot.

## WP Canteen Tours Docks

The Workers Party tried to do its bit toward helping the SIU-SUP strikers in the port of New York the past week. The Chelsea branch of the New York Workers Party rounded up a few of its members, some coffee and doughnuts and a car and toured the New York City side of the Hudson River waterfront from 34th Street to lower Manhattan. Almost every seaman, weary from standing days of 10-hour picket watches, welcomed the Workers Party Canteen.

Authorization was obtained from the joint SIU-SUP Strike Committee through its chairman, Max Korenblatt, who thanked the Workers Party representative for offering to bring coffee to the pickets. The Workers Party in turn, thanks the SIU-SUP for allowing it to help the strikers.

CIO Sailors "Hit the Bricks",  
AFL Will Honor Picket Line

NEW YORK, Sept. 17—The National Maritime Union, West Coast Firemen and Marine Cooks and Stewards took up where the SIU-SUP left off when they threw picket lines around every U. S. pier last Friday, September 13. This action was taken to demand of the shipowners the same gains won by the AFL seamen. To date the East and West Coast operators are using phony excuses to stall negotiations. Their only possible reason for doing so is their obvious desire to try and smash the CIO Maritime Union now that they have failed to bust the SIU-SUP.

Early this morning Joseph Curran, president of the National Maritime Union and co-chairman of the Committee for Maritime Unity, announced that his union's picket lines were being withdrawn from AFL ships and those under foreign flags. This decision on the part of the NMU was the result of an ultimatum from the AFL Marine Trades Council to the CIO affiliate that if the lines were not withdrawn by 6:00 a.m. today, they would be "removed."

## AFL DECISION

The decision of the AFL Marine Trades Council resulted from a meeting yesterday of the affiliate bodies. It is learned from authoritative sources that the meeting began with a sharp attack leveled at Joseph P. Ryan, life-time president of the longshoremen, for his blatant strike-breaking. Reports from the meeting indicate that a number of the officials of other organizations that were present indicated to Ryan the disapproval of their union of his high-handed actions.

Ryan also had great difficulties in getting his own membership to cross the lines. "Finky Joe" exhorted, commanded and begged the longshoremen to crash the NMU line—but except for a few of his stooges, the dockers ignored him.

The position taken by the AFL Maritime Council was as follows: "Their (the CIO) beef is directly against the operators, and does not involve their fighting head-on with the government the same as we (the AFL) did."

"In view of this difference, and also considering the point that we would like to see the CIO and independent unions successful in their fight against the operators, the following shall be the policy of the SIU-SUP as well as the AFL maritime unions:

"1. (a) All AFL unions will respect NMU, MCS and CIO picket lines around their contracted vessels. This to be continued until such time as these people defeat their operators and gain the same wages and conditions as we have already won.

"(b) In the event of government seizure and/or operation of any NMU or MCS vessels, as a result of their dispute, the AFL maritime unions reaffirm their pledge of June 15 and will consider such a seizure and operation a lockout and deal with it as such by stopping work on all piers and all shops until such government seizure and operation stop.

"2. The AFL unions request the MCS and the NMU to withdraw picket lines from all ships, with the exception of their contracted vessels by no later than 6:00 a.m. tomorrow morning. This particular point we feel is very important if we are to eliminate the possibilities of wide-open jurisdictional warfare along all docks in all ports.

"We feel that the tying up of vessels by the NMU and the MCS on other than their own vessels on a contractual problem between them and their operators will only add to the existing confusion now in the minds of so many of their members.

"3. The AFL will not man or handle any ships that may be reallocated as a result of this dispute between the NMU, MCS and the operators."

## BAD SITUATION AVOIDED

Part 2 of this position was issued as an ultimatum to the NMU, resulting in the withdrawal of its pickets from other than CIO contracted ships. This action on the part of the AFL is to be condemned precisely because it might have resulted in a useless jurisdictional battle and bloodshed. At the same time it must be noted that the CMU strategy, designed by

NEW YORK, Sept. 16—The complete victory of the strike of the Seafarers International Union and the Sailors Union of the Pacific has dealt a death blow to the wage-freeze policies of the Truman administration. The decision of John R. Steelman, the government's Reconversion Director, to reverse the ruling of the Wage Stabilization Board came after the complete paralysis of American shipping by the stoppage of the SIU-SUP, supported by other AFL affiliates and the maritime unions of the CIO.

The Wage Stabilization Board was created by the White House as a continuation of the old War Labor Board to prevent and control the increase of wages while other government boards were engaged in increasing prices. Fixed with a few "labor members" and "public mem-

bers" who almost invariably turned up voting with industry's representatives on the board, the WSB was the place where the gains made by workers on the picket lines were red taped into oblivion. Since its creation it has been a thorn in the side of the unions.

On August 24, the board ruled that the gains squeezed by the SIU-SUP from its contracted shipowners were invalid to the degree that they exceeded the meager wage increases previously granted by the board to the unions making up the Committee for Maritime Unity, a CIO body. On August 28, the membership of the SIU at its regular meeting countered this attack by giving a mandate to its leadership to strike the entire coast should the WSB fail to rescind its ruling within the next week. It elected a strike committee which immediately began making preparations for a complete shut-down of the industry. When the board failed to heed this warning, the seamen of the SIU-SUP moved off the ships at the end of the appointed week, and the next morning placed picket lines at every dock.

SOLIDARITY ENSURED VICTORY  
The strike received wide support from all sections of the labor movement. There was a general realization that victory in this great effort would strike a blow at governmental attempts to halt wage increases. And because of the complete effectiveness of the walkout it was a foregone conclusion that the government would be forced to concede the issue.

But Truman, counting on the hope that a long strike might see the struggle degenerate into a jurisdictional battle between the AFL and CIO unions on the waterfront, permitted a week of complete maritime paralysis to elapse. Finally, when the WSB acted it got its signals crossed and sustained its previous ruling. The SIU gave its reply in clear and decisive terms. It would strengthen its picket lines, and maintain its stronghold on shipping until the government conceded. Truman, realizing that the old swindle had been pulled once too often, on the next day ordered Dr. John R. Steelman, Reconversion Director, to reverse the decision of what but a day before had been the "highest government body" dealing with these matters.

Coupled with this ruling was the statement that the reversal was only intended for this special maritime situation and was not to be generally applied. But the whole labor movement understood and snickered politely. A section of the union movement had asserted itself and had crumbled the Administration's wage-freeze structure.

## CIO UNIONS STRIKE

But Steelman's decision did not end the strike. The government had not yet made clear its complete capitulation. Moreover, in typically bureaucratic fashion, it addressed its decisions to the press instead of to the SIU-SUP membership. The seamen held firm, and by the next day government and shipowners made clear the completeness of their surrender and addressed it to the proper parties. The union membership, in orderly fashion, then declared its strike at an end.

But the waterfront remains at a standstill nevertheless. On the very same day that the SIU-SUP finished its strike, the CIO National Maritime Union called its own men out to bring its wages up to the SIU-SUP standard. Despite the fact that its beef was directed against the operating companies rather than the government, it, too, placed its pickets at all docks. Up to the time of this writing, the AFL unions have, with some minor but unfortunate exceptions, respected the CIO lines.

the Stalinists, was partly motivated by a desire to "save face" in view of the SIU-SUP victory.

Ryan and others have for some time tried to provoke a jurisdictional war on the waterfront, in order to bolster their own unstable position. The CMU strategy played directly into their hands. For a few tense hours last night, between the time the AFL ultimatum was issued and the NMU withdrawal of its pickets,

many felt that they had succeeded. This would have created one of the greatest tragedies in American labor history.

Every boss newspaper in the city was waiting with bated breath for longshore hooks, broken bottles and seamen's fists to fly up and down the waterfront this morning. But fortunately they were disappointed. All maritime workers are breathing more easily this afternoon.

UAW Faction Fight  
Heads for Showdown

By WALTER JASON

DETROIT, Sept. 14—An ominous preview of the next stage in the deadly factional struggle within the UAW-CIO, and the entire CIO, occurred this past week in the events surrounding the so-called amalgamation "convention" of the Wayne County CIO Council and the Political Action Committee.

For neither unity, nor amalgamation, nor a convention was achieved, and the deep gulf between the Reuther forces and the Stalinist bloc in the UAW-CIO widened. So much so that many people talked of the events as a real split.

In order to understand the decisive significance of these events in the auto center it is necessary to review the story of the Wayne County CIO Council and the PAC.

## TEST OF STRENGTH

The Stalinists controlled the Wayne County Council, lock, stock and barrel. Reuther forces dominate the PAC. The two bodies have been functioning separately on every issue.

In an effort to achieve at least a semblance of unity, the national CIO proposed to merge the two bodies at a special convention, to which delegates would be elected on the same basis as at regular union conventions. In this case, they would follow in the main the manner in which UAW delegates were picked.

Thus, the Wayne County convention was another test of strength between the Reuther forces and the Stalinist bloc, and was seen that way by everybody. The Stalinists needed a victory if they were to keep their bloc together because they had lost the recent Michigan CIO state convention to the Reuther forces.

A special committee from the national CIO, composed of Alan Haywood, Thomas Burns and John Brophy, was selected by Philip Murray to supervise the Wayne County convention to assure its democratic nature and to keep the factional struggle within bounds.

Most UAW locals elected their delegates according to the rules set up, but the Stalinists in control of Ford Local 600 and Packard Local 190 did not elect their delegates according to the convention call. At Ford Local 600, in spite of protests and a warning from Haywood that the selection of delegates would not be recognized, the General Council chose them, instead of the ranks by election. A similar bureaucratic maneuver was pulled at Packard. Ford Local 600 is the biggest in the world, and the huge Stalinist delegation from there guaranteed them a majority at the convention.

Naturally, the Reuther forces objected. (Continued on page 2)

## Victory Certain as N. Y. Teamsters Strike Nears End

## BULLETIN

NEW YORK, Sept. 18—The teamsters' strike, which stopped virtually all New York truck movement for sixteen days, neared its end today, with victory in sight for the strikers. Operators are rushing to sign individual contracts with the union, granting a \$7.40 weekly wage increase and improved working conditions. Though some big truck operators are still holding out, it is expected that the employer front will be entirely broken by the end of the week. Some trucks are already rolling, carrying placards "Signed Up." Today was the first day in over a week that New York City newspapers approximated their normal size.

## By SUSAN GREEN

So strong are the ranks of the striking New York City truck drivers despite Daniel J. Tobin's calling off of all sympathy strikes, that rift has developed among the trucking employers. A large section now believes that it will have to make substantial

concessions to the strikers. This is the latest development.

Politicians, labor leaders and bosses involved in the strike, now in its third week, were alike scared stiff by the almost complete tie-up of the city's hauling business.

Mayor O'Dwyer was panicked into signing up 2,000 emergency police. Then, the strikers defying their local leaders and refusing even to consider the Mayor's proposal for an 18½-cent an hour increase, O'Dwyer appealed in desperation to Daniel J. Tobin, international president of the teamsters, to insist on arbitration. Having thus exhausted his limited resources, the Mayor appointed a committee to take over, which committee, by the way, has on it not one representative of labor.

## TOBIN INTERVENES

Dan Tobin, though he rebuked the Mayor for asking him to interfere in the strike, let his actions at least partly belie his words, for he took measures to weaken the strike. He ordered all sympathy strikers back to work. Thousands of sympathy

strikers of the twenty-four other New York City locals, as well as 10,000 Jersey drivers, had joined the 15,000 men of Locals 807, 282 and 816 of the AFL International Brotherhood of Teamsters. Thus Tobin tried to break the solidarity of all drivers in the metropolitan area. A New York Herald Tribune reporter described the effect of Tobin's order as follows: "Instead of spreading like a prairie fire, the stoppage dwindled in scope."

However, that word "dwindled" is a gross exaggeration. At the beginning of the third week of the strike 486 A&P stores are closed, as are 270 Safeway stores and 73 smaller food shops. The Rouillon, Reeves and Bohack chain stores are almost out of stock. The textile, garment, construction, printing and publishing industries of the city, all feel acutely the effects of the tie-up in their lack of supplies.

The adamant attitude of the strikers has caused the Master Truckmen's Association, representing about 200 truck owners, operating some 3,000 trucks, to repudiate their former

spokesman, Joseph M. Adelizzi and to inform the Mayor's committee that they wish to negotiate their own contracts with the locals involved. Tight-fisted Adelizzi, still representing the other two employers' groups, the Motor Carriers' Association and the State Motor Truck Association, had offered the strikers all of a \$3.00 increase a week. His latest word was: "We will take the men back to work, paying them retroactively in conformity with arbitration, or they may stay on the streets if they so choose." In the 1938 truck drivers' strike, this same Adelizzi was the last to sign up, but he did have to.

## STRIKERS REJECT OFFER

Those employers who have seen a little light have indicated a willingness to accept the proposals of the Bohack grocery chain, employing about 110 drivers, and backed by Daniels & Kennedy, general trucking concern hauling newsprint for two morning papers in the city and hiring the same number of men.

The Bohack offer is for \$62.40 for a forty-hour week to take the place of

\$55 for a forty-four-hour week in the former contract. It also provides for time and a half for Saturday work, with the promise of at least four hours of work on Saturday if a driver shows up for work. Two weeks' paid vacation and the elimination of certain wartime rules objectionable to the men will likewise be conceded.

On September 12 a meeting of strikers howled down these proposals when Bohack drivers presented them. Another meeting of strikers has been called for September 17. John E. Strong, president of Local 807, will urge the approval of individual agreements, giving up the demand for industry-wide contracts which the men were still insisting on at their last meeting.

The union president will also pressure the men to accept the \$7.40 weekly increase for the forty-hour week, as offered by Bohack. As Local 807 decides, so will decide Locals 282 and 816, which represent only 3,000 of the 15,000 striking drivers.

City Hall has issued optimistic reports to the press. Basing himself on

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

# UAW Faction Fight Flares - -

(Continued from page 1)

jected vigorously to this packing of the convention, and their appeal to Haywood seemed to carry. Until two days before the convention, it appeared that Haywood would call it off, at least until Ford and Packard delegates were elected by the rank and file. The Michigan CIO News, for example, which appeared the day before the convention, carried a page one story, on the authority of Gus Scholle, Michigan CIO director, that the convention would be called off.

In any event, the Reuther caucus told Haywood that if the Stalinists were allowed to pack the convention illegally, they would not participate.

### SHOWDOWN INEVITABLE

The Reuther forces strongly urged Haywood and Murray to stand firm against the Stalinists and permit a real convention. In fact, Reuther's key men proposed to Murray that Tom Shane, of the Steel Workers, and a real Murray man, be made president of the amalgamated body. The Reuther forces did not propose to control the about-to-be-formed council. They proposed that Murray's forces control it, in the interests of achieving unity in the CIO movement here. For various reasons, Shane couldn't take it, and a showdown between the Stalinist bloc and the Reuther forces became inevitable.

The Stalinists, on the other hand, put tremendous pressure on Haywood to sanction the convention. In fact, they issued a convention call on their own through Pat Quinn, CIO Council president, and Sam Sage and others in control of the Council. They bluntly told Haywood and Murray that they were going to hold a convention and elect officers.

This is very important for an understanding of the coming period of the struggle in the CIO. The Stalinists simply rode roughshod over Haywood, who didn't dare denounce the convention called by the Stalinist bloc because the Stalinists threatened to fight Murray openly in the national CIO Executive Board. George Ades, secretary-treasurer of the UAW-CIO, and R. J. Thomas, a national CIO vice-president as well as UAW vice-president, used exactly this kind of threat against Haywood and Murray.

The fact that the Stalinists won complete control again of the UE, by such a big majority, was one of the reasons they were able to become so reckless and brazen in their maneuvers here.

### REUTHER STAYS AWAY

In passing, let it be noted that these events accomplished one major aim that Walter Reuther has had in mind. No longer is the clash in the UAW-CIO only between Reuther and the Stalinist bloc. The Stalinists clashed directly with Murray and his representative, Alan Haywood.

Since Haywood and Murray have been made "captives" at the present stage of the struggle, unwilling ones to be sure, Haywood did not denounce the Stalinist call for the convention. Rather, he simply left Detroit before it began, and thus left the entire status of the convention up in the air.

### PHILA. VET HOUSING RALLY HEARS MUCH TALK, DOES NOTHING

PHILADELPHIA — Three thousand veterans and sympathizers gathered in Town Hall on a Friday the 13th rally to "Break the Jinx on Housing." The real result, however, seemed to be to put the jinx on rallies. Plea after plea was made to business and government—state, local and national—to do something about the acute housing problem.

The meeting, one of many held simultaneously in Pennsylvania by the joint action of the Pennsylvania Veterans Committee for a Special Session and the Student Veterans Coordinating Committee, included everything but a veteran speaker and a resolution for action by the veterans themselves. The speakers were: David J. Krooth, general counsel, National Housing Agency; Magistrate Joseph H. Rainey, president, Philadelphia Chapter NAACP; R. J. Thomas, vice-president CIO, chairman CIO Housing Committee; Congressman William J. Green, Jr., Democrat.

Mr. Krooth advocated support of the Wagner-Ellender-Taft bill, Magistrate Rainey advised the nation to cease meddling in foreign affairs, CIO spokesman Thomas wanted the "new industrialists" to be given a chance to solve the problem with mass production methods, and Democrat Green advised the Republican "City Fathers" to cease worrying about the pigeon population and to solve the housing problem.

At best, the meeting could be classified as a rehashing of the conventional excuses for the housing shortage, at worst it could be listed as a classic example of deliberate mis-planning and disorientation by the Stalinists, who controlled the meeting.

The question-mark status of the convention was emphasized also by the fact that the Reuther forces did not attend, and even the Stalinists didn't dare claim that over 366 out of over 625 delegates attended. Nor were all the delegates who attended in the Stalinist camp.

Thus the convention met yesterday and passed a series of motions amalgamating the PAC and the Wayne County CIO Council. All the Executive Board members of both bodies were put on a new Executive Board and election of permanent officers postponed until next spring. The Stalinists captured the convention, to be sure, but the question remains, what did they capture?

