Drive Out the British Assassins!

RESISTANCE FLARES IN PALESTINE

The "Peacemakers"!



Communal Riots a Tragie Injury To India's Independence Cause

On the eve of probable assumption of political power by the All-India Congress Party (Gandhi and Nehru), the most violent and deadly Hindu-Moslem rioting in many years has shaken India. Hundreds of dead lie in the streets of Calcutta, India's second largest city, after days of bloody rioting between Hindus and Moslems, led by fanatics on both sides. This tragic situation marks a great increase in tension and bitterness between the two largest communities of the Indian nation.

At the same time, there is every indication that the conservative Congress Party, dominated by the largely Hindu capitalist class of India, is about to take political responsibility for the government, thus forming an alliance with British imperialism. After months of endless negotiations, the Congress is on the verge of forming an Executive Council, with the British Viceroy's approval. The outburst of Hindu-Moslem communal discord may prevent, or delay, this action. But it is clear that Nehru, the president and official spokesman of the Congress Party, is willing and anxious to make the deal with imperialism and assume office. His lifelong ambition to become Prime Minister of India seems on the point of that it will take place with British support.

The Moslem League will not be in the provisional government's cabinet, unless its leader, Jinnah, withdraws. his previous declination. It will be a purely Congress Party cabinet, with little minority representation. This provisional government is supposed to last until the convocation of the British-called-and-dominated Constituent Assembly which is, in turn, supposed to create a new constitution and government for the country. It is highly doubtful that things will work. out this way and that the Congress Party of native capitalists will achieve its goal-namely, a peaceful transition to partnership rule, shared by Indian capitalists and British imperialists. The situation is far too tense, complicated and explosive to expect such a solution.

The Calcutta communal riots represent the greatest tragedy imaginable for India's freedom cause, and the future of its revolutionary movement. Hindu and Moslem mobs, led by religious fanatics, instead of uniting against the common enemy, are wasting their lives and blood in futile at-

tacks upon one another. Whose is the ligious fanatics, students and big responsibility for this tragic situa-

First and foremost, the British rulers who have consistently played off one community against the other, in line with traditional "divide - andrule" strategy. Instigation of one group against the other is an old story in India. Rarely, certainly not for years, has it been so extreme. So long as the British troops and masters remain, the problem will become worse and never approach a solution.

For the immediate situation, heavy responsibility falls upon the ractionary Moslem League and its treacherous leader, Mohammed Ali Jinnah. Dissatisfied in his negotiations with the British and Congress Party, Jinnah broke off his previously accepted deal and called upon his followers to "prepare civil war." and organize demonstrations against the Congress Party. In Calcutta, the rioting began with attacks on Congress Party newspapers and headquarters-NOT demonstrations against British rule.

This was Jinnah's way of attempting to force the Congress to yield further to his demands for Moslem separationism in the new India. Jinnah is guilty of the greatest crime of all-dividing the Indian people and fulfillment, regardless of the fact thus aiding the perpetuation of British rule. His League, headed by re-

landlords of the Moslem community, has dealt a heavy blow at India's struggle for national independence.

But the Congress Party of Gandhi and Nehru is far from blameless in the situation. Its present goal is to take power, along with the British, over the Indian nation, without seriously attempting to solve the basic questions of the country-famine, unemployment, food, freedom. The people of India are very suspicious of the Congress plans, particularly the Moslem masses who have already tasted Congress rule during a prior experience. And, most of all, by refusing to guarantee the Moslem population its democratic rights- including the right to organize a separate "Pakistan" country if they so desire-the Congress leaders have given Jinnah every opportunity to carry on his vicious, demagogic work. Thus all alike -British imperialist, Moslem League landlord and Hindu feudal capitalist -are guilty of the confused atmosphere in which Hindu and Moslem engage in senseless self-slaughter.

The Indian Trotskyists propose the summoning of a nation-wide Constituent Assembly, elected by the people on the basis of universal suffrage, which shall have power to create a democratic government and solve the minority problem according to popu-

By MAX SHACHTMAN National Chairman, Workers Party

The assassination of the Jewish people continues, not by the hand of the Hitlerite butchers but by the

hand of the noble and democratic Allies. The third British Labour Party government seems determined to outstrip the Labour Party governments of 1924 and 1928 in villainy, cynical betrayal of avowed principles and faithful service to the interests of British imperialism.

No one was more voluble in proclaiming sympathy with the ghastly plight of the Jewish millions under Hitlerism than the leaders of the British Labour Party before they took office. No one more loudly and solemnly resolved to rescue the Jews from the pit of despair into which the fascists hurled them than the leaders of the British Labour Party during the war.

VIOLATE THE PEOPLE'S MANDATE

Now they are in office-these leaders-elected by the most decisive vote ever cast by the people for a socalled labor party in all the history of parliamentary elections. They do not even have the shadow of the excuse of previous Labour Party governments that they hold office as a minority dependent upon the tolerance of conservative parties for putting into effect their own policies. Their mandate in the last elections was clearcut and unmistakable, affirmed by the majority of the British people on the one side and re-affirmed by the rejected opposition of the Tories on the other. The mandate read: socialism, peace, freedom for all peoples, universal brotherhood.

