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JOIN THE WORKERS PARTY!**

LABOR ACTION

OCTOBER 18, 1948

A PAPER IN THE INTEREST OF SOCIALISM

FIVE CENTS

U. S. Sparks Drive to Bless Franco with UN Holy Water

By A. FERRARA

Once again an aggressive campaign is being waged to have Washington recognize the reactionary Franco regime. The aims of the campaign are clearly defined: to admit Spain into the United Nations, to bring her within the framework of the European Recovery Program, and finally to have her enter the Western European military bloc.

The reasons given for such a change are Spain's strategic military position and the fact that she has the largest standing army in Western Europe. It is estimated that Spain could put an army of one million men into the field in time of war.

Given the nature of the arguments, it is no accident that the loudest advocate at the present time of a friendlier attitude toward Franco Spain is Republican Senator Chan Gurney, chairman of the powerful Senate Armed Services Committee. For Gurney is expressing the views of the American military who believe that, if and when World War III comes, Stalin's armies will overrun Europe until they come up against the natural barrier of the Pyrenees.

To the American General Staff this means that Franco's Spain must be bolstered with American economic and military aid. There can be no doubt that the American military is the driving force behind the current agitation to recognize Franco's regime.

CRISIS IN SPAIN

Because of the tense international situation, much is being said publicly about Spain's military importance. Little, however, is being said about the economic crisis which continues to paralyze Spain and place a question mark over the future of the Franco regime.

Widespread unemployment, inflationary prices, a lack of foreign exchange with which to buy the raw materials and machinery needed to revive industry and agriculture, the burden of a bloated, corrupt and parasitic military and police apparatus—all of this adds up to chronic economic stagnation and decay. It is precisely the fear that the chronic economic crisis may generate a political explosion in the near future which is prompting the American military to agitate for a more positive and "friendly" attitude toward Franco.

It is impossible, of course, to predict how far the American ruling class will be able to go in its desires to prop up the dictatorial Franco regime. For not only is there the problem of popular, democratic, anti-fascist sentiment here at home, there is also the problem of a clash with British aims and interests on the Spanish question.

For one thing, it is politically impossible for the Labor government to endorse any proposal of outright support to Franco. Furthermore, if and when it is necessary to supplant Franco, the British imperialists have their own plan for setting up a coalition government of monarchists and right-wing socialists, a government which would be completely subservient to London. It is hardly a coincidence that the day after Senator Gurney came out in favor of recognizing Franco, the British Foreign Office released the text of an agreement between the Spanish monarchists and the followers of Indalacio

Prieto, the right-wing socialist leader.

Finally, there can be no doubt that revelation of the American military plans to cynically abandon Western Europe to Stalin's armies when war comes will evoke great indignation among the masses in France, Italy and the Benelux countries. For the governments of these countries to support any American measure of recognition for Franco Spain will be, to say the least, politically inexpedient.

TYRANNY GOES ON

Meanwhile the Spanish masses continue to bear the terrible yoke of Franco's savage police regime. Tens of thousands of Spanish workers languish in jail, and the rollcall of those executed for political "crimes" con-

tinues to grow. Franco's war against the Spanish people goes on.

The struggle of the Spanish masses against this unspeakable tyranny is part and parcel of the struggle of the international working class for democracy and socialism. Without the aid and support of the organized working class of Western Europe and the Western Hemisphere, the Spanish workers will scarcely rid themselves of the dictatorial regime.

Today, when the American ruling class is consciously embarking on a policy of open support to Franco, it is necessary to combat this reactionary plan actively. The fight must be carried into the trade unions and into every gathering where democratic, anti-fascist sentiment prevails.

NMU Council Fumbles Effort To Gear Union for New Task

NEW YORK—The National Council of the National Maritime Union has just held its semi-annual session. The greatest problem before the NMU was declared to be "correcting the evils that were placed upon our union by the unscrupulous elements of the Communist Party machine that has now been eliminated from office." Some of the evils considered were the union's serious financial position and the reuniting of the membership after the recent struggle for control.

The National Council is composed of agents of the various ports along with the national officers. With one exception, they all ran for office on the Rank and File Committee slate in the recent election and represent the anti-Communist Party vote. They have held their respective offices for two months and show a great deal of inexperience.

For the most part they are very backward politically. A few had a "Wobbly" (IWW) education, and escaped the purge of IWW members which was conducted by the Stalinists in 1938. Many have been connected with the CP in the past and have some bad hangovers from that contact.

HALF-WAY MEASURES

Much of this CP hangover was shown in the discussion of various issues. A general fear of breaking with past tradition to embark on new roads resulted in many half-way measures.

This is typified by the decisions to enforce strictly the present contract with elaborate grievance machinery and very little job action and by insufficient changes in present union rules on hiring procedure. The present contract has often been characterized as having "one page for the shipowners and one for the union" because of the Stalinist win-the-war line when many contract "interpretations" were incorporated into it.

Similarly with the present shipping rules which govern the rotary hiring procedure. The council has proposed mere modifications of the Stalinist wartime rules instead of basic changes demanded by the post-war decline in shipping.

A study of the union's finances showed the result of the Stalinist policy of rule or ruin. The books are badly in the red due to excessive expenditures and unnecessary waste

the past few years. Post-war decline in the industry and membership necessitate a raise in union income. It was agreed by the council that a genuine curtailment of expenses would be undertaken before asking for a dues increase.

The meeting reaffirmed the union's support of the West Coast maritime strike, its position against discrimination in the union, and its hatred of the "supreme dictatorship" of Franco.

A committee of the council held trial of several Stalinist officers who participated in an illegal, disruptive meeting recently. Similar charges against five members had been heard by a membership trial committee, as reported two weeks ago by LABOR

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Prices and Profits Are Highest in U. S. History

By ANNE RUSSELL

This week learned economists confirmed what every housewife knows: that the cost of living is at an all-time high. Housewives were making history, even if somewhat reluctantly, by shelling out 75 per cent more for food, clothing and other necessities, as compared with the base period of 1935-39.

In a report bristling with charts and statistics, the President's Council of Economic Advisers announced that the consumers' price index had reached the record high of 174.5 as of August 15. Groceries which cost \$1.00 during the base period now cost \$1.75. Milk at 21 cents a quart, hamburger at 60 cents a pound, butter at 85 cents a pound, round steak at \$1.00 a pound—these are but a few of the record highs which cut new lows in the purchasing power of workers' families.

Although prices have averaged increases of 75 per cent, a breakdown of the cost of living shows that the biggest increase has taken place in food costs. And that's where a major portion of the paycheck of the average worker must be spent.

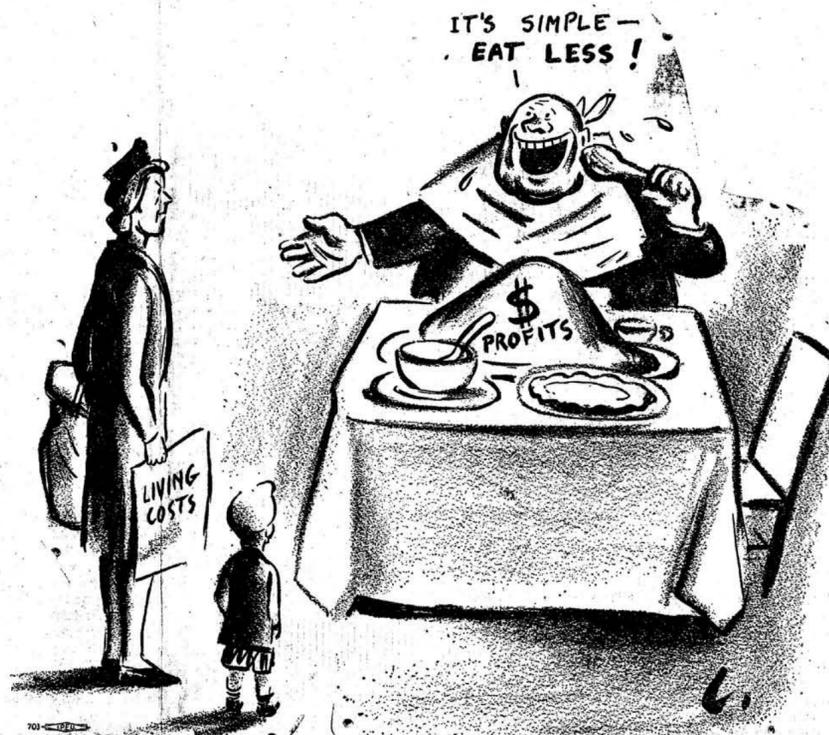
Food has gone up 129 per cent; clothing 97 per cent, house furnishings 94 per cent, fuels 36 per cent, and rent (the only item under partial control) 12 per cent. The big jump in the food group is accounted for by the sharp increase of 168 per cent in the cost of meat.

These are the price increases which have been robbing the pockets of the workers of America. Wage increases have been unable to keep pace with the skyrocketing increases in living costs and are soon wiped out by increased prices.

The report of the Economic Advisers also reveals that corporation profits are at an all-time high. At the end of the second quarter of 1948, profits after taxes totalled \$20 billion. These record profits were made possible by the exorbitant price increases extorted from American consumers.

Ironically enough, the Congressional Joint Committee presenting this economic report is headed by Senator Robert A. Taft, who but two years ago was proclaiming that lower prices were just around the corner, provided all price controls were lifted.