The "convention" was supposed to meet two days, but adjourned after six hours of session on the appeal of Nat Ganley, Stalinist leader in the UAW-CIO, who sought to throw a bread crumb to Murray and Haywood by a speech in which he emphasized that this body had no authority to make policy but rather must go along with national CIO policy. Besides, another meeting would be called soon to take up the matter of the November elections. The conciliatory tone of his speech was intended more for the delegates who were worried by the press headlines heralding a split in the CIO, than for Murray, for at long last the national CIO knows exactly what the problem of the Stalinists in the CIO has become.

### STALINIST AIMS

The "get tough with Murray" policy of the Stalinists can be explained only one way, The Stalinist strategy and tactics in the next period is dictated by one main aim: Control of the national CIO. The violence of the attack on Reuther is precisely because he is one of the major obstacles in that path. Control of the UAW-CIO is an indispensable prerequisite to success.

The coming convention of the national CIO will pose all these problems clearly and sharply. Unless the entire CIO movement, and above all, the ranks of the UAW, become aroused and stop the ruthless drive of the Stalinists for domination of the CIO, there will be a paralyzing factional struggle everywhere, as there now exists in the UAW, and the labor movement will suffer badly.

More and more auto workers are beginning to understand this entire problem and see the main point that the Stalinists are seeking to control the labor movement as an agency of Moscow so they can use it for pressure purposes in Washington. The sharpening clash between the American and Russian imperialisms has caused an intensification of the drives of the Stalinists within the CIO for power.

As an integral part of the Stalinist drive for power, they have worked

### BUFFALO INCIDENT PROVES MILITANT LABOR PROGRAM IS BEST WAY TO FIGHT STALINISTS

By P. PRENTISS

BUFFALO — There are two ways to fight the Stalinists. One way—the ineffective way, the reactionary way, the bosses' way—was demonstrated here last week when, at the Stalinist "Win the Peace" rally, two UAW members, Ed Paris and Harold Wood, delegates from the Greater Buffalo Industrial Council (CIO), walked out of the rally, stating that they "prefer the American way of life... and will have nothing to do with any Communist movement."

Upon reporting their actions back to their local union, Chevrolet Local 774, UAW, they received the backing of the local and the vigorous support of the local president, Norman A. Klump, who declared:

"I'd like to see a committee representing all locals which believe in the American way of life really go to work on those who carry the Red line... Anyone who is interested in defending the democratic system against imported foreign ideas and really doing something about it can get in touch with me."

This attack on the Communist Party by this group of UAW members was given a big splash in the Buffalo Evening News. For some weeks previous the News had been running a series of red-baiting articles on communism, deliberately confusing Stalinism with a workers' government. These men from Local 774 utilized the capitalist press for support in their attack. The Greater Buffalo Industrial Council (CIO) correctly denounced these members for their red-baiting attack and for their appeal to the capitalist press.

This way of fighting Stalinism is related to the dispute between Russian and American imperialism, and in no way advances the cause of American labor.

### HOW TO FIGHT STALINISM

There is another way of fighting the Stalinists. This is the effective way, the progressive way, the Workers Party way. Members of the Workers Party distributed LABOR ACTION before the Win the Peace rally.

out a national CIO strategy for wage increases, which includes a proposal for a general strike in all auto plants next spring. They intend putting on a "militant" cloak in an effort to win the ranks of the CIO, against which only the GM Program stands on a par. This is another real problem for Murray. Either he works jointly with Reuther, whose program can offset the Stalinists, or he faces the possibility of a defeat in the CIO.

### Sailors' Meeting in New York Celebrates Big Strike Victory

NEW YORK CITY—Four thousand SIU-SUP strikers jam-packed Manhattan Center on Thursday night, September 12—two hours after John Steelman announced government capitulation to the seamen's demands. The meeting had a victory spirit about it, and pledged itself to maintain picket lines until the government, which up to that time had not notified the union officially, took the trouble to do so.

One rank and filer after another took the floor to hail the great victory and to compliment various militants for their contributions during the strike. One Negro brother made a fine appeal to the white members not to permit the good relations between black and white brothers, built up during the strike, to relapse to the old state of affairs. The speech was well received.

### SPEAKERS DESCRIBE ACTION

All the members of the Strike Committee made brief speeches as did the representative of the International Transport Federation, Willy Dorchain. This brother, who speaks for the ITF of which the SIU-SUP is an affiliate, read the telegrams received from all corners of the earth supporting the strike. He also outlined the future plans of the Transport Federation which aims at winning to its banner the American longshoremen and railroad workers.

Brother Bernie Goodman, chairman of the Publicity Committee, cautioned the strikers not to be stampeded back to the ships by the government announcement, but to sit tight until the Strike Committee declared the beef won.

Brother Blackie Jackson, SUP member of the Strike Committee, described the breaking up of a scab camp, organized by the Calmar Line, a Bethlehem Steel subsidiary, at Belydere, New Jersey. Nine SIU-SUP cars equipped with a loud-speaker made for the camp on Tuesday, September 10.

When they entered the camp, they fanned out in military fashion sur-

### The Boss's Dictionary

### Diplomacy:



rounding the area. Then the PA system on one of the cars blared out, "Alright rats, come out! We know you're there!" At this point the finks took to the hills through brush. Those who remained behind, many of whom did not know the real purpose of the camp, were spoken to by the "Educational Committee," and on expressing their willingness to return to the city were given fare to do so.

### HOW FRENCH SHIP DOCKED

Brother Jackson also described the visit by an SIU-SUP delegation to the incoming French liner, the S.S. Athos II. The committee went aboard the ship and took over the bridge. They addressed the 1800 passengers and 300 crew members over the loudspeaker system.

They informed their audience that since there were 800 French seamen among the passengers who were brought here to sail twenty Liberty ships back to France, no one could go ashore until the French brothers were disembarked and given first class hotel accommodations in New York until the end of the strike. The French Line was asked to guarantee that these men would not be used to sail struck ships. After all this was agreed to, the passengers, led by the French seamen, were permitted to go ashore.

The LABOR ACTION issue covering the maritime strike was distributed to the membership after the meeting adjourned. The paper was well received and elicited considerable interest and discussion.

### Background of a Dangerous Situation

# Strike Proved Maritime Unity Need

By SCOTT BYER

SAN FRANCISCO, Sept. 14—The nation's press has carried complete coverage of all surface events during the recently won AFL maritime strike, with a special emphasis on the rivalry between the AFL maritime unions—the SUP and SIU—and the seven unions composing the Committee for Maritime Unity—the NMU, ACA, MC&S, IBA, ILWU, MEBA (all CIO) and the MFOW (Independent).

A little background will help us understand this tremendously significant situation for American labor. On May 6 of this year the six CIO and one independent union met in a conference in San Francisco and formed the CMU. They set June 15 as the date for a strike to obtain higher wages and better working conditions aboard ship. Although Joe Curran and Harry Bridges were elected co-chairmen of the Committee by the delegates, a majority of whom were Stalinists, Harry Bridges was given the greater share of power since Curran had fallen out of favor with the Communist Party officialdom.

### DURING THE CIO STRIKE

The leadership of the Sailors Union of the Pacific, Seafarers International Union, which is headed by Harry Lundeberg, refused an invitation to meet with the CMU because of its control by the Stalinists. By the end of May, the AFL Maritime Trades Council was organized to counter the unity moves of the CIO seamen's organizations. Clearly, the leaderships of both groups were laying detailed plans for all out jurisdictional raids upon each other's organization.

As the time drew near for the June 15 CMU strike, the Atlantic and GULF SIU announced that it would honor all CMU picket lines. At SIU meetings on the Atlantic Coast the rank-and-file shouted that they wanted to strike together with the CMU. At the same time, Harry Lundeberg, SIU president, whose main strength is on the West Coast, talked of not honoring what he called the "political picket line of the CMU-Commie Maritime Union." Even so, the government and ship operators feared the strike, and the CMU was invited to meet with Harry Truman's fact-finding board.

The Stalinist leadership of the CMU accepted the invitation, met with the board. The CMU invited the SIU-SUP to come to Washington to negotiate with them and further asked the SIU-SUP not to settle their contracts until the CMU had finished its negotiations, "for any acceptance on your part may harm our attempts at success."

Lundeberg replied that his unions wouldn't go to Washington to meet with any phony government board, that they would negotiate on the coasts where the ships were, and demanded the return to San Francisco of J. B. Bryan, head of the Pacific Steamship Owners Association, who was then in Washington, meeting with the CMU. Bryan sent a substitute to negotiate with Lundeberg on the SUP contract.

### AFL DECIDES TO STRIKE

By the end of June, the SUP had won all the gains made by the CMU plus five to ten dollars more a month in wages. The CMU stated that this was the shipowners reward to Lundeberg for

The capitalist press is disproving Marxism again. It has now proved that lynchers are backward farmers without education. When the news spread of the murder of the two Negro couples in Walton County, Georgia, two New York papers sent reporters to the area. These papers, according to the New York Times, "cannot be suspected of sympathy with the vested interests."

What did they find that made the anti-Marxists in the Times so happy? They found that the farmers in the outlying areas were satisfied with the lynchings. But in the county town Monroe (4,500 people) the population was shocked, and a group of businessmen passed an anti-lynching resolution. Furthermore, Monroe voted heavily against Governor Talmadge, the anti-Negro maniac. But Walton County farmers voted heavily for Talmadge.

### REPORTER TURNS PROFOUND

You should see the song and dance performed by the Times columnist on these facts. Here is a sample:

"Catchwords and formulas die hard, and it is not to be expected that Vested Interests and Big Business as the twin-devils responsible for most of the world's ills over so many years will be an exception."

He then makes a big jump. War, he says, is not caused by "international bankers and armament manufacturers eager for profits." What causes war? Passions. Bad, deep, wild, ferocious passions and hatreds "that cannot be explained in Marxian terms of a decaying capitalism in defensive alliance with a doomed imperialism."

He tells us that there are human passions and prejudices whose roots go "far, far back into a pre-capitalist past." And he ends with gentle pity for those Marxian idiots who "still explain Hitler or the Ku Klux Klan by the Vested Interests operating under cover."

### ONE LITTLE OMISSION

There is just one little omission in this article. It forgot to mention that to Big Business and Vested Interests the Marxists usually add the capitalist press. For if ever there was a clear case of the alliance between the imperialist war-mongers abroad, the race-haters at home, and their hired lackeys of the press, this is one.

First of all, who educates these backward whites? Congress educates them. The President educates them. The Times educates them. If not directly, then indirectly through a thousand subordinate channels, the ideas of Congress, of the Administration, of the great newspapers, permeate down to the people. Now do these backward Southerners hear from Congress a unanimous condemnation of all anti-Negro actions?

Do they see Congress expel Bilbo? Do they hear that Bilbo and his Southern colleagues are out-voted by all the congressmen who do not come from the South? Do they see Congress passing anti-lynch or anti-poll-tax bills? No, instead they hear from Bilbo and Talmadge

and the rest that they win great victories in Congress. Do they hear the educated part of the nation clamoring for action against lynching? No. They see instead a veiled acquiescence, a shrugging of the shoulders at best. These people are as they are because vested interests, including the Times, are quite satisfied with things as they are.

This Times scribbler thinks that by vested interests Marxists mean some small traders in Monroe (population 4,500). How ridiculous! We mean the banks that control Southern industry and the cotton plantations. We mean the leaders of the Democratic and Republican Parties who between them have left the Negro where he has been for seventy-five years. WE MEAN THE WHOLE ROTTEN SYSTEM AND THOSE WHO PROFIT BY IT, AND DO EVERYTHING TO MAINTAIN IT.

How is this argument falsified or weakened by the fact that some businessmen in Monroe (population 4,500) passed an anti-lynching resolution and were horrified at the lynching? The Times scribbler, by defending these methods, himself makes excuses for the source of lynching. He tries to place the responsibility on some mysterious pre-capitalist passions and thereby does not place the responsibility where it belongs. He assists in the miseducation of the people. He is a hired lackey.

### SCRIBBLERS DO THEIR PART

It is not surprising to find him defending the imperialists and their wars. The British wish to maintain their empire. German imperialism wanted to take it away from them. What then is the mysterious pre-capitalist passion that caused these two empires to fight it out twice in thirty years?

The U. S. could not afford to see Germany dominate Europe. It fought Germany in 1917. It fought Germany again in 1941. It will possibly fight Russia in the future. The Japanese wanted to have an empire of their own. The U. S. could not afford to see them take over Eastern Asia. Even Wallace now tells Russia: You have your sphere of influence and leave ours alone. Where is the mysterious pre-capitalist passion?

It is a crude naked struggle for economic power, raw materials, spheres of influence, strategic areas. And this lackey tries to make out that it is some dark, mysterious passion in the hearts of men that drives them to war.

He serves the vested interests as their apologist and defender. He covers up the truth from the people. He helps to perpetuate the system and its crimes.

The Negroes should note that the same reactionary interests and ideas which confuse the people about lynching are the same which confuse the people about war. The enemy is the same—vested interests, capitalism, and there will never be peace, freedom, equality, justice, until the SYSTEM is swept away.

With it will go the petty scribbler whose function it is to write stupid columns about Marxism under the heading "Topics of the Times."

other than those with AFL maritime contracts could sail, thus ending the tie-up.

Because of this and because the SIU-SUP was finally on its toes, the Sailors' Union Strike Committee issued a leaflet here, entitled "An Appeal to Reason." This leaflet thoroughly exposed the Stalinist CMU program and further issued an invitation to all maritime workers, regardless of affiliation, to picket as long as they cleared through the SIU-SUP, which at that time was the only union on strike. Further, the SIU-SUP sent a rank and file committee of three to explain their policy before meetings of the ILWU, MC&S, NMU, and MFOW. The rank and file of these four unions greeted the committee warmly and agreed with the committee's explanation of SIU-SUP policy.

It is interesting to note that the CMU leadership made every effort, not only to discredit the SIU-SUP after the SIU-SUP committee left the meetings, but made every effort to keep knowledge of their program and policy from their own rank and file.

### SEAMEN EFFECTED UNITY IN ACTION

On September 14 the government gave in to the pressure of the American seamen, united from below, and stated that the operators could pay the SIU-SUP seamen the increases they negotiated for. Thereafter, the SIU-SUP voted to end the strike at mass meetings in every port in the U. S. SIU-SUP pickets left the docks at midnight.

At 6 the following morning the CIO seamen, who had by this time voted to strike for the increase given to the AFL seamen, began picketing the docks and the nation-wide tie-up continued.

When asked if the AFL unions would honor CIO picket lines, Harry Lundeberg answered "Have you ever heard of SIU-SUP men crossing a picket line?" Today, however, Lundeberg sang a different song. He stated that the SIU-SUP would honor only "economic" picket lines, not "political" ones.

This is a reflection of the dangerous backwardness of Lundeberg and SIU-SUP leadership. The great majority of seamen, regardless of union, will never cross another union's picket line, but the leadership of the unions may be successful in getting a few stooges and younger, inexperienced seamen to carry out their orders. Unless the well informed, militant seamen of all the maritime unions put a stop to the useless fighting and rivalry among their leaders, this situation could end in defeat instead of victory for waterfront unionism.

At the height of this strike, a few days ago, even more strongly than at this writing, a national federation of maritime workers and teamsters existed, in spirit, from below, on the picket line. Maritime workers and teamsters must carry this unity into organizational reality.

Therefore we say: SEAMEN, LONGSHOREMEN, TEAMSTERS, UNITE ON THE BASIS OF THE COMMON FIGHT AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT AND THE SHIP OPERATORS. Settle the other beefs inside your own ranks. Unless this is done your efforts to regain what you lost during the war and your fight for greater victories will be scuttled. DEMAND A JOINT ACTION STRATEGY COMMITTEE NOW!

# Six Who Survived: What Happened at Hiroshima

By ALBERT GATES

In its issue of August 31, The New Yorker magazine published a story of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima by John Hersey, described by the press as "sensational reporting." All of its pages were devoted to it. This alone is unusual enough for a magazine whose stock-in-trade is humor and wit that caters to the "cultural needs" of the upper middle class. That it did so is due entirely to the earth-shaking (in a literal sense!) significance inherent in the discovery of the control of atomic energy, the danger to the future existence of mankind.

The story Hersey tells is a simple one. It is anything but "sensational." He begins his narrative on the morning the bomb exploded, centering the whole sequence of events around six persons. These six survived the disintegration of the target area. He tells who they were, their occupations and additional duties created by the war, and what they were doing at the time of the explosion, following their movements, activities and reactions until the "healing of Hiroshima" began.

## AN ANSWER TO COMPLACENCY AND PRETENSE

No excess words are used in telling the world what actually happened to the city and its inhabitants. The power of the story, therefore, is found in its simplicity; fact piles up upon fact; one horrifying detail follows another. The disintegration of the city, the bewilderment of the people, the terrifying, unknown characteristics of a cataclysm—all of this is vividly portrayed by the simple words of the story, by its under-telling. In this way, Hersey will succeed in overcoming a great deal of the complacency which has grown up about the bomb in recent months as a result of "sensational" writing, the deliberate propaganda of the professional militarists of the War and Navy Departments and their brethren of other countries.

The exaggerations of sensationalism always tend to minimize the effectiveness of the reality. In the case

of the atom bomb, the speculations of the scientists were so used to attack many unfounded attributes to the new discovery that a reaction of disbelief in its destructiveness inevitably followed.

Professional military men, congressmen and government functionaries, under the influence of the military caste, have carried on a public discussion of the atom bomb that was calculated to produce the above results. Where the scientists emphasize the inability to devise a defense for the atom bomb, we are given specious arguments about how many are needed to destroy a city; how the monopolization of the bomb by the United States grants it security and immunity; how an atomic bomb offensive will save this nation in the coming war. Or, we are treated to the spectacle of capitalist politicians espousing legislation which would create a totalitarian strait-jacket upon science for the purpose of keeping secret a scientific discovery which cannot be kept secret.

Thus, the real problem of the atom bomb, its unmatched destructiveness and the peril it creates for the people, is diverted in a discussion on how large an army is now needed, whether the land forces required for

war are greater or less, whether naval warfare is obsolete, etc. All of these tend to divert attention away from the cruel fate which awaits mankind in a new war.