Socialism is the great ideal of these leaders. So are world peace and brotherhood and freedom. So is their sympathy for the Jewish people who suffered more catastrophically than any other group of human beings from the barbarism of the Hitlerites.

Those are their ideals. But ideals, for them, are things to be sacrificed without a tremor to practical considerations. And their most practical consideration, their most active concern, is the holding together of the crumbling British Empire, the centuries-old bloodsucker of the world, the slave-owner and slave-driver of six continents, the traditional symbol of exploitation, oppression and cultured perfidy.

To save that empire, the associated Churchills fought like lions against encroaching German imperialism during the war, fought like any other beast of the jungle to retain his prey. Now the leaders of the Labour Party have undertaken to save the empire from the new imperialist claimants, the United States and Russia, on the one hand, and from the aspirations for independence and freedom of the colonial peoples, on the

IMPERIALISM FEARS ARAB-JEWISH UNITY

Driven away from one position after another in the vital area of the Mediterranean, where it is threatened from every point of the compass, British imperialism ess in the display of force not against its powerful imperialist rivals but only against the little peoples whom it contemptuously regards as unarmed and defenseless. To maintain the imperial life-line. Palestine must be converted into a powerful armed base. For this base to be secure, the aspirations of both the Arab and Jewish peoples must be trampled under foot more cruelly than ever before.

British imperialism can no longer rely in Palestine upon its serpent-cunning game of pitting the Arab and Jewish peoples against each other. Experience is very often a harsh and even bloody teacher. The more desperate the British Empire's position becomes, the more obvious does its divide-and-rule game become to the peoples it has systematically victimized. The Arab masses see that Britain is not at all concerned with "protecting" them from "Jewish domination" in Palestine, but only with continuing the bloody reality of British domination. The Jewish masses see that Britain is not at all concerned with preserving their lives or providing them with asylum from the horrors of anti-Semitism, but only with exploiting them for its own imperialist objectives.

British imperialism fears the next, logical step: the union of the Jewish and Arab peoples in Palestine against their common oppressor, the establishment of a free and democratic Palestine, independent of the rule of Britain.

Hence the savage desperation of British imperialism and of the government which befouls the good name of labor and socialism. Hitlerism did not shrink from the most grewsome and horrendous acts, including the extermination of whole peoples, in order to spread the power of German imperialism. But that lay not in the nature of the "German soul" but in the very nature of the beast of imperialism, and now, after Germany has been crushed, we see the proof of this all over the world, Palestine spectacularly included. Britain now rules Palestine by bayonet and machine-gun, by the courts-martial, by naked military force, by barbed-wire enclosures and other concentration camps for the masses, by the principle of "community guilt" made so notorious by the Nazis, by mass deportations of the innocent and most heavily-suffering victims of the war,

TAKE UP ARMS AGAINST THE TYRANT

The desperation of British imperialism has foundation enough. For years it played its game pretty safely, with the signal aid of the miserable Zionist politicians who sought to make the Jewish people a tool of British imperialist policy in exchange for picayune concessions and grandiloquent promises. But just as the Arab peoples long ago lost any illusions they might have had about the benevolence of British imperialism, so the Jewish people are losing their illusions in this hour of the crumbling of the British Empire which significantly coincides with the bankruptcy of the policy of Zionism and its spokesmen.

The most important feature of the new situation in Palestine is the fact that the Jewish people have for the first time broken relations with their imperialist "patron" and gone to the extent of taking up arms against it. An underground Jewish movement, equipped with the means of conducting war and equipped with even greater quantities of determination, has the sympathy of the entire Jewish people and the support of many. It has called upon the people to resist British force with force. It has even spoken of setting up a government wholly independent of British imperialism.

Here is a movement of tremendous importance and of far-reaching consequences. The consequences are farreaching because it would not take too long for these fighters to understand that by themselves they are capable only of great heroism but not of achieving victory; that for victory over imperialism and for the (Continued on page 7)

CIO Price Program **Lacks Bold Wage Plan**

By EMANUEL GARRETT

"We cannot accept a situation in which wages are frozen while the cost of living soars." So reads the major resolution adopted at the emergency CIO conference, called by President Philip Murray in Washington last week.

It is a plain statement of fact that requires plenty of implementation, and little argumentation. The key question today, therefore, is how will this be implemented? That is, how will it be given practical reality in REJECTING "a situation in which wages are frozen"?

AFL and independent union leaders have used much the same language. Testifying at Decontrol Board hearings, Boris Shiskin, AFL economist, said: "The American worker will not sit idly by, watching the buying power of his weekly wage earnings dwindle before his eyes." A. E. Lyons of the Railroad Labor Executives Association added: "If the government fails to control food prices, it is doubtful if anyone will be able to prevent wildcat strikes in protest."

Again, this is nothing less than the absolute truth. Labor is fighting mad; it is determined that something be done. Here too, then, the key question remains: What are the union leaders planning? Will labor be forced to take the difficult road of wildcat strikes because its leaders do nothing beyond directing their economists to issue statements?