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Calif. Referendum on Public Housing Program Faces Vicious Fight by Real Estate Gougers

By B. ARNOLD

OAKLAND, Calif., Oct. 3—Public housing will be one of the most important subjects confronting the people of California at the general election on November 2. This is one of the major provisions of the California Housing Initiative, which will be voted on at that time. Faced with probably the most acute housing crisis in the entire country, Californians, by voting "yes" on this initiative, will have their sole immediate opportunity to enact housing relief.

This initiative, which will appear on the ballot as Proposition No. 14, is already the center of intense controversy and has aroused great interest throughout the state. Despite all the ballyhoo about the tremendous building and home construction that is supposed to be going on in this state, it is apparent to every person who has had to look for a place to live that the housing shortage has not abated. In reality, facts and figures reveal that it is becoming more acute.

California is the most rapidly growing state in the entire country, as population having increased 42.1 per cent since 1940, as compared to the national average of 8.9 per cent. The monthly influx of new people, estimated at over 20,000, aggravates the already existing crisis in housing.

MINORITIES SUFFER MOST

The latest figures from official sources clearly indicate the extent of the problem. The O'Gara Committee of the California State Legislature, after an investigation of the housing situation in the state, officially reported that at the end of 1946 at least 743,000 new dwelling units were needed. Since this report was made, an additional 117,000 families came into the state during 1947, but only 90,000 new houses were built during this period. Yet the real estate lobby claims that the housing situation is easing up.

Here, as in other areas of the country, the minority groups suffer the problem in its most acute form. Living in utterly inadequate dwellings, hemmed in by "informal" restrictive covenants, many thousands of Negroes are jammed into slum sections of West Oakland, the Fillmore District in San Francisco, and the Central Avenue section of Los Angeles.

The Chinese in San Francisco and the Mexicans in Los Angeles endure similar slum conditions. The Chamber of Commerce never admits these facts, but slums do exist, even in wonderful California, and what is more, are rapidly increasing.

New homes are being built here, but these cannot begin to solve the problem inasmuch as they are constructed by private real estate interests for sale and speculation and not for rental. The O'Gara Committee reported that 66 per cent of the housing need is for rental units. Yet the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce in a special report on housing in the congested San Francisco-Oakland area reported that in 1947, over 87 per cent of the dwelling units started were for single families, mainly for owners or for sale; and only 13 per cent for rental. In the Los Angeles area in July of this year, only 25 per cent of new housing construction was for rental.

Who Gets Gravy of Price Support?

Food-Surplus Problem Looms Again

By SUSAN GREEN

A few weeks ago some Republican enthusiasts thought they had found the answer to President Truman's electioneering claim that the Republicans are responsible for skyrocketing prices because they opposed price control—also, by the way, opposed by many Democrats. These Deweyites said that the Democrats brought about inflation because it was they who started the program of government support of farm prices. This gave the Democrats a welcome weapon. They accused the Dewey camp of planning to end the government support program and thus to betray the farmer. It didn't take the Republicans long to see that they had let go a boomerang. Dewey had to make it clear that he loved the farmers as much as Truman does, and that he wouldn't think of ending government price support.

So the subject has been dropped as a campaign issue. Everyone is for the farmer during the campaign, as everyone is for everyone else during the campaign; and, of course, no one opposes the government support program. The reasons for this unanimity are obvious. Everyone wants the farmers' votes; and no one wants to be responsible for making a change in policy and later be blamed by political opponents for deflation when it comes. The only group wanting an end of government support of farm prices are the speculators who thrive on wild price fluctuations.

While government support of farm prices has thus ceased to be front-page campaign material, actually it is becoming an important factor in the economy. Predictions are that in

the coming year the government will pay out or loan several billions of dollars and will become the owner or potential owner of huge stocks of farm crops. This will happen because the biggest crop in history, now being harvested in this country, and the agricultural recovery in Europe and elsewhere, are already forcing farm prices down, and the government will be called upon to make good its guarantee to peg those prices at legal levels.

PARITY AND SUPPORT

When prices on the open market fall below parity, the government can step in to do one of two things. It can either buy crops or other farm products outright at 90 per cent of parity (for cotton it is 92½ per cent due to the efforts of the powerful lobby); or it can extend a loan to the farmer amounting to 90 per cent of parity, so that the farmer may store his crop and continue operations. However, the farmer can turn the crop over to the government to cancel out the loan. This is how government support works.

A word about parity—what is this thing called parity? A period is taken as basic in which there was a balance between farm and industrial prices. Parity prices attempt to keep this balance throughout periods of rising or falling general cost levels. In the Department of Agriculture there is a list of parity prices of commodities covered by the government support program, which parity prices are supposed to represent a fair relation between farm prices and the prices of what the farmers need to run their farms and to live.

Disparity between agricultural prices and industrial prices has constituted a problem in almost every country, more or less acute at different times. It will be recalled that the difficulty of "closing the scissors" in the early years after the Russian Revolution led to bitter controversy. Stalin, of course, "solved" the problem by terror, violence, exile and annihilation. Today in European countries where inflation is acute, farmers hoard their products rather than sell because they could not buy equivalent value for the money they would receive.

In this country the 1929 crisis affected farm prices more quickly than others. The Roosevelt recovery program made an effort to put a floor under the prices of agricultural products, of which there were great surpluses because hungry people could not buy. When World War II loomed on the horizon and the government foresaw the need for stupendous amounts of agricultural products, it guaranteed prices to farmers to get them to embark on all-out production, just as it guaranteed, in one way or another, profits to the industrialists. After the war the support program remained to encourage continued high production to meet post-war needs—to say nothing of the powerful farm lobbies on the spot to look after their own interests.

Since the war, prices have soared far above parity and the government has not had much occasion to step in. Its price support has been given for such purposes as to encourage the production of eggs in the Midwest

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Overflow Audience Hears Shachtman in Buffalo

WP Chairman Dissects "Practical" Politics of Labor Leaders Before Record Meeting

BUFFALO, Oct. 9—More than one hundred and twenty people packed Labor Action Hall here tonight to hear Max Shachtman, national chairman of the Workers Party, speak on "Labor and the '48 Elections."

Numerous workers, union officials, housewives and a large delegation of student youth comprised the overflow audience which, in the opinion of veteran observers, was the largest to attend a socialist political meeting of any kind in this city since the mid-30's and the palmy days of the Communist Party. Certainly neither the Socialist or Socialist Workers Parties has ever attracted such numbers locally; and this despite appearance of presidential candidates Norman Thomas and Farrell Dobbs. Serving as a "housewarming" for its tastefully redecorated headquarters, the meeting forcefully illustrated the ever-widening influence of the Workers Party Buffalo Branch and Socialist Youth League affiliate.

After a brief speech of introduction and welcome, in which he sketched the eight years of the Buffalo Branch's existence, culminating in the two months of work on the headquarters revampment, the meeting chairman presented the keynote speaker, Comrade Shachtman.

After establishing the fact that labor today finds itself in an economic impasse, Comrade Shachtman, with great irony and effect, reviewed the present political positions of America's labor leaders on the basis of what he termed their "practical" approach to the Republican, Democratic and Progressive Parties. Concrete facts and the experience of every worker clearly showed, said Comrade Shachtman, that these positions were, in reality, thoroughly impractical and to the detriment of the American labor movement. What is needed, he emphasized, is independent political action through a mass party based on the already organized trade unions and actively encompassing all na-

tional minorities, youth and the lower middle class.

Only such a party, he continued, with a militant leadership and program, can begin to solve the problems facing the American people today. Since the Workers Party is firmly committed to its role as the loyal left wing of the American labor movement, he concluded, all socialists and serious militants should join its ranks and thereby make more effective its fight for the establishment and progress of such a labor party.

The local leader of the Socialist Youth League then spoke, touching on the need for and the activities of the SYL, and directed an invitation to all youth present to attend the weekly meetings of the recently formed Buffalo group. After a short question period, the meeting chairman invited the assembled to partake of the refreshments prepared and the dancing. Despite the late hour, the great majority of the audience stayed on and the bright headquarters was

not darkened until the small hours of the morning.

What was particularly gratifying to the Buffalo comrades was the individual response of so many of the audience. There were dozens of exclamations of praise for the redecoration work; a goodly number of tickets were sold for the already scheduled October 23 social; the Branch's mailing list was considerably swelled; and last, but far from least, it was most gratifying to see Comrade Shachtman autographing copies of his book, "The Fight for Socialism," and answering the questions of so many whose interest for the Workers Party brand of socialism was definitely apparent.

Morale of the Buffalo Branch of the Workers Party and the Socialist Youth League is at a deserved high as a result of this most successful "housewarming." And both are intent on continuing as the focal point of left wing socialist politics in Buffalo.

Vote "Yes!" in Calif. Housing Referendum—

(Continued from page 1)

pleted was for rental purposes. But even these figures are misleading for practically all new apartments that are built are renting for prices far beyond the means of the workers.

LEGISLATURE DOES NOTHING

The simple truth is that private enterprise cannot construct decent homes for the lower income families. It could not do it in the past and certainly cannot do it today. It falls further behind every year. The building industry, operated for profit, cannot begin to solve the problem because it builds for those who can afford to pay the price, a small segment of the population; and not for the vast majority who so desperately require adequate housing.