## THE STORY OF SIX PEOPLE WHO SURVIVED

The Hersey story pulls everything back into its proper perspective. The calculations of military "science," the speculations of the brass hats and the politicians are lost in the reality of an atomic explosion on the people. Mr. Hersey takes us back to the morning of August 6, 1945. We are introduced to six people: Miss Toshiko Sasaki, a clerk in the East Asia Tin Works; Dr. Masakazu Fujii, reading the Osaka Asahi on the porch of his private hospital; Mrs. Hatsuyo Nakamura, a tailor's widow, watching a neighbor tear down "his house because it lay in the path of an air-raid-defense fire lane"; Father Wilhelm Kleinsorge, a German priest of the Society of Jesus; Dr. Terufumi Sasaki, a young doctor on the surgical staff of the Red Cross Hospital, and the Rev. Kiyoshi Tanimoto, pastor of the Hiroshima Methodist Church.

These six were about their business. (Continued on page 6)



September 23, 1946

A Paper in the Interests of Labor

Page 3

# American Labor Shows Its Power in New Strike Wave

By EMANUEL GARRETT

HE big strikes in maritime and New York trucking illustrate the tremendous confidence that American labor has in its own strength. It is a confidence mixed, as yet, with uncertainty of principle and confusion of direction. It is, further, a confidence that will be demonstrated again and again this winter as strike actions sweep the country on a scale equal to, or greater than, the strike actions of last winter.

This element of confidence and of mood is extremely important. The strikes are not rear-guard actions, fought in desperation. They are, rather, offensive in quality, fought to improve labor's standard of living. A general dissatisfaction with things as they are is coupled with a marked self-reliance in labor's ability to achieve its ends through economic action.

Thus, at the very moment that the teamsters were tying up New York, and the sailors were crippling every port in the country, there were indications of strikes to come in every major industry. The packinghouse workers are already preparing for their strikes; steel workers are talking of strike in February when the contract expires; auto workers have been pressing for months for a reopening of wage negotiations.

## THE PRESS IS SERIOUSLY DISTURBED

It is interesting to observe the reaction in the capitalist press. Reactionary and liberal alike are seriously disturbed. Each in his own way is assailed by the patent, disruption of "social harmony" and the restiveness of labor; each in his own way is trying to fit a solution into the hopeless muddle of capitalist rule. Here is obviously a social system gone completely to pot—peace clearly impossible, class tensions sharpening, political and economic problems mounting. Everywhere is instability. American wealth and productivity have not dulled the sharpness of class relations. They have instead contributed to labor's vigor and determination.

There is not a section of the American population that is not stirring in some way. If the picket line is the sharpest line of division, there are also, for example, consumer lines which reflect a dissatisfaction common to the great majority of people. Thus, there is an atmosphere of unrest, of questioning, of searching—what comes next? What to do?

## URGENCY OF THE GM STRIKE PROGRAM

Wages and prices are the immediate orbit around which the major domestic issues revolve. And for sound reasons! In a sense, the strike actions are no more than a defense of a given wage standard against the inroads of rising prices. That is, of course, what is basically involved; and even by itself is sufficiently an indication of labor's mood. But it would be a mistake to see no more than that in the situation. There is also the confidence of which we have already spoken. There is the feeling, which upsets the profiteers no end, that the people are entitled to a HIGH standard of living; there is the feeling that the price squeeze can be broken to guarantee this higher standard of living, and the promise that wage actions will come with relentless frequency.

Nowhere in this latest series of strikes have the deeply significant slogans of last year's General Motors strike been raised. But it seems to us that they must rise, in one form or another, unless the capitalists can effectively crush the impulse of labor militancy. And that they cannot do, for an all-out assault on labor today would bring with it repercussions from which the capitalist social structure would emerge seriously battered, if emerge at all. The General Motors strikers produced demands that were revolutionary in quality. They challenged the prerogatives of "free and monopolist enterprise," demanded that the books be opened, demanded a voice in the determination of wages, prices and profits, and insisted upon wage increases WITH NO INCREASES IN PRICES.

Demands of similar content are bound to arise in the strike wave that is gathering force for this winter. It is certain that the trade union leaders will stand in the way of this development. The outcome of this, however, will depend greatly upon how successfully these demands are injected into the situation.

While the GM Program has not been raised in any union today, other slogans that go beyond the traditional union level are being voiced; the demand for nationalization of the meat industry has been raised; the demand for a guaranteed annual wage is growing in popularity. If the clear demand of the General Motors strikers for a Wage Increase Without a Price Increase has not been raised as such, the impossibility of repeated strikes to offset price increases must lead to it.

All of this is not of one pattern. There are many contradictions. The seamen, for example, blasted the War Shipping Board and generally denounced the intervention of the government boards. All of this was absolutely just. But in the attitude of the seamen, especially of their leaders, there was at the same time a serious weakness. It is one thing to oppose the intervention of the government boards; it is quite another thing to steer clear of politics. And that is what the leaders of the AFL seamen pretend to do.

## WORKERS CAN'T AVOID POLITICAL ISSUES

Politics cannot be avoided; it is far too intricately woven into economics. For labor this politics has to be labor politics; and of that there is no indication in the attitude of the labor leaders. There are labor leaders who disclaim any interest in political action; the rest of them, and they are by far the greater number, hue to the line of engagement through PAC or some other instrument, in capitalist politics.

There is discernible in this situation a striving for program. The more alert capitalist spokesmen are looking for a program; and considerable numbers, especially in the lower ranks, are looking toward labor. Perhaps not as consciously, labor is looking for a program, and that is what we are concerned with.

Not just any program will do. It has to be a program that meets the needs of the situation, that serves labor and the people. Murray had a program last winter; it was to permit the steel owners a boost in prices in return for a wage increase.

The consequences of that policy are well known. There was another aspect to this program: Murray's cheek by jowl deliberations with Truman. As a result, Truman and the other agents of capitalist government decided a program for the steel workers! The consequences of this are also well known.

We single out Murray, not because he was alone, but because his was typical of the policy of the union leaders. Almost down to a man, they have approached a solution of labor's problems in the same way: conferring with government officials, chasing after misleading labor-management conferences, holding back the drive in the ranks for concrete action. The contempt shown by the sailors for the government and its boards was a refreshing difference of approach.

If we are right that the wage-price issue is the principle orbit of class relations today then a program must concern itself with wage-price demands that can give genuine meaning to the struggles that are now shaping up. We have repeatedly stated our view of what this program must be. Here we shall only list its essential points: (1) Popular Price Control Committees in the neighborhoods concretely backed by union representatives; (2) Wage Increases Without Price Increases.

Many other demands enter into such a program—a guaranteed annual wage; escalator clauses providing for a hike in wages with every jump of the price graph. None of it can achieve full meaning unless it is consolidated on a national scale, effected in the joint action of a strategy board representing all of organized labor. And it can be given lasting meaning only if it is combined with a plan for political action. Such a plan must necessarily begin with the formation of a Labor Party.

Popular Price Control Committees have risen here and there. The demand, Wage Increases Without Price Increases, is implicit in the situation itself. But what about the Labor Party?

## RESPONSE TO LABOR PARTY CALL

Not a single labor leader of any importance is likely to initiate a move for a Labor Party. Were there such, we think his call would evoke a tremendous, instantaneous response. On a local and small scale the demand has already been heard. Not Murray, Green, Lewis nor Reuther is going to lend his authority to the formation of a Labor Party. The impetus will have to come from below. The strike last winter called attention to the need for political action; the current strike wave has done the same; the next strike wave will do so more pointedly.

For the present we confine ourselves to what is incontestable: labor is ready; its actions are marked by confidence; it will be receptive to a call to complement its economic militancy with political organization. Regardless of the labor leaders, organized direction and certainty can be given to labor's confidence in its power in a sweeping demand for the organization of a Labor Party. It will not come by itself; it CAN come if the idea is aggressively promoted in the unions, especially in the struggles that lie ahead.

# A Political Portrait of Nehru, Premier of India's New Cabinet

By HENRY JUDD

A provisional Indian government has been formed, a step marking a new relationship in India between master and ruled, between British imperialism and that section of the Indian—the Congress Party—claiming to speak for India's nationalist cause. At the head of this government stands Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, an important figure in today's world, a man whose words and actions are of concern to all the colonial peoples of India, China, Indo-China and a large section of the world.

What manner of man is Nehru? In 1941, during the war, this writer had the opportunity to interview Nehru and carried away certain impressions of the man which were subsequently published in *The New Internationalist* of April, 1941, under the title of "Eton Brahmin." We reprint below extracts and some additions to this interview, since the differences between the man who yearned for power, five years ago, and the man who today holds power (with British permission, of course) seem to be so slight in nature as to change virtually nothing in the former article.

Next to the Mahatma (Gandhi) himself, Nehru has been the most popular figure to emerge from the turbulent Indian political scene. His aristocratic bearing, his sweeping literary and oratorical style—heavily tinged with a false-sounding "idealism"—his lofty Brahminical descent, his unquestionable personal sacrifices for Indian nationalism (16 years in British jails)—all these characteristics have endeared Jawaharlal Nehru to middle-class radicals and liberals throughout the world.

My first (and only) meeting with Nehru took place at the home of his sisters, shortly before his last arrest, during the war. At that time, the Congress had been pushed to the wall by the iron stand of British imperialism. The issue was clear: To yield, or launch a nation-wide mass struggle for immediate independence. A special session of the All-India Congress Committee was to be held at Poona, with the objective of making definitive decisions. In visiting Nehru, I wished to learn from him, a member of the Congress Working Committee, what could be expected at the Poona session.

His *grande entrée* into the room from a nearby balcony, along with his obvious patronizing air (in sharp contrast to the more welcome and sincere humble mannerisms of Gandhi) made a most unpleasant impression. In the course of a four-hour discussion, his personal characteristics became more marked. Nehru is both pompous and pretentious; arrogant and self-conscious when one touches upon his weaknesses and

constant vacillations. That "sensitivity of character," so often eulogized by those whose ideal he is, merely reflects his self-embarrassment before his own incompetence, his inability to rise to the capacity of revolutionary leadership, his ineffectiveness in grasping the complexities of modern politics. The constantly reiterated theme of his talk was, "I do not know what will happen." "The sands of time are running out." "All is chaos." The Brahmin of England's Eton college was dubbed India's High Priest of Confusion.

It soon became clear that this man had no intention of proposing, let alone leading, a mass struggle during the war. As is known, he spent the balance of the war in an imperialist jail. Nehru indicated that his "ethical" outlook forbid him from striking heavy blows at England during the period of its war difficulties. "...for we could not wholly forget the old lesson which Gandhi had taught us, that our objective should not be to embarrass the opponent in his hour of need." Behind

(Continued on page 4)

## A Discussion of Stalinist Imperialism

# Why Revolutionary Socialists Can't Support Russia

By ALBERT GOLDMAN

What is the explanation of Stalin's aggressive and truculent foreign policy?

Only they who are blind or prisoners of an outworn formula continue to assert that the capitalist-imperialist nations are plotting to attack Russia in order to destroy nationalized property and that the danger of war comes from these plots. It is from this premise that the writer who, in *The Militant*, described the incident of the shooting down of an American plane by Tito's airmen, concluded that Tito permitted himself "to be provoked" by American imperialism. We get a picture of a peaceful Tito who, outraged at the violation of sovereignty by imperialist forces, lost control of himself and ordered his forces to shoot.

The fact is that everything said or done by the official representatives of American and British imperialism during and, for a certain period, after the war indicated that the ruling groups of those imperialisms were perfectly reconciled to arrive at an agreement with the Stalinist bureaucracy on the basis of doing business with nationalized property. Especially was this the case since they recognized that only with Stalin's help could they hope to prevent a revolutionary uprising in Europe.

Even now, after relations between Stalinist Russia and American-British imperialism have become very strained, Donald Nelson writes a letter to Stalin suggesting that a commission of American business men go to Moscow and arrange for a lucrative commerce between the two countries.

## AGGRESSION AND IMPERIALISM

There can be no doubt that the representatives of American and British imperialism are anxious to have nationalized property remain

within the confines of Russia. But their opposition to the Stalinist bureaucracy at present is not a result of the existence of nationalized property in Russia but of the evident desire of the Stalinist bureaucracy to extend its influence outside of Russia and thus interfere with their imperialist interests. American and British imperialists had no objection to Hitler's fascism when it limited itself to destroying the rights of the masses and even some rights of the capitalists; they had strenuous objections when Hitler became aggressive outside of Germany and threatened their imperialist interests.

Should there be a war between Russia and the American-British combination, the victory of the latter would undoubtedly lead to the destruction of the Stalinist foreign trade monopoly; it might eventually lead even to the denationalization of some industries. But this does not mean that the cause of the war would be the desire of the capitalist imperialists to destroy nationalized property in Russia. It would be the aggressiveness of Stalinist imperialism and the unwillingness of American-British imperialism to yield to that aggressiveness.

Even they who would defend nationalized property under any conditions should recognize facts that stare them in the face. Alas, the vision of even sensible people has frequently been blinded by a formula. It may not be superfluous to say that the tactics of our party in case of a war would not be determined by the accidental fact that one imperialism was the aggressor as against another. We did not determine our attitude to the last war because Hitler was obviously the aggressor. We determined our attitude by the fundamental fact that we considered it an imperialist war.

## WHY STALIN IS CONFIDENT

That Stalin is pursuing an imperialist policy is clear to everyone except to the followers and apologists of Stalin and to "official" Trotskyists who are bewitched by words and by formulas. The basis of that policy has already been described by Comrade Logan in his article, "The Eruption of Bureaucratic Imperialism," in the March, 1946, issue of *The New Internationalist*.

## Next Week:

- THE ISSUES IN PALESTINE By Albert Goldman
- THE PROMISE OF AMERICAN PRODUCTION—III By Irving Howe
- SLAVE LABOR AND STALINISM By Albert Gates

This picture of two generals in Stalin's army says more than a dozen articles could say on the character of that army.



They are not generals of a workers' socialist army, but of an army that represents a new ruling class, a new imperialist power. When the Russian Revolution took place, the Red army was truly a people's army not only because of its aim, the struggle for socialism, but because consonant with its aim, the army rejected the standards and laws characteristic of imperialist armies. It was an army of free men, of revolutionaries. Stalin's army is an army of a new exploiting class, an army of imperialist conquerors. The decorations and rewards given the generals of this army betrays its new class character.

The lifting of the veil ever so slightly justifies the conclusion that things are not going so well in Stalinist Russia. The top bureaucrats may make their grandiose plans, but under conditions of slavery and misery that actually prevail there can be no real planning. The little that is revealed creates the impression that instead of planning there is chaos in the economic life of Stalinist Russia. The dissatisfaction existing among the Russian people is probably a factor inducing Stalin to pursue an aggressive foreign policy.

There is also great plausibility in the hypothesis that he wants to keep a large army of occupation outside of Russian borders because he can feed the soldiers at the expense of the occupied countries. There is not enough food for them in Russia and Stalin would be adding to his troubles if his armies were sent home.

fact that the American and British masses are opposed to any war and it would take something like a Pearl Harbor before their governments could mobilize them for another war. He has the great advantage of being master in a totalitarian country and does not have to take "public opinion" into consideration even to the extent that the governments of democratic capitalist countries must do. Whereas the Stalinist bureaucracy can make any decision it desires and can carry it out without any fear of objection on the part of the masses, that is not the case in the United States or Great Britain.

What needs explanation now is the aggressiveness of that policy. As meek and humble as Stalin was toward Hitler, so proud and haughty is he to those who conquered Hitler. In the first place must be mentioned the fact that neither American nor British imperialism has the forces in Europe that Hitler had. Stalin's armies in Europe are much more powerful than the combined forces of England and the United States. The factor that counts for most, however, is that Stalin knows that neither Great Britain nor this country is prepared to wage a war immediately. The fact that the United States has demobilized most of its armed forces is an assurance to Stalin that he can go far without running the risk of war.

## DISSATISFACTION IN RUSSIA

This does not mean that Stalin pays no attention to the Russian masses. Like every autocrat, he attempts to get the support of the masses and through the controlled press tries to get them to think in a certain manner. The ruling clique has been trying to convince the masses of Russia that the capitalist countries are about to launch an attack on their country, hoping that the masses would be induced by that belief into accepting their miserable lot without questioning.

But in spite of the Stalinist aggressive foreign policy, there is slight possibility of a war breaking out soon. Fundamentally, because Stalin knows that a war means his certain defeat. It will take many years before Russia recovers from the destruction wrought by Hitler's armies. And it is altogether probable that he is not sure of the support of the masses in case of another war. That hundreds of thousands of Russian workers and peasants did not support the war even against Hitler is now certain. That many millions will not support another war with capitalist democracies can be taken for granted.

Should Stalin continue his aggressive policy up to the point of war, then it will simply mean that he sees no way out except through the tremendous gamble of war. In effect, war will mean that he is ready to risk suicide and that the Russian masses should and undoubtedly will help him attain his objective.

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## Editorials

## What Did Wallace Mean?

The recent speech by Secretary of Commerce Henry A. Wallace was not an aberration, but a reflection of the fact that there are two lines in foreign policy developing in the Administration. There is a tragic-comic side to this affair: a member of the cabinet, with the approval of the President, made a public speech advocating a foreign policy in contradiction to the one now being pursued in Paris by the Secretary of State. Thus, the superficial aspect of the incident is that President Truman has again revealed himself to be not merely unastute, but ignorant of the problems of imperialist politics and diplomacy.

The real meaning of the Wallace speech, however, should not be missed in Truman's "embarrassment." That Truman did give permission to Wallace to make a speech contradicting the policy pursued by his Secretary of State is clear; and that he tried to get from under his "slip" by declaring afterward that he merely "approved" Wallace's right to make the speech, is equally clear. This only proves that capitalist economics are not reflected mechanically in politics and diplomacy. It illustrates the fact that even in the ruling circle of the capitalist class there are as many shades of opinion and policy as there are in the working class; that the men who make up the ruling summits reflect their own training and education, as well as special interests. Capitalist governments do reflect the interests of their class, but they reflect these interests in many ways, not uniformly, not statically, but constantly shifting in a changing international and domestic situation.

Several things are brought to a head by Wallace's speech. The unity of the Allied nations made necessary by the war has ended. Winning the peace means, for each power, winning as much spoils as possible in territory, colonies, reparations and labor. The struggle for peace has therefore become a struggle for power among the former allies, chiefly between the United States and Russia. Each power has her allies and satellites; the world is once again divided between two main imperialist camps. For the time being the struggle is confined largely to Europe and Asia, but in reality it girdles the globe.