In the Auto Workers Union, the Executive Board approved a six-point wage-price program presented by

(Continued on page 8)

UAW Adopts Compromise Formula

DETROIT, Aug. 18-A major showdown in the top CIO leadership on vital policies was averted at least temporarily through the adoption of a compromise formula on a wageprice policy as announced by Walter P. Reuther, UAW-CIO president, in behalf of a majority of international executive board members.

One important aspect of the wageprice policy that has been virtually ignored in the papers was the adoption by the Board of Reuther's proposal for higher wages without price increases as the central slogan in any wage renegotiations that are going to take place.

The crisis in the UAW-CIO leadership reflected a similar situation in the national CIO leadership which is widely split into separate camps on a real program for the CIO.

Reuther announced that the UAW would re-open wage negotiations at Chrysler corporation - as demanded by a national delegate conference recently-and other companies where contract provisions permit. However, actual wage demands would "depend on what action the government takes

to control prices." Since no one in the UAW-CIO top leadership seriously expects the Truman administration to do anything of the kind, this Reuther formula would be meaningless if one didn't understand what has been going on in the CIO leadership.

In spite of the terrific rise in the cost of living, Philip Murray, CIO president, has continually put strong pressure on the UAW-CIO leadership to prevent them from carrying

out the original 5 point program recently adopted at a city-wide union leadership meeting in Detroit, as reported in LABOR ACTION.

However, events proved too strong for even Murray to stick to his completely hopeless "do nothing" views. Especially since real rank and file pressure in the UAW-CIO for a wage raise was felt by the entire international executive board. In this connection, the whole campaign in Chrysler has been dominated by the Stalinists who are utilizing this situation to the hilt.

So for two weeks in Detroit, the UAW-CIO executive board has been meeting in secret sessions, trying to figure out an answer to the problem of inflation. In this connection, the precarious financial position of the union due to extravagant pork-chop-

ping and machine building, weighed as a serious factor in deciding policy.

The executive board members maneuvered and tried to make deals. and shifted positions, and finally went to Washington to consult with Murray and others on policy. R. J. Thomas, vice president, stood by Murray's "do nothing" policies, and thus broke with his Stalinist supporters. Richard T. Leonard, vice-president, likewise stood by Murray, and emerged as the genuine right wing leader of the UAW-CIO.

BEHIND POLICY MANEUVERS

Before the board meeting, Reuther had agreed more or less to go along with Murray, but when he saw an opportunity to utilize the clash between Murray supporters and the (Continued on page 8)

One-Tenth of the Nation

"Law and Order" Wink at Lynch Terror in South

By J. R. JOHNSON

There is a mounting wave of terror directed against Negroes.

Terror reigns in Athens, Ala. The probe into the recent outbreak was due to begin on Monday, August 19. Extra state policemen and local police were mobilized but the Negroes. 1,500 out of a population of 3,500, feared the worst. They have not gone to the local theater to sit in their Jim Crow gallery. They were not seen in the shopping area on Saturday, August 17.

But in the streets Ku Klux Klan . elements gather in groups and call for more mob action against the Negro ex-GI who, by defending himself against two white veterans.

brought out the mob a week ago.

Burnham, its executive secretary, from Birmingham to Athens by bus.

The State Safety Director informed leading Negro citizens of this fact. He said that he had been informed of Burnham's trip by agents of the FBI. Burnham himself reported that his bus had been trailed by a highway patrol car for 14 miles and that he was shadowed by law officers wherever he went in Athens.

The FBI, the state highway patrol and the local law officers. See how efficient, effective and vigilant they are about the visit of an investigator. But twenty people will commit murder in Georgia and they cannot find

Law and order, state, federal and

ern Negro Youth Congress had sent truth. And that constitutes the terror. The Negro citizens report also that the State Safety Director gave them some advice. The advice was to tell

Burnham "to get to hell out."

When such a situation exists in one town for miles around, a tremendous tension develops. Tens of thousands of people are affected.

On Saturday, August 17, came the news of two more lynchings - in North Carolina this time. J. C. Farmer, ex-GI, was shot down by a score of men in eight cars. James Walker was shot by a white filling station owner and his brother.

Note what happened. Farmer was standing waiting for a bus when a

thorities is the following: The South- That is the miserable, the shameful He said he had done nothing. The like wildfire, bringing a blight and cop struck him on the head and a fight began. The officer's gun went off, shooting the owner through the hand. An hour later the posse came up and shot Farmer full of bullets.

In Walker's case he and Bill Craig had had a quarrel, just that, had had

The atmosphere is electric. Any slight quarrel can result in submission to unjustified arrest or resistance -and perhaps a lynching.

MISSISSIPPI. TOO!

There has been another recent lynching of a Negro in Mississippi. The body was found floating in the river with the marks of blows on it. The name of the criminal is known.

Alabama, North Carolina, Georgia, Typical of the attitude of the au- local, are on the side of the lynchers. policeman ordered him into his car. the news of these outrages spreads

gloom on the lives of millions of Negroes in the South. No one knows when, going about his daily business, he may step into some altercation or misunderstanding with a white man and no one knows what the result will be.

