

NEW YORK WORKERS! VOTE SOCIALIST!
MAX SHACHTMAN—For Congress
 15th Congressional District—Brooklyn
ERNEST RICE MCKINNEY—For Congress
 22nd Congressional District—Harlem

LABOR ACTION

OCTOBER 28, 1946

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

FIVE CENTS

Meat Price Rise with Labor Offensive!

UAW LAUNCHES NEW WAGE DRIVE!

Workers Party Election Statement

Vote Against Capitalist Rule! Vote for the WP Candidates!

On November 5 millions of workers will go to the polls to vote for a new House of Representatives and in most states, senators, governors and state legislatures.

MAX SHACHTMAN



Workers Party Candidate in 15th Congressional District of Brooklyn

LOOK AT THE RECORD OF CONGRESS

Little wonder that the worker feels such bitterness. Look at the record of Congress!

- The "equality of sacrifice" swindle during the war.
- The billions made by Big Business on cost-plus contracts.
- The "wage freeze" and the "job freeze."
- The 20 per cent income tax on workers' wages.
- The failure of OPA to hold the price line and the final liquidation of OPA to produce runaway prices.
- The failure to act on the housing crisis.
- The "tax rebate" scheme that guaranteed the post-war profits of the corporations and financed them to break strikes.
- The ending of the FEPC, the defeat of the anti-lynching and anti-poll tax bills.
- The Smith-Connally Act and the "labor draft" that broke the trainmen's strike.

This is but a brief list of Congressional action in defense of Big Business and at the expense of labor.

As labor writhed under each successive whip-lash upon its body, its leaders uttered more dire threats about "settling the score" with those responsible. The day of reckoning for the politicians was always associated with the "next elections." But what will the vast majority of the workers find on November 5 when they enter the voting booth?

They will find that they face the choice of either re-electing the same group of Democratic "friends of labor" who have constituted the "most reactionary Congress since the Civil War" and who have failed to pass a single piece of progressive legislation since 1938, or of electing a group of Republican jackals who have waited these many years for a chance to sink their fangs into the flesh of labor.

The great "day of reckoning" turns out to be a day upon

which to choose between getting a dagger in the back or getting a dagger in through the heart.

RESPONSIBILITY OF LABOR LEADERS

Who is responsible for this situation? The responsibility rests upon the officialdom of both the CIO and AFL and all others who support the policy of electing "friends of labor" from among the capitalist politicians. The policy of the CIO's PAC has landed labor in a blind alley. Beginning in 1936, with Labor's Non-Partisan League, the CIO has rounded up the labor vote for the Democratic Party.

Are not ten years of betrayal by the "friends of labor" sufficient proof that labor cannot entrust its interests to capitalist politicians? Yet the labor officialdom has once more inflicted this fatal policy upon labor. Millions of workers will once more answer the call of the PAC and elect another Congress which Murray will denounce six months from now as "the most reactionary Congress since the Civil War."

A vote for a PAC-endorsed Democrat or Republican is no labor vote! It is a vote to make labor the prisoner of the same gang who have just finished cutting labor's throat. Labor must cease being the tail of the Democratic kite. Labor must engage in politics as an independent force—of, by and for labor. This requires the organization of a Labor Party, independent of all capitalist parties. That is why we say "Turn the PAC into a Labor Party."

WORKERS PARTY IN THIS CAMPAIGN

But obviously, this cannot be done to present a slate of independent labor candidates in 1946. As a result the bulk of the workers will be left without an opportunity to show how they feel about the treatment they have received. If they bother to vote at all, it will only be to decide which group of cutthroats will do a job on them.

Fortunately the workers of two of New York's Congressional Districts will not face this catastrophic choice. Workers living in the 15th Congressional District (Brooklyn) and in the 22nd (Harlem) will have the opportunity of casting their votes for the candidates of the Workers Party. Max Shachtman is the candidate in the 15th and Ernest Rice McKinney is the candidate in the 22nd.

A vote for the candidates of the Workers Party is a vote for a program of action to solve the pressing problems to which the post-war anarchy of capitalism is subjecting the workers.

- It is a vote against the housing shortage and for a nationwide, ten-year \$250 billion dollar housing and public works plan.
- It is a vote against the wage-price squeeze and for price control by committees of workers at the point of production and people's committees in the neighborhoods.
- It is a vote for "Wage increases without price rises."
- It is a vote for the self-determination of all peoples, for the withdrawal of troops of occupation of all powers from all lands.
- It is a vote against militarism, conscription and the preparations for the atomic horrors of World War III and for a program of international peace based upon a Socialist re-organization of the world.
- It is a vote against the hypocrisy of the capitalist politicians who exploit the needs of the Negroes and Jews to garner votes but do nothing to answer their needs. It is a vote for full economic, political and social equality for the Negro. It is a vote to "Open the doors of the United States!" for the displaced Jews of Europe.

A large vote for McKinney and Shachtman will serve notice upon the politicians that many workers are fed up with conditions and are voting for a program that answers their needs. A large vote for McKinney and Shachtman will serve notice upon the labor bureaucracy that the workers have enough of capitalist politics and WANT A PARTY OF THEIR OWN.

SWP CANDIDATES IN VARIOUS STATES

The workers in a number of other places in various parts of the United States will have the opportunity of registering their sentiments by voting for the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party.

The latter is appealing for support upon a program of demands for the domestic scene with which we are, on the whole, in accord. The SWP is, in our view, a revolutionary Socialist party and its candidates merit the support of the workers who want to protest the conditions which capitalism has imposed upon them. (See page 7 for list of SWP candidates.)

We point out, however, that there are exceedingly important aspects of the SWP program with which we violently disagree. The most important of the latter is the attitude of the SWP that totalitarian Russia remains a "workers state," and that, therefore, the workers of the world are obliged to rally to the defense of Russia in the next war. This position of the SWP can only lead the fight for Socialism to a disastrous end.

We warn workers everywhere AGAINST support of the so-called Communist Party as a vehicle of working class protest.

A vote for the Stalinist candidates cannot be a vote against the conditions of capitalist exploitation and oppression because the Communist Party today speaks entirely in the interests of the Russian totalitarian bureaucracy. The Communist Party is not a genuine expression of the workers' struggle.

FOR MCKINNEY AND SHACHTMAN

The workers of New York's 15th and 22nd Congressional Districts can show the way on November 5th. All out to the polls! Roll up a big vote against the price-gouge, against the housing shortage, against the Big Business rule in Washington. Roll up a big vote for the candidates of the Workers Party.

Vote for Max Shachtman in the 15th Congressional District.
Vote for Ernest Rice McKinney in the 22nd Congressional District.



Workers Party Candidate in 22nd Congressional District of Harlem

By WALTER JASON

DETROIT, Oct. 20—Once again the UAW-CIO has been placed in the position of spearheading the CIO in the struggle to overcome the rising cost of living and lagging wages.

For two days the International Executive Board of the UAW-CIO has been grappling with the problems connected with the formal reopening of wage negotiations at Chrysler, affecting 75,000 auto workers employed there.

The importance of these negotiations was emphasized by the presence of Philip Murray, CIO president, at the board session. In spite of Murray's insistence that the UAW drive on Chrysler was in no way connected with national CIO policy, the facts in the case testify to the contrary.

A Lesson Learned the Hard Way...

AN EDITORIAL

The capitalists have shown us that in serious matters it is power that counts. For capitalists, prices are a serious question. They were determined to have their own way and they fought with all they had. What they had was power, the power which comes from ownership and control of the means of production.

But what about democracy? Hadn't Congress passed a bill authorizing control of meat prices? We ask the question only to laugh at it. What do these gentlemen care about democracy? And the health of the nation! And the comforts of the people! And public opinion!

All workers on strike know them by heart. They are blasted at us from every radio, from every newspaper, from every time-serving politician. But when it comes to free prices for capital, then to hell with the health of the nation, and the comforts of the people, and public opinion! To the devil with democracy. "We have the meat and until we get what we want nobody but ourselves and our friends will eat."

LABOR ALSO HAS POWER

Some lessons are best learned the hard way. Let us learn this one well. Power rules. Good. But the working class, organized labor, has power to bring these gentlemen to their knees. We only have to use it. And the capitalists have given us example and instruction as to what counts in politics.

They, however, use their power for free prices, free profits. We shall use ours for freedom and a full life.

They had the large majority of the people against them. If only we show the same realism, the same determination, the same consciousness of power that the capitalists show, labor can lead the nation.

For the national CIO, as well as the entire leadership of the UAW-CIO is on the spot, placed there by the powerful demands of the ranks of the UAW-CIO that a fighting policy on wages and prices be adopted and placed into effect immediately.

RANKS DEMAND ACTION

When Walter P. Reuther, UAW president, told reporters covering the conference that "The UAW would have preferred to fight this thing out on the price front," his opinion was that of the entire UAW Executive Board. The board, including George Addes, R. J. Thomas, Richard T. Leonard and others, did not voluntarily reopen negotiations with Chrysler as was possible under the contract. A delegate conference of Chrysler locals demanded this action.

As prices continued to soar, a move



WALTER REUTHER

begun at Chrysler Local 7 to demand a national UAW emergency conference to work out a national strategy of fighting for wage increases to meet the rising cost of living. Over forty local union presidents in the Detroit area joined in this demand.

The special session of the International Executive Board was called as a substitute for this conference. The air of caution described as prevailing at this board meeting arises from

(Continued on page 2)

Housewives Rebel Against High Meat Prices

Soaring Prices Prove Need of Rounded Program and Organization of Popular Price Control Committees

By SUSAN GREEN

And lo, a miracle was wrought. Monday night, October 14, at 10 o'clock, President Truman took controls off meat, and before dawn the empty stockyards of Kansas City, Chicago and elsewhere were filling up with cattle and hogs. Far outstripping all the wonders of nature, hordes of cattle and hogs were "raised" over night. And Tuesday morning, bright and early, city butcher shops and retail markets, up

till ten the previous night displaying only their white enamel trays, became filled with juicy red meats of various kinds.

Such is the magic the President performed by capitulating to the meat industry in its anti-social demand to get all the profit the traffic will bear. The livestock and stored meat held for higher profits were rushed to market at prices making a new world record.

ALL-TIME HIGH

Choice steers were selling at the all-time high of \$38.50 a hundred-weight against the OPA ceiling of \$20.26; medium cattle were bringing \$35.25 a hundredweight; top hogs went for \$27.50 a hundredweight, \$11 above the OPA ceiling. In the early dawn of Tuesday, October 15, trucks carrying this diamond-studded livestock stretched for two and a half miles before the major stockyards, and special traffic police were engaged to control the undammed flood.

From the cold storage warehouses, till ten o'clock the previous night inhumanely closed against the needs of the people, trucks carried to the neighborhood butcher shops and re-

tail markets ample supplies of porterhouse steaks, veal cutlets, lamb chops, pork chops, calves' liver and even bacon. All this toothsome meat was lured from its hiding place by the prospect of bringing prices something as follows: For steak, \$1.00 to \$1.25 a pound; for veal cutlets, \$1.00; for lamb chops, \$1.50; for pork chops, \$1.00; for calves' liver, \$1.50; for bacon, \$1.16.

What a blatant, unabashed display of the rottenness of the profit system was this over-night, magical appearance of livestock and meat—and the sudden skyrocketing of prices still keeping meat beyond the reach of the meat-starved working class family!

BUYING RESISTANCE

In the first rush on Tuesday morning, some housewives, famished for meat, who could afford a "treat" for their families, as it were, paid phenomenal prices. But soon buying resistance developed. The government having thrown the reins to the profit-motivated meat industry, the housewives tried using their power as consumers to stop galloping meat prices. This happened all over the country.

In Brooklyn, groups of women organized as if spontaneously. They entered butcher shops, asked the prices and meats, and deliberately

walked out without buying. In Boston, flying squadrons of housewives organized picket lines before butcher shops. In Pittsburgh, the opposition almost reached the proportions of a buyers' strike. In Buffalo, choice cuts were "going begging" because they were too expensive. In Omaha, Neb., the Iowa-Nebraska CIO Women's Auxiliaries picketed meat shops with large placards and procured pledges from shoppers to boycott meat prices.

By the end of the week a slight rollback in prices was evident. In New York, for instance, steak could be had at 85 cents a pound along Ninth Avenue, and chopped beef "compounded of mysterious ingredients," could be bought for 40 cents a pound. In Philadelphia, reductions of from five to ten cents below Tuesday's high were reported, but beef roasts still sold for 80 cents a pound.

ROUNDED PROGRAM NEEDED

Retail butchers in some localities, notably Seattle, fraternized with the housewives, advising the latter not to buy at existing prices. In other places butchers went on a buyers' strike of their own, refusing to pay exorbitant prices, as in Dallas, Texas, and in New Jersey. Butchers rebelled against buying poultry they didn't want as a condition for getting meat for their customers.

The militant stand of housewives and the cooperation of retail butchers can, however, act only as an expedi-

ent and not as a cure. The meat situation for some time to come will be chaotic and at the mercy of private profiteers, unless a more comprehensive program is adopted by the people. The reckless slaughter of immature cattle and of breeding sows, together with other factors, will keep the supply of beef and pork below normal demand. The government having given the meat profiteers a free hand, prices will remain prohibitive, even if not at last Tuesday's peak, unless the people step into the situation themselves.

The demand for the nationalization of the meat industry, under workers' control, must be taken up by workers and housewives alike, as also the formation of their own committees to control prices effectively.

These measures are imperative throughout the food industry. While the release of meat, caused poultry and butter to drop a little in price, inflationary prices in general remain substantially the same. In line with the President's announced policy to abandon the consumer to the tender mercies of the food profiteers, price controls are rapidly being removed. The question is whether the profiteers shall dictate what and how much we eat and at what prices, or whether the people will themselves take over the business of feeding themselves.

Tammany Judge Digs Up Technicality Not in Law To Turn Down WP Petition

BULLETIN

NEW YORK, Oct. 23—Supreme Court Justice Louis Valente, Tammany wheelhorse, today threw out of court the Workers Party petition to reinstate Ernest Rice McKinney on the ballot on the technicality that Herman Lasker, objector to the WP petition, had not been served official notice of the court action. Judge Valente refused to entertain a motion on the validity of the petitions and refused to make a decision on the merits of the case. The technicality he employed is NOT CITED IN SECTION 330 of the Election Law under which the WP filed its petition. The WP has announced its intention to conduct a write-in campaign for its candidate, Ernest Rice McKinney, in the 22nd Congressional District of Harlem.

NEW YORK—The Democratic Party has no leg to stand on and can present no evidence as to why the Workers Party should not be placed on the ballot in the 22nd Congressional District, Harlem. Therefore, it moved before Supreme Court Justice Valente that the Workers Party be denied a place on the ballot.

To all people who think logically the foregoing statement sounds like

insane babbling. But to anyone who knows the New York State election laws it would sound normal.

In New York State, one of the two boss parties, after it has been unable to find any evidence to support its case, merely stands pat.

And the Supreme Court judges and the election law stand WITH this criminal kind of procedure.

Ten days ago the attorney for Representative Adam Clayton Powell was ordered by the Supreme Court to produce a list of names which he considered invalid on the Workers Party petitions.

The Democratic Party attorney defaulted.

Yesterday in the Supreme Court the judge asked the Democratic Party attorney to state whether or not he disputed the affidavits presented by the Workers Party to the Supreme Court.

The Democratic Party attorney had nothing to say.

Result: the Democratic Party attorney moved that the Workers Party be denied the right to be on the ballot.

Thus far, the Supreme Court has rendered no decision. But the decision is expected any minute.

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

UAW Opens Wage Drive - -

(Continued from page 1)
 the fact that the entire UAW leadership is on the spot because of the rank and file. Murray's presence was demanded by both factions on the International Executive Board because neither side was willing to take full responsibility for any course of action.

WAGE FORMULA

In so far as a fundamental viewpoint on wages is concerned, the entire board, Reuther faction and the anti-Reuther Stalinist bloc, voted unanimously for the wage-price policy statement presented by Reuther on August 16 at the board meeting in Washington, D. C.

The key section of that statement is entitled "Higher Wages Without Higher Prices." It reads: "If we are to achieve and maintain an economy of abundance, we must continue to press acceptance of the basic economic fact that mass production power must be matched by mass purchasing power."

"Accordingly, our task is to increase real wages by insisting that wage increases be paid out of the higher profits of industry made possible by the economies of full production and improved technology and not passed on to the consumer in higher prices."

"The rising standard of living throughout the history of American industry proves that this can be done. The much higher standard of living which we are capable of achieving through full production, full employment and full consumption will be realized only when real wages are increased out of the profits of industry to a much higher level than ever before."

Applying this formula to Chrysler means fighting for higher wages out of the huge profits of this corporation. The total accumulated profits of Chrysler from 1940 to 1945 were \$204,000,000 after taxes had been paid. The net worth of the corporation increased from \$167,000,000 to \$276,000,000. Since 1941 Chrysler car prices have increased 42 per cent, while wages have lagged way behind.

The facts of the situation are clear and known to every member of the IEB. A fight around the same central

slogan of the GM strike, "Higher Wages Without Price Increases," is indicated. But it is precisely here that the leadership is being conservative, to put it mildly.

WANT AGGRESSIVE DRIVE

How the ranks in the shops feel was demonstrated this past week when Chrysler Local 7 held a successful dues drive at the Kerchival plant. There was no difficulty whatsoever in getting the vast and overwhelming majority of the auto workers to support the union drive, and union membership reached a new high in this plant as a result of the drive.

In the current issue of the Chrysler Local 7 newspaper, an editorial appears stressing the need for a fight for higher wages out of profits, and for higher wages without the speed-up. There is much concern that the top leadership of the UAW-CIO might settle for a wage increase to come out of an "increase in productivity," namely the speed-up, instead of holding to the program previously adopted.

Nor has there been any indication, except Reuther's press statement, of a serious and effective national strategy for the UAW in this situation. Chrysler Local 7 has insisted that an over-all national strategy be adopted, and an industry-wide program be planned, including an industry-wide strike if necessary as a last resort.

Reuther said that between 300,000 to 400,000 auto workers covered by contracts which include clauses permitting wage renegotiations, would be affected by the action taken at this board meeting. The other big two, GM and Ford, were excluded, according to Reuther, because their contracts did not have such provisions.

CANNOT BE LIMITED

The weakness in any union contract failing to have an "escalator clause," permitting wage negotiations to be reopened periodically as the cost of living increases, has been exposed to the hilt in this situation.

Nevertheless, the drive for higher wages to meet the rising cost of living begins this week. Any hope of limiting it to the UAW-CIO, as Murray desires, or to Chrysler, as the top

leadership of the UAW-CIO would prefer, appears doomed to failure.

The first shots in the second major round of post-war battles between organized labor and Wall Street were fired in the Chrysler arena this week. From skirmishes to full-scale battles is a matter of time and developments, neither of which is controlled fully by either side. The inexorable conflict between the organized working class and the capitalist ruling class heads for a new high and sharp point.

Vets Seize N. Y. State Senate; Demand Action on Housing Needs

NEW YORK—Seventy-five veterans took over the State Senate chamber in Albany this week-end and for 23 hours held a "special session" in a dramatic move to force action on the acute housing problem from the Dewey administration.