## Stalin's Sweep Over Europe

So long as the war had still to be won, Roosevelt and Churchill made numerous concessions to Stalin to keep him fighting. Even before the victory, the division of the spoils were made and they were made in secret like gangsters dividing off the territory of a city. These concessions made to Stalin, and the general division of the world between the victors was to guar-

## A British Lidice in India

We have always felt a sense of awe at the hypocrisy which the spokesmen for British imperialism have been able to summon as a means of justifying their practices. But here, we submit, is evidence of hypocrisy which hits a new high.

Along India's wild Northwest frontier, the British have been firing heavy artillery and using Spitfire fighter-bombers against a group of unsubdued tribes which refuse to accept British domination. The British have destroyed nearly a dozen villages in their attempt to subdue the rebellious tribes.

But lest you go getting any wild ideas into your head and compare this action with what Hitler did in Lidice, Czechoslovakia, where a whole town was wiped out, we refer you to the enlightened statement of the unnamed spokesman for the British Foreign Office whom the Associated Press quoted on September 11:

"It is the most humane way of teaching them," the spokesman said.

antee the peace of the world, a peace guided exclusively by the Big Three, or more precisely, by the Big Two.

Peace was predicated upon the agreements reached at Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam. They were imperialist agreements. Neither the other warring nations nor the people of the lands to be traded off were consulted.

Stalin's sweep over Europe and the "uncooperative" attitude of Russia at the Paris Peace Conference has its counterpart in the "get tough" policy of the United States and Great Britain. The latter two have decided to stand up to Russia and to say: Up to here and no further. We gave you the Baltic States, Poland, Rumania, part of Germany, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. But no more, no Turkey, no Iran (if we can help it), no China, no Trieste, no Greece. And it is this conflict which contains all the prerequisites for war—not immediately, but eventually.

This rising threat of war propelled Wallace into making his speech. The speech, while proposing a different concrete policy from that pursued by Byrnes and Bevin is, nevertheless, of the same stripe: it is an imperialist solution to the problems of the world. All that Wallace really says is this: We have divided the world among us. Let Russia keep its sphere of influence; let us keep ours. Russia can do anything she pleases in her sphere since "it is none of our business." We should not meddle in Eastern Europe. But, also, we should not meddle in the Mediterranean and other areas where Russia threatens British interests.

## Portrait of a Totalitarian

Let's not pull British chestnuts out of the fire. Instead, let us confine ourselves to our spheres, Western Europe, China, Central and South America. A lovely imperialist division! But from the point of view of imperialism and the interests of the American imperialists, a short-sighted, unrealistic policy. For in the struggle against Russian imperialism, Great Britain is America's strongest base, and if there is to be a fight against Russian imperialism that base must be strengthened and assisted.

Wallace does not think so. He thinks that an American alliance with Great Britain will push more swiftly to war; that an agreed division between Russia and the U. S. will save the peace! And thus you have a picture of the capitalist liberal—a totalitarian and imperialist at heart.

No wonder the N. Y. Times, keenly aware of the issues involved, was able to

(Continued on last column of page)

## WORLD POLITICS

## Socialist-Stalinist Unity in Europe

The Congress of the French Socialist Party recently concluded, was dominated by a so-called left majority which favored closer cooperation with the Communist Party, though it did not come out for organic unification. Nonetheless, the pressure of the Stalinists in behalf of such unification, both through their own party and through the elements they influence inside the French Socialist Party, remains powerful.

Nor is the issue confined to France. In Eastern Germany, the Russians have forced some elements of the Social Democrats, and bribed others, into uniting in one party with the Stalinists, the so-called "Socialist Unity Party" which the Stalinist control from top to bottom. In England the Labor Party rejected the Stalinist proposal for affiliation; in Italy the issue remains a vital one; in Poland "unity" under the pressure of Russian bayonets has been forced through; and in other countries the Stalinists are conducting similar campaigns.

What attitude should revolutionary Socialists have toward these developments? Should they favor such "unity"?

This problem cannot be considered on the basis of previously formed abstractions: to talk now about unification of working class parties in general is meaningless and deceptive.

The Social Democracy in Europe has traditionally based itself on the labor aristocracy, that is, the trade union officialdom and the more skilled sections of the working class. It has functioned within the framework of capitalism, and has done its best to thwart any revolutionary movement which would proceed beyond this framework. Despite this role of the Social Democrats it is still necessary to distinguish between it and the role of the Stalinists.

The Social Democracy usually functioned as a collaborator with sections of its "own" capitalist class; and it still remains part of the working class movement. In its classical form, it represents a certain level of consciousness in the development of the European working class. But it bases itself nonetheless on working class strata within its "own" country; to some limited degree it represents their interests and is amenable to their pressures. Its very existence requires the perpetuation of democracy; it is a party inextricably linked with the continuation of bourgeois democracy.

## STALINISTS AND THEIR ROLE IN POLITICS

The Stalinist parties are quite different. They function essentially and preponderantly as agents and police spies of the Russian Stalinist bureaucracy. Wherever there is a conflict between the interests of the working class of a given country and the interests of

the Kremlin oligarchy, the Stalinist parties line up on the side of the Kremlin. No amount of working class pressure can deflect them from such a course. During the war, the American Stalinists were opposed to strikes because they were so directed by the Russian bureaucracy. No amount of pressure from the ranks of the trade unions in which they functioned could in any important respect force the Stalinists to modify that line.

The Stalinist parties, as agents of a counter-revolutionary bureaucracy in Russia, are a totalitarian movement opposed to the slightest degree of working class democracy. It is true that Stalinism addresses itself to the working class; and has succeeded in securing in many countries mass support from the workers. But the fact that a party has support among workers does not necessarily make it a working class party.

Stalinism is a unique and unprecedented historical phenomenon: the completely subservient and counter-revolutionary foreign agent of the Russian bureaucracy which arose over the ruins of the Russian revolution. It seeks mass support among the working class, but not in purpose, character, ideology or internal régime does it serve the working class. It is not a working class movement.

If the Stalinists succeeded in forcing a fusion with the Social Democratic parties, the results would be catastrophic for the workers and for the socialist movement. Were there a powerful mass revolutionary movement in Europe, the picture would undoubtedly be changed. Given the small and isolated sections of the Fourth International and a few parallel groups in Europe, given the absence of a mass revolutionary movement in Europe today, unification of the Social Democracy and Stalinists could only have the concrete effect of putting the European labor movement under the virtual domination of Stalinism. Such unification would remove the Social Democracy as the present partial and ineffective, but still existent buffer against complete domination of the labor unions by Stalinism. The occasional protection which, for whatever reasons, the Social Democracy now gives to revolutionary movement from the terrorist onslaughts of Stalinist onslaught; would no longer be available.

For these and similar reasons we believe revolutionary socialists should not give any support to the movement for the fusion of Stalinism and Social Democracy, despite the fact that it is conducted under the spurious slogan of "working class unity." In the specific circumstances of present European politics, such fusion can only result in strengthening one of the worst enemies of the working class—the Stalinist counter-revolution.

—I. H.

## Books You Should Know...

THE LOVELY LADY, by D. H. Lawrence. Penguin Books, 156 pp., 25c.

Reviewed by DONALD FREEMAN

This selection of D. H. Lawrence's short stories contains seven of his later pieces, practically the last that he wrote. There are in this collection several strong statements of his typical themes. And also one true masterpiece, *The Rocking-Horse Winner*—a work so complete and powerful in itself that one cannot adequately indicate its subject in a brief remark. It can only be read.

Lawrence was one of the great English writers of our century. But even more important than his total literary production is his IDEA—the issue he took with our modern world. He very powerfully expressed the huge truth that industrial society is a force corrupting and debilitating man's original passionate nature. Lawrence characteristically dealt with this theme in terms of sexual relations; he believed sexuality to be the core of our being. Man's greatest wealth, he said, is his passionate nature. For Lawrence, man was a force, not merely an existence. But modern

capitalist society, alienating men from one another, makes fear rather than self-expression the principle of social cohesion. And fear weakens and corrupts life forces.

Lawrence saw that, as a substitute for true self-expression, society forces men to accept conventional ways of life—hollow attitudes, empty ideals. In his emphasis on the natural and material, on the BODY, Lawrence was often merciless—and always forceful—in his attacks on those who separate the "mind" from the total human being and try to involve the essential human energies in a "higher spirituality." In one of his early poems he wrote:

Stand up, but not for Jesus—  
It's a little late for that.

The modern issue, as he saw it, was both urgent and clear. Nothing less than whether man shall submit to being deprived by our decadent society of his greatest treasure—his passionate forces. And he expressed such deep understanding of the fact that man is either satisfied here and now, in the natural world as we know it, or not at all

The title story depicts a mother who refuses to age, who maintains the illusion of youth by feeding upon her son—and the son, consequently, does not himself live. In other words, neither lives because natural processes are inhibited. But there is a dénouement. *Mother and Daughter* likewise has for its theme the repressive effect many parents have on their children. *The Blue Moccasins* and *The Overtone* are studies in marital failure—from the Lawrencean point of view. *Things* is a sharp, satirical portrait of two "idealists"—whose questionable idealism leads them eventually to simple bourgeois possessiveness, nothing more. *Rawdon's Roof* expresses another typical theme in Lawrence: the great difference in vitality between the laboring and the propertied classes.

In Lawrence's writing one is most of all impressed by the manner in which he is able to combine force and delicacy of detail in his emotional portraits. He is always insistent toward what he opposes; but he knows his enemy very well—very well indeed.

## A Portrait of Nehru - -

(Continued from page 3)

this moral hypocrisy, Nehru was prepared to allow the continuation of one of history's oldest and most criminal immoral acts—namely, the mass exploitation of 389,000,000 Indian people by a handful of British imperialists. This was, indeed, a full measure of the man. He indicated that, in his opinion, anyone who proposed a struggle against British rule, during the war, was guilty of aiding and comforting the cause of Hitler and his Axis! This judgment included the writer too, who had mildly protested the pro-British attitude expressed by Nehru. As his reward, Nehru spent almost four years in jail, beginning with his arrest in 1942.

What are some of the essential characteristics of this man, now heading India's provisional government? He is, above all, an adjunct of Gandhi. Although he has wandered slightly afield, Nehru invariably returns to the ideas, methods and practices of the Mahatma. He has been the latter's political agent among peasant, trade union and mass organizations. As such, he has consistently attempted to reconcile the conflicting interests of these pop-

ular organizations to those of the Indian capitalists and landlords.

In practical politics and policies, Nehru has been, still is, and will continue to be the prisoner of the Congress Working Committee (High Command), the most conservative body in Indian nationalism. In the deliberate Gandhi policy of blocking a mass struggle under war (or post-war) conditions, Nehru has been a supporter of the Working Committee. We have already mentioned the historic, 1941, session of the Congress, Central Committee. Nehru's role at this meeting was typical. The right-wing of the Congress had proposed a resolution of support to the war and a united partnership with British imperialism. Nehru was supposed to lead the fight against this resolution. Those who knew the man were skeptical, with justification.

## FACES TURBULENT FUTURE

In the turbid, confused language of the man he proceeded to state his position on this resolution of betrayal. "As a member of the Working Committee I assume full responsibility for this resolution." But, "as you know, I do not feel very sure with respect to this proposal." And then, in the actual voting, Nehru abstained. In other words, the man was "for," timidly "against," and then "neutral"—all on the self-same measure! Can this man lead India to its freedom and a democratic solution of its internal problems? His is the language of capitalist diplomacy

and self-deceit which, against the background of downtrodden, colonial India—can only be a language of compromise and capitulation. His first words as head of the new government, an apology for assuming power with British approval and support, are illustrative.

But this does not mean that a reluctant, imploring, pleading Nehru may not be forced to take certain measures in behalf of his provisional government that may displease its master, the Viceroy, Nehru, in taking the responsibility of joint power with the British, has taken the bit into his mouth. The atmosphere in India, brought to a stormy point by mass discontent, communal antagonisms and the famine threat, makes impossible any calm transition to a capitalist Indian régime. Nehru today, holding "power" but utterly incapable of utilizing it for anything, may be the first to go, once the social tensions present are released. Nehru had no answer in 1941; he has none in 1946. He is only the weak spokesman of the feeble Indian industrialist, landlord, merchant and commercial class. As such, Nehru is infinitely closer to the master British imperialists than to his own people, the working and peasant masses of India.

## OFF LIMITS

By

James M. Fenwick

Near Salzburg in Austria is the small town of Leoben. It lies peacefully amid some of the loveliest country in all Europe. It is a land where a person can gracefully and willingly grow old.

Located at Leoben during the war was a "delinquent women's institute." In the final phases of the galloping disintegration of the Nazi empire it was used as a way station for men being sent to Dachau. A friend of mine arrived there a few hours after its liberation.

The camp was filled with tottering skeletons weighing barely sixty pounds. Many, too weak to stand, lay in the filth and stench. There was no joy or sadness. There was hardly comprehension. Only total defeat.

A tattered Frenchman wandered up, smiling slightly.

"Seen the show?"

"No—where?"

"Over there."

My friend looked. A crowd of the former inmates were milling around. He walked over. In the center of the crowd, lying on the ground, were two SS guards who had fled to the woods on the approach of the Americans. Hunger had driven them out again. The prisoners, men barely able to stand, were primitively beating them to death with bottles, stones, and clubs.

As the guards were writing in death a Jewish prisoner knelt down beside one of them and sank his teeth into the guard's neck. He sucked a mouthful of blood and carefully spat it out. Then he methodically continued.

"I'm sucking your blood," he said, "just as you have sucked the blood of all the Jews of Europe."

My friend turned around and threw up.

Only those who know nothing of the inferno of Europe will see in that incident anything "abnormal" or "perverse." With bombs and shells, nationalism, forced labor, anti-Semitism, death, propaganda, charginian ruins, starvation, crematoriums, wandering moral corruption, concentration camps, poverty, and mutilation—with all this capitalism has dragged down human life to new depths of debasement.

On no people did the war press harder than on the Jews. Of 15,000,000 Jews in the world 6,000,000 perished during the war. That epic of heartbreak has yet to be written; then we may understand a little. But there are hundreds of thousands of Jews who have felt on their bodies the tragedy of the past years.

That is why most Jews in Europe consider that European civilization has ended. There is an almost universal and gnawing desperation to get out. For most, that means Palestine, which beckons like a promised land in a disordered world.

But Palestine remains only a mirage for the masses of the Jews. British imperialism, fearful of the joint action of Arabs and Jews alike against their common oppressor, is striving to prevent the entrance of Jews into Palestine. In doing so they are employing many of Hitler's weapons against the Jews: concentration camps, deportations, the theory of collective guilt, curfews, courts-martial, and mass searches.

Anyone who has seen the newsreels taken of that bitter salvary which now ends behind the barbed wire in Cyprus, and is not moved to pity, is a slave. Whoever is moved to pity but does not protest is forging his own chains.

A special obligation lies upon all non-Jews to defend a people who have contributed so much to human culture and who have suffered such desperate horrors for the last thirteen years, caught in the vortex of a sinking capitalism.

The doors of all the countries of the globe should be opened to Jewish immigration, but first and foremost,

Open Palestine to the Jews!  
Open the portals of United States!

## Let 'Em Eat Bibles

"Drivers, conductors, and guards employed on Hamburg and underground services are tending increasingly to succumb during working hours to the effects of undernourishment. Reports of illness and exhaustion came in almost daily, and already four major accidents in the city and two instances of exhausted conductors falling from a moving train have been reported. As a result of this general decline in fitness, the safety of the public is seriously endangered."

British Zone Review (Germany)

"One million Bibles in the German language will be produced this season for the people and churches in Germany..."  
New York Times

## Wallace Speech - -

(Continued from editorial column)

say to Wallace: if it is none of our business what Russia does in her sphere of influence and in her relations with British imperialism, what business did we have meddling with Hitler because of his policy in Eastern Europe and his relation to the British Empire? It remains the boomerang-throwing secretary that the key to Roosevelt's policy, which Wallace claims he is championing, was precisely to intervene in what Hitler was doing. And, adds the Times, it is necessary, from the point of view of American interests, to do the same with Stalin.

But what can you expect from the "liberal" Wallace who thinks that totalitarian Russia, with millions of slave laborers, and the most exploited and unfree working class in the world is the example of "economic democracy." Scratch the mystic from Iowa and you find what has been proven so many times during the war: the capitalist liberal is an imperialist and a totalitarian.

# THE PROMISE OF AMERICAN PRODUCTION - II

By IRVING HOWE

What are the factors which have made possible the recent increase in America's productive capacity? They fall into one general category: improvements in technology. But they may be subdivided into several groups. For instance:

1) *New Machines.* During the war years, under the press of the campaign constantly to increase production, a number of new machines were developed which greatly cut down the time required to perform a certain operation. Fortune Magazine for January 1946 describes one such machine:

"A milling machine, especially designed for work on the awkward, extruded parts of aluminum alloy, can work at speeds of three to eighteen feet per minute, removing as much as forty-two cubic inches of metal every sixty seconds. A job previously requiring ninety production hours takes two hours and twenty seconds."

In the production of Pratt and Whitney aircraft engines, the new "spot miller" can now finish fifteen holes in a cylinder-barrel flange in one and a half minutes where previously a hand-operated machine required three to four minutes to finish one hole.

While the new miller was one of the more spectacular technological advances, there have been many others. At Pratt and Whitney a new multi-operation machine was developed which is actually composed of twenty separate machines, performs twenty operations at once—and requires the labor of two men for work which formerly required thirty.

## SEVERAL CONTRIBUTING FACTORS

2) *NEW METALS.* Since the beginning of the war, the production of light metals has gone up tremendously. In 1939 the total production of primary aluminum in the U. S. was 300 million pounds a year. At the wartime peak it had jumped to 1.8 billion. Post-war consumption as forecast by ALCOA will at least double the pre-war figure. Likewise, with magnesium, the lightest of all structural metals, which was being produced at a rate of six million pounds a year in 1939 and which now has a productive capacity of 600 million pounds a year.

The lightness of both metals—they are now used in additional parts of aircraft and experi-

ments are also under way to determine their usability in railroads—results in quicker work and therefore higher productivity. It takes much less time to machine aluminum alloys than steel.