Take the following, which occurred on Sunday, August 18, and Monday, August 19:

In Magee, Miss., on Monday, August 19, a posse of 200-300 officers and citizens was hunting a family of Negroes. Bloodhounds supported the combination of officers and citizens.

This is the story: On Sunday, August 18, an automobile with white passengers attempted to pass an old truck with Negroes. Says the World-Telegram of August

"As the automobile drew alongside, one of the Negroes jumped out of the truck and fired a shot-gun into the

This MAY have happened. But in the South, particularly the deep South, the driver of a car, if he is white, can demand the right of way from a Negro driver, even if the Negro driver is legally entitled to it. -Furthermore, it would be important to hear the testimony of the Negroes themselves. At any rate, the white men reported the incident to the city marshal and four of them went to a house where they thought they would find the Negroes. As they approached, the Negroes opened fire. The white men retreated with wounds. The Negroes fled and the chase began. That is the atmosphere. (Continued on page 7)

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Discusses Problems of Ship Local 42

PHILADELPHIA—Today, Local 42 of the sponsorship of International ic principles within the union and were attracted by its program. If the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers, UMSWA-CIO. at Cramp Shipyard is shrinking and ineffectual. It resembles very little the large and militant union which during the war years represented the most advanced group of workers in Philadelphia. Widespread layoffs. particularly of rank and file leaders, have resulted in all but extinguishing the union membership.

The "non-programmatic" Official Board, the "practical politics" of Local Union President Al Meyers and President John Green have more than fulfilled the worst fears and predictions of the Progressive Group in the election campaign three months ago.

PROGRESSIVE CAMPAIGN

In these elections the Progressive Group endorsed a slate of union leaders and militants headed by John McBride and Herb Mover. More important, however, the group also endorsed a program centering around adequate wages, independent political action, maintenance of democrat-

Goodrich Rubber Local Seeks Escalator Clause

By M. NEWTON

ARRON-In a meeting to discuss resolutions to be presented at the United Rubber Workers of America (CIO) convention next month, Goodrich Local 5 went on record supporting immediate reopening of wage provisions to include an escalator clause in all

Starting from a minimum wage standard at the time of the scuttling of the old OPA, June 30, the escalator clause would provide automatic hiking of the wage rate to match the increased cost of living. The amount of increase would be determined by regional cost of living committees to be set up by the union. These committees would review the cost of living monthly on a regional basis. To cover the period of time between June 30 and the signing of the escalator clause, the union resolution asks for a costof-living bonus to reimburse the workers for their loss of income due

to the soaring prices. This marks the beginning of the fight on the part of the rubber workers to protect their members from the effects of the runaway inflation. Each day there are new price increases. Without an equivalent increase in less able to house, clothe and feed beck and call of the industrialists.

their families. The struggle for higher wages is an absolute bread-and-butter necessity for every family.

RESTORE WAGE LEVELS

In a statement printed in the Beacon Journal. L. S. Buckmaster, president of the URWA, is quoted as saying, "The spearhead of our fight should be directed toward keeping prices down to reasonable levels rather than to start wage levels chasing this will-o-the-wisp price level."

Such an attitude can in no way answer the demand of the workers to restore their former wage levels and buying power, and to keep wages equal to future price levels. Past methods of fighting to keep prices in line, such as pressure on legislature, have proven completely ineffective. The only manner in which prices can be effectively controlled is at the source, by Workers' Price Control Committees under the slogan of "Open the Books" of the corporations.

Control in the legislative field will be effective only when the union movement organizes its own independent Labor Party whose candidates will answer to the needs of the workers and the farmer and middle wages the workers find themselves class elements, instead of being at the

effective struggle against unemploy-

The slogans put forth in support of the program were: Restore the Escalator Wage Clause. For a Guaranteed Annual Wage, The Local Must Live Within Its Income, Against Government Interference, Withdraw Labor Representatives from "Fact-Finding" Boards, Government Operation of Shipyard Facilities Under Union Control, For \$30 Minimum Unemployment Compensation. Organize the Unemployed Into the Unions, For Labor and Veterans' Solidarity, Preserve Democracy in the Union, For a Permanent FEPC, and Toward Indépendent Labor Political Action.

However, despite the advanced program, despite the clean election campaign waged by the Progressive Group, despite the unquestioned leadership qualities of the slate and despite the tremendous interest of the union membership, as shown by a 75 per cent turnout at the polls-despite all of these factors, the Progressive Group was defeated. The Group was defeated by the intervention of John Green and the International, by the feeling of insecurity due to lavoffs which were then occurring, particularly in the Progressive Group strongholds in the shop, by rumors, propaganda and lies about the individuals on the Progressive slate. And, finally, the Progressive Group was defeated by the functionaries of the Meyers

CONDITIONS IN YARD

By VINCENT S. WHEELAN

EUREKA, Calif. - Embargo tech-

niques of the Lumber and Sawmill

Workers Union (AFL) are bringing

to a dead stop the flow of scab-pro-

duced lumber from mills cutting the

big redwoods in Northwestern Cali-

fornia. Meanwhile, two strikebreak-

ers hired to work in logging opera-

tions—a farmer boy and a timekeeper

-were killed on August 5 when the

These are late developments in the

strike of LSW-AFL members, now

six months old, against 14 labor-hat-

ing operators in support of demands

for full union-shop conditions, a min-

imum of \$1.05 cents per hour and pay

adjustments in all job classifications

One of the longest and toughest

union - management struggles in Pa-

cific Coast labor history, the battle is

and wood workers against a tight as-

sociation of lumber operators who

provoked the walkout on January 14

of this year in order to smash the red-

wood section of the Lumber and Saw-

ing waged by several thousand mill

above common laborer.

mill Workers Union

driving.