Despite repeated investigations which clearly showed the extent of the housing crisis, the California Legislature at its last session did nothing to alleviate the problem even temporarily. Even Governor Warren, with one eye focused on the Republican nomination, was forced to admit that housing was the most crucial issue facing the state. Yet this same session of the Legislature granted almost \$100,000,000 for new highway construction, without appropriating a cent for housing.

On a national level, the failure of the 80th Congress in Washington to act is so well known as to need no repetition here. There is no effective federal or state legislation on the books today that will assist those who cannot afford private housing.

USE INITIATIVE PROCESS

It was obvious that only large-scale public housing could even begin to solve the problem. The failure of the Legislature to act made it necessary to utilize the California Initiative and Referendum process in order to get some sort of housing relief. Accordingly, last spring, several labor, liberal and veterans' groups organized to put an initiative for housing on the ballot for the general election, thus to allow the people themselves to vote on a solution. Before it could qualify to get on the ballot, over 200,000 valid signatures had to be obtained. This was accomplished on a volunteer basis and the initiative duly qualified for the general election. The American Veterans' Committee played a vital role in the campaign for signatures.

The Housing Initiative, now known as Proposition No. 14, if approved by a majority of the voters, will enact a constitutional amendment which will create a State Housing Agency. This agency will be authorized to loan money to local housing authorities and to private non-profit housing associations and to make periodic subsidies to housing authorities so that rents will be low enough for low-income families.

The purpose of the Initiative is to provide for the construction of 100,000 low rental housing units. It is estimated that most rent under this act will average from \$25 to \$35 per month. All housing is to be of permanent, modern construction.

A very important and highly progressive provision of the act is that the dwellings constructed are to be rented on the basis of need with NO discrimination or segregation as to race, color, creed, national origin, or ancestry. Another provision along this line regarding the construction prohibits any discrimination in employment on account of race, color, creed, etc.

The act provides for a state bond issue of \$100,000,000 which will provide money to loan to local housing authorities and housing associations

for the actual construction. In addition, \$25,000,000 annually is set up to be used to subsidize the actual operation of the local authorities so that rents will be maintained at low levels. It is specifically stated in the Initiative that no housing authority or housing association coming under its jurisdiction shall construct or operate a development for profit. Occupancy priorities are given to World War II veterans for a period of five years following its passage.

LIMITED IN SCOPE

While the basic provisions of the Initiative as listed above show that it clearly deserves the support of all workers in California, it is necessary in this analysis to point out certain shortcomings in the act. For one, it can do no more than solve the housing problem for a small percentage of those in need. It is limited in scope and in finances. The actual financial provisions are also subject to valid criticism, since instead of providing for an outright grant of money from the swollen State Treasury, it calls for a bond issue. This means that interest payments will ultimately be borne by the workers. New taxes on high personal incomes and corporate

profits should have been the method of financing.

However, despite these criticisms, the Workers Party declares that the Housing Initiative should be supported by all workers in California. It is at least a great step forward in providing low-cost housing. Its provisions relating to anti-discrimination are unusually progressive.

Backing the Housing Initiative are many of the leading labor, veteran and liberal organizations in the state. Both the state AFL and CIO have given it unqualified support and are campaigning for it, in addition to local trade union bodies and various Railroad Brotherhood groups. The American Veterans Committee and the NAACP are actively working for its passage. The archdiocese of Los Angeles is also supporting the bill. Despite the unfavorable attitude of their state organizations, several posts of the American Legion and VFW are also supporting it.

TOUGH SLEDDING

However, it is apparent that despite this backing, the Initiative will face a very tough campaign, for arrayed against it are the real estate groups, various building and contractor associations, most of the capital-

ist press, the Chambers of Commerce, Associated Farmers and similar spokesmen for reaction.

In other words, those primarily responsible for the housing crisis and who stand to profit most by its continuation are most active now against passage of Proposition No. 14. As expected, the real estate interests are spearheading the opposition. A special slush fund of several hundred thousand dollars has reportedly been collected by them from big landlords and others opposed to public housing to be used in propaganda to smear the Initiative. They have created a "Committee for Home Protection" to corral support from the small home owner. This phony committee is nothing but a facade to lend dubious respectability to their propaganda.

Already they are playing on racial and religious prejudices, attempting to stir up sentiment against the anti-discrimination and anti-segregation provisions set up in the bill. The usual propaganda on the virtues of free enterprise and its ability to solve the housing shortage in opposition to the "socialistic" measures of public housing is being publicized. These people have the gall to say that only abolition of rent control can solve

the housing shortage. But the payoff is their attempt, by flagrant juggling and distortion of figures, to prove that no housing crisis exists in California.

NOTE "YES!"

Despite the huge sums of money being spent in opposition to the Housing Initiative and the smear tactics used against it, this measure can be passed providing its supporters wage an aggressive campaign for its enactment. The organizations backing this proposition, AFL, CIO, AVC, NAACP, etc., must mobilize all their members for its support. The workers of California, who certainly stand to benefit by public housing, must be aroused.

In an election year in which so little choice is offered the workers, the Housing Initiative stands out as one of the few campaign issues meriting support. As we have pointed out, it will not solve the housing crisis, but its passage will mean that public housing will become a function of the state and that considerable measures of relief will occur.

LABOR ACTION calls upon all its California readers to support and vote "YES" on the Housing Initiative—Proposition No. 14.

Prices, Profits Highest in History—

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ed. Taft endeared himself to big business and the food interests by his unremitting fight against the interest of the people.

"EAT LESS" TAFT

When Taft was leading the wrecking crew in Congress that made a shambles of the Office of Price Administration, this was his platform: "Prices somewhat higher than normal tend to increase production. We certainly should not force such a reduction of prices as to interfere with more production."

A real gem of double-talk! At the same time that Taft was insisting the abolishing of OPA would stimulate competition and more production, and thus result in lower prices, he tipped his hand and revealed his real program of higher prices by expressing his concern that price reductions might curtail production. His conclusion: higher prices tend to increase production and are therefore economically sound. How this process will bring about lower prices was never developed by Taft.

Taft had other substantial contributions to make on how to make ends meet: "eat less meat and eat less extravagantly." A bold program that went right to the heart of the matter.

BI-PARTISAN SLAUGHTER

But Taft was not alone in hacking price controls to death, and opening the door to the high prices and profiteering to come. Like most of the other major acts of the 80th Congress, a bi-partisan coalition worked hand-in-glove. Leading Democrats and Republicans echoed the demand for raising the lids on prices. They stand jointly responsible for the high prices of 1948.

All the predictions of the great statesmen of Congress that lower prices would soon appear met an early death. Never were politicians' promises more quickly exposed, and yet these same politicians come before the people asking for re-election.

Republican Senator Wherry of Nebraska wanted due recognition:

"TAFT! Taft! Everybody's talking about what Taft has done to OPA. I'm the fellow that knocked out meat control and I've done more to that bill than anybody else."

Representative Henry D. Larcade, Louisiana Democrat, was grieved by the deplorable manners of OPA. He complained that OPA "was run in a high-handed, dictatorial and discriminating manner, treating not only the members of Congress but the people of the country as a whole with disdain, disrespect and discourtesy." He was for having the consumers' pockets picked with proper respect and courtesy. Above all, no discrimination: all prices must go up.

An especially brilliant prophecy was forecast by Ohio's Representative Edward O. McCowen: "Let us make the break now, and then let the Price Control Act die its natural death. There will be confusion for a few months . . . then confusion will end, prices will be stabilized and production will be normal and sufficient."

NAM PULLED STRINGS

But an end to such confusion and entries for the clouded crystal ball department. These gentlemen were the Charlie McCarthys; the strings animating them were pulled by the National Association of Manufacturers. The NAM and big business spent over \$3 million on a vast propaganda campaign in 1946 to abolish price controls. It was well worth it, because it netted them \$13 BILLION in profits in two years from the higher prices.

Do you recall the full-page ads they ran soft-soaping the public. "Remove price controls on manufactured goods and production will step up. This is the way you can get the goods you want at the prices you can afford to pay." Yes, they really said this.

Or again: "If OPA is permanently discontinued, the production of goods will mount rapidly and through free competition, prices will quickly (no less) adjust themselves to levels that consumers are willing to pay."

The duet of Congress and big business sang the same siren song: Re-

move OPA barriers and prices will come tumbling down. What is the barrier now, gentlemen? OPA is now six feet under and you have had your way. Where is the competition that was to reduce prices? Where are your lower prices? Why don't you run full-page ads now and explain why our prices are so high?

"FLASH IN PAN" DROP

Recently meat prices dropped slightly but even before the housewives could feel hopeful that they might be forerunners in a general drop, warnings were issued that this was only a temporary drop and within a week or two prices would be at their high levels again, with more climbing in sight. These price cuts were called "a flash in the pan" by the president of the National Meat Industry Council as a result of seasonal factors and the rushing of cattle to an early market. These "flashes in the pan" mean no meat in the pan for many a worker's family which can't afford pork chops at 85 cents a pound or sirloin steak at \$1.00 a pound.

Meat prices have risen more steeply than other foods as a result of the monopoly exercised by the meat packers. The "Big Four" in the meat industry have just been indicted by the anti-trust division for utilizing their monopoly position to enforce high prices. The four firms named—Armour, Swift, Cudahy and Wilson—worked as a unit to serve meat to the consumer at the price they wanted to charge.