3) *New Methods.* The War Production Board lists 800 new and improved production techniques developed during the war. Among the most spectacular of these are the new methods of welding. Fortune magazine for January, 1946, describes one of these:

"Arc welding by machine, as applied to Liberty and Victory ship building, was a component in the sharp drop in man-hour requirements for merchant ship construction. The index of man-hours required per vessel in Liberty-ship construction fell from 100 in December 1941 to 45 in December 1945."

The most sensational development in welding, however, is in resistance welding. In this operation, writes Fortune magazine, "no additional or filler metal is used, but a fusion of metal parts is made by electrical resistance. An example is the spot welding of aluminum sheet metal in aircraft. One machine can make 100 welds per minute, in comparison with the prewar record of 800 rivets per man per eight-hour shift."

4) *Mass Production.* Quite the most dramatic instance of the increase in productivity as a result of new mass production methods took place in the aircraft industry. In Ford's Willow Run plant, for instance, the fuselage nose sections of B-24s were divided into four parts, later to be rejoined; this improvement lowered man-hours from 6,000 to 1,000 per unit.

"Douglas Aircraft," writes Fortune magazine, "provides an excellent example. It produced in 1944 a total of 180 million pounds of airframe and parts, 60 per cent more than in 1943. Production was achieved with 43 per cent less man-hours per airframe pound." And costs were reduced by one-third.

## THE LESSONS TO BE LEARNED

Just what do these new developments mean to America's workers? As with all developments resulting in technological progress, they are two-sided. On the one hand, they make even clearer the possibility of a society in which machines will work for men, will provide us with the plenty and

leisure to make possible the good life. But on an immediate basis, these developments cast over the working class the shadow of technological unemployment, for that is the tragic paradox of capitalism: the discoveries which make possible a better life often result in greater misery.

Chairman Krug of the War Production Board (now Secretary of the Interior) declared a year ago that "output per worker in April, 1944, is from 30 to 50 per cent over December, 1942." This increased output has been characteristic of the whole recent period in American history. In the years from 1919 to 1939—partly as a result of increased productivity, though mainly due to the unionization of the mass industries—hourly wages, in the terms of real purchasing power, went up 45 per cent. But annual total wages, in these same terms, went down 20 per cent. Due to the inability of the capitalist system to utilize technological advances in behalf of the common welfare, the total earnings of the workers went down despite the fact that their rate of pay went up.

Two important conclusions follow:

1) In terms of immediate problems, the workers have every right to increased wages—leaving aside other grounds—because they are producing more per hour for their bosses than ever before. Since increased productivity results in greater production in a given period of time, the workers have a right and a duty to demand more pay for producing more in a given period of time. Otherwise, they allow all the benefits to fall into the laps of the capitalists and suffer themselves because there is less work to be had.

2) The more general problem is that of abolishing a society which cannot constructively utilize technological advances. Since capitalism produces for profits, it is indifferent to the fate of those workers thrown out of employment because of technological progress. A socialist society, however, would welcome such progress and would merely shorten the work week to give the workers the benefits of the new advances in machine production.

Next week: the new techniques and machines which will increase America's productivity in the coming years.

# The Place of Buyers Strikes In the Fight to Cut Prices

By BEN HALL

The effectiveness of buyers' strikes as a means to control prices can be judged by comparing them to the boycott as a means in organizing unions. Like the buyers' strikes, the boycott is an attempt to mobilize the power of the "consumers" not against high priced goods but against non-union goods manufactured by scabs. Where a strike is not 100 per cent effective and production can still be carried on by the employers, the union may declare a boycott of that company's products. Both the AFL and CIO maintain active "union label" departments which publish lists of non-union companies and which urge all unionists to purchase only those products which bear a union label.

Nevertheless, all experience has proved that the MAIN weapon in the fight to organize is the STRIKE. However important the boycott and the use of the union label may be, they are only supplementary to this most important weapon, the strike. The Ford Motor Company, for example, the last of the big automobile manufacturers to be organized by the UAW, was brought to its knees, not by a boycott, but by a united strike. Let us see why the strike is so much more effective than the boycott.

The main strength of the union in its struggle with the employer lies in its ability to halt production. The workers, because they are that class in society which produces, have the power to shut off at the very source of supply the stream of commodities which the capitalist must receive if he is to be able to sell in the market and get his profits. Stop production and you stop profits. There are no two ways about it. The capitalist must break the strike or give in.

## POWER OF ORGANIZATION

But strike-breaking is not so simple a matter; for it meets with the determined resistance of the strikers themselves. And today the strikers in a single plant or industry may count upon the assistance of millions of other unionized workers. To restore production by breaking a strike, the employer is compelled to carry on a struggle not just against a few thousand "people," who are no different from any other "people." The capitalist is confronted with certain kinds of "people," namely ORGANIZED WORKERS. As WORKERS, they represent the most militant section of the whole population—that which is best able to fight because of the strategic place it occupies in the productive life of the nation. And as ORGANIZED workers, they represent the most advanced, class-conscious, confident and experienced section of the working class.

But matters are quite different when, despite all its efforts, the union is unable to stop production by means of a strike and is compelled to rely upon the boycott. The success of a STRIKE depends upon the response and actions of THE MOST ADVANCED SECTION OF THE WORKING CLASS. The success of a boycott depends upon the "consumers." But while all workers are consumers, not all consumers are workers. The whole population of the country—the "people"—consists of consumers; but this population, these consumers, are divided into CLASSES. A few are big capitalists. Some are small businessmen, merchants and professionals. Many are farmers. Many are workers.

Not all workers are in the same

category. Some know how important the union movement is to them but others are ignorant and duped by capitalist propaganda; they think that the boss is their friend and the union their enemy. Some workers have been strong enough to organize their industry. Others have been defeated in their attempts or may be indifferent to another attempt.

For all these reasons, the "consumers" differ widely in the degree of their sympathy or hostility to the union. Because of class interest or ignorance, many are already anti-union and may become even more so when they find themselves "inconvenienced" by a boycott appeal.

The capitalist can deal with the boycott far more easily than he can deal with the strike because he can fight or delude the consumers far

more easily than the workers. As long as the flow of goods from the factory to the capitalist continues, he has the possibility of making profits. He takes advantage of the fact that there is a great difference between one consumer and another.

Strikes have therefore been the major weapon of the union in its fight against the capitalist. More effective than the boycott, which relies upon the buying power of the consumers, the strike relies upon the fighting power of the organized working class, which can control or stop production.

Buyers' strikes, which also rely principally upon the consumer, display the same weaknesses as the boycott.

(This is the second of a series of three articles on buyers' strikes.)

# 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!**

# U. S. Business, Philippine Landlords Open War on Peasant Resistance Forces

By FRANK WARD

Luis Taruc, leader of the Philippine peasant underground resistance army during the three years of Japanese occupation of Luzon, is in hiding. The peasants and workers who support him are being hounded, jailed and massacred. For three years Taruc and the Hukbalahap (peasant army) had harassed the Japanese military machine. Fighting from barrio to barrio, from rice paddy to rice paddy, the peasants and workers resisted the Japanese. When the Americans landed at Manila it was the Huk—arms in hand—who liberated the whole of central Luzon.

With great fanfare, on July 4, 1946, the American Government bestowed "freedom" upon the Philippines. Manuel Roxas, collaborator and author of the Japanese Puppet constitution, became president of the "Free Philippines." In his speech, Roxas, the one time collaborator, declared: "In the world of affairs we irrevocably subscribe to the principles enunciated by the great leaders of the American Revolution..."

In the words of Time magazine "Whenever the future looked troubled and unpredictable, President Roxas painted it over with a protective coloring of red, white and blue."

Why then is Luis Taruc in hiding? Why have the men who stood as the symbol of freedom for the peasants and workers of Luzon again taken to the rice paddies and the hills, to be hunted down like animals.

"Our people are being hunted down like animals," charged Taruc as far back as July 20,

when twelve companies of MPs, equipped with American made mortars, armored cars and machine guns invaded the province of Bulacan. Luis Taruc, Alejandrino, Manuel Joven, and other Huk leaders are in the hills or in jail because Manuel Roxas, president of the Philippines, aided and abetted by American imperialism, continues the work of the Japanese militarists.

## ROXAS STRIKES WITH AMERICAN GUNS

Roxas has struck with "implacable force" against the peasants and workers of Luzon. Yes, Roxas is "implacable" toward the peasants who want a larger share of their farm products and to the workers who seek higher wages—and Roxas has "force" because the American Army trained and equipped 50,000 troops for him, and gave him \$50,000,000 worth of military supplies.

Manila police and military police intelligence officers arrested eleven Huk leaders on Sept. 2, 1946. Leaders of the Democratic Alliance, a federation of workers and peasants groups, leaders of the CIO, the committee for Labor Organization which attempted to unite the trade union movement on Luzon into an organization similar to our CIO, leaders of the National Peasants Union (NPK) which is the largest single group affiliated to the Democratic Alliance, are hounded and jailed in the "free" Philippines.

## THE PEASANT ATTITUDE TOWARD ROXAS

Where was Manuel Roxas when the bare-footed peasant threw himself against the Japa-

nese invader? Were it not for the money, arms, equipment and training donated by the American capitalist class to Roxas, the peasants and workers would deal properly with him.

What makes the question of arms such a vital one as to cause civil war on Luzon? Why does Roxas declare that Luis Taruc, an elected representative to the Philippine Congress, is a murderer and sends his police to arrest this people's leader? So long as the peasants and workers have arms, so long must the landlords, who ran from the invader or collaborated with him, remain in Manila. They dare not return to their lands. The peasant feels that the land is his by the right of labor and courage. He stayed to defend it against the invader! But what is the right of the collaborator, the man who fled to luxury in another country?

It is not only a question of the ownership of land which is involved in the Philippine civil war. The landlords who have legal possession, supported by Roxas' troops, refuse a fair return to the peasants, refuse them their elementary democratic right of assembly, attack their elected representatives, massacre their leaders. These parasites want no free peasant—they want a peon class. Then and only then will they rest easy.

And so names which were constantly on the lips of the peoples: Taruc, Alejandrino, Joven, are now the names of "outlaws." Places that remain forever in the annals of heroic resistance to the Japanese—Tarlac, Pampanga, Bulacan, San Fernando, Cabanatuan, Nueva Ecija—are again places of heroic resistance.

# Six Who Survived: What Really Happened at Hiroshima - -

(Continued from page 3)

ness on this morning. But there was no calm in their lives. They all knew that of the important cities, only Kyoto and Hiroshima had not yet been visited by the destructive Mr. B, as the Japanese referred to the B-29s. The tales of the destructiveness of mass raids on other cities were known by all. Hiroshima had already received many warnings. Its area seemed to be a guide-point in the air raids over the country. This had "made the citizens jittery; a rumor was going around that the Americans were saving something special for the city."

The rumor was not ill-founded. Something special did come. "There was no sound of planes. The morning was still; the place was cool and pleasant. Then a tremendous flash of light out across the sky. Mr. Tanimoto has a distinct recollection that it traveled from east to west, from the city toward the hills. It seemed like a sheet of sun." (This was two miles from the center of the explosion.)

At a three-quarter mile point, "as Mrs. Nakamura stood watching her neighbor, everything flashed whiter than any white she had ever seen." Dr. Fujii's hospital on the Kyo River, disintegrated. Father Kleinsorge said that the explosion "reminded him of something he had read as a boy about a large meteor colliding with the earth... (he) never knew how he got out of the house. The next things he was conscious of were that he was wander-

ing around in the mission's vegetable garden in his underwear, bleeding slightly from cuts along his left flank; that all the buildings round about had fallen down except the Jesuit's mission house which had been braced and double braced..."

## NIGHTMARE SWEEPS THE CITY

Dr. Sasaki was at work at the hospital. "He was one step beyond an open window when the light of the bomb was reflected, like a gigantic photographic flash, in the corridor. He ducked down on one knee... then the blast ripped through the hospital (over two miles distant). The glasses he was wearing flew off his face; the bottle of blood (under examination) crashed against one wall; his Japanese slippers zipped out from under his feet... The hospital was in horrible confusion; heavy partitions and ceilings had fallen on patients, beds had overturned, windows had blown in and cut people, blood was splattered on walls and floors, instruments were everywhere, many of the patients were running about screaming, many more lay dead."

Nor was that all. The doctor thought only his building was hit by a bomb. But, "outside, all over Hiroshima, maimed and dying citizens turned their unsteady steps toward the Red Cross Hospital to begin an invasion that was to make Dr. Sasaki forget his private nightmare for a long, long time."

The explosion was followed by fire. The physical collapse of a large part

of the city and the fire made many streets unpassable. Streets and alleys were clogged by debris and people. The flames from the wooden houses sought everything and everyone in its pathway. Attempts at fire-fighting were quickly turned back. The masses of dead, the tens of thousands of fleeing men, women and children, the falling houses and the absence of water made it impossible to even stem the spreading inferno. Only those still capable of fleeing escaped. Hundreds perished by running into the flames to save entrapped loved ones.

The six Hiroshimans all suffered the effects of the bomb. Cut from glass, radiation and fire burns, injuries from debris and falling objects—they all bore the marks of the "humane" atomic bomb. Like their fellow inhabitants, they searched for friends, gave first aid treatment, directed people to safer areas. The mass of humanity rushed for the extremities of the city; rich estates, the river banks, Asano Park. But wherever one went, the wounded crowds were already there; they brought with them their open wounds, their extreme pain and suffering. And they had to live through it without water, or medical aid.

Miss Sasaki, with a badly broken leg which was later amputated, was brought to rest next to "a woman with a whole breast sheared off and a man whose face was all raw from a burn." The rain which fell only made their existence more difficult since they had no shelter, no water

and no food. The river rose and drowned hundreds of helplessly wounded people lying on its banks. The water grew hot from the flames to drown other hundreds trying to swim their way to safety.

And all of this, while no one, not a single person, city official, military man, or plain citizen, knew what had happened. They could not understand the absence of fleets of planes, for such destruction without a vast air armada was unthinkable. Some thought that a special kind of "Molotov flower basket" might have caused it. Others that the Americans had sprayed the city with gasoline and set it on fire. But none could guess that the weapon which had instantaneously wrought this destruction was the atom bomb, newly discovered and created by world science, and produced by American capitalism.

## THE LIVING DID NOT ESCAPE

Soon people began to show the effects of radiation and atomic burns. Clothes and ornaments were burned into the bodies of people. Thirsty people drank from the dirty river which only intensified their illness. Others, apparently untouched in any way by the explosion, suddenly died. "Others were also nauseated; they thought (probably because of the strong odor of ionization, an 'electric smell' given off by the bombs' fission) that they were sick from a gas the Americans had dropped." Everywhere there were the dead and the

dying. It seemed to the inhabitants as though the world had come to an end.

Ten thousand victims of the bomb had "invaded the Red Cross Hospital" seeking aid that could not be given to them. The handful of doctors that remained could do nothing for the people. Being ignorant of what had caused this explosion, unfamiliar with the nature of these strange wounds and without medical facilities, they painted mercuriochrome on wounds and burns, or applied compresses of saline solution.

Mr. Hersey continues his story of the six Hiroshimans through the terrible days and nights which followed the explosion. He describes the deaths to many who appeared well; the falling hair, the nausea, the retching which beset hundreds and thousands. And finally the passing of the blind bewilderment, the knowledge that they had lived through a veritable hell. Their city was destroyed; a hundred thousand of their relatives, neighbors and friends had perished by one bomb. Many who had survived would never again attain their former physical conditions. Thus, Hersey writes:

"A year after the bomb was dropped, Miss Sasaki was a cripple; Mrs. Nakamura was destitute; Father Kleinsorge was back in the hospital; Dr. Sasaki was not capable of the work he once could do; Dr. Fujii had lost the thirty-room hospital it took him many years to acquire and he had no prospects of rebuilding it; Mr. Tanimoto's church had

been ruined and he no longer had his exceptional vitality. The lives of these six people, who were among the luckiest in Hiroshima, would never be the same."

## SOCIETY IS CLOSER TO THE CROSSROADS

One cannot leave off reading "Hiroshima" without feeling the terrifying impact of the story. Its narrative power is not merely a striking example of genuinely honest reporting; its importance is established by the way in which Mr. Hersey describes what the atom bomb means to the people whom it strikes. The terror of these people, the loss of life, the destruction of homes and wealth, the wounded, the maimed, the torture, the utter barbarism that is created by imperialism and war—all of these are mirrored before your eyes to contrast with the ebullient

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# Wallace's Speech a Plea for Imperialist Deal With Stalinist Russia to Divide the World

By J. R. JOHNSON

Henry Wallace has put forward his foreign policy. Let us not be distracted by arguments that the President endorsed it. What is important is what this liberal has to say about the conflict which the two imperialist powers are daily preparing.

Russia is determined to dominate Europe. To do so it has destroyed the independence of all Eastern Europe and part of Germany.

Russian policy is as violent and crude an imperialist policy as was the policy of Hitler.

### IMPERIALIST CONFLICTS

Britain and the United States fought to prevent Hitler from dominating Europe. It is obvious that they did not do this to prepare Europe as a gift for Stalin.

Byrnes has told Stalin and the world in plain terms: we shall fight you for control of Germany and Europe.

Each imperialist is shouting his head off, proclaiming that all he is interested in is world peace, democracy for everybody, rights of small nations, etc.

Says Wallace: Let us divide the world with Russia. Russia will take half and we the other half.

### PIECE OF SELF-EXPOSURE

It is one of the most shameful pieces of self-exposure we have seen for a long time. Listen to the words of the evangelist himself:

"We should recognize that we have no more business in the political affairs of Eastern Europe than Russia has in the political affairs of Latin America, Western Europe or the United States.... We have to recognize that the Balkans are closer to Russia than to us—and that Russia cannot permit either England or the

United States to dominate the politics of that area."

Byrnes and Truman have a genuine, intelligent imperialist policy. True, it will bring a war which will be a catastrophe for millions. But that is imperialism.

Wallace proposes to appease Stalin. Where does Eastern Europe end? Stalin says that today it ends in Berlin, Stettin and Trieste. If he gets away with that, if the U. S. lets him have it, he will then gobble up the Dardanelles and Greece, and have Western Europe and the whole Mediterranean at his mercy.