Before the 75 vets seized the Senate chamber at about 3:00 p.m. on Saturday, a demonstration on the Capitol steps estimated at 3,000 and organized by the Greater New York Council of the CIO, the Teachers Union, CIO, and the American Veterans Committee, demanded a special session of the State Legislature to deal with the housing problem and

The Boss's Dictionary

Patriot:



One-Tenth of the Nation

By J. R. Johnson

Every major political move in this country affects the body of the Negro people in one way or another. They are affected first as American citizens. War, depression, social revolution, price control, absence of price control, all these affect the nation. But the Negroes are in their majority poor and among the most oppressed, the most needy. On account of this they often are more sensitively affected by a great national catastrophe than the rest of the nation. Price controls are now off. It is reasonable to expect that wage controls will be off in the near future. Prices will continue to run away from wages. How does this affect Negroes as Negroes?

First of all, the Negro workers in the great industries are knit substantially into one department of the social fabric. Negroes in the unions are affected by these great political movements less than Negroes in any other sphere of American society. When the United Mine Workers move, the hundred thousand Negroes among them act as United States citizens and are affected as United States citizens. When John L. Lewis wins from the coal operators a percentage of the profits for the social good and welfare of the miners, the Negro workers in the UMW participate as miners, not as Negro miners.

In the UAW, the tens of thousands of Negro workers come out on strike, take part in the agitation around the slogan "Open the Books," win their wage increases, and participate in such benefits in working conditions as the contract can force out of the monopolist vultures who own the means of production.

NEGROES DOUBLY GOUGED

But these Negro workers who are placed in industry are among the main stand-bys of the Negro community. It is through them and their wages and the union protection that some Negro women at least are removed from the necessity of domestic labor and the other humiliating drudgeries. These types of labor are

not only humiliating for any kind of worker but are especially so in that for the most part they are reserved for the Negro women. Poor and miserable as the wages of the workers may be, the children of the Negro worker, in theory at any rate, and to some degree in practice, have at least the opportunity to live more or less on an equal level with the children of the great majority of wage earners in this country. Even the Negro middle classes, particularly the Negro doctors and the Negro small business men, beauticians, small grocers, etc., depend largely upon the wages brought into the Negro community by the Negro workers to maintain some level of business.

It is therefore necessary for all Negroes, whether actually workers or not, to recognize in simple, practical terms what the wages of Negro workers mean not only to the Negro workers themselves, but to the communities in which these Negro workers live. When the wages of the worker are subjected to inflation, to the unbridled prices of thieving capitalists, it is felt by all. But nowhere is it felt so much as among the Negro people where the Negro workers as a body represent so substantial a part of the local community.

But if the Negroes thus feel the full weight of a crisis such as the present crisis of wages and prices, there is another way in which they feel it far more than any other group in the country. Anyone who lives in or near a Negro neighborhood knows the unscrupulous, merciless gouging to which the Negroes are subjected. Their rents are higher than the rents of white workers of a corresponding status. The dollar of the Negro housewife can buy only eighty cents' worth in the shops in the Negro communities. The canned goods, the fresh vegetables and all the daily staples are of inferior quality. Very often these supplies are the rejected and discarded produce of the bigger markets from white neighborhoods. When there are shortages, for instance, of certain brands of cigar-

ettes, it is known that these are not sent to the Negro communities at all. The shares that should by rights go to them are sent elsewhere.

WHAT NEGROES CAN DO

Thus in the critical period opening up before us the Negro people have two things to do:

1. They must recognize that this crisis affects the whole nation and above all the working class. Whether they are workers or not, they must recognize that it is upon the actions of the working class as a whole that any solution depends. Under the circumstances therefore Negroes everywhere must make up their minds not to be distracted by stupid propaganda about "free enterprise" and "the excesses of labor unions" but to organize themselves to throw their full weight behind all militant measures taken by organized labor to break the wage-price crisis.

2. At the same time the Negroes must realize that they themselves have to carry on the most serious struggles in their own communities against the local representatives of the capitalist monster which is pressing upon the American people in every sphere of life. In this struggle, every section of the population must be mobilized, in housewives' committees, tenants' committees, etc. Yet the leading role must be played by the Negro workers in the community. They are the ones most accustomed to struggle. They are the ones most closely knit by proletarian solidarity. They are the ones who can conduct these community struggles with the best possibility of local success and at the same time with the best opportunity to link them up with the great struggle of the proletariat on which we all depend.

With the abolition of all serious attempts at price control, the class struggle in the country moves into a new stage. Negroes have the best of reasons to recognize organized labor as the present leader of the nation out of the mess into which "free enterprise" has placed it.

Didn't Like It!



GOVERNOR DEWEY

with pay increases for teachers and state employees.

The veterans gained entrance to the Senate chamber by outwitting the guards and held it despite the presence of 100 heavily armed state troopers. Governor Dewey at first tried to meet with the vets and tried to starve them out by refusing to allow any food to enter the Capitol. But when they ignored a threat by Dewey's counsel that their action was illegal, and equally turned down a request from the state police that they leave, Dewey was compelled to yield to a conference.

At the meeting with Dewey the vets presented the housing program they had drafted at their Veterans' Senate:

- Appropriation of \$400,000,000 from the state surplus for immediate housing construction.
- Part of that sum to be used for renovating and opening boarded-up homes to supply some 30,000 dwelling units.
- A \$400,000,000 bond issue, to be put to referendum at the coming elections, to finance permanent low-cost housing.
- Requisition as many hotels as are needed for emergency housing of veterans.
- Repeal the allocation of \$202,000,000 from the state surplus for highway construction, and use the money for housing.
- No commercial building.
- No discrimination because of race, color or creed.
- Homes to rent at present OPA ceilings.
- Veterans' widows to receive same preference as vets.
- No demolition of homes for road construction.
- Turn summer resorts into temporary dwellings at low-cost ceilings.
- Include merchant seamen who served during the war under the same benefits as veterans.

Dewey, in rejecting the plea of the vets for a special session of the State Legislature to consider their proposal, tried to shift responsibility to the Federal Government and claimed that his administration had done all it could. The veterans replied that "This answer cannot satisfy 211,000 New York State veterans who are still homeless."

In quitting the Senate chamber, having accomplished one of their aims—namely, to force Dewey to meet with them—spokesmen for the veterans announced plans to continue the Veterans Senate as a permanent body "in order to effectively call upon veterans of the state to win homes by defeating Governor Dewey."

Dewey forces have charged that the move was designed to embarrass his campaign for re-election and contribute by the same measure to the Democratic Party's campaign to elect Mead. It is possible that there is some truth in this, in which case the organizers of the demonstration are playing around with the needs of the veterans.

There is nothing wrong with embarrassing Dewey. In fact, it is an excellent idea. But Mead needs exactly the same kind of embarrassing. For example, if there was a weakness in the veterans' reply to Dewey, it was in not stating bluntly that they intended the same kind of pressure on the Federal Government, and in not specifically saying that Truman's (and Mead's) inadequacy cannot be used as a cover for New York's failure to provide decent housing.

Whether the Stalinists had a hand in it or not (as charged) whether anti-Dewey-pro-Mead forces encouraged it, the fact remains that the veterans' action was a first-rate demonstration of the housing problem and the veterans' intention of doing something about it.

In fact, at the meeting with Dewey several vets got down to brass tacks with a warning that they would organize a squatters' movement to take over resort houses. One vet who said he would start such a movement in the Coney Island area was loudly cheered.

There is absolutely no doubt that the 75 vets had behind them the great majority of veterans in New York State, who were looking forward to their complete victory. It took some pretty dramatic action to force Dewey to so much as meet with the vets. It is going to take a lot more of this same kind of action to get results.

UAW Vets Outline Program

By WALTER JASON

DETROIT—The first of a series of regional veterans conferences of the UAW-CIO was held here last week, as a preliminary to a national conference to be held in Washington, D. C., in January.

Over 100 Michigan delegates held a one-day session discussing veterans problems as union men, and outlining a program for adoption at the national meeting.

SEEK BONUS

Even though Meyer Bernstein, national CIO veterans director, was opposed to the idea of demanding a federal bonus, the delegates unanimously re-affirmed the position of the UAW-CIO calling for a wage readjustment of \$3 a day for each day served in the states, and \$4 daily for overseas duty. A demand that any federal grant be paid from war profits and the fortunes of America's Sixty families was included in the resolution on the question of how the bonus was to be financed.

On housing, the program adopted calls for seizure of half of all hotel space by government decree, as an immediate step to relieve the housing shortage. Likewise, seizure of idle mansions was advocated.

The many deficiencies and inadequacies of the GI bill came in for criticism, and appropriate resolutions calling for amendments, etc., were adopted.

Perhaps the highlight of the conference was the virtual debate between Walter Reuther, UAW president, and some delegates from Pontiac, who accused him of not fighting for veterans vacation pay rights at GM. Reuther answered their arguments and proved they were either mislead or misinformed. It was a

give and take proposition in this debate, in the democratic tradition of the UAW-CIO.

OPPOSE CONSCRIPTION

Some debate took place on a resolution against militarism, and conscription. Almost unanimously the delegates opposed conscription but some disagreement on naming the causes of war occurred in discussing the whereas of the resolution. As a substitute for the resolution a motion condemning compulsory military training and pledging a struggle against all forms of it was adopted.

Since Michigan voters have before them the question of approving a state bonus, this question occupied considerable attention at the conference. The whole idea of a state bonus arose from UAW-CIO ranks, and the fight for it has been almost exclusively a struggle of the union veterans. Here, too, the conference demanded that any payment of a state bonus must come from corporation and high income taxes, and under no circumstances from a sales tax.

Although every wing of the UAW-CIO factions seemed to be represented at the conference, there was little evidence of genuine factional line-ups, for the adoption of a satisfactory program for veterans seems to be an easy thing.

POLITICAL RESOLUTIONS

The key question of how that program should be achieved, namely the matter of building a labor party to make possible a real solution of "veterans' problems, wasn't before this conference. However, the question was brought up when one dele-

gate asked Reuther why he wasn't for a Labor Party. Everyone seemed amused at Reuther's answer about "being practical, and the time is not ripe."

A mild Stalinist attempt to introduce a resolution in support of Henry Wallace got nowhere, when Emil Mazey, veterans director of the UAW-CIO and conference chairman, suggested that such resolutions properly belong in the union meetings as a whole, rather than at conferences called for working out a specific veterans program. The Stalinists withdrew their suggestions for such a resolution. In the resolutions committee, according to a report, four of the five members voted against support of Wallace and his foreign policy, but no resolution came from there in view of Mazey's outline of the purpose of the conference.

The UAW-CIO plans a national vet conference in January at which the resolutions adopted here, and other conferences will be discussed and adopted, and a fight made for this program at the next session of Congress, according to Mazey.

Baltimore SYL, WP Open Bi-Weekly Fall Forum Series

By HENRY WILLIS

BALTIMORE—The Baltimore Socialist Youth League and the Workers Party held their first fall forum on Friday, October 11, at their new headquarters, 21 W. Preston St. James Fenwick, Philadelphia WP organizer, was the main speaker in a discussion that centered around the question, "Is the Communist Party a Threat to the Working Class?" Included in the discussion was an estimate of the role played by Communist Party front organizations, such as the American Youth for Democracy (AYD).

James Fenwick pointed to Poland as an example of the gruesome effects of Stalinist control and as an illustration of its counter-revolutionary policies. The nationalistic roles played by the Communist Parties of the various countries of the world; chiefly for the purpose of serving the Kremlin were also indicated.

Following the main speech, questions were asked from the floor. There was in addition an informal discussion of the various aspects of the revolutionary philosophy.

At the meeting, the chair announced that the SYL, jointly with the WP, will hold forums on the second and fourth Fridays of every month at 21 W. Preston St. Starting time is 8 P.M.

TAPPING THE WALL STREET WIRE

By JACK RANGER

NO SOAP

The strike of the meatpacking trust not only brings us "no steak" but "no soap." The critical shortage of soap is worsening rapidly. The average bar of soap is 50-70 per cent tallow. The tallow comes from steers. When steers are held off the market by the banker-controlled cattle associations, the supply of soap begins to dry up. The average bar of soap also has 20-30 per cent coconut oil, crushed from the imported coconut meat (copra). The coconut oil industry is now holding its product for higher price ceilings, offering almost no oil for shipment in October and November.

Things are getting to the point where it is difficult or impossible to send your clothes to the laundry either. Recently for the first time in its history the biggest laundry in Philadelphia was told by its soap supplier that soap deliveries were being slashed in half. A Pittsburgh laundry says it has been given a soap quota of about 25 per cent of normal. Proctor & Gamble, big soapmaker, says its supply of soap fat on hand totals only 50 per cent of its supply in 1940-41.

My advice to LABOR ACTION readers is to rush to the stores and buy up all the soap you can, before them damned hoarders get it.

FOREIGN NOTES

The U. S. State Department is urging American businessmen to protest immediately to the Polish government against nationalization of more than 900 firms in Poland, "some of which involve American interests." Here is what the Polish government plans: On September 30, it published a list of 513 firms to be nationalized without compensation to the owners, on grounds the plants were owned by the German government or German citizens. In addition, the Poles published a list of 404 firms for which it proposed to compensate the owners. We all accept it as a natural thing that our State Department would seek to organize a protest against any action of a foreign government that might threaten the interests of wealthy Americans.

But can you imagine the U. S. Labor Department ever urging American labor to protest against a foreign government that was exploiting or murdering workers... Brazil has taken over the 60-mile Sao Paulo Railway, held by British interests since 1856. The road is the nation's most important commercial line, running from the coffee port of Santos inland to the industrial city of Sao Paulo. The British are quite happy about the deal. Brazil pays them about \$26 million for the road, in federal bonds, at seven per cent annual interest... Despite U. S. protests, Sweden has signed an agreement with Russia, extending to that country a credit of \$278 millions for Russian purchases in Sweden during the next five years.

Under the pact, the two countries will barter annually \$55 millions worth of goods. Russia expects to buy electrical machinery, locomotives, and other heavy equipment... Stimulated by demands of the recent war, Mexican mining and manufacturing expanded greatly, according to a report just released by the U. S. Tariff Commission. Among the new enterprises in Mexico are plants for the manufacture of iron and steel, tin plate, rayon fibre, acetic acid, copper sulfate, cellulose and cement.

To give you an idea of how the building supply industry is prospering, The Celotex Corporation has just reported to its stockholders on the nine months ended July 31, 1946. Consolidated net earnings, after all charges and taxes, were \$2,436,329. This compares with \$489,498 in the same period a year ago. Dividends rose

from 49 cents a share to \$2.62... Net income of the privately-owned electric power and light industry for the eight months ended August 31, is \$457 millions, or \$106 millions more (30 per cent higher) than the same period in 1945... Fairbanks, Morse & Co., despite a 5½-month strike at its Beloit, Wis., plant, will show a profit for the year ending December 31, it reports... How? Simple. While the company suffered a net loss of \$357,363 for the first six months, it took itself a \$1 million tax carry-back to more than wipe out the loss.

SQUEEZE PLAY AT THE TREASURY

The American Bankers Association and the big insurance companies, together with Treasury Secretary John Snyder, are cooking up a good one. It probably won't be served this year, but it's worth watching. The bankers want the government to discontinue its policy of borrowing money for short terms at low interest rates, and to adopt a policy of long-term borrowing at high interest rates. The reason for their concern is obvious. The treasury is now paying about 7½ths of one per cent for money for one year. The bankers want a special 25-year 2½ per cent bond. A long-term bond would increase the present staggering \$5 billion annual interest load on the public debt. A 2½ per cent bond of \$3 billion face value, such as the bankers want, would cost \$75 million in interest. A short-term \$3 billion issue paying 7½ths of one per cent interest could cost about \$26.24 million. The bankers would get a handout here of \$48 million yearly on interest. And that's just on \$3 billion, remember. Treasury bills, notes and certificates are now maturing at the rate of \$3 billion a month. Further, a change in the Treasury's borrowing policy would have the effect of raising interest rates throughout the country. In the recent lush years, thousands of corporations have completed their refunding operations at low interest rates.

Labor Party Government Reforms Army!

The Theory

"Meanwhile in the army, reforms decreed by Field Marshal Montgomery aimed at abolishing irritating barracks and off-duty restrictions are being carried out... men and women in barracks can invite relations and friends to afternoon tea during fixed hours."

New York Times, September 24, 1946.

The Practice

"SINGAPORE, Sept. 27 (AP)—Lieut. Gen. Sir Montague Stopford, commander in chief of Allied land forces in Southeast Asia, today announced that 243 soldiers of the Thirteenth British Parachute Battalion had been convicted of mutiny by a court-martial and sentenced to two years' imprisonment."

"The men were accused of having refused to parade on May 14 at the Muar Camp as a protest against living conditions."

New York Times, September 28, 1946.

"A" IS FOR APRON—"Z" IS FOR ZIPPER
 From A to Z, We'll Have Them at
BIZARRE - BAZAAR
 NEW YORK WORKERS PARTY PRE-ELECTION CARNIVAL
 DANCE TO THE MUSIC OF A HOT BAND
 FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 1, 1946
 CARAVAN HALL, 110 East 59th Street
 Admission: \$1.00 Plus Tax

Shadow of Stalinism Covers First Meeting of Progressives

By ALBERT GOLDMAN

A combination of New Dealers ("liberals" under various degrees of Stalinist influence and some anti-Stalinists), labor bureaucrats and outright Stalinists met at a conference in Chicago on September 28-29 to consider and discuss their not too hopeful situation. Very rapidly the New Dealers are being deprived of their position and influence in the Democratic party. With the elimination of Wallace from the cabinet there is not a single prominent figure left in the Truman administration who is an authentic New Dealer. The Southern reactionaries and the corrupt political machines of the large cities have decided that they can get along without sharing offices with figures like Wallace, Ickes and their Stalinist supporters.

Since the conference was sponsored by the CIO Political Action Committee, the National Citizens Political Action Committee and the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions the Stalinist influence was predominant. Nevertheless the Stalinists had to give the lead to the non-Stalinist big-shot Democratic and labor bureaucrats. Ickes, Senator Pepper and Philip Murray could not be dragged into following a complete Stalinist line and the Stalinists therefore had to adapt their line to the Democratic big-shot politicians and labor leaders.

Although the Stalinists have been pressing for a third party, the line at the conference was adapted to meet with the approval of men like Wallace and Pepper who are definitely opposed to a third party. A third party is too much of a risk for the politicians who still expect to hold office as representatives of the Democratic Party. The conference unanimously decided to concentrate on the election of "progressives," both Democrats and Republicans.

Due mainly to Stalinist influence the door for the formation of a third party was left open. A continuation committee was appointed to meet after the election and to call another conference of "progressives" in January. Should the Stalinists decide to go ahead with the formation of a third party they will undoubtedly lose men like Pepper if not men like Wallace. The Senator from Florida may follow the Stalinist line when it does not conflict with his political career but he knows that to be a successful politician for the time being, he must be a Democrat and an advocate of white supremacy.