Where is the competition so boldly proclaimed by the NAM? The government's indictment states that since 1893 a monopoly has existed among the meat packers. It doesn't explain why it waited until 1948 to do something about it.

NMU Council Meeting—

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ACTION. At that time punishment for the offense had been voted down at a New York meeting. All council decisions go before the membership for ratification before they are effective.

The council members, in anticipation of a Republican victory, voted to open a foreign-flag organizing drive. They already feel the lack of a friend in Washington when it comes to such matters as influencing the quota of non-citizen seamen employed on government-subsidized ships.

The council voted to replace the office workers in the union who constitute a spy service for the CP. They voted to answer the call of the ITU for a Congress of Labor to combat the Taft-Hartley Law. But the general lack of political savvy also resulted in an unopposed endorsement of CIO policy to support Truman.

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So powerful is this meat trust that it was able to withhold meat from stores in 1946 as its pressure weapon to abolish OPA. This strike against the people was successful and when the government gave in, meat came out of the hiding places and into the showcases again. It should be no mystery then about the high prices of meat.

Another monopoly that shoots food prices up is the agricultural implements trust. These companies, which supply farmers with the necessary machinery to raise food, are also under indictment for price-fixing and illegal monopolistic practices. The farmers who were heavily overcharged for their implements passed on some of these charges to the consumer.

These two monopolies, together with the many which operate freely without government interference, account for the high prices foisted on the American consumers. Big business may rail and rant about its opposition to the control of commodities and prices. Its real program is that it and it alone wants to exercise such control.

The monopolies and big corporations now decide what shall be produced, how much, and at what price. They control the price of key foods and necessities of life. They use this control in their interests, and they fight tooth and nail against any interference with their control, no matter how mild it may be. Their stranglehold must be broken if still higher prices are to be stopped.

How? By organizing to exert the pressure of union and popular committees to drive prices down. How? By organizing to direct political and economic pressure through a Labor Party. For what purpose? To nationalize the food industries under workers' control!

The blinding anti-Stalinist attitude of some of the council members went so far as to "severely criticize any minority group . . . of CIO which would . . . disrupt the smooth functioning" of this support to Truman.

The council meeting did not reflect much rank-and-file pressure. If its avowed aims to "unite our union and give back to it the strength it once had" had been given more than lip service, the resulting proposals would be a lot better than they are. As is usually the case, the real job is up to the NMU seaman to chart a course based upon his daily experience.

KEEP THIS DATE OPEN!

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 22

Annual Dance And Fall Frolic

Featuring: Rex Clayton and His Band

Caravan Hall 110 East 59th Street
General Admission: \$1.25 SYL: 60 Cents

YOUTH and Student CORNER

By JULIUS FALK and JACK MAXWELL

It becomes increasingly probable that, after the national elections, the pressure of events and necessity will push the more militant wing of the labor movement toward the formation of a Labor Party. The growing dissatisfaction of the working class with the politics of the old capitalist parties and the growing synthesis between big business and the government demands of the labor movement that it provide a political arena for the working class—a party based upon the unions which will become labor's political weapon in its struggle against the reactionary legislation of big business and government. Even the more timid labor leaders will be forced to face the fact that the most basic rights and independence of the trade unions depend upon the initiation and effectiveness of such a new party.

As with all dynamic parties, this new Labor Party must have its youth section; organized support among the millions of student, farm, labor and unemployed youth. An organization which can give the necessary moral and practical support to its parent party.

However, a mass youth organization of this nature can develop only after a Labor Party is under way. Today there is no comparable organized mass base among the youth for such a movement, as there is in the trade unions for an adult party. The political pressures influencing the labor movement now cannot operate to the same extent among youth which is not an organized force and which is not subject to the same governmental assault on its rights. But if a Labor Party is organized, then this new factor will provide the necessary stimulus for the growth of the mass youth movement affiliated to it. In this important sense, the youth must follow the labor movement; it cannot lead it.

FORM YOUTH COUNCIL

This does not exclude the possibility of breaking the path today for such a projected mass youth organization. At least the form can be developed now. A step in this direction was taken through the formation of the National Youth Council for Independent Political Action. This council consists of leading members of various progressive youth organizations committed to preparing the way for a large youth affiliate to a Labor Party. The most recent meeting of this council was held six weeks ago in Columbus, Ohio, and was attended by members of about 15 student, farm, religious and political youth organizations. There are individual youth leaders from many other organizations who, though not present at the conference, have indicated their support of this council.

The council is as yet weak in numbers and organization. However, if it succeeds in developing an as yet wholly lacking political and organizational dynamism, it can easily be-

come a movement of tremendous importance. A number of its present weaknesses were exhibited at the Columbus conference. For one, it had no contact with youthful leaders of the labor movement. The composition of the council is almost exclusively student and intellectual. A much greater orientation toward youth in industry than was evidenced at the conference is required for the council's success.

Several members of the council—to be more precise, the national organizer and national secretary of the Young People's Socialist League (YPSL)—marred the conference proceedings with an arrogant and bureaucratic motion to exclude members of the Socialist Youth League from participation in the council. Among the reasons given for this motion were: the SYL defends the Bolshevik revolution, "these people are materialists," and "these people want to use the Labor Party to bring socialism." (Scratch a professional "democrat" and there you will often find a petty totalitarian-minded bureaucrat.) The SYLers at the conference pleaded guilty to all these

SHACHTMAN TO SPEAK AT YOUTH MEETING

Max Shachtman, national chairman of the Workers Party, will address a youth and student audience on the topic: "Should Socialists Support America in a Third World War?" The meeting is scheduled for Sunday, October 24, at 7:30 p.m. at 114 West 14th St., New York City. Admission is 15 cents.

heinous habits. Fortunately, a large proportion of those present did not support the YPSL leaders' motion, and it was consequently withdrawn.

REQUIRES BROAD SCOPE

If the council is to succeed it must go out of its way to embrace members of all youth organizations which are in favor of building a new Labor Party.

Youth leaders from rural areas, from industry, from religious groups, from liberal, pacifist and socialist organizations must be invited to join. It can and must encourage a democratic exchange of ideas within the council and at the same time provide common grounds for action. Should the council, still in its infancy, start excluding or limiting the participation of left wing socialists, it will have gone a long way toward sealing its own future.

The Socialist Youth League makes no pretenses about its attitude toward this council. We consider its leadership inexperienced, its scope too narrow and its approach to politics too timid. But none of these handicaps is irremediable. They can be overcome through unhampered discussion, hard work and experience.

Democrats, Election Board Pull Foul Trick on Socialist Party

NEW YORK—One of the most reprehensible manipulations of the election law is being perpetrated by the Brooklyn Democratic machine against the Socialist Party.

Alfred A. Lama, assemblyman from the 23rd District in Brooklyn, was elected and re-elected several times on the Democratic Party ticket. However, in recent years, incursions of the Liberal and American Labor Parties have reduced the Democratic lead. In 1946 Lama was re-elected only by a very slim margin and solely because of endorsement by the Liberal Party.

This year, in order to make his election a sure bet, Lama and the Democratic machine organized one of the worst political tricks in years. In addition to winning the nomination on the Republican, Democratic and Liberal lines in the primaries, a pe-

tition was circulated in the name of the Socialist Party.

The petition was labeled "Nominating Petition of the Socialist Party." Lama's boys actually obtained less than 1,000 signatures, although 1,800 is the legal minimum for certification for the ballot by means of such a petition.

Simultaneous with the Lama petition, an identical petition was circulated for Emanuel Celler, the Democratic Congressman in that district. Celler, too, sought the Socialist Party line.

Both Lama and Celler did this without either consulting or notifying the Socialist Party. They entered into a deliberate scheme to hoodwink the voters of the district.

Since Celler obtained only some 900 signatures and needed 3,000, the two petitions containing a total of 1,871 signatures were submitted as one, even though half were for Celler! The Election Board did not challenge, did not investigate. In fact, it did not even open the petition package to examine it.

In the case of any minority political candidate, the petitions are almost invariably challenged, as was the WP's in the 19th District. Certainly the petitions are scrutinized carefully. No petition with only 371 over the minimum was ever so easily passed by.

Only last week the Socialist Party discovered what was being perpetrated and instituted proceedings before the Board of Elections, which refused to hear its protest on the ground that the time had elapsed for challenge. It is interesting to note that in the case of Representative Klein's challenge against the WP, Klein received three extensions over the legal date.

Today Lama is running on the Socialist Party line even though he did not comply with the legal requirements and against the wishes and over the protest of the Socialist Party.

Food Surplus Problem—

(Continued from page 1)

and flaxseed for the extraction of linseed oil used by industry. The notorious support of wool and potato prices is the largest item.

From now on, however, the story will be different. The relation of supply and demand has changed, and wholesale prices reflect the change. Already there are declines below parity. The prospect for next year is for tremendous government involvement. Some estimates are for an expenditure of a billion and a half dollars for grains alone. Then there are cotton and other crops. The government is expected to acquire, over and above what it usually buys for its needs in the open market, a stupendous stock of 300,000,000 bushels of wheat, 350,000,000 bushels of corn, 4,000,000 bales of cotton, etc.