### DRIVE FOR EXPANSION

Stalin is not doing this because he is ambitious or has a lust for power, or is an egomaniac. This drive for expansion is characteristic of all imperialism. It is a similar drive which has the U. S. in Europe. Hitler followed the same course until he was beaten. Imperialism has no choice. It is war or extinction.

Wallace's policy will stop nothing. Byrnes and Truman know that at least. Your liberal, as always in a critical situation, has both his feet planted solidly in mid-air.

### WALLACE'S BRITAIN-BAITING

Wallace tries to blame the British. But the policy of Byrnes is the policy of American imperialism. The idea that American imperialism is the tool of British imperialism is foolishness for infants. The U. S. fleet drove the Japanese off the seas. U. S. generals commanded the invading armies of Europe. The U. S. dictated United Nations policy.

Without the U. S., Britain would be economically and militarily bankrupt. The U. S. uses Britain and makes her pay through the nose. For a man like Wallace to try to cash in on anti-British sentiment and there-



by attribute the imperialist intrigues of Byrnes and Truman to the cleverness of Bevin, that is to sink low indeed. No, Wallace has to impress the workers and to save his own hide as a supporter of Byrnes and Truman. He tries to pass it off on British intrigue.

### WALLACE AS "LIBERAL"

That is bad enough. But from one point of view the greatest crime of Wallace is his open avowal of his own brand of imperialism. This Wallace, you must remember, is the chief among those who tell American workers not to form a Labor Party but to trust to the liberal elements of the Democratic Party.

He is the acknowledged leader of these so-called progressive elements. And he proposes to the workers to build the Century of the Common Man by giving up half the world to totalitarianism and helping American imperialism to keep the other half for itself.

The liberalism of Wallace now claims that the United States should control the politics of Latin America and Western Europe. Russia is served notice to keep out. Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria, Greece and the rest are handed over to Stalinist totalitarianism. This is the policy of this "savior of mankind."

### WALLACE VERSUS BYRNES

The press is making a great racket about the differences between Wallace on the one hand and Byrnes on the other. The politicians are bewildering the workers with heated arguments as to whether the President supports Wallace or whether Truman is just dumb and does not know what he wants. We tell the workers: Do not get caught up in these quarrels. Wallace is disputing with Byrnes only as to the best means of carrying out the policies of American imperialism. Both of them must be opposed as agents of American imperialism.

The Workers Party and LABOR ACTION have long known the Wallaces for what they are. The fact that Wallace has had to come out this early and expose himself is evidence of the sharpening international tensions. It is evidence also of the fear the liberals feel that the disgraceful brawl and self-exposure of imperialism in Paris is opening the eyes of the workers as to the real nature of American and of Russian imperialism. Wallace tried to give a new angle. He has failed.

Let us use his failure to steel ourselves against all these liberal tricks. Not a penny for war. No secret diplomacy. Russian troops and American troops must be withdrawn from all foreign territories. The peoples must decide their own fate. Down with liberalism and its would-be whitewash of imperialism. Peace can come only when in New York, Berlin, Moscow, Paris and London, the people have driven out the imperialists and are masters of their own fate.

### The Fruits of British Rule

# Millions Face Starvation in India

(The following article is reprinted from The Voice of India, a publication in the United States which supports the Congress Party of India. While the political program of the Congress Party is not ours; while we advocate, as against it, the revolutionary road toward Indian freedom from imperialism and capitalist exploitation, the article, reflecting in part the political views of that party, nevertheless presents one of the most important problems which face the masses. The starvation of the Indian people is one which concerns the workers of all countries and the need for assisting them is not merely a question of humanity, but is a means of aiding their struggles for freedom.—Editor.)

From various sources comes the story of slow starvation for millions at present, and certain death in the near future, unless help comes to India in time. Our information comes from private letters from individuals, the Indian press, government of India reports, Indian National Congress reports and the report of the American Famine Mission to India, covering a period of time from April 1st, 1946, to July 25.

From all reports it is clear that with the exception of Bengal, where an unstable and inefficient provincial government is apparently incapable of coping with the situation, the provincial governments of India are making heroic efforts to distribute equitably what little food is on hand. The central government is also taking part in the attempt to stave off a calamity like that of 1943. It is also clear that it will be a physical impossibility for India from her own resources alone to avert a far more serious and more wide-spread famine than that of Bengal in 1943.

The areas most affected are Bombay Presidency, Mysore State and Madras Presidency. The Punjab and the United Provinces are so-called "surplus areas," but their surplus is not equal to the need, and by sharing it they are endangering their own populations in the near future. In many regions in South India the daily adult allowance of food grains (in India this means the basic food, and for the very poor almost the only food) has been reduced as low as seven, six and in some cases even five ounces. Vegetables are unrationed, but not everyone among those most in need has land on which to grow them, and market prices are fantastically high.

### DIET AND PRODUCTION

Under the food procurement system, by which cultivators must turn over to the government all but the absolute minimum of their crops, the poor people are sure of getting at least the five ounces of grain that will maintain life. They are sure of that until about the first of October. After that, India's own food stores will be gone, and she faces a horrible interval of starvation for tens of millions before the new harvest is available. But how can men dying of starvation, mere walking skeletons, do the work of reaping and gathering in that harvest? This must be done by manpower, with few and primitive tools, in the thousands of tiny fields. Useless to ask: "Why don't they use modern farming methods?"

Laws of inheritance and land tenure must first be changed before the holdings are large enough to make use of modern farm machinery. Industry must grow and bring more money into the hands of the working people and take some of the burden from the overworked land. These underlying causes for famine are matters for social legislation and cannot be attended to now. This is an emergency in which the people must be saved. And let it be remembered that the government of India can pay

for the food it needs, and asks only the opportunity to purchase what the people must have. India does not beg for charity. On the contrary, she contributes yearly to the funds of UNRRA, from the operations of which she cannot benefit because of a technicality—she is not one of those countries liberated from occupation by the Axis powers.

In Indian papers we read of destitute people from the South pouring into Lahore and Delhi. These unhappy people have tramped the dusty roads, stolen their way into empty "goods" trains, and by hook and crook managed to reach the North, where food is comparatively plentiful. In early spring there were rumors of work to be obtained—work and food—in Delhi. By the middle of May the city was crowded with people from Madras, with no supplies of their own, no place to live but the streets, and hampered by unfamiliarity with the language of the Capital. Some few did get work as day laborers—the rest sat silently by the road-

# A Former Revolutionary Artist Now Crawls Back to Stalinism

The Daily Worker of September 14, reports that the Mexican Communist Party has "refused admission" of Diego Rivera into its organization because of his "counter-revolutionary past." Why should the Stalinists reject the highly publicized application of Rivera?

The checkered career of this famous muralist should be well known to readers of LABOR ACTION. In his revolutionary socialist past, Rivera was one of the first supporters of the new workers' government in Russia. He was one of the founders of the Mexican Communist Party before its Stalinist degeneration. When Trotsky began the fight against the Stalinist counter-revolution, Rivera was one of his first supporters and an organizer of the International Left Opposition. He helped to found the Fourth International and he assisted Trotsky when he arrived at his Mexican exile. At that time Rivera was extremely helpful in many ways, helping to find a home, arranging protection against Communist Party gunmen, and assisting in the organization of the Mexican hearings of the Trotsky Commission which exposed the frameups of the Moscow Trials.

In payment for his past revolutionary activities, the Stalinists attempted to assassinate Rivera. They denounced him both as an artist and a socialist in the blackmail manner typical of Stalinist henchmen.

And now? Now Diego Rivera, has become a Stalinist! How is that to be explained? Only by the fact of his political instability, lack of theoretical knowledge and a respect for physical power. Rivera was always confused politically. In his best days, this confusion was outweighed by an instinctive revolutionary sentiment. But as is obvious, one cannot live on sentiment alone, especially in the turbulent times of today. The revolutionary socialist movement of the world is in a deep depression—the main cause for it being, Stalinism. Unable to understand its causes, unable to penetrate the real meaning of socialist struggle and socialist principles, Rivera has succumbed to the power of Stalinism as it emerged from the war. He has become a convert to its totalitarianism.

side, with staring eyes, their scrawny, claw-like, feeble hands extended for food or alms. Lahore too is crowded with the emaciated, half-naked wanderers from the South.

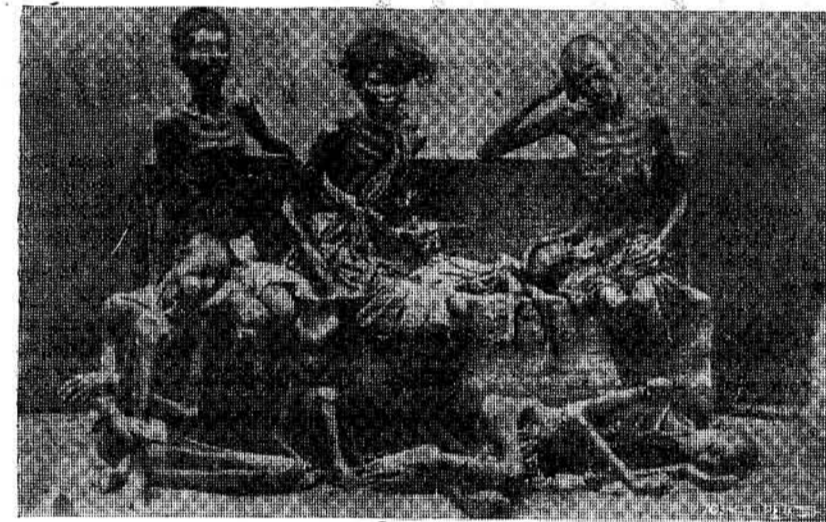
### TEN MILLION WILL DIE

In Bangalore, Mysore State, 5,000 school children are being given by the municipality a daily free lurch of rice and curds. But Mysore's food

abroad is two million tons of food grains—rice, wheat, corn, barley, millet. Out of that, seven hundred and fifty thousand tons—mostly wheat—must come from the United States.

And the sorry truth is that until one can publish news of people dying by hundreds daily in the streets of India's big cities, it is hard to arouse public interest sufficiently to get action. The world has become accustomed to horrors. News must be "dramatic," to use the stock journalistic phrase, before it catches the public or gets published at all. And, they say, Indian famines are not "news"—they have happened too often. Does it ease the pangs of the starving peasant in Madras to know that his grandfather also died of starvation? Can a mother in Mysore or Bombay still the cries of her child when it wails for food by crooning to it softly, "Go to sleep, my little one, I am hungry too, and grandmother died of starvation?"

Must millions of men, women and little children in India die "dramatically" in the streets before help comes to yet other millions? Isn't slow starvation bad enough?



tute people from the South pouring into Lahore and Delhi. These unhappy people have tramped the dusty roads, stolen their way into empty "goods" trains, and by hook and crook managed to reach the North, where food is comparatively plentiful. In early spring there were rumors of work to be obtained—work and food—in Delhi. By the middle of May the city was crowded with people from Madras, with no supplies of their own, no place to live but the streets, and hampered by unfamiliarity with the language of the Capital. Some few did get work as day laborers—the rest sat silently by the road-

stores are nearly gone. Assam now reports famine, with villagers getting only one meal in two, and sometimes three, days. Bombay reports famine in ninety additional villages. Bengal reports—euphemistically—a "considerable shortage" of rice, and "soaring prices," also the inevitable tragic influx of destitute, starving country-folk to the cities in hope of some sort of relief.

The cold facts are that at least TEN MILLIONS WILL DIE of starvation in India before the first of January, 1947, unless food is shipped AT ONCE—within the next two months. The minimum requirement from

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# TAPPING THE WALL STREET WIRE

By JACK RANGER

Approximately \$15,000,000,000 worth of optimism in the future of capitalism has been knocked out of the American gamblers on the Stock Exchange since May. This is the amount which a declining market has clipped from the value of stocks listed on the Exchange.

On September 3 the stock market suffered its worst break for a single day since June, 1930, eliminating all the gains since V-J Day.

Stock markets the world over trembled at the tremendous selling rush in Wall Street recently. Prices on the London exchange broke sharply. Selling waves swept the Paris Bourse on all issues, both foreign and domestic. The slump in Wall Street caused "local nervousness" in Johannesburg, with diamond, copper and Free State issues all marked down appreciably.

Sellers of luxury goods and black market operators in this country were gloomy. Commodity prices began to dip, and the asking price for real estate in many cities bumped downward for the first time in years.

The very thought of another "1929" haunts the world's wealthy. That is not yet in the cards—not yet. Wall Street and its U. S. State Department are desperately and boldly pouring wealth into Europe, hoping to shore up a sagging system that is crushing European millions. In this very process, the artificial market abroad for goods from this country creates a feverish boom in the United States.

American Big Business taunts the shallow economist, Secretary of Commerce Henry Wallace, that it has already provided more than the 60,000,000 post-war jobs demanded by Wallace. But it is premature in its boasts. The test of capitalism, its ability to provide jobs for those who want to work, will come when the stream of goods going abroad begins to slacken.

Unemployment in the United States today stands around 2,200,000, compared with a March, 1946, peak of 2,700,000. The Social Security Administration reports the federal unemployment fund stood at \$6,700,000,000 in July. Another deep depression, producing an estimated 20,000,000 unemployed, would wipe out the fund in short order.

Much of today's unemployment stems from the fact that many factories refuse to hire new men over 45 years old, or women over 35. Over 53 per cent of the men and 55 per cent of the women drawing unemployment compensation in Illinois are above 45 and 55 years of age, respectively, reports a Chicago administrator.

### NOTES ON U. S. IMPERIALISM

Trans-Arabian Pipeline Co's plans for a pipeline from Saudi Arabia to the Mediterranean will have the full support of the Saudi Arabian government, that government's finance minister has announced. Trans-Arabian is jointly owned by Standard Oil of California and the Texas Co. The pipeline has secured rights through Lebanon, Trans Jordan and Palestine, and is now negotiating with Syria. In return, Saudi Arabia has been granted a ten-year \$10,000,000 credit agreement with the Export-Import Bank. Of course this transaction influences the position of Washington on the demand of the Jews for free immigration to Palestine. A delegation from the All-India Manufacturers' Association is now in the United States seeking to buy industrial equipment.... A Turkish trade mission has just placed large orders for cotton textile machinery with American manufacturers. Turkey aims to expand its textile capacity by 60 per cent by 1951. "Turkey's doors are and will continue to be open to American businessmen," said Frazli Turga, head of the trade mission. It is natural that Wall Street should support Turkey in its refusal of Russia's demands on the Dardanelles.

### BANKER'S VIEW OF HOLLYWOOD

Through the aid of Washington, which is insisting on special clauses in foreign loan agreements, the film industry is driving to recapture its market abroad and to carry its own distorted version of the American Way of Life to new markets. Before the war, approximately one-third of total film rental revenues was derived by the average Hollywood company from foreign business

with the United Kingdom, Australia, Canada, Brazil, Argentina, Sweden, and France. Expansion is particularly aimed at undeveloped markets in Asia, Africa, and Central and South America.

Hollywood's biggest sin is its jingoism during the war paid off. Twentieth Century-Fox's gross operating revenues rose from \$46,500,000 in 1941 to \$178,200,000 in 1945. Net earnings this year will hit \$24,000,000, or approximately \$9 a common share. The company is now negotiating an alliance with Italian movie interests. RKO this year redeemed all of its preferred stock and has retired all its previously existing funded debt. The company's 1946 second quarter earnings almost tripled those of the corresponding period last year. Warner Bros. reports a net of \$14,792,202 for the nine months ended June 1, representing more than a 100 per cent rise over the same period last year. The per share earnings of Loew's, Inc., which last year were \$2.61, are expected to hit \$3.50 this year. Paramount Pictures, Inc., and all of its world-wide subsidiaries are now entirely free of mortgages or funded indebtedness. Elimination of the excess profits tax almost tripled net in the first quarter of this year.

The official fur auctions for the account of the Russian government, which before the war were held in Leningrad, will henceforth be held three times a year in London, as a result of a recent agreement signed between the Russian government and a firm of British fur auctioneers. The Hudson's Bay Co. fur auctions are also returning to London, from New York, a further step to rehabilitate London as a world fur center.

Now that the British, with the backing of Washington, have set the Greek king back on the throne and thus saved the eastern Mediterranean for western imperialism, let us take a look at Greece's economy. Greece is heavily dependent upon imports for survival—for food, the bulk of raw materials and machinery. Before the war, Greece paid for her surplus of imports out of shipping and tourist receipts and emigrant remittances. The Greeks have lost three-quarters of their pre-war merchant fleet; a revival of the tourist traffic is not likely for several years; and emigrant remittances last year were less than half the 1939 total. To top off the sorry picture, Greece has lost her major markets in Germany and other central European countries, and Russian satellites in the Balkans are not likely to provide a substitute.

Japanese industry is in such desperate straits under American occupation, according to the Wall Street Journal, that the American Military Government general headquarters is seriously considering the nationalization of Japan's coal industry in an effort to boost production. "All our problems trace back to coal," stated one military planner. "Thirty per cent of train operations have been suspended for lack of coal. Steel output is under 20 per cent and manufacturing in general is below 50 per cent of the bare existence level requirements.... The Japanese are not mining; they are trying to find food and a place to live, and restlessly organizing and quarreling with management. Food distribution is progressively deteriorating; miners have not been receiving the rice promised them."

The output per miner per shift is said to be half the pre-war output.

Earnings of the Big Four rubber companies in the first six months of the current fiscal year were 112 per cent ahead of the like six months in 1945. Goodrich reported \$8.74 a common share this year against \$3.52 in 1945. Goodyear earned \$6.59 against \$2.90; Firestone, \$6.09 compared with \$3.08; and U. S. Rubber \$4.15 against \$2.57. It is estimated that the rubber companies should be able to do at least as well in the second half as they did in the first.

Brazil, in a move calculated to combat the severe economic crisis and the acute shortage of most consumer products, has slapped an export embargo on a long list of commodities—grain, cereals, flour, potatoes, cottonseed, cotton textiles, tires, shoes, live stock, meat and meat by-products, hides, leather, timber and vegetable oil.

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National Secretary, Workers Party

Speaks On

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Lecture Starts at 9:00 P.M., Film at 10 P.M.