The Progressive Group lost the election by only 200 votes. This indicates that a large number of workers

now the militants who backed the program of the Progressive Group continue the fight in the union for the main points of the program, then the campaign will not really have been lost. If, however, the enthusiasm for the program is permitted to die, then a substantial defeat must be acknowledged.

In the recent period, conditions have been unfavorable for carrying out a programmatic fight by the rank and file. The local régime negotiated contract changes not on the basis of increasing union security and bettering working conditions, but on the basis of guaranteeing sufficient profits so that it would be able to remain in business. In addition, the Official Board has discouraged membership interest by cancelling both July and August membership meetings, even though the International convention convenes in September.

In the meantime, the company has reduced its personnel to approximately 1,000 engaged in repair and reconversion work. Many of the leaders of the Progressive Group, including Mc-Bride and Moyer, are no longer in the yard. Thus it has been difficult for the Progressive Group to maintain its orientation and organization. However, it is attempting to function, and it is reasonable to expect that the group will once again become a vital force in the local.

At the date of writing, the eyes of the membership are turned to the International convention to watch the struggle for leadership of the UM-SWA between the John Green forces and the Communist Party bloc.

Stop Scab-Produced Lumber

Clear indication that the mill and

logging barons are fighting desper-

ately is revealed by their premeditat-

ed use of some of the dirtiest tactics

ever pulled this side of bloodshed.

The lumber dukes have adamantly

refused to negotiate any of the de-

mands. They have tried to prevent the

UAW Leads Buyer's Strike in Detroit Area

By MARTIN HARVEY

DETROIT, Aug. 15-Over 1,000 auto workers and housewives picketed 28 Detroit shopping centers on August 10 in a buyers' strike called by the UAW-CIO and over 40 labor, consumer and nationality groups.

The demonstration was clearly a CIO affair. It was organized and financed by the UAW and almost all of the participants were UAW members. The strike is an integral part of the program of UAW President Walter Reuther and reflected both the strength and weakness of that program as it relates to price control and the standard of living.

Despite poor and belated preparations and the conspicuous sabotage of several large anti-Reuther locals, the strike was an effective demonstration of the desire of the working class for a lowered cost of living. How much actual buying was reduced on the day of the strike, however, is difficult to determine. Undoubtedly many families-particularly auto workers' families-refrained from buying. Many shoppers, however, simply ignored the picket lines or bought in neighborhood stores where there was no picketing.

One obvious conclusion is that, effective as the picketing may have been as a protest against the rising cost of living, it had practically no effect in halting the rise in prices. The average worker suspected this from the start and, as a result, he approved of the action but did not join the picket lines. A one-day buyers' strike gives the appearance of action on prices, but real action can only mean control of prices and that

requires daily policing of stores in all neighborhoods. Such action demands the organization of price committees on a permanent basis, committees of workers and housewives who will not merely parade politely on the sidewalk but will take aggressive action against recalcitrant merchants.

Price control at the consumer's end is only the START of price control. But organized labor must make this

The Boss's Dictionary Depression:



With the Workers Party

The Akron Branch invites readers of LABOR ACTION to attend the following classes: (1) Tuesday evenings at 8 p. m.—"THE FIGHT FOR SO-CIALISM." (2) Wednesday afternoon at 2 p.m.—"THE WORKERS PARTY, THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY." Write to Box 221 for further informa-

BUFFALO

HEADQUARTERS at 639 Main St.

CHICAGO LABOR ACTION, 1703 West Madi-

son St., Room 3, Chicago 12. Telephone: CHesapeake 5798. Office hours: 3-5:30 p.m. daily, ex-

cept Sundays. Tuesday and Wednes-1. A series of classes is being held

on each Friday night at party office at 8 o'clock on "The Fight for So-

DETROIT

Headquarters, 3773 Gratiot (at Mt." Elliott). Office hours: Tuesdays and Thursdays, 11 a.m. to 2:80 p.m.; Wednesdays, 7:30 to 10 p.m. Class in "Fight for Socialism" every

Wednesday at 8 p.m. Public meeting, Tuesday, August 27, 8 p.m. Ernest Erber on "Fight for Price Control and Housing."

LOS ANGELES

Office Telephone: Richmond 7-3230. Class in "Socialism & Capitalism," every Monday evening at LABOR ACTION headquarters. Study groups in advanced Marxism lso forming. Interested readers get a touch with office for details.

LABOR ACTION HEADQUARTERS in Newark at 248 Market St.