DOMESTIC PROGRAM

For its domestic program the conference presented a document which roundly condemned the 79th Congress for "letting the people down." The program is for price and rent control, for subsidies for housing (completely inadequate), for the Wagner-Murray-Dingell health bill and for all other measures that have been introduced by Truman, under the general title of Roosevelt's Economic Bill of Rights, but either rejected or pigeon-holed by Congress.

It is significant that the Truman administration was omitted from the section that criticized the 79th Congress. Neither the Democratic politicians nor the CIO non-Stalinist bureaucrats are ready to break with the Administration.

The program for the domestic scene bases itself on the acceptance of the principle of free enterprise. In that, Wallace, Ickes and Morgenthau set the tone. The monopolies were condemned; small business was promised relief as well as the worker and farmer but the capitalist system as such was not mentioned. Not one

word about nationalization of any industry appears in the platform. It is a program of middle-class progressives who have come under Stalinist influence.

TWO FOREIGN POLICIES

The resolution on foreign policy is a compromise between those who, like Ickes, defend the interests of American imperialism against Stalinist encroachment and the Stalinists who are now supporting Wallace in his policy of appeasement. Due to the open break between Russia and American imperialism some of the liberals are balking at accepting Stalinist leadership. The liberals and the labor bureaucrats who generally keep quiet when criticism of the Stalinists is in order, have recently gotten up courage to criticize. We can predict with confidence that the more serious the tension between American and Stalinist imperialism becomes the more scared will the liberals become of Stalinist influence. The anti-Stalinist groupings that have appeared in the CIO are largely due to the deterioration in the relationship between American and Stalinist imperialism.

Ickes and Murray openly attacked the Stalinists. Murray limited himself to an extemporaneous remark to the effect that the attempt of the Communists to mix in labor politics is not welcome. The attack of Ickes was prepared and much more elaborate—mainly on the foreign policy of the Kremlin. As a result the foreign policy platform, in addition to calling for unity of the Big Three and for the cessation of military aid to any faction in China, also condemned imperialism by all nations. We can rest assured that this was difficult for the Stalinists to swallow but they accepted it since they are in a position to claim that there is no such thing as Russian imperialism.

On the question of the atomic bomb the conference supported Wallace as against Baruch. Ickes was not present at the time the resolution was accepted but he has since come out with an attack on those responsible for the drawing of the resolution. It is becoming clear that Ickes is drawing further away from the Stalinists as the tension between Moscow and Washington grows.

THE REAL FAILURE

There is no doubt that the conference had representation from those sections of the American people that must unite in the struggle against the monopolies that rule this country. Walter White of the National Association for the Advancement of the Colored People was there; also James Patton of the Farmers Union. The backbone of the conference was the PAC of the CIO.

If progressive labor were to take the lead and unite around it the poor farmers, the Negroes and the lower middle class, a conference would go far indeed if labor were determined to launch a party of its own, to assume the leadership of such a party and not permit ambitious middle class politicians to determine the policies of the party. Such a conference would go far indeed if instead of clinging to the program of Roosevelt it would clearly see the necessity for a program leading to the taking of power by labor with the purpose of nationalizing the most important industries under workers' control.

But the conference that was held had the fatal weakness of being dominated by the Stalinists who are interested only in defending the Kremlin tyrants. And in addition there were the middle-class politicians who cling to their free enterprise and, in the last analysis, to American imperialism. From such a conference nothing good for the labor movement can emanate.

C. P. of Greece Signs Agreement For Debate With Trotskyists

PARIS—The Greek Communist Party (Stalinist) has concluded a written agreement with the International Communist Party (Fourth International), dated September 11, for a series of joint discussion meetings. The first meeting, according to the International Secretariat of the Fourth International, was scheduled for September 22. No news has yet been received as to its outcome.

The idea of the meetings was broached by Nicholas Zachariades, general secretary of the Greek CP, in an article in Rizospastis, the party's official organ. Although the reasons for this abrupt change in attitude by the CP leadership have not yet been made known, it is clear that they are closely related to the grave inner crisis that has been ravaging the CP ranks for some time. Whole pages of Rizospastis have been devoted to the fight, and to such figures as Petsopoulos, old-time party leader, and Orestis and Zacharias, military leaders of the ELAS insurrection and the Partisan struggle against the Nazis.

DISCONTENT RIPENS

The shameful record of the Greek Stalinists, in particular the infamous Varkiza pact whereby they surrendered their arms to the British, their refusal to base themselves on the overwhelming majority of workers and peasants who continued ready for struggle even after the defeat of the limited Athens insurrection of December, 1944, all ripened the discontent with the party leadership.

Petsopoulos, who claims the support of the majority of the party despite his expulsion, attacks the party in a letter, cited by Rizospastis itself, for its opportunist policy and says that "if the mass (that is, of the party) accepts this policy, the party should change its name and those who remain Bolshevik should build anew a Communist Party."

At the same time that this crisis was breaking out in the Greek CP, the two Greek parties that were in general agreement with Trotskyism were carrying on unity negotiations, and fused recently into one united section of the Fourth International (despite their internal disagreements over the Russian and other questions).

It may be assumed that the official Stalinist leadership, faced with both a growing internal opposition and a reinforced Trotskyist movement, is trying to dam the opposition current by giving itself a coat of "democratic" paint.

The CP-ICP agreement goes into detail on joint sponsorship of these discussion meetings. The first one was to be held on the "Internal Situation in Greece and the Position of the Working Class." For the following meetings, each organization is to propose subjects, and disagreement is to be settled by tossing for it.

A joint commission, one from each party, will take care of the technical organization of the meetings, the first of which was set for a theater or other central place in Athens. A joint chairmanship of two, with each one presiding during the speech of the opposing speaker, was agreed upon.

Order to be assured by a force of ten responsible members of each party. Four speakers, two for each side, with the speaker for the party proposing the subject coming first. Tickets of admission to be printed by the joint commission and distributed by the parties to their members, sympathizers and non-party members. The audience will have the right to vote after each discussion for whichever position it finds best.

The ICP's proposals for admission of the Archimexists and printing of the debates were rejected. We await with impatience the outcome of these meetings!

How the Social System Operates in the South

By DAVID COOLIDGE

All that we have written about the South in this series of articles is for the purpose of aiding us in answering certain important questions and to show what the nature of the problems is confronting the CIO in its present drive.

What is the social, economic and political system of the South today? In the case of the North, the answer is easy to get. It can be said unambiguously that in the North we have the capitalist system fully developed to the stage scientifically described as finance or monopoly capitalism. This is a precise designation of the economic order. On the political side we have bourgeois democracy: that political system initiated by the present capitalist ruling class or bourgeoisie after its revolutionary overthrow of the ruling class of feudal society. For the purpose of this article, bourgeois society can be explained by reference to the Constitution of the U. S. and the provisions in that document about government and the rights of the people.

The people shall have the right of free speech, assembly and petition. A man's house is to be his castle and the people are to be exempt from illegal search and seizure. There shall be the right to vote and manhood suffrage. All forms of slavery and serfdom are forbidden. Discrimination on account of race, creed or color, or based on either economic or social standing, is either illegal or in violation of democratic principles.

The state should be a republic and

the government to hold office by consent of the governed. There is to be an impartial judiciary, removed from the political struggle, sitting above the battle and dispensing justice impartially to all. All the people shall have political equality, and equality of economic and social opportunity. While there may be "the masses" and "the classes," the classes are not to enjoy any privileges denied to the masses. Furthermore, the industrious and deserving among the masses are to have the opportunity to enter the ranks of the classes (the upper classes, to be sure).

On the economic side the worker is to be a "free worker," not a slave, serf or peon. He has the right to organize, bargain with his employer and to strike. The worker cannot legally be bound to the factory, the mine, the farm or the plantation. He may leave at will and seek a job elsewhere. Under bourgeois (capitalist) democracy, the government is the protector and defender of all. It is the "people's government" and the laws which are enacted apply to all the people alike.

THEORY AND REALITY

In theory, at least, these are some of the distinguishing features of bourgeois (capitalist) democracy. Specifically they are the features which we need to be concerned. It is obvious, however, that the above-named principles are violated all over the country in one way or another. They are violated particularly in connection with the working class and always and everywhere in connection

Magazine ACTION

October 28, 1946

A Paper in the Interests of Labor

Page 3

Peace Was Not On Agenda Of The Conference at Paris

By ALBERT GATES

THE Tragic Farce of Paris, more popularly known as the "Peace Conference," has just ended. History will record it as a unique gathering. The wartime allies came to the meeting as bitter rivals. But this is not the first time that warring coalitions split into contending camps over a division of the spoils. The uniqueness of the Paris Conference is that it had no authority; no power of decision!

The dreary weeks of debate, deliberation, agreement and disagreement, were all preliminary exercises. The diplomats were merely using the occasion to broadcast the views of their governments in the best possible light to the world. And the peace treaties which were agreed upon by the various commissions are not yet treaties. Everything that happened at Paris is subject to a higher authority, an authority which alone can make decisions: the Big Four, or what is the reality, the Big Three.

They, and they alone, will decide whether decisions arrived at "democratically" in Paris will stand or whether they will be revised in part, or rejected in whole. The monopoly of politics follows the monopoly of power. The smaller nations of the world who survive by the sufferance of the giant military powers have no genuine rights. They play the role of "advisers," and the Paris Peace Conference had only an advisory capacity. This limited role had already been determined by the United Nations Conference held in San Francisco in 1945.

What else could the hierarchically organized UN achieve except a hierarchically organized peace conference? The Big Four permitted the small nations to participate in organizing the "peace" of the world—but only insofar as it conformed to the pattern drawn by the two imperialist camps. But since imperialist relations are not static, and since a deterioration of relations between the powers had taken place since San Francisco, Paris could not help but reflect such changing relations.

POWER IS WHAT COUNTS

Now, the United States and Great Britain are quite willing to accept everything decided at Paris on the theory that the compromise agreements reached there are the best possible achievements of the former Allies and should be allowed to stand. Behind this "democratic" gesture lies the imperialist advantage they have gained through a majority voting bloc which brought some partial victories over Russia and her bloc.

But Molotov threatens to overturn some of the treaties on the simple but obvious ground that they do not suit Russia and her satellites! The so-called compromises were not arrived at by agreement, insists Molotov, but by an accidental (!) majority which the United States and Great Britain had. How different it would have been if Russia had this voting majority. Then, everything decided at Paris would have been just and proper and democratic. The very argumentation of the big foreign ministers reveal that power, military and political power, is the determinant in world political relations. Everything else, the bathos about democracy, fairness, decency, justice, brotherhood of man, peace, disarmament were merely cynical evasions of the truth. The truth is, that the democratic rights of the people and their economic security had no place at Paris.

Paris was a meeting ground of imperialists carving up the map of Europe once more, shifting peoples from one country to another, annexing territories and placing indemnities against defeated countries. And finally, in its more decisive sense, the Paris Peace Conference was part of the diplomatic preparations for a new world war. Born out of an imperialist war, the Paris Conference could do little else except the first groundwork for another war.

The UN, no less than the League of Nations, is an alliance of imperialist brigands. If its sponsors find it a little embarrassing to speak confidently of democracy, self-determination and peace in an atomic world, it is because of the composition of its constituents. As a body purposely organized to "secure the peace" of the world in order to maintain the new imperialist division of the globe, the UN could not permit the Paris Peace Conference to get out of hand by the free actions of the smaller nations who could muster a majority vote.

Thus if the sponsors of the Paris Conference are a little in doubt about the UN, they were quite boastful about the peace conference. While violating every democratic right of the European peoples, they talked loudly about peace, democracy and national freedom. Not even the organizers of Versailles were so hypocritical, though they contributed their fair share to history. Lloyd George, Clemenceau and Orlando frankly admitted that their peace was one of revenge. They cynically acknowledged that all talk about self-determination of nations, democracy and peace were nothing more than propaganda; that such aims would be achieved only to the degree that they fitted in with the new Europe they were planning. Yet the organizers of the Paris Conference, if they are less frank than the men of Versailles, have produced results that far exceed the robbers' peace of 1919.

WHAT THEY DECIDED

An examination of Europe at the end of the Paris tragedy reveals the utterly hypocritical and cynical nature of the peace conference. The Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms, subscribed to by all the powers, died even before the war ended. Their requiem was merely sounded at Paris. And here is what Paris accomplished, subject to the veto of any one of the Big Three, or Big Four powers:

- The conference assumed and accepted the division of Europe into two spheres of influence, a Russian zone stretching from Stettin on the north to Trieste on the Adriatic. This division of the Continent between the Russian and Western blocs is the living answer to the claims of the diplomats that an acceptance of this "reality" is a guarantee of the peace and security of Europe. On the contrary, this very division of Europe is the basis for the coming war.

- Because there is no agreement between the Big Four on what to do with Germany, or even on what was decided at Potsdam, Germany remains economically, politically and geographically divided. The Paris conference was unable to even discuss Germany and a peace treaty with her has been indefinitely postponed. In the meantime, this great industrial nation, inhabited by tens of millions of people, remains prostrate, economically disorganized, spiritually decayed. Astride the neck of Germany, which alone could bring about an economic revival of the Continent, stand the Big Four, fearful of each other and unable to achieve one constructive act which would advance European civilization.

- Drafts (!) of treaties with Rumania, Bulgaria, Italy, Hungary and Finland were adopted by a vote of 15 to 16. If Russia did not get everything she wanted in them, she nevertheless got her chunks of land and reparations against the peoples of these countries.

- By evasion, the conference affirmed the incorporation of Baltic states into the borders of Russia. By some strange reasons, these countries, never at war with either Germany or Russia, were treated like defeated warring powers—their fate decided by stronger powers. The brigands at Paris were not at all concerned with the simple question: what did the people of Estonia, Latvia or Lithuania think and want.

- The fate of Poland, over which the war began, was decided by the Big Three and its decision was not even subject to review by the peace conference.

- Without consulting the inhabitants of the Trieste area, the conference decided to internationalize the area. Yugoslavia, the great "democracy" ruled over by that well-known "democrat," Tito, just walked out of the conference at that point and declared it would not accept any decision except one which turned the city and its environs over to it.

- The conference neatly avoided any discussion and decision on the question of slave labor, the use of prisoners of war as laborers without pay or time limit, and the right of self-determination, the guarantee of democratic rights for the people.

IMPERIALISM IS THE ENEMY

The role of the Western powers and the United States could have been foretold in advance. As imperialist powers, with considerable wealth at their disposal, some with vast colonial empires still at their command, they were able to appear a bit more magnanimous toward the smaller and defeated warring countries. Their strategy, however, was dictated by competition with Russia. The totalitarian nature of Stalinism only aided the capitalist powers to play this role to the hilt. For throughout Europe, Russia has conducted herself in a primitive, brutal conquerer way. And if Russia was highbanded in her treatment of the Eastern European and Balkan countries, her actions have in general been supported by the United States and Great Britain, as well as the Paris conference. Thus, all the imperialists share equal responsibility for the tragedy of Europe.

The large problem of European society remains unsolved. Europe is an economic wasteland; a continent economically impoverished and hopelessly divided geographically, her peoples starving by the millions. What did Paris do to alleviate this mass misery? What did it do to put the economic machinery of Europe in motion, to achieve a production of goods and food? Nothing!

Europe remains ground underfoot by the new imperialist rivalries which have emerged from the war. It is divided into two parts. Germany, a key to the problem of the continent is like an oasis in the Old World. There is no freedom in Europe. The people, having gone through years of war, must again pay for the costs of the destruction by unemployment, hunger, and reparations. They are made to pay for the crimes of their rulers—not only by the capitalist imperialists, but also by Stalin's so-called socialist fatherland. The economic chaos of Europe has been guaranteed by the Paris conference.

This is one aspect of the great problem. But, what about peace? Did Paris further the cause of peace? Who is there that will really contend this? Quite the contrary occurred.

Peace is now a period of armed interlude between two wars. Is the next war on the agenda of today? No, but all the preparations for the next war are being made now. If war comes immediately, it will result only from the madness of the imperialist rulers, for logically it is yet too early. But the danger of war is not one-sided, not restricted to one imperialist camp. It comes equally from both camps, the Russian, as well as the Anglo-American. Those who see in the present world situation only an encirclement of Russia, the "imperialist attack on the Soviet Union," are living in a dead past and preparing a future support of one imperialist camp against another.

The lesson of the war just fought remains: it was an imperialist war. The imperialists still are in power. They are preparing a new slaughter, more deadly and destructive than the last. They are preparing an atomic war which will wipe out civilization. The hope of humanity, the hope for civilization and its survival lies in the abolition of capitalism, of the bureaucratic collectivist régime of totalitarian Stalinism and their replacement by the rule of the people, the democracy of the masses, by the socialist society of real peace, freedom and security.

(Continued on page 5)

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

Published Weekly by the

Labor Action Publishing Ass'n

114 West 14th Street, New York 11, N. Y.

General Offices: 4 Court Sq., Long Island City 1, N. Y. Tel.: IRonsides 6-5117

Vol. 10, No. 43

October 28, 1946



EMANUEL GARRETT, Editor

EDITORIAL BOARD

ALBERT GATES

IRVING HOWE

HENRY JUDD

Subscription Rate: \$1.00 a Year; 50c for 6 Mos. (\$1.25 and 65c for Canada, Foreign). Re-entered as Second Class Matter, May 24, 1940, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. Under the Act of March 3, 1974

WORLD POLITICS

OFF LIMITS

By

James M. Fenwick

Harold Laski on Russian "Liberty"

Harold J. Laski, leader of the so-called left-wing of the British Labor Party—that is, its most openly pro-Russian wing—has lately departed from America, after expressing many apologetic words on behalf of the Stalin dictatorship over the Russian people. Laski, who prior to his visit here, had sought the company of Stalin and his associates in Moscow, had also expressed the belief that Stalin was "subject to democratic processes" inasmuch as he was only a member of the Russian Politburo and, as such, his proposals were subject to vote by that body! This is undoubtedly the biggest falsehood of anything the professor has written, because he knows it is not true. He has written as much many times before.

In an article published in The New Republic (October 21, 1946), Mr. Laski expresses one of the crassest examples of phony logic (known as non-sequiturs) that we have ever seen, all on behalf of Comrade Stalin, the "democratic" leader of our 1946 world at peace. Laski raises the point, in apparent justification of undemocratic procedures in Russia and Stalin's open suppression of freedom of the press, that the democratic nations of the Western World have a far from perfect system of press freedom, etc.

"There is more," he says, "than Englishmen or Americans can willingly admit in the Russian insistence that, in an unequal country, private ownership of newspapers, the movies, the radio and similar instruments of opinion is a principle which risks the hope that truth will ever win through..."

"Private ownership," continues Mr. Laski, "shapes the battle to ends which sacrifice the need for the facts to be before the community for weighing to the need for preserving the power and privilege inherent in this ownership."

REALITY AND THE FICTION

These statements are, by themselves, true enough and the revelation that capitalist ownership of the press and mediums of transfer of news and ideas leads to lies and distortions in behalf of the capitalists—these revelations are commonplace among socialists. But what has all this to do with the DENIAL of truth, and the DESTRUCTION of civil liberties in Stalin's Russia where, as everyone knows, private property hasn't existed in thirty years? The cheapest and lowest form of apologetics on behalf of something evil and reactionary (like the Stalinist system in Russia), is to point to the same vile evil as existing elsewhere. As they say in the Bronx, "So what about it?"