Who benefits most from this enormous government expenditure? As with all such programs of the capitalist government, the big fellow gets the cream. An illustration can be given from the government support of potatoes. It seems that the cost to the farmer to grow and harvest an acre in potatoes varies from \$150 to \$300. The cost to the big farmer is naturally at the lower figure since large-scale production reduces costs. Government support is in the neighborhood of \$243, which still gives the large grower a profit of \$93 but the small grower a possible loss of \$57.

Then again, huge surpluses in government hands encourage dealers. Still illustrating with potatoes, when the

government was paying \$1.55 for a bushel of potatoes under its support program, it was selling them to a processor of potato flour at 9 cents a bushel, after itself paying freight to the processor at 40 cents a bushel. That processor certainly got a bargain.

Mainly, however, when the surpluses mount, government support becomes a program of outright destruction of valuable food, much needed food. This has been true from the inception of the program. From May 1933 to February 1934, the government bought up 6,136,717 pigs and lightweight hogs and 222,149 farrowing sows whose litters of baby pigs might have amounted to another million. With the approval of Henry Wallace, then Secretary of Agriculture, some of these pigs were processed into inedible greases and fertilizer, and the great residue was dumped or burned. At that time people in this country were on starvation diets. This outrage is well known.

Two years ago, when starvation stalked Europe, millions of bushels of potatoes acquired by the government under its support program, were allowed to rot in the ground or were spoiled by pouring kerosene over them, thus also wasting the kerosene. The Department of Agriculture explained: "Generally speaking, dumping would be the most economical disposition of surplus potatoes from a dollar and cents standpoint since the cost of sacking, grading, loading and freight would not be incurred."

What will become of the mountain of surpluses the government is now expected to acquire? "From a dollar and cents standpoint" some of it will doubtless be destroyed, especially where the cost of picking, packing, shipping and storage is too much. What is not destroyed outright, of the government-acquired crops, will go into the reserve stockpile to serve the larger destructiveness of World War III.

There are many families in this most prosperous country which do not have enough to eat. This program of destruction does not help them. There are many families which can buy food at current prices only by foregoing other needs and desires. Government support of prices that may keep up inflation does not help them. On the other hand, the small farmer will not get much support from this program either. And as a matter of fact the whole agricultural industry remains in a precarious position. If supplies far outrun demand, will government support be able to hold back a price collapse, especially with the unstabilizing influence of large government reserves?

Burning little pigs and pouring kerosene on potatoes cannot establish a stable and sound price structure. This acute and chronic problem can be tackled basically only by changing the motivation of production. That motivation must no longer be for sale and for profits through sale, but for human beings, to satisfy their needs.

Editorials

The Labor Leaders and Politics

The trade union leadership of the AFL, CIO, and Railroad Brotherhoods has intervened sharply and definitively in the election campaign. With few exceptions—Lewis for Dewey and the Stalinists for Wallace—the labor bureaucracy has gone down the line for Truman and the Democratic Party.

Denying their own words of yesterday, they are exerting great energies for the Democratic Party. One columnist reports that the CIO and AFL "have now virtually become part of the Democratic Party, and in many states are directing the only effective Truman campaign in the wards and on the propaganda front."

A. F. Whitney, who swore to empty his treasury to destroy Truman politically, now has tea and a quiet chat at the White House. Reuther, whose UAW Executive Board came out for independent labor activity in February, has called for two thirds of all the energy of his organization to be devoted to electing Democrats. Murray and Potofsky and others who labored directly, and behind the scenes through ADA, at the Democratic Convention to replace Truman, now are "getting out the vote" for the little man from Missouri.

The union leaderships have filled the coffers of the bankrupt Truman campaign treasury with dollars collected from the ranks. They have filled the disintegrating machinery of the Democratic Party with men and energy. They have filled the bi-partisan programmatic void with their own programs. They have even tried to do the impossible—to cover their empty candidate with their own prestige and position.

This treasonous and criminal substitution for labor's independence has, however, come to naught. And it cannot even "bring out the vote." All predictions now are that the vote will be small. The World Series attracts infinitely more attention than the shadow playing of Truman and Dewey. A New York Times national survey on interest in the elections is eloquent testimony: "In politics the feeling seemed to be absolute apathy. On the whole Feller versus Sain was a topic more widely discussed than Truman versus Dewey."

The ranks are wiser than the leaders in this: they are not persuaded to the point of enthusiasm that Truman is the friend of Labor. Many millions are not even persuaded that it is worthwhile going out on Election Day to choose between Dewman and Treway. The great masses of people have been driven into a blind alley of no choice. They are abstaining. The labor leadership has failed miserably.

Nor have they succeeded in their second objective: to save the Democratic Party. The disintegration which is clear to all is only delayed.

The departure of the Wallace-Stalinists and of the Southern racists marked one phase of this process. In all sections the machinery of the party is falling apart. It lacks dynamism and goal. Its distinctive appeal is gone with Roosevelt's death. It can offer nothing. Its popular support is in sharp decline. The leadership is senile and feeble.

After the Democratic Convention, the labor leadership stepped in to arrest the decay. They have thrown in the resources garnered from the 15 million-mass movement they head. But the masses do not support these efforts. The fact is recognized that the Democratic Party is no longer the vehicle for popular victory, even after infinite compromise. Without victory the entire dogma of the lesser evil falls to the ground and with it popular support for the Party.

Only in the third purpose have they succeeded: in defeating the Wallace-Stalinist combination. Thanks to the Achilles heel of Stalinism, the labor bureaucracy has been able to tar the Progressive Party with the fatal designation of "communist." The Progressive Party is on the decline, threatened by split, irrevocably condemned as a Stalinist front, and without support.

However, this is a Pyrrhic victory. A few more such victories and it will be extremely difficult to rouse the masses for any serious political action for a long period. While Wallaceism was a false alarm, it was an alarm. It did rouse millions of youth, middle class, Negroes and workers for the brief moment before its implications became clear.

Here was the raw material for a mighty political movement. Instead of recognizing its profound source in the hopes and desires of the people, the labor leadership was satisfied only to choke it off. Stalinism did not succeed in creating a great national third party, but the labor leadership failed to take advantage of and to defeat Stalinism at its own game by launching an independent party of its own.

In the light of the present situation, militants can only register a protest vote since no party of labor exists. To be effective this vote must be a protest against the stupid policy of the labor officialdom for Truman, and against the Stalinist front machinations for Wallace. The size of a socialist protest vote will be of great influence in pressuring for independent action after the election.

The total Socialist vote this year will be carefully analyzed by the labor leaderships, especially by the Reuthers. In its size they too will understand there will be a barometer of the extent of the desire for a new political departure. Thus there is a distinct relationship between the Socialist vote and political developments after the election.

WORLD POLITICS

France: The New de Gaullist Threat

If economic and living conditions seem rather normal to the bulk of that great mass of American tourists who visited France this summer, it is largely because their failure to establish any relations with the French people leads them to judge conditions purely on the basis of how they, the Americans, fare. And, considering that for one measly dollar he receives 220 francs (400 or more on the black market), he can live under fairly luxurious conditions for about \$25 a week, equivalent to spending \$50 or \$60 a week on himself in a city like New York. This leads, of course, to the most absurd conclusions on his part. Since, furthermore, he sees that the stores of Paris and France are filled with all possible types of commodities his ultimate conclusion is that recovery and revival have been fulfilled in the country. Nothing could be more mistaken, since France, more than any country in Europe today, is the victim of the wage-price relationship which expresses itself in the constant gap between earnings and living costs.



While industrial productivity and economic life in general have had an amazing recovery in France over the past year, this recovery has failed to reflect itself in a corresponding lifting of general living conditions and standards. A few facts will bear this out. Since 1938 average wages have increased TEN times. But the official cost of living index has gone up SEVENTEEN times over the same period! If food prices are marked on a base equivalent to 100 in 1938, the level in July, 1948 was 1759 and in August, 1948, it was 1776! Considering that the French family (worker and middle class) spends 50 to 60 per cent of its weekly budget for food alone—according to the French National Bureau of Statistics—the inescapable conclusion is that practically everything the French person earns through his work goes into his food budget.

Other standard items such as rent and typical household expenses take up the rest of his earnings and explain why the Frenchman today simply has no money in his pocket. The masses of people are poorer than ever before in French history! The 15 per cent general wage increase, together with last month's 3,000 franc "prime," has just been wiped out by price increases in coal, gas, electricity and railway fare.

STABILIZATION BY NO MEANS REACHED

Under these circumstances, the new wave of disorganized and chaotic strikes, led primarily by the coal miners in the North and steel workers of the Lorraine area, cannot simply be explained by Stalinist machinations against the Marshall Plan program for France. In view of the fact that the mass of industrial and factory workers in France are still under the domination of the Stalinist CGT leadership (the CGT-Force Ouvrière of Jouhaux has remained stationary), the familiar and now obvious Stalinist program of economic sabotage plays its part. But without this ever-present prodding force of inflation and a franc whose purchasing value sinks rapidly toward zero, it is clear that the Stalinists would be unable to find such fertile ground for their operations. Politically, Stalinism has declined considerably and even among its militants there is a general apathy regarding political issues.

The most puzzling question in France today is why

the sharp lifting in economic productivity failed to translate itself into a healthy and wholesome bettering of general social conditions? This is far from an academic question, since it means that those who held out the perspective that economic and social revival (due to natural forces within France itself as well as the huge sum of Marshall Plan aid) would inevitably result in a strengthening of the "middle-of-the-road" coalition government parties (Socialists, Radical Socialists and MRP), symbolizing a period of capitalist revival and stabilization—those who believed this have been wrong, at least until this point.