NEW YORK CITY

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

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

race, 210 East 104th St., 2nd Floor. HARLEM-Meets every Wednesday ters, 2143 Seventh Ave., Room 196 (near 127th St.).

QUEENS-Phone City Office. Meets every Thursday evening.

BROOKLYN DOWNTOWN-Meets every Wednesday at 8:00 p.m. Workers Party Headquarters, 276 Fulton St.,

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

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

READING

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

PHILADELPHIA

HEADQUARTERS, 1105 Walnut St.

HEADQUARTERS, 1105 Walnut St.
Branches meet Monday and Tuesday evenings at 8:00.
Socialist Youth League meets Fridays at 8:00 p.m.
LABOR ACTION and the New International are on sale at the newsstand on the NW corner of 13th and Market Streets.
LABOR ACTION can be bought at news agency near NE corner of Broad Street and Girard Avenue.
A Trotsky Memorial Meeting will be held in Room 40, Grand Fraternity Building, 1626 Arch Street, on Friday, August 23rd. Speaker: Max Shachtman, National Chairman, Workers Party, Subject: "Trotsky and American Labor." Admission 50 cents.

For information of other Workers For information of other Workers

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

SOCIALIST YOUTH LEAGUE

The Socialist Youth League, youth section of the Workers Party, has youth units in the following cities: New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Morgantown, W. Va., Cleveland, Chicago, Detroit and Seattle.

Campaign Fund MAX SHACHTMAN ERNEST RICE MCKINNEY

Sponsored by WORKERS PARTY ELECTION CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE 114 W. 14th St., New York 11, N. Y.

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Name	
Addres	ss
Contri	bution \$

PRESS ACTION - BY HENRY JUDD -

Many of the new 5,000 LABOR ACTION readers who became subscribers months ago, when LABOR ACTION conducted its subscription campaign, have begun sending in their renewals now. Later on, we will give facts and figures on the percentage and rate of these renewals. The first results are encouraging and indicate many readers have become steady supporters and readers of our paper.

e again remind our literature agents that subscriptions obtained during the campaign are now expiring very rapidly. Lists are being sent out, and we hope organized efforts are being made to get renewals on these.

This week marks the fourth issue of the new, eight-page LABOR AC-TION. It will also be a notable week in another respect. Our first bills to LABOR ACTION agents will be sent out. Many of our agents are already sending in payments. This week every agent for the paper will receive his statement on the first four (4) issues. We hope to receive quick responses and have a flow of money orders, cash and checks pouring into our office. It all goes to keep up the eight-page LABOR ACTION and make improve-

FACTS ABOUT THE NEW EIGHT-PAGE LABOR ACTION

- (1) Eight pages, at five cents per individual copy. (2) Bundle orders to our agents at three cents per copy, with additional
- copies available for special distribution purposes at one cent per copy. (3) A six-month subscription—anywhere in the U. S.—for 50 cents.

(4) A year's subscription—anywhere in the U. S.—for \$1.00. NEW SUBSCRIPTIONS

The showing this week is rather poor, with the exception of our West Virginia SYL friends, who stand proudly at the head of the list. Here's the

WEST VIRGINIA	7
New York City	6
Boston	5
Chicago	4
Newark	3
Philadelphia	3
San Francisco	2
Buffalo	1
Miscellaneous	1
- Proposition (Co.)	ā '
TOTAL32	2

LABOR ACTION AGENTS SPEAK UP

From Chicago, that ace of ace LABOR ACTION agents, Karl Shier, writes about their concentration on newsstand sales. "If the newsstand 'L' Stations work out well, and we hope they will, we will cover all the stands on the platforms from 61st Street to 43rd Street." And his right-hand man, Dan Leeds who is in charge of literature sales for the Chicago Workers Party branches, informs us that, "The branch has assigned comrades to this work who are capable and responsible. I have an excellent committee which meets regularly every two weeks (we have had four meetings already)."



The YPSL Writes...

And We Reply

We note in the June 3 issue of LA-BOR ACTION an item stating that an Ohio Yipsel has joined the Workers Party. Several distortions in the article make it necessary for us to inform you of corrections. We wonder at the ethics of a person who would make such statements.

1. The article calls Andovian a leader in the Ohio YPSL though she never had a leadership position in the Ohio or Columbus YPSL.

2. Andovian states that the Socialist Party does not have any idea of how to obtain socialism. She alleges not to know the Socialist program. The statement that she makes is not surprising, for she read very little of the pamphlets and literature of the party. She never bought a YPSL pamphlet packet. And her Call must have gathered dust in the corner.

3. She alleges that the YPSL members were "dejected and confused" at the YPSL Summer School last year. Anyone else who attended the Summer School would testify that the opposite was true.

4. To say that "many YPSL members are disgusted with the confusion and inconsistency of the Socialist Party" is a gross and libelous exaggeration of the healthy differences within the party. Unlike the Workers Party, we include many people beyond those strict adherents to "revolutionary Marxism." We find that some of the most ardent and devoted members of the YPSL came to socialism through cooperatives, religion or pacifism. If we did not include such people, we would find ourselves to be mosquito grouplets like the Trotskyites.