In the main body of Laski's article, he himself (by inference, of course) delivers a damning indictment of the whole Russian system and admits (again by inference) that liberty and freedom are entirely unknown to that land. We cite some of his remarks, sufficient evidence of the falseness of his conclusions and the lack of logic in his apologetics:

"...there is no writ of habeas corpus in Russia... He (the average citizen of the Western World—ed.)

has heard of the dread secret police, of the treason trials and the purges... great efforts are made to prevent that ease of movement, of inquiry and criticism and friendly discussion..."

"I think there is hardly one point in all these matters," adds Laski, "on which a strong and, sometimes, a complete case could not be made out against the rulers of Russia."

And finally, listen to this description of Russia—by Mr. Laski! "Where nothing is known, everything is suspected; and the silence of the Russian government remains in this realm a massive, even a brutal, thing which, because it cannot be explained away, is a grave disservice to the building of adequate relations with the outside world."

This Russian despotism cannot be explained away even by a Harold Laski with his false face.

WHAT MAKES THEM RUN?

"But, how come?" one might ask, "that a leader of a reformist 'socialist' party, a man who constantly prates about democracy and liberty, who was so critical of the Russian Revolution, of Lenin and Trotsky, can speak so warmly about the greatest despot in the world and the foulest totalitarian régime we have ever seen?" It can only be explained by the general decay of society and its morals which have their effect even upon labor movements and leaders who profess to represent the interests of the working class.

Some defend capitalism and the social evils flowing from it. Others, the police régime of Stalin. In either case it represents a conscious or unconscious covering before power, the power of monopoly capitalism, or the power of bureaucratic collectivism.

The average capitalist-minded labor leader, especially in the United States, is distinguished by his ignorance of economics and politics, by a lack of principle. He knows little or nothing of the real problems of modern society. The same, however, cannot be said of the "trained" social democrat, of whom Laski is a representative type. He is politically "educated." He often professes to be a Marxist and the best Marxist at that. He is "wise" up and suggests that he really knows and understands what it is all about. Yet he is distinguished by an extreme cynicism which winks at principles, and accepts the worst violations of socialist political morality and socialist principles. He accepts Stalinism, the strongest counter-revolutionary, anti-socialist force in the world today, as a representative of socialism; and thus he excuses the most monstrous crimes done in the name of socialism as merely momentary aberrations. And thus he becomes a Stalinist apologist who confuses and misleads the average class conscious worker.

If gentlemen like Laski, who opposed the Bolshevik State of Lenin and Trotsky, have become the defenders of Stalinism, you begin to understand the profound nature of the degeneration of the Russian Revolution and its effects upon revolutionaries, reformist socialists and radicals in general. The successes of Stalinism has gone to their heads.—J. & G.

War Guilt of Military Leaders

When the Nuremberg trial verdicts were announced recently, General Eisenhower stated that he was "a little astonished" that the sentence of death was imposed upon field marshal Keitel, the former chief of the German high command. "I was surprised," he said, "that they found it so easy to convict a military man. I thought the military would provide a special problem for the tribunal."

Cheered by the tribunal's ruling that the German general staff and the high command were not criminal organizations, Colonel D. F. Fritzsche, deputy American intelligence chief in Europe, more fully expressed the idea behind Eisenhower's statement.

"It is very encouraging to any staff officer," he fluted, "that the court has not set a precedent under which he might some day be prosecuted just for doing his job in helping plan the military defense of his country. This phase of the trial affects all members of the military profession in all countries who might be on the losing side some time and be prosecuted for it."

Now this is a really remarkable statement. Among other things it says in passing—as befits a mere trifle!—that the trial was a frame-up and that the defendants were prosecuted not for waging aggressive war but for being on the losing side. We shall return to this subject in the future. It is an important one. But what interests us now is the concept enunciated here: that the military bear no responsibility in waging modern war, that the staff officer is "just doing his job."

Just what is the role of the staff officer, what is his responsibility?

In one sense the staff grade officer in all countries is only a hired hand of the capitalist class, whose inescapable quest for markets, raw materials and peoples to exploit inevitably leads to war. The capitalist is the real criminal. The economic needs of the capitalists determine basic policy, which is carried out by the military.

The politicians are likewise merely the hired hands of the capitalists, doing their basic bidding. This applies to a Churchill as well as to a Goering. In terms of actual economic weight in a country they are, more often than not, insignificant.

The military and political leaders of a country are specialists hired by the capitalist class as a whole (much as the individual capitalist may hire a time-study man or engineer to run his factory efficiently) to prosecute the capitalists' internal and foreign policies most effectively. But they share the guilt of the capitalist class just as certainly as Al Capone's triggermen shared his.

Though the officer caste is essentially the servant of a country's ruling class it often has great independent power. The military has always been prominent in governmental affairs. One has only to recall such diverse names as Napoleon, Frederick the Great, or Gustavus Adolphus to verify that fact. In World War II there was not an important conference held, such as at Teheran, Casablanca, or Potsdam, without the presence and active participation of the military.

The military assumes a prominent role especially in times of crisis, when class tensions become sharp. Kapp, Ludendorff, and Goering in Germany; de Gaulle, Darlan, and Pétain in France; the régime of the colonels in Poland; Franco in Spain; Badoglio in Italy; Batista in Cuba; Chiang Kai-shek in China—all witness the responsibility of the military in the events of our time.

The tendency for military men to intervene more and more in the economic and political life of the United States is very pronounced today. Unlike following World War I the generals have not disappeared into the Sargasso Sea of civilian life. They form important sections of the governing personnel of the country.

One has only to recall the pro-consul role being placed by MacArthur in Japan, the intervention of Marshall in Chinese affairs, the power exercised by Clay in Germany, or the constant trips of Eisenhower throughout the world cementing military and political ties to recognize this fact.

The increased specific gravity of military personnel on the home front—now largely in preparation for war against Russia—is also manifest. Their influence is constantly being exerted everywhere. A casual reading of the paper is enough to show that.

No, whatever persons like Eisenhower may care to make us believe, the higher echelon officers are doing more than just a job. They are an integral part of the capitalist war machine and, along with the capitalists and their political servants, bear their share of the responsibility for the horrors of modern warfare.

Just as he was to be hanged at Nuremberg Julius Streicher said, "The Bolsheviks will hang you one day." We can safely let Colonel Fritzsche and his associates among the Allies worry about the legal justification which the trials may give the Russians for such an action.

The socialist movement has long since rendered its verdict on all war makers, German, Russian, English, and American alike:

They're all guilty.

DEMOCRACY IN ACTION!

AMG Guarantees German People The Right to Eat Dogs!

"BERLIN, Oct. 14 (AP).—An American military government summary court today freed a German locksmith who had been arrested for stealing and killing a dog owned by an American. The German pleaded he had killed the dog to obtain meat for his family.

"F. A. Tappen, Jr., judge of the court, asserted: 'I am not going to send a hungry man to jail for killing a dog.'"

Editorials

This Is Not a Labor Policy

As the staunchest supporters and defenders of the working class and its organizations, especially the union movement, the Workers Party and LABOR ACTION are also its severest critics. Our aim is to lift the organized working class to the highest possible level of solidarity and struggle. It is for these reasons that we are highly critical of the AFL convention held in Chicago.

The AFL met in the midst of one of the greatest struggles American labor faces against the most powerful capitalist class in the world. The big business monopolists, through their government, "theirs" in the most precise meaning of the word, have succeeded in enriching themselves in the post-war period just as they did during the war. The difference is that while, during the war, they achieved a high rate of profit through government contracts and other handouts, in the post-war period they have achieved these same profits through cutting down wages, lifting prices, obtaining tax rebates from a Congress which conducts its affairs like a special financial department of American business. The capitalists have succeeded in making the people pay for reconversion by reducing their standards. Thus, the whole post-war period has been marked by the simple process of robbing the people of their bread, butter and meat.

Now what should labor have done in face of this situation? The only thing it could do: in face of a reduction of its wages, it had to fight for wage increases. In face of rising prices, it had to organize a fight against price increases. The UAW General Motors Division showed the way to the rest of the labor movement when it raised the slogan: Wage Increases with No Price Increases! In this way it raised the question of prices to a new social plane and placed the labor movement in its proper position as the defender of the interests of the people as a whole against the profiteers.

The weakness of the labor movement was revealed when the rest of the unions did not endorse this program or fight for

it. On the contrary, many unions and part of the labor officialdom opposed the "GM Program," most notably, Philip Murray, president of the CIO. But worst of all, the whole officialdom of the AFL turned its back on the tremendous strike struggle of the CIO. This is bad enough, but the AFL actually denounced the fight of millions of workers.

And now at its convention in Chicago, it has adopted the point of view of the NAM and the Chamber of Commerce of the United States by charging that the present price rises and increases of profits of big business are the result of the strikes of the CIO workers! Has anything more treacherous been said by one labor organization about another?

There was altogether too much big business ideology present at the Chicago meeting of the AFL. The entrenched bureaucrats think, not like leaders of working men and women, but like business men. Instead of solidarizing themselves with the CIO in the fight for wages and against rising prices, the AFL leaders speak the language of the Tafts and Wherrys. Instead of organizing a struggle against the meat profiteers and the violators of price control, they denounced the CIO. But if the Greens, Hutchesons and Wolls think, however, that they can sidestep the real issues of our times and keep from the kind of fight many CIO unions are fighting they are entirely mistaken. Already the AFL seamen's unions have shown that it is impossible. The passage of time will find more and more AFL unions engaged in precisely the kind of fight part of organized labor has already fought. The wiping out of the OPA leaves big business completely unhindered and its drive against the people of the country will strike the AFL workers as hard as the CIO rank and file.

The sooner the AFL follows a militant course of struggle against the onslaughts of capital, the better it will be for the working class as a whole. One of the preliminary steps indispensable for this policy is that the AFL leaders stop thinking in the economic and political terms of big business.

Now You Know Whom They Serve

One of the illusions that capitalist democracy creates is that the government is really the government of all the people and not a class government, i.e., a capitalist government, as charged by revolutionary socialists. This illusion is strengthened by the fiction that voting by the people makes it impossible for the government to be controlled by any class—especially by the economically dominant class. But the facts of life show how elections are controlled by wealth, by two parties of the capitalists and the instruments of pressure, propaganda and miseducation. And this illusion is furthered by the political theorem that under capitalism government is "of, for and by the people."

Yet it is becoming clearer every day by the force of economic and political events that, under capitalism, the government is the political arm of capitalism, defending the interests of the class that dominates the economy. It is the political arena for the solution of capitalist economic problems, of smoothing out the inner difficulties of the ruling class and, most important, of keeping that class in economic and political control of society.

The post-war period is a classic example of the truth of the above assertions. The war economy was organized to benefit the interests of big business; the post-war period similarly. But the most graphic illustration of this is the manner in which the Senate and the House proceeded to reflect the various interests of the profiteers. In the discussions over the OPA a flurry of bills and amendments were introduced which had as their single aim increasing

the profits of the monopolists and through the senators and representatives the specific interests of the various capitalist interests they spoke for. Thus, in a column of Drew Pearson we learn:

"Senator Wherry of Nebraska, Republican, an auto dealer, introduced an OPA amendment lifting the profit for car dealers. Senator Butler, Republican, of Nebraska, cattleman, worked for decontrolling meat. Senator Murdock, Democrat, of Utah, land of beet sugar, tacked on an amendment favoring the beet-sugar growers. Senator Hoey, Democrat, of North Carolina, which grows tobacco, knocked the price ceiling off tobacco.

"Senator Radcliffe, Democrat, of Maryland, where they go in for poultry, introduced an amendment boosting that industry. Senator Moore, Republican, big oil man from Oklahoma, made sure price ceilings came off oil.

"Representative Gossett, Democrat, of Texas, inserted a decontrol amendment for the National Association of Manufacturers; Representative Wolcott, Republican, of Michigan, sometimes called the "General Motors spokesman," introduced the cost-plus-profit amendment; Representative Fred Hartley, Republican, of New Jersey, went all out for the National Retail Dry Goods Association, while rich Senator Taft inserted the assured-profit amendment by which business was guaranteed bonanza profits of the early war years. Senators Thomas of Oklahoma and Bankhead of Alabama had the gall to fight OPA curbs on cotton speculation, while they were speculating in cotton."

Books You Should Know...

THE HEART IS A LONELY HUNTER, by Carson McCullers, Penguin Books, 25 Cents.

By ABE VICTOR
Penguin Books has reprinted this first novel written by a young girl from Georgia who has had a curious if not altogether hopeful development as a writer. For a first novel, The Heart Is a Lonely Hunter shows some remarkable and poetic insights into the people of a small Southern town, on some tragedies of childhood, on the sadness and frustrations of later life. Some paragraphs and even an occasional chapter reach a truly clear and beautiful pitch of melancholy or of personal sorrow. And for this reason alone the novel is worth reprinting and certainly worth reading. But somehow the pitch is not sustained; it develops no real climax; but neither is the mood relieved. And at this impasse the style becomes tedious and the story overlong. Can the reader be blamed if he finds himself as willing to put the novel down as he was to start it?

Carson McCullers was born in Columbus, Ga. She came to New York to study music. But New York does not concern itself too seriously with the purpose for which people seek its noisy life. Like many a visitor, Carson McCullers was caught up in a whirl, was buffeted about, but also stimulated; she was hurt and angered but also educated. And she lost her purpose in the confusion; but she found a better one.

FLOW OF CHARACTERS
She began to write about the Southern town, about the frustrations, the backwardness and perversions of its emotional life. In The Heart Is a Lonely Hunter she created (one of the few good instances in recent fiction) a Negro intellectual, a doctor who was possessed of an incomplete Marxist education, a strong social conscience and a neurotic need

NOTE:
The New Address of THE WORKERS PARTY LABOR ACTION THE NEW INTERNATIONAL is 4 Court Square Long Island City 1, New York

to form his children in his own image. There are other characters: a strangely silent but understanding saloonkeeper, a migrant working stiff who barely manages to articulate his class consciousness, a deaf mute who appears to understand all these people who sometimes fail to understand each other. And, of course, there is a very young girl, full of emotion and conflict and creative urge and full of a strange love for the deaf mute.

Such bursting with emotions is a quality which many of the characters in this novel possess. They are full of joy or of the fever of expression. There is love in them or sorrow or music or poetry. And they are about to explode with the intensity of it all. But somehow they cannot communicate it to anybody except the deaf mute, Mister Singer. And he appears to understand everybody, like some omniscient God.

Actually, however, as the reader is led to suspect, Mister Singer has developed a warm and sympathetic smile and a look of understanding in order to overcome a terrible feeling of loneliness which occasionally envelops him like a cloud. And certainly he does not understand as much as his friends wish him to. The illusion, therefore, that he is understanding is a wish-fulfillment dream, a daydream of frustrated people who have an intense desire to fulfill themselves, to express their feelings to others.

AN UNFULFILLED STORY
Consciously or not, Carson McCullers has created in all these people the symbols of her own frustration. She is, quite naturally, very much like Mick Kelly, the young girl of the novel. Mick Kelly wants to write great music; her actual productive effort consists of a dozen songs, plaintive little melodies, sad or joyous or with a profound melancholy and each little song is tied with a red string and hidden in a very private and very precious box.

Mick Kelly feels sad and excited and happy all at once. And she tries to put it into songs. But mostly she daydreams. She lies on her stomach on the cold floor and thinks about when she will be twenty and a world-famous composer. She will have a whole symphony orchestra and conduct all of her music herself. She will stand up on the platform in front of the big crowds of people. To conduct the orchestra she will wear either a real man's evening suit or else a red dress spangled with rhinestones. The curtains of the stage will be red

velvet and M. K. will be printed on them in gold. Mister Singer will be there and afterward they will go out and eat fried chicken.

The visions remain daydreams and Mick Kelly's composing, like her love for Mister Singer, remains essentially unfulfilled. The same is true of the class-consciousness of Jake Blount, of Dr. Copeland, the Marxist, and the doctor who fails to create his children in his own image and the deaf mute, Mister Singer, who loses the only other human being for whom he has a warm attachment, the Greek mute Antonapoulos. They are all creatures whose lives lack fulfillment. And the saddest thing of all is that the novel remains unfulfilled... sad because the South of Carson McCullers, with all of its very human people, can provide real material for the novelist.

McCullers' South is not like William Faulkner's; degenerate, of a decayed aristocracy, black with ugliness and the futility of life. And if McCullers' South remains essentially uncreated, we are left with only the bitter taste from Faulkner's Sanctuary.

NEXT WEEK:

THE NEW RED BAITING CAMPAIGN By David Coolidge

CAPITALIST BARBARISM IN EUROPE By J. R. Johnson

THE PURGES IN RUSSIA By F. Forest

WHAT TO DO ABOUT HOUSING By Henry Newman

THE CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS By Emanuel Garrett

A FIRST-HAND REPORT ON TRIESTE By George Harris

Leon Trotsky On: "Marxism In Our Time"

(The following excerpt is taken from a forthcoming pamphlet by Leon Trotsky entitled "Marxism and Our Times." This pamphlet is being published by the Workers Party and will be ready for sale in about two weeks. Originally, Trotsky's essay appeared as an introduction to "Karl Marx," a volume in the Living Thoughts Library issued by Longman, Green. It was written in the late thirties and related to the problems of United States capitalism, the New Deal and the particular problems of the society in which we live. The section we reprint here is devoted to a particular aspect of American economy which has acute relevance to the problems of our times.—Editor.)

COMPETITION AND MONOPOLY

Relations amongst capitalists, who exploit the workers, are determined by competition, which for long endures as the mainspring of capitalist progress. Large enterprises enjoy technical, financial, organizational, economic and, last but not least, political advantages over small enterprises. The greater amount of capital, being able to exploit a greater number of workers, inevitably emerges victorious out of a contest. Such is the unalterable basis of the concentration and centralization process of capital.

While stimulating the progressive development of technique, competition gradually consumes, not only the intermediary layers, but itself as well. Over the corpses and the semi-corpses of small and middling capitalists, emerges an ever-decreasing number of ever more powerful capitalist overlords. Thus, out of "honest," "democratic," "progressive" competition grows irrevocably "harmful," "parasitic," "reactionary" monopoly. Its sway began to assert itself in the 'eighties of the past century, assuming definite shape at the turn of the present century. Now the victory of monopoly is openly acknowledged by the most official representatives of bourgeois society. Competition as a restraining influence, complains the former Attorney-General of the United States, Mr. Homer S. Cummings, is being gradually displaced and, in large fields, remains only "as a shadowy reminder of conditions that once existed." Yet when in the course of his prognosis Marx had first deduced monopoly from the inherent tendencies of capitalism, the bourgeois world had looked upon competition as an eternal law of nature.

The elimination of competition by monopoly marks the begin-

ning of the disintegration of capitalist society. Competition was the creative mainspring of capitalism and the historical justification of the capitalist. By the same token the elimination of competition marks the transformation of stockholders into social parasites. Competition had to have certain liberties, a liberal atmosphere, a régime of democracy, of commercial cosmopolitanism. Monopoly needs as authoritative a government as possible, tariff walls, "its own" sources of raw materials and arenas of marketing (colonies). The last word in the disintegration of monopolistic capital is *Fascism*.