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# Government Responsible for Jim-Crow Brutality

In the last week of August there arrived in New York a 17-year-old Negro, Albert Harris, Jr., of Minden, La. He was accompanied by his father and Madison Jones of the NAACP. The boy's story, as told to the Negro press is as follows:

Harris' cousin, a 28-year-old war veteran named Jones brought home from overseas a Luger pistol. Metrick, a white man who lived nearby wanted to buy the pistol. Jones refused. Jones was then accused of attempting to rape Metrick's wife, and Harris was told to testify that he had kept watch for Jones. He refused.

On July 31, Harris was arrested and kept in jail for two days while the sheriff tried to get him to confess. Harris was firm in refusal and he was released.

Harris' home is 18 miles from the jail at Minden. As soon as he got out of Minden three men beat him up. They then drove him to within half a mile of his home and let him go, making him swear to keep silent. Harris says, "Sam Metrick, Sr. was the leader of this gang."

Harris' father then drove the boy 150 miles away to Texas and left him there for safe-keeping. But when the father returned he was met by the sheriff and an armed man who demanded to know where the boy was. After Harris, Sr. had had his teeth knocked out, he told where his son was and agreed to bring him back.

When young Harris returned he was re-arrested and kept in jail without any charges being brought against him. On August 8, Harris was pushed into a car, bound with a hood over his face.

When he was taken out he saw Jones being taken in another direction. Harris was then beaten and left for dead. HE SAW THAT METTRICK, SR. GAVE THE ORDERS. He recovered consciousness at about 2 A.M. and went to look for Jones. He was able to give Jones some water before Jones died.

Harris somehow found his way

back to town. His father took him to friends who contacted the NAACP. Father and son went to Texas, then to the Middle West, where they took a plane for New York.

### CRIMINALS ARE NAMED BUT GO UNTOUCHED

The cold-blooded disregard of all the pretenses of "law and order," in fact the participation of law in this piece of brutality, are similar to others in the recent crop of lynchings. Young Harris says that he and young Metrick had been playmates from childhood. Yet it is believed that young Metrick took part in the lynching.

One can only imagine also the effect on Mrs. Metrick who was thus dragged into the case. The corruption of the lynchers themselves, the whole human degradation of those who it seemed lived together in friendly fashion for years—this also is painful to contemplate. It is

in that the lynchers forced the father to bring back the son.

One can easily imagine the terror in which the Negroes for miles around now live. Lynching is not a matter of isolated brutality. It is merely the high point, the climax of a social and political system that lynch Negroes in all aspects of their lives. Regardless of the legal right to vote Negroes are supposed to have, what Louisiana Negro in his senses would dare to vote if his white neighbors indicated that they prefer him not to?

The employers are responsible, the landlords are responsible, the state governments are responsible. But no one is more responsible than the government in Washington.

### GOVERNMENT PLAYS THE JIM CROW GAME

Here is the latest proof. On August 31, Assistant Attorney-General Theron L. Candler addressed the North Carolina Bar Association. He

## Welcome Home!



## YOUTH NOTES...

### NEW YORK

On Friday, September 6, the Socialist Youth League held its first outdoor meeting on the corner of Hopkinson and Pitman Avenues in Brooklyn.

Tom Powers and Selma Weber spoke on "Prices"; and Simon Williams, Seymour Lyons and Gertrude Blackwell on "The Plight of the Jews" at the meeting chaired by Shirley Waller, SYL national secretary.

About 200 people gathered to hear the speakers. Many in the audience were youth and the well presented speeches were very favorably received.

### YOUTH SCHOOL

About eighty young people attended the Youth social at the Newark headquarters on September 7.

The festive occasion was prepared by the New York Youth as a farewell to the out-of-town members who have just completed a strenuous semester at the SYL Summer School.

One of the main events of the evening was the presentation of prizes to members who had done the most work for the election campaign.

obvious that Metrick and his friends were seriously disturbed at the idea that Jones was a veteran and was armed. It is a situation that repeats itself in ten thousand areas in the South today. It is not too much to surmise that the very walk and manner of the returned Jones startled Metrick and his white supremacy ideas.

But the elder Harris was something even more important. He was employed as a head roller at the International Paper Company. He got 85 cents an hour and was a member of the Jim Crow AFL union. White men who do the same work get \$1.25 an hour.

Everybody knows who perpetrated this crime. Yet so far the lynchers are free. We have heard of no protest from the President or from Congress. This is a lynching or an attempted lynching beyond the usual

claimed that, contrary to general belief, there is no law dealing with mob violence unless it can be proved that an officer in some way played a part in the mob action. It appears that formerly the laws were more stringent. Thus, the Assistant Attorney-General tells us solemnly: "See we cannot do anything. We have no law."

What does the legal representative of the government propose? Let him speak again:

"Under the Attorney-General's direction we are now preparing for the Eightieth Congress a report of the facts and an outline of our experience in these cases."

Yes, friends. This is the way the Attorney-General proposes to fight lynching. No, pardon us. We do him an injustice. He is going to do more: "In addition we hope to point out to Congress the inadequacy and defects of present federal statutes."

So, friends, Congress will learn of the inadequacy and defects of the present federal statutes, the same Congress which has refused to pass an anti-lynching bill or a bill for a permanent FEPC, or a bill abolishing the poll-tax, this same Congress will learn from the Attorney-General of the inadequacies and deficiencies of the present legislation. It will learn of them. And then what? The same old run-around.

Nowhere did the Attorney-General say anything about applying pressure for an Anti-Lynching Law. Nothing but references to past laws which we would certainly want to examine before asking for their re-adoption.

Everybody has learned the game from the government by now. Some months ago the NAACP met in Cincinnati. Some of the cruder elements Jim Crowed them with the utmost brutality. Others did not. They merely dismissed their staff and did not serve meals on the days when the NAACP was around.

### CALIFORNIA CIO MAY HAVE TO MEET IN MEXICO

In the last week of August the state CIO of California tried to arrange for the State Convention to be held in Long Beach, California. Morris Tussman, the state CIO president, declared that hotel managers in Long Beach flatly refused to guarantee that delegates to the Convention would be free from discrimination on account of race, creed or color. But David Olmsted, secretary of the Long Beach Hotel Association, asserted vigorously that the union officials were in error. The managers say no, but the secretary denies it. Isn't that clever?

It is being considered whether the California State CIO Convention will not finally be held in Mexico. For American labor to hold a con-

vention, they have to go to Mexico! This is not Georgia or Mississippi or Texas. It is California!

Thus two nation-wide and nationally famous organizations cannot meet in convention in peace and comfort.

And he is a canting hypocrite who cannot see the responsibility of the government in all this. For example, when the government insisted upon its Jim Crow army it set up the seal of official authority upon this policy. All the enemies of the Negro people, all who are too cowardly or too lazy to change their established habits can always hide their malice or their laziness behind the policy of the government.

Labor cannot allow these practices to continue. The government, and the industrialists, and the landlords do not want to see Negroes lynched or insulted. They are not blood-thirsty. It is profits they are after.

And they maintain their profits by acquiescing in this bloody and malignant persecution of Negroes. They wish to keep the Negro where he is. They want the population as a whole to continue to keep aloof from Negroes. They want this because it weakens the labor movement. Because of this labor should make the cause of the Negroes its own.

Many people are beginning to ask "What is happening to this U. S. of yours? Where is it heading?" Labor can give the answer in every field, and in the field of Negro relations it can make a bold and simple bid for leadership of all the people. If the capitalist government cannot protect the Negroes, organized labor will.

By that alone labor will establish its claim to be the friend and protector of every oppressed group, Negroes, poor farmers, white-collar workers! The time to begin is now.

PRESS MANAGER'S

## PRESS ACTION

BY HENRY JUDD

As we have already pointed out several times, the 5,000 new subscriptions obtained for LABOR ACTION during its subscription campaign six months ago are now expiring. They are running out at the rate of many hundreds per week. It is our hope to get at least 1,000 of these readers to renew their subscriptions and become regular readers of our paper. We realize the cost of LABOR ACTION has doubled. But we know that many of the 5,000 subscribers concerned are interested in continuing to get the paper. Results obtained so far indicate that this is so, and the number could easily be increased with more action on the part of the Workers Party branches.

- Here are the steps we take to get renewals on expiring subscriptions:
- (1) The reader is given two weeks notice. This notice is stamped clearly on the paper.
  - (2) The reader is informed that his subscription has expired. This notice is also stamped clearly on the paper.
  - (3) The reader is sent a renewal form card which can be returned (postage free), and which automatically assures continuation of the subscription.
  - (4) The reader is then billed for the subscription indicated.
- In addition, lists of current expirations are sent out to Workers Party branches.

This is all we can do from our office here. The rest is up to the branch. It must arrange for a visit, to assure another permanent subscriber to LABOR ACTION. The eight-page paper is a success as a fighting socialist newspaper. Now it must get into the hands of more and more permanent readers each week.

This was not such a good week for new subscriptions and renewals to the paper. However, we've gotten off to a fine start on the coming week (thanks mainly to Chicago), and hope this indicates an end to the poor results of the past few weeks. Here's the record for the past week:

NEW YORK CITY	10
San Francisco	9
Akron	8
Reading	4
Newark	3
Philadelphia	2
Chicago	2
Detroit	1
San Pedro	1
TOTAL	40

From Chicago, that demon literature-agent from long, long years, Ken Hillyer, writes us about getting subscription renewals. And he writes with results, because no less than 20 came in from Chicago today (credited to next week)!

"The subs sent in are the results of our first RED SUNDAY for expirations. Only three teams went out because we are still stuck with work on the new headquarters. This week I'm going to make my report and will tell them that we have to make this campaign the main thing for the next few weeks. Everyone out. I know we will exceed our quota by a long shot. Specifically, we have 260 expirations from the middle of August until the last September issue. Already we have 8.9 per cent of renewals, with what we have sent in and what you have received directly."

And from Buffalo, we learn that, "We are hereby doubling our bundle order for LABOR ACTION. As before, you will be paid for same within ten days of receipt of bill. We are inaugurating some LABOR ACTION work and, of course, need more copies. We hope to be sending in subs on a regular basis. In fact, if our LABOR ACTION work proves to be fairly successful, we will further increase our order."

### I Want to Subscribe to

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# Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor...

## A Bull Session In the Plant

Dear Editor:

We were having a little bull session in one of our favorite spots, the latrine, which is about the coolest place in the whole plant. Whenever we would take a break a discussion would start. The subjects usually ranged from women to just about any possible or impossible subject under the sun and back to women. In a union meeting you couldn't get some of these guys to open their mouths. But here everyone felt at home and we argued good and loud. Sometimes good, but always loud. Leaving out the heavy swearing, which punctuated almost every other word, the conversation ran something like this:

"That's right, the rich get richer and the poor get kids." It was Big Mike talking.

"Well," someone asked, "what else have the poor got to do?"

So Big Mike says, "Let them raise more hell and less kids."

Then Joe pipes up with, "The trouble is some people have more than they need and others not enough."

"What, kids?" asks Big Mike with a straight face.

"No, stupid; dough," Joe tells him. "Listen," Red says, "it's always been that way and it always will be."

Then Tiny, who everybody knows is a socialist, speaks up: "Why should it be? Why should the guys in the shop who produce everything get

hardly enough to get by on and those who do nothing but own the factories get all the wealth? And believe me, they've got all the wealth."

Red thought for a few seconds and then said: "Listen, Tiny, answer me one question. I know labor is as important as capital any day, but tell me, how are you going to run things without capital?"

By this time everyone was pretty quiet and listening to Tiny and Red. "It's as simple as this," says Tiny. "Right now the working class runs the machines and the capitalist class owns the machines. Right? You do the work and he does nothing but gets the profit. OK. Now supposing you took all the capitalists there are, Morgan and Rockefeller and du Pont and Ford and all the rest of them who own everything, and packed them all off to an island somewhere."

"That's OK with me," pipes up Big Mike.

"Well, this is my point," continues Tiny. "Even though all of them would be gone, it would not affect the functioning of industry one bit because they don't do a damn thing, anyway. In other words, the plants are there, the railroads are there, the coal mines and the oil wells are there and all the raw material is there, whether the capitalists who own them are there or not. So why shouldn't the workers who operate them take over and run them for the benefit of all the people instead of just a small handful?"

Just about then someone came in and told Big Mike his foreman was

looking for him and the session sort of broke up while Big Mike went out muttering very uncomplimentary things about his foreman.

ROBERT SHERMAN, Chicago.

## A Critical Letter on Poland—And a Reply

Dear Editor:

It is really necessary to protest the scandalous editing and chopping of my letter on the Polish pogroms. Not only were whole clauses taken out of sentences and whole sentences out of paragraphs, but entire paragraphs were removed altogether...

To deal briefly with the Editor's reply: it is beside the point and therefore false. It is not at all a question of whether there are or are not anti-Semites in the Polish underground—rather it is a question of what weight we are to give to such a factor in our propaganda. And there is the point: the first word that LABOR ACTION has to say about the Polish resistance is to characterize it, at least in large part, as anti-Semitic. More than that: you went out of your way to cast at least equal blame on the underground for the pogrom, when all the evidence was pointing in the direction of the Stalinist government. Two entire paragraphs of my letter, reinforcing the evidence that LABOR ACTION had already presented as to the guilt of the Stalinist régime, were cut out entirely. No wonder the Editor had such an easy task to reply!

A. Rudzienski, in his excellent arti-

cle on the Polish resistance in the following issue, puts his finger right on the point and shows he has a much better understanding than those who have written before him. He makes it clear that the GPU is preparing to frame up the resistance as "Nazi." Then he states: "The anti-Semitic pogroms, tolerated by the government and organized by its agents, also serve this purpose."

Furthermore, Comrade Rudzienski's article is a model example of how to give proper balance to an analysis of the resistance composition. First he points out the large section of Polish reaction that has become integrated into the Stalinist régime. Then, unlike the Editor in his reply or in the previous articles, he states clear and unambiguous support for the underground resistance. It is then within this framework that he indicates how the resistance is composed, not only of left-wing workers and peasants, but also of traditional right-wing elements. No one could object to this.

As revolutionists we want to state WHAT IS. But to stress a fact out of all relation to its importance and, in addition, to ignore other facts pointing in the opposite direction, is not to give a true impression but a false one. Unintentional perhaps, but false nevertheless.

Fraternally,  
A. B.

EDITOR'S REPLY: LABOR ACTION can make no apology for cut-

# Klan Renews Outrages in Philadelphia, Letters Threaten CIO Council President

PHILADELPHIA—The Ku Klux Klan is again active in this area. It has already committed serious local outrages.

Latest act of terror is a series of threats to Mickey Harris, president of the local CIO council and director of Region 7, United Steel Workers. Harris attacked the Klan in a public interview several weeks ago. Since then he has received numerous letters from Klansmen threatening him with torture and death.

The Klan has reason to direct its terror against the CIO because the very existence of industrial unions, uniting all workers regardless of race or religion, stands in the way of the Klan. That is, if the unions realize the threat of the Klan and act to nip it before it grows strong.

### TIME TO ACT

That the Klan is directing much of its activity toward the unions is shown by a statement by H. K. Shaffer, Exalted Cyclops of Franklin County, who boasts that the Klan has members "in every industrial plant in Franklin County and many take an active part in union affairs."

These statements are challenges to the union movement to protect itself both internally and externally.

The Klan today is still in its early stages of revival so now is the time to kill it. It is centered around Chambersburg Klan in Franklin County and in Philadelphia. The head of the Chambersburg Klan is Alvin W. Johnson of 4325 North 8th St. The Inquirer reports "Philadelphia is the focal point of Klan activity." There are four separate groups in Philadelphia. At least one of them meets at 6035 Old York Road and is related to the Independent Order of Red Men at that location.

Two years ago the national Klan was officially disbanded in order to avoid paying income tax and was instructed by its leaders to "go underground." Today, in the midst of post-war uncertainty, the Klan offers itself as expert in bigotry and Jim Crow violence. The Klan revival feeds on the post-war lynchings in the South and on Big Business' fear of the unions, particularly the unionization of the South.

Two years ago the Pennsylvania Klan was reorganized under in-

structions of Imperial Wizard James E. Clescott of Atlanta, Ga. He urged a recruitment drive based on the infamous "Program of 1921," in which the aim of the Klan is stated to be "complete control of local politics."

What does the Klan want? Has it changed since its heyday of the Twenties? An ad in a Chambersburg newspaper states: "The Jews have their organizations, the Catholics theirs and the Protestants have the Klan." A Klan spokesman states he has no bias "as long as Catholics, Jews and Negroes stay in their place." What if they don't? What if Negroes seek equality? Two weeks ago the Klan gave its answer. At Arden, Delaware, a single tax community, a huge cross was burned as a warning because two Negroes were admitted to a public dance. The letters to Harris are another example of what the Klan intends doing. Yes, it is the old Klan of bigotry, race hatred, ignorance, terrorism and alliance with politicians, high and low. Only this time it is aimed at the heart of the labor movement too.

Can the Klan be stopped? Who can do it? Can we trust to the FBI or to Governor Martin?

Let's answer the last question first. All of the facts in this article and many more have been in the hands of the state police and the FBI at least since November 22, 1945. The state police claim to have the entire membership list of the Klan in the state. Its leaders are not only known but their names have appeared in the press. The Chambersburg Klan has openly advertised in the newspaper for members. Governor Martin admits the Klan is active all over the state and has ordered a state-wide investigation.

Martin's police have investigated for months. They have all the information and they do nothing. They were much faster to act against strikers all over the state earlier this year. Martin knew just what to do then, during the General Electric strike, when he said that if the Philadelphia police were not enough he would gladly use the state troopers. Is this the man who is supposed to protect the labor unions?

When Governor Martin announced his investigation, Exalted Cyclops Shaffer, to all practical effects, snubbed his nose and brazenly said: "As long as we behave ourselves and obey the constitution they can't do anything to us." Shaffer seems to have been right since nothing has been done. Apparently threatening letters, burning of crosses, advertising racial hatred, operating as company men in unions, local intimidation of Negro communities in Philadelphia—all these are sanctioned and protected by the constitution.

What about the FBI? Grand Cyclops Alvin W. Johnson answered that. In a letter to Congressman Alessandro, Johnson said that when the FBI investigated the Klan, the Klan reversed the investigation and used the FBI for its own purposes. Johnson says: "The Klan sided the FBI agents in ferreting out undercover agents acting against the best interests of the United States. Perhaps some union militants, who have been wondering why they were fired and suddenly drafted during the war, need look no further for the answers. And if this statement by Johnson is true perhaps the FBI

ought to investigate itself for KKK influence in its organization.