5. It is an outright-lie for Andovian to say, "YPSL members were advised Ohio State Socialist League for the

state from paying the strikers unemployment compensation. VETS REJECT STRIKEBREAKING lad tipped over a tractor he was The bosses have used their powerful Redwood Operators Association to flood the daily press with propaganda designed to split the rank and file

from the rest of the workers. They

that the workers were forced into the

have told the public through the press

strike by power-hungry leaders. Last month ex-servicemen representing the American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars and Disabled American Veterans drew up a scorchinspired press headline which declared: "War Vets Go to Work at

not to talk to Trotskyites or read

6. However, a spark of truth does

leak through when she says that she

was taught that "Trotskyites such as

the Workers Party were undemocrat-

ic and were not real socialists." We

have especially taken note of the

statement of people who resigned

from the WP to join the SP. They

stated in brief the following faults

a. "The ultra-centralism of a per-

manent group of authoritarian lead-

ers.... All decisions of any impor-

tance are made by the party tops, a

procedure which brings with it a de-

cline in initiative, self-confidence and

responsibility on the part of the

b. "A contempt for and lack of un-

derstanding of democratic proce-

dures." (It is significant to note that

in the golden age of Trotskyism in

Russia I from 1917 till Trotsky's ejec-

tion] that working class parties were

outlawed, freedom of speech sup-

pressed and democratic demonstra-

tions like the Kronstadt strike were

c. "The use of corrupting mechan-

isms, 'tools,' character assassinations,

falsification and stealing (including

copying' YPSL mailing lists) are

used. Personal idealism and morality

are deprecated as 'petty bourgeois.'"

only the YPSL and Socialist Party

offer the American people an effec-

tive democratic instrument to con-

struct a society of democratic social-

In reply to the above, point by

1. Andovian was president of the

Walter Petersen, Roy Bunday,

John M. Mecartney, Louise

Green, Executive Commit-

tee, Columbus Circle, YPSL.

On the political scene at present

party ranks and the masses.

bloodily crushed.)

point:

their literature."

of the Workers Party:

Joiners of America, it has been able to work out a tight agreement with the craft carpenters to put the squeeze on "hot" lumber. Under ex-

have vehemently reaffirmed their de-

termination to remain on strike until

Since the Lumber and Sawmill

Workers Union is an affiliate of the

United Brotherhood of Carpenters and

all demands are granted.

isting arrangements, the carpenters are refusing to handle lumber unless it carries an LSW certification that it has been produced under "fair" conditions. Train crews are now catching on and are refusing to handle the scab-cut wood products. None of the mills and logging camps that opened early this month with strikebreakers have been able

to turn out more than a few dribbles of logs and lumber because the operators can't hire enough scabs to run ing resolution in answer to a boss- the plants at anywhere near capacity. It is fairly certain now that all opera-Scotka" (site of the huge Pacific Lumber Co. mill). Each of these employer ning of the "back-to-work" drive will maneuvers has been followed by mass be forced to close down again.

Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor . . . usual three-month term; she was not the freedom and extent of our dis- have increased 20 per cent." etc. re-elected because it was the policy of that group to alternate presidents each three months. Thus, Petersen, one of the signers of the letter, was also president for a three-month term. The OSSL was closely related to the

YPSL at Ohio State. 2. A matter of opinion. Andovian found that the Socialist Party and its youth section were a home of political confusion and that The Call, whether or not it gathered dust, educated nobody. Andovian attended the SP convention and read its documents, finding them, to say the least, confusing. We agree with her. Because of that conclusion she quit the YPSL and joined the Workers Party.

3. Again a matter of opinion. Andovian believes that many of those who attended the YPSL Summer School were "dejected and confused."

4. Only people with blinders over their eyes can deny that many YPSL members are disgusted with the "confusions and inconsistency of the SP," especially now when it is on the verge of unifying with the Social-Democratic Federation, which has consistently supported and worked with capitalist politicians. Nor is the question, as our correspondents state, WHERE people come from on their travels to socialism; the question is rather: what is the political position of a party to which people travel? For the SP or YPSL to speak of "grouplets" is crass,

5. Andovian says that she was advised locally to avoid Trotskyists.

6. We shall not here enter into a long polemic with the SP. As for the statement our correspondents quote, suffice it to note that its author is at present resting in the arms of the Lutheran Church, where he has found Ultimate Truth. Whoever wishes to find out about democracy in the Workers Party needs only to follow its political discussions, to observe

cussions, to examine the life of our organization, whose political life is open to all to watch. We have never seen the same in the SP. Those who find themselves in a hopeless political position, as do adherents of the SP, somehow always turn to Morality (always capitalized). They seek thereby to evade their political helplessness. And of course behind the talk about Morality there always lurks such moral behavior as Norman Thomas' support of the imperialist war. And no doubt the coming marriage of the SP and the Social-Democrats will be under the canopy of Morality. Our friends in the SP had better examine their own party-its chronic political crises, its helplessness, its political confusion, its deviations from socialist principles.-Ed-

Wants Better Figures On Rising Prices

Dear Friends:

I do not think it is a very enlightening thing to do when we say, "Prices have advanced 2 per cent this month," or "Prices of wholesalers

Would it not be far better and more dramatic to take certain items like milk, bread, Crawford suits,

canned peas, etc., and make the fol-

lowing listings?:

MILK-August, 1930, 111/2c a quart; August, 1931, 12c; August, 1932, 12c; August, 1933, 121/2c; August, 1934,

121/2; etc., to August, 1946, 20c. This would be more clearly infor-

mational. Where can I find retail prices down the years? Or is it possible that you will do this?