CONCENTRATION OF WEALTH AND THE GROWTH OF CLASS CONTRADICTIONS

Capitalists and their advocates try in every way to hide the real extent of the concentration of wealth from the eyes of the people as well as from the eyes of the tax collector. In defiance of the obvious, the bourgeois press is still attempting to maintain the illusion of a "democratic" distribution of capitalist investment. The *New York Times*, in refutation of the Marxists, points out that there are from three to five million separate employers of labor. Joint-stock companies, it is true, represent greater concentration of capital than three to five million separate employers, yet the United States does have "half a million corporations." This sort of trifling with lump sums and average figures is resorted to, not in order to disclose, but in order to hide things as they are.

From the beginning of the war until 1923 the number of plants and factories in the United States fell from index figure 100 to 98.7, while the mass of industrial production rose from 100 to 156.3. During the years of sensational prosperity (1923-1929), when it seemed that everybody was getting rich, the number of establishments fell from 100 to 93.8, while production rose from 100 to 113. Yet the concentration of business establishments, bound by their ponderous material bodies, is far behind the concentration of their souls, i.e., ownership. In 1929 the United States did actually have more than 300,000 corporations, as the *New York Times* correctly observes. It is only necessary to add that 200 of these, i.e., 0.07 per cent of the entire number, directly controlled 49.2 per cent of the assets of all the corporations, four years later that ratio had already risen to 56 per cent while during the years of Roosevelt's administration, it has undoubtedly risen still higher. Inside these 200 leading corporations the actual domination be-

longs to a small minority. A Senate committee found out in February, 1937, that for the past twenty years the decisions of twelve of the very largest corporations have been tantamount to directives for the greater part of American industry. The number of chairmen of the boards of these corporations is about the same as the number of members in the cabinet of the President of the United States, the executive branch of the republic's government. But these chairmen of the boards are immeasurably more powerful than the cabinet members.

The same processes may be observed in the banking and insurance systems. Five of the largest insurance companies in the United States have absorbed not only the other companies but even many banks. The total number of banks is reduced, chiefly in the form of so-called "mergers," essentially by being absorbed. The extent of the turnover grows rapidly. Above the banks rises the oligarchy of super-banks. Bank capital merges with industrial capital into financial super-capital. Supposing that the concentration of industry and banks were to proceed at the same rate as during the last quarter of a century—as a matter of fact, the tempo of concentration is on the increase—in the course of the impending quarter century the monopolists will have garnered unto themselves the entire economy of the country, without leaving over so much as the widow's mite.

The statistics of the United States are here resorted to only because they are more exact and more striking. Essentially the process of concentration is international in character. Throughout the various stages of capitalism, through phases of conjunctural cycles, through all the political régimes, through peaceful periods as well as through periods of armed conflicts, the process of the concentration of all the great fortunes into an ever-decreasing number of hands has gone on and will continue without end. During the years of the Great War, when the nations were bleeding to death, when the very bodies politic of the bourgeoisie lay crushed under the weight of national debts, when fiscal systems rolled into the abyss, dragging the middle classes after them, the monopolists were coining unprecedented profits out of the blood and muck. The most powerful companies of the United States increased their assets during the years of the war two, three, four and more times and swelled their dividends to 300, 400, 900 and more per cent.

In 1840, eight years before the publication by Marx and

Engels of the Manifesto of the Communist Party, the famous French writer Alexis de Tocqueville wrote in his book on *Democracy in America*: "Great wealth tends to disappear, the number of small fortunes to increase." That thought has been reiterated innumerable times, at first with reference to the United States, later with references to those other young democracies, Australia and New Zealand. Of course, de Tocqueville's view was already erroneous in his own day. Still, real concentration of wealth began only after the American Civil War, on the eve of which de Tocqueville died. At the beginning of the present century two per cent of the population of the United States already owned more than half of the entire wealth of the country; in 1929 the same two per cent owned three-fifths of the national wealth. At the same time 36,000 wealthy families had as great an income as 11,000,000 middling and poor families. During the crisis of 1929-1933 monopolistic establishments had no need to appeal to public charity; on the contrary, they rose higher than ever above the general decline of national economy. During the ensuing rickety industrial revival on the yeast-cakes of the New Deal the monopolists again skimmed a lot of heavy cream. The number of the unemployed decreased at best from 20,000,000 to 10,000,000; at the same time the upper crust of capitalist society—no more than 6,000 adults—garnered fantastic dividends; this is what Solicitor General Robert H. Jackson proved with figures during his tenure as Anti-Trust Assistant Attorney-General.

Ferdinand Lundberg who, for all his scholarly conscientiousness, is a rather conservative economist, wrote in his book, which created quite a stir: "The United States is owned and dominated today by a hierarchy of sixty of the richest families, buttressed by no more than ninety families of lesser wealth." To these might be added a third tier of perhaps three hundred and fifty other families, with incomes in excess of a hundred thousand dollars a year. The predominant position there belongs to the first group of sixty families, who dominate not only the market but all the levers of government. They are the real government, "the government of money in a dollar democracy."

Thus, the abstract concept, "monopolistic capital" is filled in for us with flesh and blood. What it means is that a handful of families, bound by ties of kinship and common interest into an exclusive capitalist oligarchy, dispose of the economic and political fortunes of a great nation. One must perforce admit that the Marxist law of concentration has worked out famously!

This Is the Real Question:

What Are the Prospects for American Capitalism?

By ERNEST ERBER

Two weeks ago we dealt with the question posed by the skeptic who asks, "But how can such a small party get anywhere?" We answered that the Socialist future did not depend upon the present size of our party, but rather upon *historical development*. We said that a movement flourished only when the preceding economic and political development had prepared the soil for it. We said that regardless of the wisdom of its leaders or their tactical skill or their excellence as writers and speakers, it still confronted the law of historical development which Marx summed up when he said that man does not make his own history "out of conditions chosen by himself, but out of such as he finds close at hand." We concluded, therefore, that the real question concerning the future of our party was whether historical development in the United States has and is preparing the ground for a mass movement based on our program.

Socialism ceased being utopian and became scientific with the theories of Marx, above all, because he established the concept that a socialist society was only possible when the means of production (more specifically, machine production) reached a level that assured an abundance for everyone. Marx, therefore, established that Socialism could not have been achieved in Ancient Rome, in the Middle Ages or at the time of

the French Revolution. Socialism was not a possibility in the United States of a hundred years ago. History gave to capitalism the progressive role of expanding the means of production to lay the economic foundations for a Socialist society. We assume that the skeptic who asks about the future of our party does not dispute that the economic forces available today could produce the abundance necessary for Socialism. (See my pamphlet, *Plenty for All* and Shachtman's *The Fight for Socialism*.)

PROSPECTS FOR CAPITALISM

However, the fact that socialism is now possible does not yet establish that the mass of workers will fight for it. History is not made that way. People do not discard that which they are satisfied with to adopt something that is still untried, no matter how alluring the latter appears. Masses are never moved into action by general plans about a future society. They only fight for that which is an immediate need. They only discard the old way of life when it no longer assures them stability and security to the degree to which they were accustomed.

If capitalism were to continue as a flourishing, prosperous system which guaranteed full employment, peace and a continuation of present living standards, the American workers would show no more interest in Socialism in the future than they have in the past.

Before we can answer the question of what the prospects for Socialism are, we must answer the question: what are the prospects for capitalism?

On a world scale, capitalism continued to expand until 1914. The

standard of living of the masses rose. Democracy was being strengthened everywhere, even to a limited degree in Czarist Russia. Liberalism and social reform were everywhere on the order of the day. Economic crises were only minor interruptions in the general upswing and were relatively short and mild in their effects. The "success" of capitalism was so imposing and seemed in such contradiction to the predictions of Marx that a whole school of Socialist thought emerged which stated that "the movement (fight for reform) is everything; the goal (Socialism) nothing." (This was known as "revisionism" or "Bernsteinism," after its founder, Eduard Bernstein.)

However, the expansion of capitalism over the face of the earth brought the leading capitalist powers into ever sharper rivalry. The increased imperialist antagonisms ushered in the era of militarism, of huge and growing armies and navies. The process exploded in 1914 in the form of the First World War. Though the United States had a period of post-war expansion (1919-29), capitalism on a world scale now entered a period of crises, upheavals and threats of war that have been the main feature of history since. Lenin called it the "epoch of wars and revolutions." With the worldwide economic paralysis that set in in 1929, the capitalist system everywhere, with the United States in the front ranks, tobogganed downward with increased speed. The economic paralysis of Germany gave birth to Hitler. Hitler rearmament Germany to fight for survival of German imperialism at the expense of its ri-

vals. The economic crisis dissolved into the war crisis.

European capitalism has been shattered to its very foundations. It survives only due to the crutches supplied by American capitalism. Though England, historic home of capitalism, is in better shape than the countries of the Continent, she also leans heavily upon American capitalism to survive. *The United States is today the last bulwark of capitalism on a world scale.*

EUROPE AND AMERICA

The workers of Europe no longer have faith in capitalism. The tremendous votes for the Socialist and Communist parties indicate this. It is only the American dollar and the American bayonet and the power of counter-revolutionary Stalinism, on the one side, and the absence of a revolutionary party, on the other, that prevents the workers' desire for Socialism from being translated into its achievements.

And how does it stand with American capitalism? Who has confidence that it will achieve stability and offer the workers security and a continuation of even the present declining standard of living? Most certainly many workers have no such confidence. Everywhere, among workers, farmers or business-men, one hears talk about making money "while it lasts." Everyone knows what the latter phrase refers to. It means let us make the best of the present, TEMPORARY boom before we hit another 1929. But the depression that began in 1929 did not end until war production began in 1939. (Let us not forget that WPA was dissolved AFTER Pearl Harbor!)

The next depression will, therefore, not be another mere "recession" to be followed by another boom. If capitalism could not get out of the crisis during the ten long years between 1929 and 1939, what guarantee is there that it will get out of the next one, short of World War III?

We conclude, therefore, that not only is Socialism possible but that capitalism is proving itself increasingly impossible. Even the skeptic who considers Socialism to be a day-dream will increasingly be driven to consider capitalism a nightmare.

American workers are not biologically different from the workers of Europe. If American workers have not accepted Socialism yet, it is not because their blood cells (or their brain cells) are different. It is to be explained entirely on grounds of the historical development of the United States as compared with that of Europe.

"How so?" asks the skeptic. "Did not America follow the same pattern of industrial development? If economic development is the key to historical change, why should the United States not have also produced a mass Socialist movement? Haven't Socialist parties been preaching their programs in this country as long as in Europe? Isn't it even true that the Socialist movement in this country once represented a force far stronger than that of today? If you expect the rise of a mass Socialist movement to result from the further decline of American capitalism, why did not the depression of 1929-39 produce such a movement?"

These are most pertinent questions. They will provide us the material for our next article.

First Hand Description Of Conditions in India

I think you might be interested in this description of a night spent in Lahore Railway Station—one of the most modern of India's stations.

We were en route for Kashmir, via Lahore, and during the first stage of our journey we were compelled to travel 180 miles in a Guard's compartment, as the rest of the train was crowded. Indian trains always are crowded; swarms of people have to travel miles hanging on to the outside of the third class coaches, and frequently there are cases of old men losing their grip and falling off, whereupon the train stops long enough to enable the train crew to remove the body from the permanent way.

To return to our train, all the first class compartments were reserved mainly for officers, and one compartment, with room for six, was reserved for P. C. Joshi, leader of the CP of India.

Our compartment was reasonably comfortable, being about half the size of an English Guard's compartment—until we found that we had to share it with a score of Indian railway workers. The resultant crush was indescribable, since everyone traveling out here carries his baggage with him. By the time we arrived at Lahore, we could not stand the heat (102 deg. F.) and discomfort any longer and so shifted to await the next train 10 hours later.

We arrived at 8:30 p.m. and struggled out of the "Black Hole" in time to see Joshi "chained" and garlanded, carried away by a mass of students.

There was no sleeping accommodation in the station, so we wandered into the town for a meal and idled the time away until around midnight, when we returned to the station. And here a miserable picture awaited us, for under the glare of the modern mercury lighting there were hundreds of people lying on the platforms. For the most part they were peasant families, mothers clutching their naked children to their emaciated bodies, covered generally only by rags, and there was a constant sound of children crying, not as English children cry, but in a way that conveyed nothing but despair and starvation. There was hardly room to move

for fear or treading on one of these wretches, and the air was full of smells and the inevitable flies.

The place was British India, but it looked exactly like the photographs of Belsen, so indignantly published in the capitalist press. I cannot portray the utter degradation of these unfortunate subjects of the "socialist" British Empire (probably, Joshi was enjoying a sound sleep in his hotel by this time). These were representative of millions of the subject peoples of India—"The Jewel of the Empire"; these were the people whose interests were so deeply engrained upon the heart of Atlee! These people knew nothing of the political maneuvers or the diplomatic events of the world; they knew only starvation, poverty, filth and disease. There were children lying naked with every bone in their bodies sticking through the thin covering of flesh, whose thighs were about as thick as broomsticks, many of them covered in sores or deformed through lack of nutritious food.

I have traveled from North to South in this unfortunate land, but nowhere have I seen greater poverty. I have seen mothers with their children, exhausted and unable to move, lying in the middle of the road waiting for death; either a slow one from starvation or, actually in one case in which I was concerned, in the hope that a car or truck would run them over. Whilst on duty here last week, my driver was forced to put the truck in a ditch to avoid a mass of rags and bones in the road, which was a woman and child. She literally could not move and we had to carry her off the road. I gave her money and an apple which was in my pocket, but it was probably too late....

But Lahore station sickened me more than any other sight I have yet witnessed: I felt like murdering the money-grubbing landlords and scheming politicians individually, and I would have felt great pleasure in doing it. Never have I been so glad to see daylight. I only wish the people at home who laugh at the idea of the exploitation of India could see it for themselves.

G.

Now Available at Reduced Cost!

Bound Volumes of The New International for 1945

Indispensable for a Revolutionary History of the Year 1945

The End of World War II The American Labor Scene The European Scene Classic Marxist Documents Resolutions of the Workers Party

NINE ISSUES Cross-Indexed by Author and Subject

PRICE NOW: \$3.00

Order from: THE NEW INTERNATIONAL 4 Court Sq., Long Isl. City 1, N. Y.

Don't Miss It!

The Workers Party, Local New York, expects a sell-out for its 800-seat hall in the Hotel Diplomat, November 8, when the first debate in radical history in seven years will take place between Max Shachtman, national chairman of the Workers Party, and Liston Oak, managing editor of the *New Leader*, on the question "Does Stalinism Flow from Bolshevism?"

A thousand tickets are on sale in various New York City bookstores, among them the New York University bookshop, the Labor Action Book Service at 114 West West 14th Street, and several other college bookshops. A complete list will be available next week.

LABOR ACTION BOUND VOLUME 1945

A permanent record of Marxist analysis of the year's outstanding events.

Order from LABOR ACTION 4 Court Square Long Island City 1, N. Y.

TOWARD SOCIALIST KNOWLEDGE

We Offer These Bargain Combinations of Workers Party Publications

Special No. 1 at \$1.00 Special No. 2 at \$2.50

- | | |
|---|--|
| (1) PLENTY FOR ALL—THE MEANING OF SOCIALISM, by Ernest Erber (80 pgs.) | (1) THE FIGHT FOR SOCIALISM, by Max Shachtman (paper cover), (182 pgs.) |
| (2) THE FIGHT FOR SOCIALISM, by Max Shachtman (paper cover), (182 pgs.) | (2) THE NEW COURSE, by Leon Trotsky, with essay by Max Shachtman (cloth cover), (265 pgs.) |

Originally \$1.25

Originally \$3.00

Special No. 3 at \$4.00

- | | |
|--|---|
| (1) PLENTY FOR ALL—THE MEANING OF SOCIALISM, by Ernest Erber (80 pgs.) | (3) THE FIGHT FOR SOCIALISM, by Max Shachtman (cloth cover), (182 pgs.) |
| (2) INDIA IN REVOLT, by Henry Judd (95 pgs.) | (4) THE NEW COURSE, by Leon Trotsky (cloth cover), (265 pgs.) |

Originally \$4.75

Mail Orders and Checks Payable to: WORKERS PARTY PUBLICATIONS

4 Court Square, Long Island City 1, N. Y.

The System in the South - -

(Continued from page 3)

talism. We do not have the space or the time to go into the many historical ramifications of this development. Only the broad outlines can be sketched.

The whole debacle of Reconstruction and the struggle for democratic rights by the Negro, particularly in the South, has been a struggle, not to complete the bourgeois democratic revolution, but to capture the formal benefits of bourgeois democracy and to make effective in daily life what is already established in theory and in the Constitution. It is interesting that in the South the denial of bourgeois democratic rights to the Negro is not based formally on the demand for aristocratic privileges. The Negroes are not "the mob," "the rabble," such as even a democrat like Jefferson feared. They are a "race,"

an "inferior race." The formal denial is based on the demand for "white supremacy," the demand for the domination of one "race" by another "race."

It is pertinent, however, to remark that this "race" theory is put forward by the leaders of the most backward section of the country; the section with the most backward economy, the most poverty-stricken section. Thus, the struggle of the Negro for bourgeois democracy has been hampered and frustrated by the backwardness of the Southern economy and the attitude of Northern finance capitalism toward the South. What we really see in the South is precisely a deviation from bourgeois democracy: the degeneration of bourgeois democracy (after Reconstruction).

(To Be Concluded)

WHO ARE THE PROFITEERS IN HOUSING?

By HENRY NEWMAN

Last week we presented figures describing the need for new housing, an analysis of how much money people can pay for a place to live, and a description of the run-away in building costs. For years to come, we found, we may expect a serious crisis in housing, characterized by a chronic shortage in dwellings. We arrived at the primary fact about the housing shortage: demand is so great that there will be practically no vacancies for the next five to ten years.

The New Republic, liberal weekly, from whose survey on housing we have taken many of the facts presented last week, cites three main obstacles to a quick solution of the housing crisis: (1) Real-estate interests want large profits. (2) Contractors and suppliers of materials are dishonest (black market). (3) Public officials are inefficient.

These, however, are surface troubles, continues the New Republic article. Behind them "looms the basic fact that the supply of dwelling places is far less than the demand for them. If there were many vacancies, most of the other obstacles would vanish."

This assertion would read even better turned the other way. If the obstacles were removed, there would be many vacancies.

The New Republic, in the manner typical of liberals takes its point of departure on the far side of the obstacles, much like the farmer in the old story. When some travelers asked him the way to a certain town, he got all balled up with right turns and left turns and finally told them, "Efen I was a goin' to Jackville, demit, I dang well wouldn't start from here at all!"

To get back to the housing shortage: The

ownership of tenement property in our cities is one of the most lucrative sources of income today. We are not referring here to the many low-income families who own their small piece of land and a house—but to the large landowners and mortgage holders who yearly siphon off millions of dollars from the working population in the form of rents and interest on home loans. These men, among the most powerful in the nation, have a virtual monopoly on conveniently located city land, and consequently are able to force tenants to fork over large proportions of their earnings.