The possibility of such a "stabilization" developing now seems remote indeed. The explanation for this situation is not easy to find and involves a whole searching of French economy itself, with its chronic malfunctioning and unbalance, that we cannot go into at this point. Yet, this is the explanation behind the complex, often incomprehensible and fantastic picture of French politics today. Above all, it accounts for the revival, belligerence and aggressive activity of the de Gaullist movement which now drives for power.

The parties of parliamentary democracy have declined considerably since the groundwork for their growth—prosperity and stabilization—is not present. The Blum Socialist Party, above all, is probably now in the most pitiful condition of its history. The present National Assembly, elected on the perspective of a hoped-for stability, hardly reflects the nation's opinions and has thus become an easy target for de Gaulle's attacks. Since the Stalinists have still been unable to surmount the all-important obstacle in their path—that is, their political inability in the given situation to launch an actual political struggle for power—they too have declined considerably. Their meetings are uninspired and their ranks are dull and listless. However, they are still organizationally the party of the French working class.

GAULLISTS CAPITALIZE ON DISILLUSION

Since this disillusion with time-honored parliamentary techniques is widespread, it is natural that the de Gaullists should capitalize most of all. Their proposals for a "solution," a strong government that leads and acts, etc.—characteristic of Bonapartist-militaristic movements—have growing support. Its demand for a dissolution of the present National Assembly and general elections has much support. While it might not win an outright majority in such elections, it would certainly be the plurality party (perhaps 45 per cent of the votes) and might thus fulfill its desire to take political power peacefully.

The fact of the matter is that the division of France into the two camps of Stalinism and de Gaullism is sharper today than ever. This does not mean that France faces the prospect of civil war since, to begin with, parliamentary method—now represented by the crazy-quilt government of Premier Quetleux—has not yet exhausted its last efforts and, more important, international factors tend to dampen the drifting toward civil war.

What of other political movements and tendencies within France? The once-promising Trotskyist Party (PCI) has, to all intents and purposes, vanished from this world after undergoing one final and humiliating split. Like the European Trotskyist movement in general it is unknown and not worth a moment's attention. On the other hand, the movement known as the RDR retains its first promise and hopes. Its program calls for renewed activity along organizational and political lines and it will certainly intervene increasingly in the political and social life of France.

Henry JUDD

United States Maps an Alliance The Meaning of Western Union

By R. SHERMAN

LONDON—The marshalling and militarization of the countries of Western Europe into a solid block of stockades for American imperialism to contain the expanding threat of Russian imperialism is taking the form of a campaign for Western Union.

The current activities, plans and preparations for Western Union are only another chapter in the cold war. First came the Marshall Plan, to plug up the gaping holes of economic bankruptcy. Now comes the intensified preparations for forging a "tongue of iron" to defend capitalism against the vast armies of Russian totalitarianism.

In the East, the Kremlin is organizing its own defenses by wholesale terrorization and bludgeoning of enslaved nations and peoples. In the West, Wall Street, not openly as brutal, but equally determined, is bent (with the connivance of the Western governments) on converting the masses of Western Europe into their cannon fodder.

Not one of the countries of Western Europe can hope to defend or maintain themselves without the guns and dollars America is now supplying.

MILITARY ALLIANCE IN THE MAKING

The movement for a more systematic integration of Western Europe is based upon the abject dependence of the almost paralyzed capitalist classes on American industrial and military resources. First, we have the organization for European Economic Co-operation (OEEC) of the sixteen countries receiving Marshall Plan aid. Secondly there is the Brussels Pact, signed by Britain, France and Benelux with its elaborate machinery for consultation and defense. The military committee is reported to have reached agreement on the standardization of arms and equipment on military training and on machine tools needed for the manufacture of war materials. The defense ministers of these five Western Union nations have now announced agreement on a common defense policy. Representatives of Canada and U.S.A. have already been included in these defense preparations.

Whether or not a formal military alliance linking the United States to Western Europe is announced publicly in the near future—a step demanded by all the Western powers—such an alliance is already an actuality. For in the same way as Russia is the power house for bureaucratic collectivism and its imperialist drive to dominate the world, so is America the power-house for world capitalism. America is the motive power behind the

capitalist struggle for survival in Europe and the center for the regroupment of capitalist power to reconquer the world. In a word, the division of Europe into East and West is only the other face of the fusion of world power into two super-deposits, Russian and American.

In the Atlantic Union now being cemented, the following roles are allotted:

1. The United States is to specialize in heavy air bombardments (being the possessor of the atom bomb) and, of course, in the mobilization of her tremendous human and industrial resources.
2. Britain is to specialize in fighters and anti-submarine defense.
3. France is to be re-armed as the main European land power.

The roles allotted to the various countries are mainly positions in the general dance of death that awaits mankind.

DEWEY AND THE THIRD FORCE

The cold and calculating maneuvers of the capitalist politicians, of the monopolistic interests they represent, of the brass-hat militarists for mass murder and atomic destruction are camouflaged by various grandiloquent titles. Governor Thomas Dewey, the characterless puppet of American big business, in a major campaign address, advocated the formation of a United States of Europe. He said:

"The United States and Communist Russia confront each other across a devastated and divided Europe. . . . What is needed is a third great peaceful power which will be so strong that no despotic ruler or totalitarian nation will think the cause of freedom so weak that he dares to wage war. . . . A unified Europe, a United States of Europe, is needed to restore stability in the world. . . . Federation of Western Europe's 270,000,000 people into one strong economic and political union would be the firmest guaranty of peace in all history." (New York Herald Tribune, European Edition, Oct. 1, 1948.)

Are we to conclude, from these vague and high-sounding sentiments, that the presidential candidate for the Republican Party does not know that a United Europe is non-existent, that an iron curtain separates East from West, that both East and West are at the mercy of Stalinist and American imperialism respectively? That is hardly possible! Mr. Dewey proposes the creation of a "third great peaceful power" to cover the grim reality of the ominous and catastrophe-fordoming splitting of the world into two regressive war camps. The movement for a third camp independent of, and in revolutionary opposition to the two mankind-destroying imperialisms is so magnetically appealing to the masses of Europe that even the presidential candidate has to, on the surface, appear in favor of a "third force."

There can be no third governmental force on the present capitalist foundations of Western Europe. But a third camp against both groups of exploiters and war-mongers is not only possible, but is the indispensable and the sole hope for the survival of mankind.

THE THIRD CAMP

In the interim between now and the final blackout of humanity which a third world war will signify, the working masses of Europe have still a breathing space to tear themselves free from the impending horrors. In Western Europe, from the numerous democratic socialist organiza-

(Continued in last column)



THE NEW MEN OF POWER: America's Labor Leaders, by C. Wright Mills. Harcourt, Brace, N. Y., 1948, 323 pp., \$3.50.

The polite clichés of book-reviewing have never figured much in our press, fortunately; and so I hope it will be taken literally when I say: Mills' book MUST be read by anyone interested in American labor, its perspectives and prospects, and the perspectives and prospects of capitalist society in the U. S.

The author is the director of Columbia University's Labor Research Division of the Bureau of Applied Social Research. But it is not merely just another book on the labor movement. And the title may give the misleading impression that its scope is narrower than it really is. Actually it is not only the "labor leaders" in the sense of the trade-union officialdom who are here dissected—although much space is given to them and a heap of very interesting material assembled, some for the first time—but Mills' method throughout is to discuss his topics in terms of the political and social viewpoints of class groups, in the context of the continuous struggle for class power that runs through society.

Dr. Mills' point of view may be fairly described as generally Marxist with a violent effort to avoid "jargon," that is, the standard terminology of the Marxist movement itself. (To achieve this he invents his own special jargon and, I believe, a less accurate and workable one at that; but such is usually the price of the sometimes laudable aim of avoiding Marxist terminology.) Naturally, to describe his viewpoint as generally Marxist is not equivalent to endorsing all of his conclusions and detail analyses, nor does it gainsay the fact that Mills does not push his conclusions as far as the content itself demands.

But in this brief notice, what is most important is that the reader will find his picture of the American labor movement today enormously stimulating and provocative of thought and understanding—from his statistical descriptions of the labor

officialdom (AFL and CIO compared and contrasted) to his final chapters on the basic social and programmatic questions facing trade-unionism.

"POLITICAL PUBLICS"

Mills' opening chapter presents six political ideologies in terms of which his factual material is discussed. In his own jargon, these are:

- (1) The "far left" or "Leninist left, as represented primarily by the two Trotskyist parties." (2) The "independent left," vague by definition: "Until recently, many of them read such magazines as Politics and Partisan Review. Now Partisan Review has more or less retreated from left-wing political life, and Politics has become admittedly tired of politics and even of life." (3) The "liberal center," in which is also included the New Leader and the Socialist Party.
- (4) The Communist Party.
- (5) The "practical right" or "practical conservatives," by which term is meant the businessmen shortsightedly concerned with day-to-day measures for carrying on the class war of business against unionism.
- (6) The "sophisticated conservatives" (like Fortune magazine), the more intelligent capitalist ideologists and leaders working in terms of a longer-range aim.