### IT CAN BE STOPPED

What must be done?

1. The first community to be attacked by the Klan is the Negro community. It must be prepared to defend itself by organizing in advance. We cannot depend on the police. They are sure to show up after the dirty work is done, if at all. Self-defense is the only sure defense.

2. Negroes, Jews, Catholics must realize they have in the KKK a common enemy. However, the KKK like all reactionary and fascist gangs tries to divide the working class in order to smash each section separately. Working class unity is, therefore, of first importance. The entire working class must be ready to defend the Negro or Jewish communities in case of attack. There can be no racial or religious hatred within the working class. Anyone who talks and acts like a Negro-baiter or a Jew baiter is a dangerous enemy of all labor.

3. The labor movement, the unions, the CIO are the real targets of the KKK and other fascist gangs. The labor movement alone unites workers regardless of race or religion. It is organized to protect its members, and by so doing to defend itself. There can be no reliance on the FBI or Governor Martin's police. If Mickey Harris needs to be protected against KKK hoodlums, if the Negro communities need protection, the labor movement has ample resources to defend them. It can begin now by educating against all hatreds that divide its membership. It can organize defense clubs to be ready at all times. It can carry on its own "investigation" into Klan and other fascist activity and act accordingly.

4. If we cannot depend on the local and federal government police we cannot depend on their politics and political parties. The working class needs a Labor Party to defend its political interests.

# "If You Can't Pay Us a Living Wage . . . We'll Take Over!"

Dear Mr. Wilson:

Sept. 8, 1946

The other day you gave a long statement to the newspapers. The statement was mostly a lying attack on me and 300,000 other General Motors workers. So I am writing this answer.

You complained about how little GM workers were producing. The productivity of auto workers is way behind 1941, you said. Because of our low productivity, you went on, people who need cars are not getting them, and you're going to have to have another \$100 price increase on your cars to make up for our laziness. You further said that the only solution to our laziness was an incentive pay system, that is, piece work.

Mr. Wilson, the guys in my plant are sore about that statement. We're sore because we know that it is all lies meant to put the blame on us for high prices and low production. We know its one of your union-busting tricks. And we aren't fooled.

You know the real reason productivity is low, Mr. Wilson. Lots of your machinery wasn't cared for during the war, and its not in very good shape. In fact, a lot of it isn't even safe. And the tools and dies are five years old, and pretty beat up. And the raw material is below standard a lot of the time. As for the production scheduling, it is really SNAFU, as we used to say overseas. Any GM worker could tell you that. Any union committeeman could tell you a dozen things wrong with the management. But you already know those things, Mr. Wilson. Of course, we really didn't expect you to tell the truth.

### THE SHAPE OF YOUR PLANTS

You know about this productivity business. We're really trying to make out on the piece work rates, Mr. Wilson, much as we hate piece work. We need the little extra dough, the way prices are. But most of the time, we can't do it with the shape your plants are in.

You also blame "suppliers strikes" for the car shortage. That is, you blame labor. We had one of those "suppliers strikes" here in town a few weeks ago. The workers were getting 75 and 85 cents an hour. Imagine trying to live on that now. Who is to blame for conditions like that, Mr. Wilson, our class or your class?

Now, about that \$100 price gouge you're asking for—another one, that is. During our last strike, we showed that you could give us a 30 per cent wage raise and still sell cars at the 1941 price at a profit. And you've had your prices raised several times since the strike. You just want to keep on making the same super-profits you made during the war.

You made plenty during the war, Mr. Wilson, and now you want the consumers to pay your reconversion costs. You want to use the speed-up to make up for the mess you've made of reconversion.

And like incentive pay: that'd be almost like the old days, before we organized our union. That was when there was only piece work, and if you couldn't keep working all day for any reason at all, you didn't get paid for the time. Of course, there were more fingers and hands and eyes lost then, and auto workers went on the scrap heap at forty, but those things don't show in the profit ledger.

I'd like to take up something else you said, Mr. Wilson. You said: "A thirty-hour week, as demanded by some labor leaders, would make us a second-class nation within five years."

In the first place, that's bunk, Mr. Wilson. The big rubber companies have had a thirty-hour week for years, and they're producing a lot better than auto.

### WHY YOU USE MILITARY TERMS

But the really interesting crack is that business about a "second-class nation," Mr. Wilson. You're talking in military terms, of course. Those military terms come in handy. They got you a no-strike pledge all the time you cleaned up during the war. You'd like a militarized economy, so strikers could be drafted into the Army, and labor leaders thrown into prison. That "national defense" angle pays off in a lot of ways, doesn't it?

We figured out an answer to you, Mr. Wilson, during our last strike. That was our GM strike program. We said we wanted our more-than-just wage increases without you and your class taking it back in higher prices. And we demanded to see your books to prove it could be done. When you try the speed-up and ask for another price gouge, remember that we haven't forgotten that strike program.

Nor we haven't forgotten the idea of a guaranteed annual wage, or a thirty-hour week, either, because we remember how we were thrown out into the streets part of every year.

One final word, Mr. Wilson. If you really can't pay us a living wage, like you claim, then there's only one thing left for us to do. We'll have to take over the plants ourselves, because we know we can surely do a better job than that. We could do a better job than you're doing right now, in fact.

That's all I have to say for the men and women in my plant right now, Mr. Wilson. But you'll hear from us again, never fear. And maybe I'll have the pleasure of meeting you in person some time, if you ever try to cross a picket line.

GERRY McDERMOTT.

# Labor Plans "Send-Off" For Smith in Los Angeles

By HAL DRAPER

LOS ANGELES, Sept. 14.—Gerald L. K. Smith, America's No. 1 fascist, Jew-baiter, Negro-hater and labor-buster, returned to Los Angeles at the beginning of this week to the accompaniment of loud protests and busy preparations on the part of labor and progressive groups to fight him. It is understood that Smith has been brought back largely in time to campaign against the state FEPC bill which will be voted on in November as Proposition No. 11.

This is the city which "greeted" Smith at the end of last year with two mass picketing demonstrations of 20,000 and then ousted his stooge McClanahan from the City Council by a recall election. It will be seen whether the fight this year can be pushed even further.

The fascist fuhrer had two permits for rallies at the Polytechnic High School granted him by the Board of Education before people were even well aware that he had slunk into town. Mayor Bowron's administration, whose police cooperated with Smith so neatly last October, is still giving the rabble-rouser what he wants.

First of the list of "Gerald L. KKK" Smith's activities has been a series of five meetings at the Embassy Auditorium, beginning last Sunday and ending Thursday, described as a "Christian Nationalist Convention" of "62 organizations"—so to speak, the gathering of the Klans. There anti-Jewish and anti-Negro filth filled the air. The chairman was the notorious Jonathan Perkins, who has authored anti-Semitic booklets and has been expounding the fascist gospel in between the master's visits.

The Mobilization for Democracy, a united front of organizations formed last year to combat Smith, decided

to organize only "token" picket lines in front of this affair, with a different organization appointed in charge each evening. On the last evening, Thursday, there were about 125 on the token picket line, with the CIO and the strikers at Hearst's Herald-Express in charge.

The big send-off for Smith is scheduled to take place on September 22, a Sunday afternoon, in front of the public rally which Smith has called at the Polytechnic for two o'clock. At the initiative and request of the CIO Council, the Mobilization has called for a mass picket line again, to form at 1:30. Present indications are that the turnout should top last year's effort.

The Workers Party branches in Los Angeles and San Pedro are getting behind this demonstration with 100 per cent support and are organizing all members and friends to come out. The slogan is: Drive Smith Out of Town—For Good!

To this end militant workers are looking forward to steps, by the CIO especially, to press the fight against Smith beyond the point it reached last October. The fact that Smith's attempted rally in Minneapolis was stopped cold by the labor movement has gotten around, and practically everybody would like to see Los Angeles be at least equally effective. There is no telling as yet whether Smith's audience on September 22 will be his usual flock of old ladies and Model T anti-Semites, or whether it will consist of irate workers in no mood to applaud a fascist spewing forth racial hatred and anti-labor lies. There is enough honest spontaneous indignation afloat to make it quite possible that Smith will have difficulty filling his hall with friendly hand-clappers.

Next week's LABOR ACTION will carry a full report on the demonstration and Smith's rally.

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# Socialist Youth League School Ends Interesting Summer Sessions

The Socialist Youth League has just completed its summer school, with over thirty-five students representing youth units in Baltimore, Detroit, Philadelphia, Cleveland and New York. All of them left the school with a greater desire to read and study further. All of them felt that on the basis of what they learned at the school, they could become better builders of the Socialist Youth League, which is the youth section of the Workers Party.

The thirty lecture and discussion hours of the first week were divided into three courses. The first, Basic Marxian Principles, was led by Shirley Waller, national secretary of the SYL. This course covered the differences between Marxism, Utopian socialism and anarchism. It traced the role of a revolutionary working class party as against those who hope to establish socialism by reforming capitalism.

The second course, The Nature of the State, was led by Max Shachtman, national chairman of the WP. He explained that the state arose with the development of a class society. A study was made of the workers' state which would function in the interest of the toiling masses and how even this state would disappear with the end of all class differences. The course ended with a discussion of the totalitarian bureaucratic collectivist state of Stalinist Russia.

The third course, Trade Unionism, led by Ernest Rice McKlaney, national secretary of the Workers Party, analyzed the role of the union movement under capitalism and the part played by the revolutionists in the unions. A study was made of col-

lective bargaining, the strike, the union bureaucracy, the Stalinists in the union movement and the necessity for an independent Labor Party.

During the lunch hours, not only were cooperative meals served, but many informal discussions were held.

The second week opened with a course by Albert Gates, member of the LABOR ACTION staff, on The Rise and Decline of the Communist International. Gates traced the formation of the First International by Marx and Engels, and the rise of the Second International. He described the roles of such Marxists as Liebknecht and Luxemburg, who were slaughtered fighting for the working class; and the roles of those like Edward Bernstein, who, in attempting to revise Marxism, supported their own capitalist masters in the imperialist war. He described the heroic struggles of the members of the Third International, who received their inspiration from the Bolshevik Revolution. Finally, the growth of bureaucratism and the Stalinist counter-revolution in Russia. It was then left to the Fourth International to raise again the banner of the revolutionary workers' struggle.

The first course on the program of the Workers Party was conducted by Eugene Vaughn, LA writer. He discussed the movements of national liberation in Europe, Stalinism and Russia and the Trotskyist theory of the permanent revolution.

In the last class, the Introduction to Political Economics, led by Freddy Forrest, the comrades were taught the Marxist method of approach to economics.

### Last in a Series of Three Articles

# What Next for Railroad Labor?

By GORDON HASKELL

(Continued from Last Week)

In the meantime, without a large staff, without public meetings, without literature to answer the thousand and one questions of railroad workers about the structure, program and policy of the URRWA-CIO, hundreds and even thousands of railroad workers of all crafts were joining the CIO union and signing cards authorizing the URRWA-CIO to represent them in collective bargaining with their employers. Despite the alleged "independence" and "conservatism" of the operating workers, in northern California at least, a majority of the men signing cards were from the operating crafts.

Despite the lack of literature, despite the confusion created by the information put out by the state CIO officers, and even despite the fact that at least one of them locally in charge of the CIO drive in northern California was a man whose unsavory record of irresponsibility and double-dealing has made him suspect in the eyes of the workers, hundreds of workers were signing up. They clamored for literature, demanded that a charter be issued and meetings held and that the drive be really organized as it should be. This was as good proof as anyone could want that the railroad workers want a change and want it quickly, and that at least many of them see their best chance of a rapid change in the formation of an industrial union under the banner of the CIO.

And then, about the middle of August the drive for the operating men was stopped dead in its tracks. A. B. Martin, National Director of Railroad Organization of the CIO, informed his West Coast representatives to stop organizing members of the BRT, and to start cooperating with the representatives of that union. He informed them, further, to stop organizing all operating workers, and to confine themselves to the non-operating field.

### BEHIND CIO'S CHANGE OF POLICY

As was stated previously on the CIO rail drive, around the middle of August West Coast organizers of the United Railroad Workers of America-CIO were instructed to stop organizing men from the operating crafts. Instead of raiding the BRT, the URRWA-CIO was ordered to cooperate with the representatives of that organization.

What was behind this sudden change of CIO policy? The answer is a simple one. Whitney of the BRT has been hinting for some time that he is going to propose affiliation with either the AFL or CIO at the trainmen's Convention this month. After he got news of the URRWA drive on his membership on the West Coast, he got the national leadership of the CIO to stop the drive by giving them some kind of assurances that he will get the convention to approve affiliation with the CIO.

This puts a new face on the whole future of railroad labor organization. If the BRT affiliates with the CIO it will represent a powerful force for the CIO among all operating workers. With the BRT in the fold, the CIO will then be in a good position to launch a drive to organize all operating workers into the operating department of the URRWA-CIO. This will be accomplished either through raiding the other operating unions via the BRT, or forcing them to affiliate as a whole in order to avoid such raids.

But from the point of view of the progressive railroad workers who want a democratic, militant industrial union, this also has a bad side to it. Whitney is noted even among the rail union chiefs

for the ruthlessness of his methods in crushing any opposition and for the power of his machine. Only a child can believe that by putting on the CIO label Whitney will change his methods. Railroad workers are being told that the CIO will not accept the BRT unless they change their constitution "in line with CIO policy." They should not put too much store by this. There is a wide difference even within the CIO among the various constitutions, and certainly a wide difference among the different unions in the actual degree of democracy enjoyed by the membership. Whitney and the members of his machine are certainly going to put up a fight to insure that they control the new union. Whether they succeed in their fight will depend on the militancy and alertness of the rank and file all over the country.

### A PROGRAM ALONE IS NOT ENOUGH

Among the non-operating workers, the CIO is definitely conducting a drive to take in all crafts, regardless of their present state of organization. (Note: This does not include Pullman porters. Dining car cooks and waiters, red caps and certain other workers are being organized by the Transport Service Workers-CIO.) This is a straight raiding operation on the AFL, no matter what fancy words may be used to describe it. As such, it is something new for the CIO. As everyone knows, the CIO was set up to organize the unorganized workers of the mass production industries into industrial unions. From time to time they have attempted to go into one or another field in which AFL unions are already established, such as the building trades. Generally speaking, these efforts have had small success. Is there any reason to believe that the railroad drive will be more successful?

Railroad men are very dissatisfied with their present organizations. At the same time, they are reluctant to change unless they know just what they are changing to. In this situation if the CIO union can offer them a definite program and show them an organizational structure in which the rank and file can really control its organization, there is good reason to believe that tens of thousands of workers will jump at the chance.

A good program alone, however, is not enough. What is needed, in addition, is enough money to publish literature explaining this program, and enough competent organizers to get to the men. So far, at least, the URRWA-CIO has not had enough money for these purposes, at least in the Western territory. Railroad workers who join the CIO union and participate actively in building it must realize, not only this, but also that it will be a long up-hill fight. If it continues at its present pace, it is not likely that the URRWA-CIO will be able to hold collective bargaining elections on the Western roads for many months, perhaps even for a year or more. In the meantime the workers who join will be faced with the united opposition of the old-line organizations, the railroad managements and the government.

### THE STRUGGLE IN THE CIO

There is one further fact which rail workers who join the CIO might as well get clear right now, and particularly on the West Coast. Within the CIO on the West Coast there is a terrific battle going on for control. On the one side are lined up the so-called "Murray" faction and on the other side the Communist Party-controlled unions led by Harry Bridges. In California, and generally on the Coast, the unions with the largest membership are controlled by the Bridges-Stalinist machine. The organization of several hundred thousand railroad workers into the CIO will change the whole balance of power, and it is

therefore to be expected that both groups will bend every effort to keep or gain control of the URRWA-CIO in the West.

How do all these factors stack up when we consider the best course for railroad workers to follow?

Let's add them up once again, and draw the balance sheet. Railroad labor is dissatisfied with the old-line craft unions which have failed to keep up conditions for railroad workers with those gained in other industries. Railroad workers want a new deal—they want democratic, aggressive unionism. The United Railroad Workers of America-CIO offers the non-operating workers the opportunity to build for themselves a new industrial union on the rails—but the rank and file railroad workers are going to have to do the job of building this union themselves, with very little financial and organizing help from the CIO. The operating workers may be faced with the prospect of one or more of their present organizations affiliating with the CIO, and therefore of fighting within the new CIO set-up for democratic control and militant policies. Within the CIO, railroad workers as well as all others are faced with a fight between the Murray leadership and the leadership of the Stalinist-dominated union.

There is no easy road for railroad labor to get what it wants. The CIO drive and the shift of one or more of the independent brotherhoods to the CIO may be just what was needed to break the stranglehold of the old-line leadership and conservative "business unionism" (the workers get "the business") on railroad labor. But the results will be up to the rank and file railroaders.

It is they who will have to build the new union in the face of opposition from the bosses, the old union leadership and the government, which does not want railroad labor to take the road of militant struggle for its rights. It is the rank and file which will have to see to it that the CIO union does not become the tool of any faction, but the instrument of the rank and file.

### STORMY PERIOD OF STRUGGLE AHEAD

American labor as a whole faces a stormy period of economic and political struggles. The railroad strike brought out more clearly than any other action of labor in recent years the line-up between the government and employers on one side and the workers on the other. The actions of Congress during that strike have made it clear to anyone with eyes to see that in the future the battles of labor are going to have to be fought on the political front just as much as on the picket line, and that pussyfooting tactics will lead to its economic subjugation.

Thus, in the new era which is opening for railroad labor, the fate of the railroad workers lies in their own hands. They now have the chance to build a democratic, militant industrial union. They have the chance to insure that they will choose leaders and put forth policies for this union which will be a real challenge to railroad management both politically and economically. The time to start is now, right at the beginning of the drive, before any machine has a chance to get control of the organization.

Every railroader must become an active, thinking member of his union. Every railroader must attend his union meetings, and elect officers who really represent him. If this is done, the URRWA-CIO will become one of the most powerful, most advanced union organizations of American labor, and the railroad workers will lead in the struggles ahead.