Year in, year out they are able to offer their ancient and dilapidated properties, whose cost has been paid in full over and over by generations of tenants. The only thing in the world that can threaten this hoary racket is the production of decent, up-to-date accommodations at rentals that the tenement dwellers can afford to pay. Is it surprising, then, that there is tremendous real-estate resistance to low-cost housing?

Since the old houses are so profitable, the landlords and landowners have acted to preserve them by a paralyzing lockout. On the one hand, they refuse to sell their properties for low-rent housing, jacking up the price of the land to ridiculous heights; on the other hand, controlling as they do the major sources of the money that might be invested in new housing, they prevent its use by setting prohibitive interest charges on it. With these economic weapons supported by a powerful lobby in the government, the entrenched real-estate interests have maintained a stranglehold on our cities.

Where did they get the land? From the Indians? Yes, partly; and partly from land promotion schemes generations back, enacted for the most part in the twilight days between the hard

bargain and the swindle. How long will they have a right to hold up decent housing? Only as long as the working people of our country let them. The landowners seized the land by dispossessing the unoffending natives of America. They enlarged their holding, decade after decade, by snatching from their neighbors, always in the interest of private families and under the banner of private property.

BREAK THE PROFITEERS' POWER

A hundred times right is the idea that leaps to the mind! Let the people take back the land now and use it properly, not in the name of a few families, but in the name of the need of the working people. The government has the right to condemn and to acquire land needed for worthy public use. It has the obligation to take the land in today's emergency—and not for the greedy ransom the holdup men are demanding.

The way to end the real-estate monopoly in land is that simple. Breaking the lockout in money for building is just as easy. If the landlords refuse to spend the money they extorted and to invest of their own accord in modern buildings, let the government lay out the money. The government did it all through the war, building industrial plants to the tune of millions for industrialists who were not even obliged to pay the full cost for the use of the buildings. All that is new about our idea is that the government lay out the money for the small people of our land so that they can live in decency.

Our concluding article next week will deal with the second and third obstacles to housing. We will give a fighting plan for labor to break the black market in building materials, and we will explain the one sure way to get quick and effective government action.

Movements for Independence Grow in West Indian Islands

By W. F. CARLTON

One sign of the growing political awareness of the Negro people in the United States is their interest in the fate of Negroes in other parts of the world. The Negro papers feature accounts of social and political events in Africa. Their interest in the West Indies is even greater. The history of the West Indian people during the last ten years is one of such tumultuous and rapid development that it is worthy of study.

The West Indian islands are divided into two political groups, the independent islands, such as Cuba, Santo Domingo and Haiti; and the colonies proper, Jamaica, Trinidad, the Windward and Leeward Islands, etc. (British); Martinique, Guadeloupe and other islands belonging to France; and Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands, belonging to the United States. It is in the British colonies chiefly that the most startling developments have taken place.

THE POLITICAL PATTERN

What is most striking is the political pattern that the developments have followed. Students of politics have long known that in a modern country the working class is the driving force of the struggle for political freedom. The peasants or agricultural laborers as a rule follow the lead of the workers.

Furthermore, the middle class we know to be a vacillatory class, going now with the workers and now with big capital. According to the strength shown by big capital or the proletariat, the middle classes act, going generally with the stronger.

The British imperialists try always to use the colonial middle class against the proletariat and the poor peasants. They corrupt and intimidate their leaders just as the capitalist class in the U. S. corrupts and intimidates the labor leaders.

These tried and tested political ideas have been exemplified a thousand-fold in the recent history of the British West Indies.

EVENTS DEVELOP RAPIDLY

The most important feature of the struggle is the rapidity with which it has matured.

Ten years ago the islands seemed politically dead. There was a flurry

of excitement around election time, but the crown colony system seemed to choke the political life of the people. The crown colony system bears its crimes enshrined in its very name. Under this system the colonies are governed by the Crown, i.e., the British government. Its representative in each colony is the Governor, and he has absolute power.

To assist him he has a Legislative Council. In Trinidad (population 500,000) the Legislative Council consisted of two types of members, 14 government officials and 14 representatives of the people. But the 14 representatives of the people were not all elected by the people. Seven were elected and the other seven were nominated by the Governor. So that the Governor chose these representatives of the people.

ELECTIONS ARE STACKED

But even the elections were heavily weighted against the people. There was such a high property qualification for voters that only a very small percentage of the population could vote.

Under this system, not only did the majority of the Legislative Council represent the government, but even if the nominated members sided with the elected members against government, the Governor's officials plus himself could always vote them down. Not only COULD this be done, but it WAS done when necessary. It was official government by a permanent majority of officials. In essence, the Governor held power.

The system still remains today. But it has been cracked in many places. Today, in island after island, there is universal suffrage. There is a majority of elected members in the Legislative Councils. The people are clamoring for complete self-government. All this in the short space of ten years. How has this happened?

OIL WORKERS OF TRINIDAD

In the British West Indies the most important industrial undertaking is the oil industry of Trinidad, employing 7,000 workers. As out of a blue sky, they staged a sit-down strike in 1937 for higher wages, union recognition, holidays with pay, etc. Overnight the agricultural laborers and peasants followed them. The is-

land was in the throes of a general strike, which lasted 14 days. The other islands followed, Barbados and in particular Jamaica having repeated outbreaks. In Jamaica the longshoremen took the lead. There was mass strike after mass strike. These began over wages but what began as a struggle for wages soon took advanced political forms.

Political parties sprang up as if they had been growing below the soil. The British government tried to mobilize the middle classes against the workers. But the middle classes, started out of their traditional subservience to Britain, produced not only leaders of the people, but even gave political support to the workers.

GROWTH OF TRADE UNIONS

Trade unions organized themselves on most of the islands with astonishing rapidity, and have for some years now been linked together in an inter-island federation.

Political parties have sprung up in each island, dominated for the most part by the labor movements. Their programs vary from the socialist program of the People's National Party of Jamaica to the "Program of the United Front" on which Trinidad voters were asked to elect candidates in the recent elections. The program consisted of three planks: (1) Self-government; (2) Nationalization of basic industries; (3) Universal popular education.

The United Front did not win a majority of the council members but achieved a striking success, winning important constituencies. Details of these and other developments, the true significance of Bustamante, the Jamaican labor leader, the relation of the labor unions to the political parties, all these will be taken up in succeeding articles. But the great lesson of West Indian class struggle during the last ten years remains. One great group of workers, the Trinidad oil workers, struck for higher wages in 1937.

Thereby they unlocked a labor and political movement which has achieved more for the British West Indies in ten years than in the previous 75 years of their history. In the West Indies as elsewhere the future lies with the working class and the other oppressed classes of the population.

NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN STALIN'S RUSSIA - IV

By F. FOREST

The oil route has always been one of the standard routes followed by all imperialisms. It was therefore no surprise to anyone not blinded by the misconception that Russia was a "workers' state" to see Russia grab the oil fields of Rumania, Austria, and then demand equal rights with the Anglo-American imperialists to exploit the Middle Eastern oil fields, the richest in the whole world. What was not clear at the time, however, was how directly connected was this move with the state of oil production in Russia itself. The Russians had not revealed the exact state of damage to the Baku fields, the world learned for the first time on March 16th, from Voznessensky's address to the Supreme Soviet on the Fourth Five Year Plan, that production of oil in the Baku region was but one-half of what it was in pre-war times. The plan revealed, furthermore, that oil production in Russia, even should the plan be 100 per cent fulfilled, will be two-thirds of that originally set for the end of the Third Five-Year Plan, 25.4 million tons in 1950 as against 48.5 million tons set for 1942.

Is there a direct connection between the looting by the Russian army of everything from machinery to grain, from livestock to textiles, from the dismantling of factories to the herding off of prisoners of war into forced labor camps, and the crisis of the Russian economy in general? And is this connected with the oil route and the state of oil production? We shall see.

RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM

The march of the Russian army from Poland, Germany and Austria on the one hand, to Manchuria, Japan and Korea on the other, ought to have convinced any one with eyes to see that the Union of so-called Soviet Socialist Republics is composed neither of republics nor of soviets; they are neither socialist nor are kept in a willing union. Their very existence as nations can be done away with by a ukase, as was the case with no less than five republics. Although the world did not learn of it till 1946, the following five republics were deprived of their autonomy in 1945: the German Volga Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, the Kalmyk A.S.S.R., the Karachayev Autonomous Region, the Chechen-Ingush A.S.S.R. and the Crimean A.S.S.R.

Russian imperialism expresses itself in three different ways. These are (1) direct conquest, (2) trade agreements, and (3) reparations. In approaching the spread of Russian imperialism, we need to see, on the one hand, what connection there is between Russian imperialism and the internal difficulties Russia is experiencing. On the other hand, we have to see whether the conquests of Russia "compensate" either for the ravages of war she experienced, or attenuated the strug-

gle of the Russian exploiters against the Russian exploited.

DIRECT CONQUESTS

Since the outbreak of war in 1939 Russia has conquered over 275,000 square miles of territory inhabited by nearly 25 million people, thus:

	Square Miles	Population
Lithuania	24,058	3,029,000
Latvia	20,056	1,950,000
Estonia	18,353	1,120,000
Eastern Poland	68,290	10,150,000
Bessarabia & Bukovina	19,360	3,748,000
Moldavia	13,124	2,200,000
Carpatho-Ukraine	4,922	800,000
East Prussia	3,500	400,000
Karelo-Finland	16,173	470,000
Petsamo, Finland	4,087	4,000
Tannu Tuva, Central Asia	64,000	65,000
Southern Sakhalin	14,075	415,000
Kurile Islands	3,949	4,500
Total	273,947	24,355,500

Since these have now become part of the Russian Empire which the rulers dare call "Union of Soviet Socialist Republics," not only have the economies of these territories become stultified, but the societies as a whole have overnight become "classless societies," each having a "classless intelligentsia" on the one hand, and workers and peasants on the other!

"SPHERE OF INFLUENCE"

There is, secondly, the Russian "sphere of influence" (read: sphere of oppression). This includes all of Central Europe: Poland, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, and of course, Germany. Here it functions "flexibly," either exercising direct control as an occupying power like in Germany, indirectly satisfying the economy as in Czechoslovakia, or functioning jointly with the old capitalist-landlord-King rule as in Rumania. It pays to stop for a moment on the Russian-Rumanian Trade Agreement, which is typical of Russia's agreements with Central Europe, and which closely resembles the "trade agreements" the Nazis elaborated precisely for this same region.

The agreement with Rumania provides for joint trading companies whose boards consist of 50 per cent Rumanians and 50 per cent Russians. These have joint banking institutions in which capital is likewise 50-50. Take the "Sov-Rom" oil concern thus set up for the "exploration, exploitation, processing and commercialization of petroleum and petroleum products." The Rumanian government contributes a half share in the crude petroleum as well as exclusive boring rights on Rumanian territory, and Russia contributes the necessary oil field equipment. This equipment, in

the main, turned out to be booty it took from the Germans. Where, however, Russia does not have the capital equipment, it promised to give Rumania the wherewithal (gold) to buy it elsewhere. All purchases of capital equipment must go through Russian hands.

REPARATIONS AND TRADE

There is, thirdly, the old-fashioned method of reparations, and, again, it follows the old imperialist method of helping the "mother" country, regardless of what injury that causes to its own economy. Thus, for example, Finland has to pay Russia \$300,000,000 in the forms of timber, paper, metals. But whereas formerly timber constituted 84 per cent, and metal only four per cent of Finland's pre-war exports, the reparation agreement specifies that \$200,000,000 of reparations shall be in metals.

Where "trade" is not in the form of reparations, it follows the exchange of manufactured articles of Russia against raw materials of other countries. However, since Russian commodities are of very poor quality, it can actually only trade with even more backward countries, for example, India.

FORCED LABOR

Finally, and by no means the least important, there are prisoners of war, mainly from Germany and Japan, who have been transported for work in Russia. No one knows their exact number, but it runs into several millions. These are hardly ever mentioned in the Russian press, but their forced labor has definitely entered in the calculation of the Russian rulers. It is impossible to gather anything from the Russian press as to the attitude of the Russian proletariat to these proletarians of other lands that are now to be found as part of the forced labor army. Is perhaps the existence of forced foreign labor the reason for the liquidation of the Building Commissariat under the NKVD which had utilized Russian forced labor?

There is no way of knowing the exact degree of burden these unfortunates take off the backs of the Russian workers, to the detriment of both. But one thing is clear. The Russian worker is dissatisfied with his lot. His productivity is as low as the prices on consumer goods are high. The amnesty granted them for wartime labor offenses has not put an end to their dissatisfaction. The latest Pravda to arrive from Russia, dated August 19, suddenly refers to Stalin's speech of a few years back in which, in his own crude manner, he had spoken of labor as the greatest productive force of all, thus: "of all capital in the world, people are the most valuable." The tone of the article would make us believe that leaders who do not realize this truth should be purged. Is this really the reason for the purges? We will turn our attention to this next week.

Nenni Wants to Keep Empire

Special to Labor Action

PARIS, Oct. 15—In a speech at Canzo on October 14, dedicating a monument to the pioneer Italian Socialist Filippo Turati, the Socialist Party Vice-Minister, Pietro Nenni, who has since become the new Foreign Minister of Italy, declared that "Neither Great Britain, nor France, nor the Arabs, nor civilization have anything to gain from our expulsion from these colonies."

Nenni was not advocating the freedom of the colonies from imperialist domination. On the contrary, he was advocating the right of Italy to retain possession of its old colonial empire. Fully supported in this imperialist policy by Stalinists and Catholics, Nenni was repeating what the former Premier, the Socialist Ivanoe Bonomi, had told the Paris Conference in September. After thanking France and Russia for "having proposed placing the former Italian colonies under trusteeship of the Rome government," Bonomi declared that Italy "does not consider this as a return of its colonies, but as an honor of leading them toward independence." (1)

And then this consummate hypocrite added that Italy cannot renounce its rights to Libya, Eritrea and Somaliland, and demanded that Italy be permitted to "continue its work there because of the work accomplished and of its traditional relations with Africa."

Our readers will be happy to learn that the wise Italian delegation had informed the Chinese government that it renounced freely all rights of extraterritoriality in three former concessions in China.

New Japanese Constitution Saves the Zaibatsu Class

By WILLIAM BRAD

Japan has a new constitution. Passed by the Diet (congress) on October 7, it awaits only Hirohito's signature to an imperial rescript to become the new organic law. Gen. MacArthur has so far said nothing on the matter, publicly that is. Actually he is the real mentor of the new constitution and will undoubtedly hail it as a great and progressive achievement, just as he acclaimed the reactionary victory at the April 10 elections as a sign of democratic growth. And Hirohito will sign, because in effect, he is MacArthur's Most Imperial Quisling. Besides, it grants him more than he could have hoped for a year ago.

The formation of the new constitution began in scandal. Last November rumor had it that MacArthur had entrusted Prince Konoye, the so-called "liberal" darling and bright hope of the Joseph C. Grew-dominated Far-Eastern-Division-of-the-American-State-Department, with writing the constitution. When this came to light MacArthur denied it and Konoye committed suicide shortly thereafter.

From that time till the opening of the Diet in May the constitution disappeared from public sight. It was reliably reported, however, that its formulation was in the hands of the same group Konoye represented, the court circle centered in the Privy Council and the foreign office clique like Shidehara and Yoshida, who have become the chief bureaucratic support of the American occupation.

MACARTHUR'S STRATEGY

Meanwhile, both Socialist and Communist parties and all who might be classified as liberals, demanded a constituent assembly. A number of mass demonstrations in Hibya Park, before the Palace and at the Premier's residence, demanding an end to the Shidehara régime and a constituent assembly, made clear that the working class realized the importance of this political problem, even though it was just emerging from the brutal repression of the last ten years.

MacArthur's reply was the election of April 10. Both Socialist and Communist parties sought a postponement, but MacArthur insisted that a "popular democratic" government must be elected then. The reason for MacArthur's hasty concern with democracy was to forestall the political strength of the growing labor movement. Unions were springing up at the rate of several hundred a month. In March alone 143,000 workers joined unions. On April 1, there were 877,000 organ-

ized workers. Today there are over three million. Workers' Control of Production strikes were becoming more common. Union committees were operating every Tokyo newspaper except the Yomiuri.

As a result of the April 10 date, the Stalinists barely had time to hold an organizing convention. The Socialists, just beginning to establish many local branches, could raise only a meager election fund. MacArthur hailed the election results, which established a relationship of political forces in favor of the conservative and reactionary elements. In the new Diet, these elements have a comfortable majority. This is the Diet, in a reactionary pattern, which has accepted the new constitution. The governmental coalition of the two reactionary parties is responsible for the constitution. However, it is known that court and political circles were influential fronts of the Zaibatsu, and that MacArthur's veto is absolute.

SAVING THE ZAIBATSU

The document retains the Imperial institution. It establishes the continuity of the Japanese state, in this manner, and also by accepting the procedures established in the Meiji constitution of 1869 for amendments. The throne is retained as the symbol around which reaction can continue to rally and find succor. The Emperor is no longer a divinity by his own dispensation. Church and state have been separated. However, there is considerable reason to doubt the completeness of this reform. Leading authorities on Shinto, in Japan and in the United States, have expressed grave doubts. In this matter, as in every other apparent reform, enough ambiguity is present to permit of the most reactionary interpretation if the reaction proves sufficiently powerful to utilize it.

The bicameral legislature is retained with the powers of the upper house reduced. A bill of rights similar to that in the American constitution has been included. Labor's right to organize is recognized. Other obvious reforms, patterned on American law, have been inserted.

NEW WORKERS MOVEMENT

But these "reforms" are not the products of struggle and revolution as was the American constitution. Nor is this 1789. The central dynamic force in Japan is the working class. In many respects it is still in its primitive stages of organization and politics. Yet it has articulated a program of demands that strike at the heart of the social crisis: workers control of food distribution, workers control of production, for

nationalization of industry, and abolition of the Zaibatsu trusts.

Last month the New York Times published the following report on the current political sentiments: "If a general election were held tomorrow it might produce a Socialist Japan." A leading socialist is reported as "doubting if Japan can afford the luxury of supporting a capitalist class."

The end of the war meant the decisive defeat of the program of Japan's ruling class. It lost the confidence of the whole people. It had no program for national reconstruction or independence—only complete dependence on the American forces. It sought to retain the Emperor and political privileges in order to continue its rule.

The new constitution has been formulated and adopted by a Diet which does not represent a majority. The Times reports 67 per cent "either opposed or cool" to the present government. By his maneuver of an early election, refusal to permit a constituent assembly, and his acceptance of the legality of the existing Imperial state, MacArthur has established, in the new constitution, a political instrument for the despised and feeble ruling class.

The capitalists and bureaucrats will require MacArthur's support in the utilization of this political power. Thus they are reduced to a dependent class, and through them the means are established for transforming Japan into an American dependency. This is the primary intention of American occupation: to transform Japan into a dependent nation for use in the pursuit of her imperialist aims in the Pacific.

Campaign Fund

for

MAX SHACHTMAN

ERNEST RICE MCKINNEY

Sponsored by

WORKERS PARTY ELECTION

CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE

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

Name _____

Address _____

Contribution \$ _____

LEON TROTSKY'S "THE NEW COURSE"

Get this historic essay on Russia, together with Max Shachtman's study of the development of Russian totalitarianism.