A large part of the book is devoted to presenting the very interesting results of the researches undertaken over a period of years by Dr. Mills' research organization; the attitude of the "mass public" toward labor and labor leaders; the comparative views, backgrounds, education, etc., of labor leaders—CIO and AFL, upper strata and lower officialdom, city, state and national hierarchies, etc. On the background of a running factual study, excellent chapters are devoted to the spinelessness and futility of the "liberal rhetoric," the connection between labor racketeering and the foundations of capitalism, the labor leaders' "image of business," etc.

ISSUES BEFORE LABOR

The final section on social trends and alternatives in labor politics constitutes an essay very much worth

reading for itself. Mills emphasizes the trend toward the bureaucratization of the relations between labor and the state, and this reviewer agrees with the importance he ascribes to the phenomenon: "One of the trends characterizing U. S. society and accelerated by the New Deal is the increasing integration of real and, more particularly, potential democratic forces into the apparatus of the political state. . . . We cannot yet tell how fast the administration of the Taft-Hartley Law will move in this direction. But the dialectic of business and labor and government has reached a stage where the state, in the interests of domestic stability and international security, increasingly appropriates the aims of the employer and expropriates or abolishes the functions of the unions. This is the threat of increased labor-business cooperation within the system of private enterprise. This is the blind alley into which the liberal is led by the rhetoric of cooperation."

This is excellent, and what is emphasized as the main line of counter-tendency is the necessity for the trade unions to fight on the political arena. "Only two political publics," writes Mills, "now seem to have programs; they represent the extreme political positions, the sophisticated right and the far left." (Amendment: the CP also has a program of its own, outside of the other two.) And the concepts on political action cogently explained by Mills are essentially those of LABOR ACTION.

How all this further ties up with the economic-expansionist aims of American capitalism on the international arena and with the drift toward a permanent war economy in the U. S. makes more valuable reading. But if we have not already made clear by this time why this book MUST be read, we do not have the space to do greater justice to it. In the space of "books on labor," it stands out like a fairly healthy thumb in the midst of a lot of sore ones.

HAL DRAPER



THE SHADOW BEFORE

The creation of a western European military organization is an ominous reminder of the speed and seriousness with which U. S. capital is driving toward war. The circumstances surrounding its establishment afford a clear view of the cold-blooded course which the U. S. intends to pursue. The recent events should prove of special interest to those persons whose revulsion against Stalinism is making them full or reserved supporters of the government's foreign policy.

The problem attacked by the representatives of France, Britain, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg was primarily set by the necessities of the struggle of the U. S. against Russia. At the present moment the U. S. finds itself without a military force on the continent strong enough to throw on the scales during the political haggling with Russia. Soon political expediency will dictate the withdrawal of U. S. troops from Germany. This will be impossible without a native German militia of some sort, backed up by serious allied troop concentrations elsewhere in western Europe. More distantly, in order to conduct a war with Russia the manpower resources of the countries in the U. S. orbit will have to be utilized. These reasons, immediate and more distant, have motivated the creation of the new military body.

According to Hanson W. Baldwin, who has very good sources among the military, were war to break out now or in the relatively near future, the obvious tactic would be to fall back upon the Rhine. To defend this line would require from forty-five to fifty heavily armored divisions. At present only about fifteen could be mobilized. Hence the recently evinced interest in Spain, where, if worst were to come to worst, the Pyrenees would form an excellent defensive line permitting the build-up of a bridgehead in Europe.

The recent return from Spain of Chán Gurney, chairman of the Senate armed services committee, where he had conferences with Franco and his chief of staff, indicate that despite the denials all around, the qualms of the English labor party, and the cries of injured innocence by the liberals, sooner or later Franco is going to have a democratic coming-out party and be furnished Marshall Plan aid—and armaments.

It is reported that already arms have been earmarked for the five participating countries in case of emergency. The next Congress will inevitably be presented with a new armaments program. Implementing it will further increase the tax burden, cut into consumer goods production, and augment the inflationary trend.

DON'T LOOK NOW, BUT . . .

Heading up the new organization are some of the finest authoritarian brains of our times. First chairman is Field Marshal the Viscount ("I am a cad") Montgomery of Alamein, K. G., G. C. B., D. S. O. During World War II Montgomery achieved the neat distinction of being as cordially hated by the British as by all others he came in contact with. His dispatches were conspicuous for the number of references to himself and God, with considerable ambiguity as to the order of precedence. General de Latre de Tassigny has been appointed commander in chief of the ground forces. He is notorious in France as a disciplinarian whose inspections are so thorough, so intimate as to raise questions among the enlisted men as to his intentions. These two characters will find themselves right at home with Franco and the survivors of the German general staff in the fight against Russian totalitarianism.

Command of the air forces was given to the British and command of the naval forces to the French. This latter appointment was a sop to the French, who have been worrying that if the British were too much in control they might tend to pull out of the continent and conduct the defense of Europe from England. The Netherlands had difficulty making the first team not only because of its size but because all of its officers are in the East Indies introducing democracy to the natives by force and violence.

Of such is the crusade against Stalinism composed.

Western Union—

(Continued from second column)

tion, new forces must be liberated to regroup the aspirations of the working masses for peace, for socialist unity and for a real Socialist United States of Europe.

Such a movement, rekindling the hopes of the resistance fighters who fought against Nazi tyranny, and who must now renew the struggle on a still wider field against Russian and American imperialism, reviving the faith of the masses in themselves and their socialist future, free from all corruptions, whether of the Stalinist or social democratic variety, can realize the tremendous potentialities still latent in the masses of Europe.

A force of this nature will be able to influence and radiate hope to the oppressed peoples groaning under the Russian yoke, assist the American working class to declare its political independence from the capitalist parties and give active help to all the colonial movements for national liberation.

Only the third camp of the revolutionary working class, of the insurgent colonial slaves, offering a democratic alternative to Stalinist bureaucratic collectivism and a socialist alternative to bourgeois democracy can dam the torrential outpour of history, now sweeping towards a third world war, and divert it to peace and a democratic socialist future for mankind.

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Name

ON NEW YORK'S EAST SIDE: EMANUEL GELTMAN FOR CONGRESS

Vote for a Socialist Anti-War Candidate!

Our Program

1. The Road to Peace

The atomic devastation of a third world war is not inevitable—if the people take a new road in support of neither Washington nor Moscow!

2. Stop the militarization of the United States.

Repeal the draft law. Stop plans for universal military training. Let the people vote on the draft.

3. Support Israel's Right to Live

4. Fight for Civil Liberties.

A national Fair Employment Practices Act.

5. Fight for Labor's Rights

Repeal the Taft-Hartley Act!

6. Job Security for All

7. Pull down the high cost of living.

8. Build homes

9. Nationalize the monopolies.

10. Build an independent Labor Party.

The two boss parties cannot and will not represent the interests of the people. The Wallace-Stalinist party represents nothing more than the needs of Russian foreign policy.

A SOCIALIST AMERICA

By EMANUEL GELTMAN Workers Party Candidate for Congress in the 19th Congressional District

Few areas in the United States pose the problems of living under the inhumanity of capitalism as clearly as does New York's East Side which embraces the 19th Congressional District.

There are many books which describe the East Side. There are many articles and surveys—some of them sensible and valuable, others nonsensical and futile—which discuss its problems.

The people of the East Side—the melting pots of a nation, composed of many nationalities—have, for example, wrestled with the problems of housing for decades.

Nobody who was born and has lived on the East Side has to be argued into the need for public housing. Few places need it more. Few communities have demanded it more vigorously.

Nobody who was raised on the East Side could fail to learn about the problems of housing, of EATING, of just plain living.

At every stage of their lives, the people of the East Side—mostly men and women who work for a living—have faced the facts of life under capitalism at their rawest.

Prices, a proper place to live, a decent school for a child—these the people of the East Side know as burning, daily issues of vital importance.

In our campaign, we shall present our answers to all of these great issues; people's and union committees to force prices down; public housing on a scale that can approach the need without ANY regard for the grasping interests of the real estate; and so forth.

CAPITALIST WAR OR SOCIALIST PEACE?

But there is another problem with which the people of the East Side, as the people everywhere in the world, are concerned. It is a problem which points at the heart of the real issue—the kind of society we want to live in.

It is the problem of WAR.

We can fight for and win the houses we need. But we do not want them destroyed by the brutal idiocy of war.

Two giant powers face each other across the reaches of the world: the United States and Russia. Which shall dominate the world?

We say: NEITHER! Russia holds within the grip of its slave system Eastern Europe, vast sections of Asia, part of Germany.

The United States seeks to impose its own imperialism will on the remainder of the world and looks forward to complete domination of the world.

Every issue before the world is weighed by these powers, and the littler powers which side with them, according to how it serves their purposes.

Starvation, Israel's right to exist as a state, a human being's desire to free himself from life in a DP camp—these and many, many more issues are manipulated by the big powers.

The person who is starving wants food, not power politics. Similarly, people who live in the shadow of war hunger for peace, not fearsome power diplomacy.

The course of the big powers leads to war. Today? No. Tomorrow? No—they are not yet ready. But the day after, the year after, two years after, five years? Yes. For that is the ultimate gift with which the slave system of Stalin and the capitalism of the United States can bless the world.

(And, today, capitalism can offer the prospect of continuing employment of jobs, of production, only to the extent that its economy is based on the anticipation of war—of destruction.)