NOW ON SALE: \$1.00 (paper bound) 265 pages

Originally \$1.50

Order from:

Workers Party Publications
4 Court Square
Long Island City 1, N. Y.

With the Workers Party

AKRON
Write to Box 221 for further information.

BUFFALO
HEADQUARTERS: 639 Main St.
Open meetings on Sunday evenings.

CHICAGO
LABOR ACTION, 1501 W. Madison, 2nd floor, Chicago 7.
Telephone—CHeasapeake 5798
Office hours: 3-5:30 p.m. daily, except Sundays. Tuesday and Wednesday evenings.

DETROIT
Headquarters, 3773 Gratiot (at Mt. Elliott).
Office hours: 11 a.m.-3 p.m. Tuesdays, Wednesdays and Thursdays. Class in "Fight for Socialism" every Thursday at 11:30 a.m.

LOS ANGELES
Headquarters at 316 1/2 W. Pico near Olive. Telephone Richmond 7-3230.
Office hours: 12 to 3 p.m. daily except Sunday; also 4:30 to 6:30 p.m. on Monday, Wednesday, Friday.

LOUISVILLE
New International on sale at Eilers Bookshop, between Liberty and Jefferson on 3rd.
For other information regarding LABOR ACTION, New International and Workers Party—Write Robert Durant, Box 1181, Louisville, Ky.

NEWARK
HEADQUARTERS: 248 Market St.
OFFICE HOURS: Tuesday—3 to 6 p.m.; Wednesday—12 to 3 p.m.; Saturday—3 to 4 p.m.
Newark newsstands: 91 Barclay St., 168 Belmont Ave., Stand, Market and Mulberry, north-east corner.

NEW YORK CITY
CITY OFFICE—114 West 14th St.—Open all day until 7:00 p.m. Telephone: CHelsea 2-9681.
MANHATTAN—Meets every Wednesday at 8:00 p.m. Third floor, 114 W. 14th St.
HARLEM—Meets every Wednesday at 8:00 p.m. Workers Party Headquarters, 2143 Seventh Ave., Room 106 (near 127th St.).

BROOKLYN DOWNTOWN—Meets every Wednesday at 8:00 p.m. Workers Party Headquarters, 276 Fulton St., 2nd floor.
For addresses and time of other branches in New York City phone the City Office—CHelsea 2-9681.
Also, please send us your name and address so that you can be kept informed of all Workers Party activities.

Halloween Costume Party!
Joint auspices of Newark Branch, WP, and New York—United Socialist Youth League. Entertainment, dancing refreshments. Saturday, October 26, at 8:30 p.m. at 248 Market St., Newark—Labor Action Hall. Setback—50 cents (25 cents to NY youth).

READING
LABOR ACTION and The New International are sold at newsstand at Fifth and Penn Streets, southwest corner.

PHILADELPHIA
Headquarters, 1105 Walnut St.
WP Branch meets each Monday at 8:00 p.m.
Socialist Youth League meets Friday at 8:00 p.m.

Workers Party School—Courses: History of the CIO. Instructor: Jack Brad. Wednesday evenings, 8:00 o'clock, October 16, 23, 30, November 6, 13, 20.
The Program of the Workers Party. Instructor: James M. Fenwick. Wednesday evenings, 9:10 to 10:10 o'clock, October 16, 23, 30, November 6, 13, 20.
History of the Fourth International. Thursday evenings, 8:00 o'clock. Instructor: Arthur Parks, October 17, 24, 31, November 7, 14, 21.

LABOR ACTION on sale at following newsstands:
N. E. cor. 11th and Walnut Sts.
N. W. cor. 13th and Market Sts.
N. E. cor. Broad and Arch Sts.
N. E. cor. 15th and Market Sts.
S. E. cor. 19th and Market Sts.
N. E. cor. 16th and Seybert Sts.
S. W. cor. Kensington and Allegheny Aves.
N. N. E. cor. Broad St. and Girard Ave.

NEW INTERNATIONAL on sale at following newsstands:
N. E. cor. 11th and Walnut Sts.
N. W. cor. 13th and Market Sts.
N. E. cor. Broad and Arch Sts.
N. E. cor. 15th and Market Sts.

SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA
For information on the activities of the Workers Party in the San Francisco Bay Area, write "Labor Action," P. O. Box 435, Berkeley, Calif.

LABOR ACTION and New International may be purchased at 2055 Fillmore St., San Francisco; Golden Gate News Agency, 81 3rd St.; McDonald's Bookstore, 867 Mission St.
In Berkeley: Whelens, Bancroft and Telegraph.

SEATTLE
For information regarding the activities of the Seattle Branch, and for further information regarding LABOR ACTION and the WORKERS PARTY, write to B. Donaldson, c/o Eckhart News, 102 Washington St., Seattle, Washington.

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

SOCIALIST YOUTH LEAGUE
The Socialist Youth League, youth section of the Workers Party, has youth units in the following cities: New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Morgantown, W. Va., Cleveland, Chicago, Detroit, Seattle, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.

Palestine Symposium Opens Forum Series

The Sunday Evening Forum series, offered by the LABOR ACTION School, promise to be lively events. The lectures are intended to deal with political and cultural problems arising out of capitalism's decay. LABOR ACTION School has secured lecturers who are eminently qualified to deal with these questions.

PALESTINE SYMPOSIUM
The plight of the 152,000 Jews, rotting in the displaced persons camps, a year after the end of the war, has added considerable urgency to the question of Palestine. But aside from the immediate problems to be solved, many questions are involved that warrant renewed discussion in the Marxist movement.

WP URGES YOU TO SUPPORT THESE SWP CANDIDATES

We print below a full list of the Socialist Workers Party candidates. The Workers Party calls upon you to support these candidates. For a statement of the Workers Party position, see page one of this issue.

- CALIFORNIA**—Steve Roberts, Governor; Cynthia Rogalin, State Senate, Los Angeles County; Robert Chester, State Assembly, 20th District.
- MINNESOTA**—(Ballot name: Revolutionary Workers Party); Grace Carlson, U. S. Senate; Warren Creel, Congress, 3rd District; Dorothy Schultz, Congress, 4th District.
- NEW JERSEY**—George Breitman, U. S. Senate; Alan Kohlman, Governor; William E. Bohannon, Congress, 11th District; Arlene Phillips, Congress, 13th District.
- NEW YORK**—Farrell Dobbs, Governor; Milton Richardson, Lt.-Governor; Joseph Hansen, U. S. Senate; Sylvia Blecker, Attorney-General; William Kitt, Comptroller.
- The above have been ruled off the ballot by the undemocratic action of the New York courts. We do not know whether the SWP plans a write-in campaign or not.
- OHIO**—Malcolm Walker, Governor.
- WASHINGTON**—Charles Swett, U. S. Senate; Daniel Roberts, State Senate, 31st District.

You Can Subscribe To Labor Action For Six Months For 50 Cents!

Crowd Turns Social Affair into Political Event As Chicago WP Opens Its New Headquarters

CHICAGO, Oct. 13—Until it came off, we all thought the housewarming of the new Chicago headquarters of the Workers Party would be just another news event. But something happened which yanked it right out of the category of ordinary social affairs and slapped it in among political events of sharp significance.

Not because more than twice as many people turned up as would have satisfied us; nor because the movie was delightful entertainment; nor because the international smorgasbord, prepared by the devoted and inspired women in and around the party, had the patrons goggle-eyed at its beauty and astounded at its lavishness in the face of the well known food crisis; nor because everybody had so enjoyable a time that by 3:00 a.m. the long-suffering arrangements committee leaned against walls and wished the guests would remember the housing shortage and go home to reclaim their apartments; nor because the bright, clean new headquarters shone like a gem, living up to the standard set for it as the "finest headquarters in the history of the Chicago radical movement." No! The night of October 12 will glow in the memories of the Chicago members of the Workers Party because a political phenomenon of profound importance was made manifest then.

Preparations for the housewarming were in one sense extensive and extraordinary. A first-class barn-like dump had to be converted into a light, clean, colorful club room—and it was; an evening's good entertainment had to be arranged—and it was; food had to be found and prepared and offered in such manner as to make the natives drool—and it did; all of which called for and got a heroic amount of cooperative effort, both financial and physical. In another sense, the preparations were routine. A leaflet was drawn up, mimeographed and mailed; tickets were printed and sold; and the branch was exhorted and threatened and pleaded with to sell tickets and bring people.

And then came October 12 and the political shock. People kept pouring into the headquarters until its capacity was strained; but the significance of the crowd lay not so much in its size as in its composition and spirit. Men recognized as energetic rank and file leaders in Chicago locals of both AFL and CIO unions; veterans impressed by the behavior of our young comrades in their organizations; dozens of former members of the Trotskyist movement who had not been involved in its activities for years; scores of former adherents of the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, the Proletarian Party, the split-off sections of the early Trotskyist movement; women inspired by the news of a successful newly-formed club where they can come and discuss their problems without male interference; all of them flocking eagerly to the

housewarming and talking ardently and avidly on political matters to the members of the Workers Party.

A minor leader of a Stalinist-dominated CIO union cornered our trade unionists and asked for political advice and assistance in work in his local; a former CP member active in the printing trades volunteered to submit to the Executive Committee a practical program for the publication of cheap pamphlets; a professional interested in literary criticism asked to be allowed to lecture on his favorite theme to the women's group; contact cards were filled out and left at the wardrobe.

For several hours the party members walked and talked in stunned amazement, almost embarrassed by the enthusiasm and genuine interest of the guests, whether oldtimers who had come back or newcomers who were there for the first time. Then the reason for this phenomenon dawned upon us.

Why should it be extraordinary that, at this moment, workers who are beginning to face the necessity for fighting not only the repressive onslaught of capitalism but the treachery of Stalinists in their unions should look to the Workers Party for leadership? Why should we be surprised that those elements in the radical movement who have drifted away from organized activity—whatever their reason or excuse or rationale—should be driven by their reawakening interest in revolutionary activity to seek out the Workers Party?

It is elementary with us that those workers who have learned from the setbacks to the proletarian revolution suffered in the last two decades will resume their places in the movement under the banner of Trotskyism and no other. It should also be elementary that those who are mentally alert know that the rehabilitation of the revolutionary movement can be accomplished only among those who recognize the need for the constant re-examination of our ideas and our tactical concepts in the light of reality.

Of the two existing Trotskyist parties in the United States, only the Workers Party offers an arena for the free discussion of the serious problems into which history has thrust the body and mind of the international revolutionary movement. Here is an island of critical theoretical activity, functioning open-minded and open-eyed in a world of reality, and enhanced in its importance by the dead sea of political sterility above which it rises.

We welcome those who came to our housewarming and we invite and welcome those who, in ever-increasing numbers, will come to us for political leadership in the critical months before us.

HAVE YOU REGISTERED AT LABOR ACTION SCHOOL?

Session at the Labor Action School begin on November 8 with the Shachtman-Oak debate. In addition to the Forum Series announced in the column alongside this one, six interesting and varied courses are offered. Write to Labor Action School 114 W. 14th St., New York 11, N. Y. for full information. Register now!

N-W GENERAL OFFICES:
Located in the new offices of the Workers Party, at 4 Court Square, Long Island City 1, New York, the General Offices of LABOR ACTION are busy at work attempting to catch up with various correspondence and other matters that have unfortunately been neglected during the period of moving and relocation. We regret any inconveniences that may have been caused and assure our readers that the general efficiency and effectiveness of operations will improve now.

RENEWAL SUBSCRIPTION CAMPAIGN:
The last of the 5,000 subscriptions obtained during the sub-drive of six months ago are now about to expire, except, of course, for the great number of these subs that have been renewed. Many agents have been busy at work on this campaign of getting renewals to LABOR ACTION, and the results show in this week's list of subscriptions obtained. There is still time left to work on these lists of expirations and obtain still better results.

NEWS FOR LITERATURE AGENTS:
We call attention of LABOR ACTION literature agents to the various reductions in literature prices about to go into effect. These include reductions in the cost of bound volumes of LABOR ACTION and *The New Internationalist*; as well as a reduction in the cost of Trotsky's book, "The New Course." See ads in this week's issue of LABOR ACTION.

This was an all-time, record week for renewals and new subscriptions to LABOR ACTION, and we're rightfully proud of the fine work done by our literature agents in Chicago and Philadelphia, in particular. Above all, our hats are off to Frank Harper in Philadelphia who, a yeoman worker for LABOR ACTION, has stimulated his friends and comrades to real efforts for our press. Here are the actual results of the sub-getting for last week:

PHILADELPHIA	16
CHICAGO	16
San Francisco	9
Detroit	5
Oregon	5
Akron	4
New York City	4
San Pedro	4
Boston	2
Los Angeles	1
Seattle	1
Streator, Ill.	1
Miscellaneous	4
TOTAL	72

And our old friend, Esther, of Los Angeles writes, "We are having a subscription mobilization in our election district next Friday so you can look forward to some more subs. We got 17 the first time and 15 the second time. Hope we'll beat the record this time and get to the top of the list for a change."

And agent McLain of Akron assures us that, "We are well aware of our literature debt here and the necessity for getting renewals. The logical follow-up of renewals is contacting and that we shall do. Our remittance is past due and we'll send you a money order in payment the first thing next week."

I Want to Subscribe to THE NEW EIGHT-PAGE LABOR ACTION
4 Court Square, Long Island City 1, N. Y.

Name
Address
City Zone State

50 Cents for Six Months \$1.00 for a Year

Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor...

A Reader Likes Our Book Reviews

Dear Editor:
I enjoy the book reviews of LABOR ACTION. However, could you tell me where I can purchase the recommended books published by the Penguin Publishing Co.?
TAMARA COOPER, Brooklyn.

(Thanks for the compliment. The books reviewed in LABOR ACTION are sold at most newsstands in New York City; the 25 cent reprints which we review are widely circulated. If you can't find them on a newsstand or in a book store, write to the publishing company directly.—Ed.)

Vet Learns a Lesson In Hollywood Fight

Editor:
This is a letter from J— M—. I leave him anonymous, for reasons that will be obvious when you have read his letter. As a matter of fact, no comment is even necessary, because his letter is so self-explanatory.

About the writer, I feel a few words are in order. He is probably the most easy going fellow on earth. Or rather was. He has been regularly employed as a Hollywood cartoonist at a good salary. Before the war he scoffed at the mention of troubles in the world. Life for him was good. Why should he concern himself with the worries of others?

Then came the war, and he was drafted. Life caught him up in its furious maelstrom. Now this mild-mannered man is changed into a tiger. He has found that you can't divorce yourself from the economic and political problems that arise for the worker in our type of society. He, like millions of others, feels himself betrayed. They are fighting mad, but they need the proper leadership. That is why I send his letter on to LABOR ACTION.

...The old easy way of life is passing swiftly, and the fight against Fascism is our fight, to whatever end it may lead. It took some violence to open my eyes, but perhaps that's what I needed. You probably read in the papers about the violence at MGM a week or so ago where a group of veterans, the

Hollywood AVC group, was parading in front of MGM and was attacked by the sheriff's storm troopers.

I had been laid off from my job at L—, a clear case of discrimination against a union sympathizer, so I decided to use my free time to help in the strike in whatever way I could. I heard that the veterans were going to parade at six o'clock the next morning, so I went out to join them. I had been told to try and get a steel helmet, and fortunately I was able to find one. I had my uniform on, and when I joined the group, there were about 700 veterans there. We formed in ranks and began to march around the studio. Everything was in order and very peaceful. Nobody made any remarks of any kind to the uniformed goons standing around, and get this, we had a legal permit from the chief of the Culver City Police to hold a parade.

After a few peaceful turns around the lot, we sat down for a cigarette and a ten-minute break. I was near the rear of the column.

Suddenly, I heard some shouting up front. I jumped up, and seemingly out of nowhere there appeared what looked like a thousand cops. Actually, there were about 200. They were armed with three-foot night sticks, revolvers, gas masks, steel helmets and tear gas guns. They were running at us and yelling. I didn't know what the hell to do, so I started running forward with a bunch of other guys, when suddenly I heard the loudest clang I ever expect to hear! I didn't realize it at the moment, but I'd been hit on the head by one of those baseball bats. It didn't hurt me but it put a hell of a dent in my helmet and knocked me down....

I was in a daze, and everything was complete confusion. Men were running and yelling and cursing and pounding each other, and the whole area was completely filled with a milling mob of maniacs. I tried to get up and someone ran over me, and down I went again. I finally got partially up, and from somewhere I got an awful wallop on the right shoulder. Fortunately, it didn't hit the bone, but it put my arm out of commission for about a week.

I looked up and saw an arm with a club in it, so I tried to grab it when I was seized on either side by some other vets and rushed into a

vacant lot. They took me to some people who were administering first aid, and made me sit down. I was so Goddam mad I was crying, and I wanted to go back, but they wouldn't let me.

Meanwhile, the rest of the vets reformed and rushed the cops. It was a mess! Just a few feet away I saw men's faces beaten to bloody pulp with revolver butts and clubs. A man would go down, and three or four cops would stand over him and beat him and beat him....

A few, a very few cops knew what was going on and refused to take part, but stood in shame against the wall behind the fighting. But on the faces of most was the horrible light of great glee, the brutal joy in the feel of crunching bone and slippery blood under their hands.

Finally, the vets succeeded in taking away most of the clubs and routed the cops. They reformed in ranks and continued their parade, and in a few minutes it was all over.

I have never been so shaken in my life as I was by the sight of this release of murderous hatred. These are Americans! These are the men who are supposedly free men, with the right to act and think for themselves. That is why it is my fight to the end. Read this to some of your wavering or reactionary friends. Tell them how the wealthy studios have bought off the press so it will not show the country the truth. Tell them that the injured men taken by the cops were refused first aid. Tell them how the parents were refused permission to see injured sons. Tell them how the police called STUDIO EXECUTIVES to see what should be done with the men arrested....

There is much more I could say, but I haven't the space nor the sanity. Suffice to say, that I am out of a job, blackballed by the Producers Association as a "dirty red," and that I have been denied my unemployment insurance. I am not on strike, nor are any of the cartoon studios on strike, but I have been denied the twenty dollars a week that is rightfully mine.

Who says the fascists are not in power?...

I pass this letter on to you. P. M. refused to sully its supposedly crusading hands with this matter.
JAY KELP

What to Do in Meat Crisis

Editor:
As I have come to believe, this meat shortage is an attempt and I believe a successful attempt to wreck the OPA and to discredit the Democratic administration. I believe it is engineered by powerful Republican interests. I believe if this is true President Truman should place the facts before the American people and take positive action. However, I doubt if he will.

Now, if my thesis is true then the meat industry shows a callous indifference to the needs of the American public. It shows a callous disregard of the now unemployed or partly employed butchers, etc. It shows it will go to almost any length to gain additional profits and to gain political ascendancy. I repeat, if this is true, and the facts are explained to the American people, then I'm sure the meat industry can look for no mercy from the victims of their greed. It could be made into a fine example to big business of the aroused resentment of an outraged public and I'm sure would discourage any future plans of big business to corner any market for greedy gains.

How to get my beliefs to the President (and I may be mistaken) is beyond me. A letter from me would be only one in thousands. Perhaps you could direct the attention of your readers to the need of such an action.

So LABOR ACTION Take it away!!
Thos. Hart, Missouri.

(Since the above letter was written, Truman has proved how little the value of letters to him would be—whether they came in ones or hundreds. While it is true that the Republicans were out to discredit the Truman administration in the meat crisis, it is equally true that there is no basic difference in policy between the Republicans and the Democrats. And Truman proved that, trying to use the crisis in his own way to discredit the Republicans.

The meat crisis was created by people who, as our readers says, will go "to any lengths to gain additional profits." It was, in short, created by the capitalist system, and both the Democrats and Republicans are representatives of that system. The machinations between Democrats

and Republicans should be looked upon as their affair, while labor goes about the business of ousting the pack of them.

An organized, aroused labor movement can sometimes get action from Truman or from a Republican president—not by letters, but only by presenting its demands in such a way that there will be no mistaking labor's intention of achieving these demands through its own action. The Trumans will never attack the basic structure of capitalist property, will never take "positive action." BUT they can be ousted by a politically organized working class fighting to replace their bankrupt rule with a Workers' Government.—Ed.)

An Australian Comrade Writes

Dear Comrades:
No doubt you are aware that a general election takes place here in September. The Labour government which was purposely placed in office during the war by the Tories, who made no fight at the elections, will probably be defeated. The Tories are all out to win this time while the Labour Party is not very keen. They did a good job for the bourgeoisie during the war and are not anxious to face the problems the workers are demanding solutions to.

The Stalinists are running a few candidates but their policy is support for the Labour Party, even though spurned by that party. Their support is like that of a cringing slave, concealing the anti-working class acts of the Labour government during the war and creating every illusion possible in the minds of the workers should Labour be returned to office.

There is one Trotskyist candidate in Sydney, standing for the unconditional defense of the USSR.

Fraternally,
E. TRIPP, Australia.

"Anonymous":

We ask our contributors to this section of LABOR ACTION to sign their names. We will respect the confidence of those who write to us—and use any name or no name, as directed, for publication. But we ask you to sign your name and address:

Chicken Coops Are at a Premium as Los Angeles Real Estate Interests Block Home Construction

By J. BRENT

LOS ANGELES—Chicken coops are selling at a premium in Los Angeles. They can be used as apartments or as chicken coops—that is, if you can afford to buy the lot it stands on for \$1,000 and the valuable furniture. The latter includes six brand new orange crates and a slightly used (1904 vintage) wicker chair at the ridiculously low price of \$200.

That's NOT a joke, son. Ex-GIs and just ordinary Joes who came to Los Angeles to live in that lovely white stucco, two-bedroom bungalow and bask in the sun (Chamber of Commerce reports that the Southland sun has 200 extra vitamin units) are seriously considering that chicken coop. "The House We Live In" has been rewritten, but the lyrics have been suppressed by the local boosters club.

NO RELIEF IN SIGHT

The Los Angeles housing situation is in a worse mess than in any other large industrial city and the report

for the nation is stated bluntly in a headline last week: "Housing Shortage to Become Even More Critical Next Year." In a city that has enormous room for expansion, plenty of construction has been going on, but not in the low-cost housing field or in projects for families who have decided to make Southern California their home.

Trailer camps are booming, thousands are waiting to get into the housing projects, still others are living in hotel rooms or other furnished room at \$15 per week—and relief is nowhere in sight.

Officials hold meetings, issue statements, pass motion and kick the ball around—but haven't begun to arrive at a solution. In the meantime, the harried vet is comparing the rosy promises, the "Nothing's too good for the boys" talk with the shameful, idiotic anarchy of the business interests and their government spokesmen.

Who is responsible for this scandalous situation? First we must remember that Los Angeles County

census reports an increase of over a million since the war years. Thousands came from the South—Negro and white—to work in the war industries; GIs en route to the Pacific decided during their final week's leave to remain in sunny California.

Yet the only building was in government housing projects—some permanent, fairly well planned units; most of them of temporary plywood, army barracks style, to be torn down after the emergency. Since V-J Day, in the mad scramble for scarce building material, the low-cost housing project has died a-borning and a few homes are being built for vets under the GI Bill.

First on the list of phonies is the Civilian Production Authority. This is headed locally by L. M. Dreyfus, who has done nothing to prevent the huge black market in building material whereby critical items are being used almost exclusively for commercial construction.

Hundreds of cocktail bars, garages and department stores are going up before the eyes of the home-starved Angelenos. Somehow the May Co., the Broadway Department Store and F. W. Woolworth were able to finagle everything for their mammoth structures being erected in the Crenshaw-Adams section. Meanwhile a pittance, a handout for the low-rental unit, is allowed by the CPA.

According to the AVC Newsletter, "CPA was granting authorization (1100 of them) after CPA compliance had stopped the projects. Some of these projects were: cocktail bars, slot machine manufacturing concerns and garages. We showed that this habit of authorizing projects after compliance had stopped them was encouraging building without authorizations, because they knew that CPA wasn't enforcing the law."

SPECULATION SPREE

The way commercial establishments get around the law is really simple. They plead "hardship" and request material to fix the plumbing. With authorization tucked safely away, they renovate the entire building or erect additions requiring thousands of dollars' worth of scarce building material. Store and expensive homes siphon off the material at twice their normal price, hence the "scarcity" for veterans' housing.

The guiding brains behind the fight against any effective housing program is the National Association of Real Estate Boards. Ceilings for lots

and existing dwellings were killed, the Wagner-Taft-Ellender Bill is now dead. Congress has granted business the go-ahead signal for the biggest speculation spree since 1923. That lovely white stucco is now \$8,000 instead of \$3,000. The best that Congress could do for Wyatt, the National Housing Director, was a \$600 million appropriation for remodeling temporary housing but only \$400 million for permanent homes.

At the present rate of building, chicken coops and furnished sewers will sell like hot cakes—because the workers will never be able to build or to rent at a moderate price. Whether the local incompetent, Louis Dreyfus, resigns under pressure from the AVC is really not important. The average Joe wants to know why the government can't spend a couple of billions for the welfare of the men

who were promised the moon a few years ago.

WE MUST ORGANIZE

The government GAVE billions away—to the ship-builders and the aircraft plants. Why not a couple of billions for ex-GI Joe—for homes, not plywood barracks; for decent homes, not quonset huts?

LABOR ACTION has given the answer before, but we must say it again and again. We have no low-cost housing because it's THEIR government, not ours. Congress belongs to the banks, the real estate interests and the insurance companies. It's not our government. That is why we have to fight our way every inch of the ground, for every penny we get, for every law that will benefit labor. And fight we must.

October NI Appraises Trotsky Book on Stalin

Another major strike wave will inevitably take place within the next several months, predict the editors of The New Internationalist in the "Notes of the Month" section of the October issue. Labor will be compelled to retrieve gains won during the post-war series of strikes ushered in by the struggle at General Motors about a year ago.

The strikes of this next period will not follow the old blind pattern of higher wages, higher prices. The recent fantastic rise in the cost of living, the swiftest since 1940, has taught the workers the value of the slogan raised by the GM workers last year: "Wage Increases Without Price Rises." The demand that the big corporations open their books, a demand which frightened big business and the government during the last auto workers' strike, will again be raised by ever wider sections of the labor movement.

Also in "Notes of the Month" is a discussion of the current Paris conference of the so-called "United Nations." The conference is characterized as being essentially a contest over which one of the two major imperialist camps shall win Germany as a partner in the next war.

The high point of the October New Internationalist is Max Shachtman's review of "Stalin, an Appraisal of the Man and His Influence," by Leon Trotsky. The reviewer emphasizes that a monumental contribution to the history of our times this book is.

Trotsky's "Stalin" is not so much a biography of the man and a description of an historical period as it is a study of Stalin as the logical choice for heading the reactionary bureaucracy which rose to power on the basis of the socialist defeats in Europe after the Bolshevik Revolution.

The early rise of Stalin as a leader in the party is ascribed to the peculiar circumstances which existed at the time he joined, circumstances under which his special talents received the widest opportunity for development.

In Lenin's testament, Stalin is called one of the "two most able leaders in the present Central Committee" and at the same time Lenin recommends that Stalin be removed from his post. How explain this seeming contradiction?

Stalin's "usefulness in the days of preparing for the insurrection and in the days of civil war that followed assured him a place in the leadership, if not an eminent place then a solid place nevertheless. By his very nature and bent, he was able, better than many others, to get the cooperation of all the lower ranks of the party machine.... His brutality could easily appear as imperious insistence; his cunning and slyness as effective ruse and guile in outwitting and outwitting the enemy; his penchant for intrigue and forming a clique around himself as a sympathetic and tender ear for the woes and vicissitudes of the misunderstood comrade."

By calling Trotsky and Stalin the two most able men in the party, Lenin meant they were the ones who

could most effectively hold the party together and lead it. "But because Lenin was concerned not merely with holding it together but with HOW it would be held and BY WHOM, he ended his testament with an appeal to remove not Trotsky, but Stalin from his post and from his power."

In the course of the decay of the Bolshevik Revolution, Stalin's traits acquired a "social purpose" which not even Lenin or Trotsky "and not even Stalin" foresaw. "The Stalin of today and the class he defends represent an irreconcilable BREAK with Bolshevism, an anti-working class force." "No great man ever wore to his death, as Stalin will, the brand of Cain and the stigma of a traitor," concludes the reviewer.

Among many other interesting articles in the October New Internationalist are: "The Nature and Defense of Russia," by Albert Goldman; "The Significance of Koestler," an exchange of views between two writers; "American Literature Marches On," by James T. Farrell, and "The Timetable for Revolution," by Leon Trotsky, originally written in 1924 for the Labour Monthly in London.

Election Laws Are Rigged Against Labor!

Not since the victorious Socialist legislators were refused their proper seats in the New York Legislature shortly after the first world war has the political machinery of the two major capitalist parties so boldly denied all workers' parties their right to contest for and to hold public office in the State of New York.

The successful attempt by the Democratic Party machine to remove the Workers Party, the Socialist Workers Party, the Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Party from the New York State ballot will be recorded as a most vicious denial to working class parties of elementary democratic rights.

There cannot be any doubt, furthermore, that both in the case of Spencer Young's suit in Albany and Representative Adam Clayton Powell's court action against the Workers Party in Harlem, the American Stalinists are involved as direct or indirect collaborators with the filthy Democratic Party machine.

STALINISTS GREASE DEMOCRATIC MACHINE

In return for removing the Workers Party and the other three Socialist Parties from the ballot, and keeping the Communist Party ON the New York State ballot, the Democratic Party machine makes certain of the support of the Stalinists for Representative Adam Clayton Powell and for the Democratic candidates for Governor, Lieutenant-Governor and Senator.

This shameful situation comes about because the election laws of New York State are rigged by the two capitalist parties to make it virtually impossible for a working class party to get on the ballot if either of the two major parties wish to remove it from the ballot. Former Mayor La Guardia's speech and statements in the past four weeks have admitted this to be fact.

MUST FIGHT TO CHANGE ELECTION LAWS

The people of New York State must demand the removal of these disgraceful election laws if they are to have the right to vote for working class parties. As things stand now, only those "labor" parties which support capitalist party candidates are permitted to get on the ballot.

It is furthermore, the responsibility of the working class parties themselves to collaborate. (1) In demanding that these laws be changed. (2) In developing a staff of lawyers and election experts to fight the boss parties all through the courts if necessary in order to make it as difficult as possible to remove working class parties from the ballot. (3) To develop a common defense fund to meet the expenses of court action. (4) To cease disgraceful actions against each other, such as the Socialist Party affidavit filed in the Supreme Court against the Socialist Workers Party.

The Workers Party has all along urged joint action by all working class parties to defend themselves against the boss election law. Until now, however, the Socialist Workers Party has consistently refused to collaborate in such action.

PROTEST BY VOTING FOR WP CANDIDATES

What can the people of New York State do about this right now? Those who live in the 15th Congressional District, Brooklyn, can indicate their protest by voting for the one working class candidate remaining on the New York State ballot, Max Shachtman, Workers Party candidate for Congress.

In addition, the people of New York State can make known their protest to the Governor, to the State Legislature and to the public press.

But it is up to the working class parties to take the initiative in fighting the election laws JOINTLY.

SEATTLE WP BRANCH ASKS LABOR TO VOTE FOR SWETT AND ROBERTS

SEATTLE—The Seattle Branch of the Workers Party has announced its support in the election campaign of Charles R. Swett for U. S. Senate and Daniel Roberts for Washington State Senate, both running as candidates of the Socialist Workers Party.

The WP itself is not putting forward candidates in this election, and therefore calls upon all workers to cast their ballots for Swett and Roberts, who are running as socialist candidates on a platform of militant labor action. Thus a vote for Swett and Roberts is a vote for an independent Labor Party, a vote for aggressive action against capitalism, a vote for socialism.

The differences between the WP and the SWP are well known. The WP, for example, takes sharp exception to the plank in the SWP platform which calls for defense of Russia, believing that it is radically wrong for labor to give support to either the Anglo-American or Russian imperialist camp. However, the candidates of the SWP are the only ones through whom the people of Seattle can register a vote for militant labor action and for socialism.

Believing that, however wide the differences, common action and even

unity, as proposed by the WP, is possible between the two organizations, the Seattle Branch of the WP addressed a letter to the local SWP, offering its full aid and assistance in the election campaign and asking for a meeting to arrange same.

The reply was, unfortunately, most disappointing and damaging to the prosecution of an effective socialist campaign. The SWP answered that in its opinion the differences between the organizations was so great as to "exclude the possibility of a joint campaign.... For this reason we see no purpose in a meeting of the representatives of the two respective parties."

Despite the SWP's unwillingness to meet with the WP, the WP considers that the interests of Seattle workers can best be served in this campaign by voting for the SWP. The WP will therefore do all it can to rally support for Swett and Roberts. In this election, the people of the State of Washington can indicate their repudiation of the capitalist politicians of the Democratic and Republican parties and strike a blow for socialist liberation by voting for Charles R. Swett for U. S. Senate, and Daniel Roberts for State Senate.

DEBATE

"DOES STALINISM FLOW FROM BOLSHEVISM?"

"YES!"

Liston M. Oak
Managing Editor
of "The New Leader"
Radio Commentator

"NO!"

Max Shachtman
National Chairman
Workers Party

FRIDAY NOV. 8 8 P. M.

HOTEL DIPLOMAT
108 West 43rd St.
New York City
ADMISSION: 75c

Sponsored by
LABOR ACTION SCHOOL
Third Floor, 114 West 14th Street
New York 11, N. Y.

Shachtman Routs Celler as Vets Make Brooklyn Meeting a Debate

BROOKLYN, N. Y.—Seventy-five members of the Brownsville Chapter of the American Veterans Committee were treated to an unexpected and totally informal debate last week between candidate for Congress Max Shachtman of the Workers Party and the incumbent Congressman of that District, Emanuel Celler. The incident occurred in the following manner:

Three candidates for Congress had been invited to address the AVC chapter by its arrangements committee, the chairman of which was Ephraim Friend, veteran of the Pacific Theater of War.

Congressman Emanuel Celler, Democratic and ALP candidate Anthony Laisi, Republican candidate Max Shachtman, Workers Party candidate

After a short business meeting, the American Veterans Committee Chapter opened its forum for political candidates and the Republican candidate for Congress led off with a fifteen minute presentation of the Republican program for the coming Congress. After completing his address he asked to be excused and left.

CELLER MAKES ENTRANCE

Congressman Emanuel Celler had not yet arrived. And Max Shachtman of the Workers Party was asked to speak second. He delivered the Workers Party program for the veterans and concluded amid a round of applause.

As Shachtman was making the last few remarks of his address,

Congressman Emanuel Celler walked into the room, asking to be excused for his lateness.

Without having heard the presentation of the Workers Party candidate, Emanuel Celler proceeded to make a very demagogic appeal to the veterans present of whom 98 per cent were of Jewish origin.

He began his speech with an anecdote about his rabbi and the days of his youth in Brownsville when he attended "schule."

From this anecdote he moved on to the destiny of the Jews and reminded his audience that they were young Jews and that they must learn to carry on in the Jewish tradition.

He appealed to them to conduct themselves as he did.

And then he appealed to them to preserve Palestine for the Jews.

This was almost the entire content of his speech. He mentioned not a word about his program in the coming elections.

He said nothing about the issues in the Congressional campaign.

ASK QUESTIONS

As Congressman Celler sat down one of the members of the American Veterans Committee made a motion that the speakers answer questions: The motion was carried and the candidates agreed.

The first question was directed to both Max Shachtman and Congressman Celler:

"Would you propose the use of violence, if necessary, against British imperialism in Palestine?"

Congressman Celler replied first, stating that the only action necessary against the British was for Congress to refuse loans to them unless they allowed the Jews into Palestine.

Shachtman followed with a devastating attack on British imperialism. He then proceeded to deal with American imperialism in the same manner.

CELLER TRIES HECKLING

Congressman Celler grew red and pale by turns and finally, unable to restrain himself any longer, decided to heckle Shachtman.

In the middle of Shachtman's withering remarks about American imperialism in the Middle East, Celler shouted—"And what about Stalin's imperialism?"

Max Shachtman is known rather widely in radical circles for his ability to turn a heckle into a missile directed at his opponent. Congressman Celler did not know this, of course. But the seventy-five veterans at that meeting know that Celler will know it from now on.

Max Shachtman answered the

heckle by pointing out that the Workers Party has been opposed to Stalin's imperialism for years, and having satisfied his audience on that subject, proceeded to embarrass Celler by demanding to know why Celler had supported an alliance with Stalin's imperialism for the entire period during the war.

At this point both the audience and Congressman Celler were tense, Celler because he had mistaken the Workers Party for some kind of Stalinist organization and knew nothing about the program of his opponent Max Shachtman; the audience because they smelled an informal debate and there is nothing a bunch of Brownsville veterans like better than a debate.

The questions began to fly thick and fast, every questioner attempting to direct his questions to both speakers so that they would be provoked into debating each other.

The Republican candidate's speech was totally ignored.

The audience asked that the two speakers debate the following questions:

"What kind of a working class government does the Workers Party propose; does it propose a one-party dictatorship?"

"Does the Democratic Party have a reactionary program on the question of Jewish immigration, on the question about his alliance with Stalin's imperialism, wages, prices and profits?"

Emanuel Celler was unable to give a satisfactory answer to the question about his alliance with Stalin's imperialism. But when pressed he finally said "When attacked by a tiger I would ally myself with a bear anytime."

Celler then refused to take responsibility for the Democratic Party program, although he admitted that he had made statements at various times supporting Democratic Party candidates.

When pressed on the question of the Democratic Party program for allowing emigration of Jews into the United States, he blamed it all on the Johnson Act which he said was passed during a reactionary administration and which he, Celler, had unsuccessfully tried to amend.

He was then confronted with the fact that during twelve years of the Roosevelt administration the Johnson Act remained on the books and remained unamended.

To this he had nothing to say. During the course of this debate Emanuel Celler learned a good deal about the Workers Party.

And, in addition, he also learned that it is unwise to heckle Max Shachtman.

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!