NEITHER WASHINGTON NOR MOSCOW

There is another course. It is the course of people who say we will submit to NEITHER WASHINGTON NOR MOSCOW.

Tammany-ALP Combination—or Independent Socialism?

19th District Voters Can Record Their Choice

ASSAIL DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS

Fearful of political opposition and more than willing to act on the basis of that fear, Klein challenged the petitions of Emanuel Geltman, candidate of the Workers Party, a democratic, socialist organization, running for Congress in the 19th District.

Because the Board of Elections announced that it intended to rule the Workers Party off the ballot on the farcical charge that its name is "similar" to that of the United Laborite Party (a fictitious party created by the Democrats for purposes of confusion), Klein failed to provide the specifications of his challenge before the legal deadline.

So important did Klein consider his opposition to elementary democratic rights that he actually appeared in court personally to ask for the time and a representative of the Workers extension. Asked by Attorney Glass why he was so anxious to get Geltman off the ballot, Klein, the great "liberal," shrugged his shoulders and indicated that he had to take orders from his organization, that great pillar of liberalism in New York City, Tammany Hall.

Many working people on New York's Lower East Side intend to vote for Congressman Arthur G. Klein once again this November 2, because he has a "perfect record," if not on everything, at least on the problems that directly concern the people of his district.

CONVENIENT FOR TAMMANY

We are ready to grant that, as Congressman go, Klein has made a "good record." Like a number of other Congressmen from strongly working-class districts in big cities, he knows that the people of his district are fairly well aware of how he votes.

But a good PERSONAL voting record on housing, education, social security and other such important issues isn't enough. It isn't nearly enough. Congressman Klein has been and remains a member of the Tammany machine of New York and, na-

tionally, of the Democratic Party machine.

Yes, he does plead with the officials in charge of rent control, both in New York and in Washington, not to allow rent increases to big landlords who claim "hardship." Yet those officials are members of his own Democratic Party, appointed to their positions and guided in their policies by President Truman, the Democratic Party, and the landlords and other capitalist interests that own and control the Democratic (as well as the Republican) Party.

Congressmen like Klein are very useful to the Democratic Party, especially just before elections when fine promises have to be made to the working people. Having made a good personal record, he uses it to help keep the workers attached to a political machine which never has and never will serve their interests.

ACCEPTS ALP SUPPORT

Turning to the local scene, we will suppose (we aren't sure how he does stand on this point) that Klein was against the increase in bus and subway fares. At the same time, he remains a part of and a cover-up for the politicians of his party who, by using every kind of trickery, put over a deal that the big real estate interests have been longing for, but without too much real hope, these last 25 years.

The Workers Party believes that there are voters in the 19th District who have a pretty good understanding of the point which we have just been making: that it is not a politician's personal record which matters, but rather whose interests are being served by the political party to which he gives his name and support. We remember, and the voters of

It is the course of people who strike fear in the heart of despots and tyrants by saying that they wish to determine their own future.

It is the course of people who block the paths of the warmakers by refusing to be party to their plans. It is the course of people who seek a sane and ordered world which is based neither on the profit motive of capitalism nor on the incredible dictatorship of Stalinism.

How do the candidates stand on this issue? We all know that there is little difference between Truman and Dewey. They serve imperialism and their differences have little to do with the needs of the people.

Wallace? His party, controlled as it is by the Communist Party, serves the aims of Russian imperialism. Locally, in the 19th Congressional District, the issue is somewhat confused. The Republican and the Liberal Party candidates merely support American imperialism. The leading candidate, Arthur G. Klein, is the candidate of both the Truman party and the Wallace party. He gets a clean bill of health on his voting record from the supporters of American imperialism. And he gets the endorsement of the advocates of Russian imperialism.

Supporting both may make for re-election . . . and confusion. It will not advance the desire for peace one iota.

We, the Workers Party, support neither of the imperialist blocs. We believe that the people can shape their own destiny. We believe that wars arise out of systems in which there are masters and mastered.

We call for opposition to the imperialist designs of both power camps. Neither Washington nor Moscow! Impractical? Only if you think that it is practical to lose husband and son and whole family in atomic war.

It is decidedly practical—the ONLY practical alternative to the fear of war. It is practical because it points to where the decision can really be made—the power of the people.

Can it be done? Of course. To do it we must understand that the choice and decision can be ours. We must understand the strength that lies in the labor movement. We must seek to use that strength politically and economically.

For this and many other reasons we attach so much importance to the organization of a Labor Party that can speak and act for the people. Aroused, conscious of what is happening and of how we can intervene—that way we can determine the future.

PILE UP LARGE SOCIALIST VOTE

We cannot do it if we wait for someone, some place else, to do it. We must start where we are. We can promote a national Labor Party by working for its creation in the 19th Congressional District.

So we can work for a socialist answer to war (and to the endless insecurity of capitalism!) on our local scale, encouraging the sweep of our ideas into other sections and areas.

A large socialist vote will have tremendous impact. Today a vote of protest, tomorrow it can be a vote of victory.

With it we serve our daily needs. With it we serve our basic, permanent need for a society of comradeship and brotherhood.

There will be three socialist candidates for president of the ballot in the 19th Congressional District—Vote WP Bottom Row

There will be only one socialist candidate for Congress on the ballot in this Congressional district. Vote for him.

Vote against war! Neither Washington nor Moscow!

Vote against capitalist insecurity!

Vote socialist!

Vote for Emanuel Geltman!

VOTE FOR THE WORKERS PARTY CANDIDATE!



Labor Needs Its Own Party; ALP Does Not Fill the Bill

New York voters, as do voters throughout the country, need an independent Labor Party. We need a party of our own, independent of the two old-line capitalist parties, which will really represent us and our demands.

The American Labor Party, the Wallace party in New York, lays claim to being such an independent labor party. Its claim is as fraudulent as its name. It is neither American nor labor. Its politics are those which best suit the needs, at any given moment, of Russian foreign policy.

The political record of the American Labor Party is clear, if not consistent. Never once since its formation has it differed with official Stalinist policy on any question. It supported Roosevelt when he was being lauded by Stalinist propagandists and called him "a tool of imperialism" during the Hitler-Stalin Pact.

And not only has it clung to Stalinist policy on international and national affairs. The American Labor Party has even toed the Stalinist line on local affairs.

Still trying to preserve its close ties with Quill, the Communist Party was strangely silent on the matter of the ten-cent fare all the while Quill was disgracing himself by favoring the increased fare as a means of obtaining a raise for the transport workers.

only, coincidentally enough, at that very same moment did the ALP break its shameful silence.

The ALP is neither American nor labor because its prime interest is not the American working class, but the momentary needs of the totalitarian Russian rulers who are its masters.

Its support of Wallace has not changed its nature. It proves even further that it is impossible to distinguish between the ALP and the Communist Party. As a Wallace party the ALP merely changes some of the words while whistling the same old discordant tune.

We do not have a party which represents labor in America, in New York. The Democrats and Republicans spend their time in the pre-election period courting labor after spending several years passing vicious anti-labor legislation, breaking strikes by injunction and threatening civil liberties. The Wallace party, controlled by the Stalinists, represents primarily a program of appeasing Russia. Its greatest emphasis is on international affairs, in which arena it represents the Russian slavocracy. Thousands have joined the Wallace party on a progressive basis because they were sick and tired of the reactionary Republicans and Democrats and wanted to voice a strong protest. They have yet to discover that their organization is run by the Stalinists in the interests, not of American labor, but rather of Russian diplomacy.

An independent Labor Party is the solution to the political dilemma of American workers! It means a party based on the trade unions with a program designed to meet the needs of workers. It means a party which has broken, once and for all, from Wall Street's spokesmen, be they Democratic or Republican. It means a party which is really prepared to bring peace because it will not be tied to either American nor Russian diplomatic interests. It means a party of, for and run by the American workers themselves for the first time.

That is the party we need and now is the time to start building it.

Your Answer, Rep. Klein?

Here is our challenge to Representative Klein. The greatest issue of our time is: WAR or PEACE.

Where does Mr. Klein stand on a program for peace? We have searched through his entire record and we have not found a single proposal which he has made anywhere for peace for the people of the world. Peace is the crying need, the deepest desire of people all over the world. A man who is silent on this question has nothing to offer.

The Democratic Party stands for the Marshall Plan, for the Truman Doctrine, for atomic diplomacy. It is one of the parties driving toward war and militarization of America. It is the party which put over the draft of American youth.

The American Labor Party is a pro-Russian party. It has never criticized any action of Russian foreign policy, of Russian imperialism or Stalinist totalitarianism.

Arthur Klein is running on both tickets. Where does he stand? Emanuel Geltman is opposed to Wall Street and the Kremlin—against Washington imperialism and against Moscow imperialism. Emanuel Geltman is for achieving peace by the socialist action of the peoples of all countries.

We have sent this challenge to Representative Klein for open debate, before the people of the East Side. We propose to Mr. Klein to discuss our program and his program—for war or peace. We await his answer.

FIFTY CENTS buys a half-year subscription to LABOR ACTION. A DOLLAR and a QUARTER buys a half-year to THE NEW INTERNATIONAL. Subscribe to both. Send your order to LABOR ACTION or NEW INTERNATIONAL, 4 Court Sq., Long Isl. City 1, N. Y.