Sincerely, ARTHUR YOUNG.

(Our reader has a point. We shall endeavor in the future to give figures in dollars and cents. For our weekly material we rely most heavily upon the daily press and upon our own shopping experience. As a rule the daily press gives its figures in percentages. Often, too, the percentages are more revealing of the trend than the simple figure. In addition to the daily press, we recommend as sources of information the Monthly Labor Review, Bureau of Labor Statistics reports, Business Week and the CIO's Economic Outlook.-Editor.

New York: ELECTION CAMPAIGN DANCE

Let's Relax! Petitioning Will Be Over Let's Have a Good Time... Before the Real Campaign Starts Frankly, We Need to Raise Some Money!

MEET THE CANDIDATES

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"That Agony Is Our Triumph..."

Nineteen years ago two poor Italian immigrants, Bartolomeo Vanzetti and Nicola Sacco, were executed by the state of Massachusetts. The formal charge was "murder" but the fact was that these two men were victims of political persecution: they were executed because of their radical political views. No case has rocked this country as did the Sacco-Vanzetti case; on another page there is an article describing it. Here we reprint the famous last speech of Bartolomeo Vanzetti, a speech which, despite its broken English, is so beautiful and moving that it falls naturally into verse form. No one has ever expressed more nobly and with such stirring, simple language the aspirations and hopes of all those who fight for a better world. Once read, these words form part of every socialist's heritage.

I have talk a great deal of myself but I even forgot to name Sacco.

Sacco too is a worker,

from his boyhood a skilled worker, lover of work,

with a good job and pay, a bank account, a good and lovely wife,

two beautiful children and a neat little home at the verge of a wood, near a brook.

Sacco is a heart, a faith, a character, a man;

a man, lover of nature, and mankind;

a man who gave all, who sacrifice all to the cause of liberty and to his love for mankind:

money, rest, mundane ambition,

his own wife, his children, himself

and his own life.

Sacco has never dreamt to steal, never to assassinate. He and I have never brought a morsel

of bread to our mouths, from our childhood to today which has not been gained by the sweat of our brows.

Oh, yes, I may be more witful, as some have put it: I am a better babbler than he is, but many, many times in hearing his heartful voice ringing a faith sublime, in considering his supreme sacrifice, remembering his heroism,

I felt small at the presence of his greatness and found myself compelled to fight back from my eyes the tears,

and quanch my heart

trobling to my throat to not weep before him; this man called thief and assassin and doomed. But Sacco's name will live in the hearts of the people

and in their gratitude when Katzmann's bones and yours will be dispersed by time; when your name, his name, your laws, institutions, and your false god are but a dim remembering

of a cursed past in which man was wolf

If it had not been for these thing

I might have lived out my life talking at street corners to scorning men.

I might have die, unmarked, unknown, a failure. Now we are not a failure.

This is our career and our triumph. Never in our full life could we hope to do such work for tolerance, for justice, for man's understanding of man, as now we do by accident.

Our words, our lives, our pains-nothing! The taking of our lives—lives of a good shoemaker and a poor fishpeddler-

all! That last moment belongs to usthat agony is our triumph.

August 26, 1946 A Paper in the Interests of Labor

A First Hand Report of the Recent Popular Revolution in Bolivia

LA PAZ. Bolivia.-The fall of the totalitarian regime of Villaroel in Bolivia surprised the entire American continent, just as the revolution surprised the Bolivians themselves. The fallen regime had emerged from a political and social crisis provoked by the Bolivian defeat in the Paraguayan-Bolivian war.

The republic of Bolivia has an economy in which the exploitation of the mines plays the decivise role, the export of minerals, in the first place, of tin, constitutes the basis of the budget and the national commerce. In spite of its economic backwardness, the national wealth and the means of production are concentrated in the hands of a few capialists, Patinorey, M. Hochschild and C. V. Aramayo; these men decide practically on the mineral production of the country, treating it as their special hacienda. Dependent upon the world markets and Anglo-American imperialism, they exploit the masses, kept in a state of barbarous poverty, in the interests of their own and foreign imperialism.

The traditional Bolivian parties (Republican, Republican-Socialist, Liberal and "Socialists") are political organizations only in the interests of the Bolivian feudo-capitalists. The economic and social structure is semi-feudal and semi-colonial, the indigenous masses constituting an element despoiled by the feudal, latifundist aristocracy-without a stake in the nation. The traditional "democratic" political structure controlled by the feudo-capitalists suffered a collapse in the Chaco war and the army placed itself at the head of the government of the country (dictatorship of Toro and Busch). The attempt to reconstruct the traditional government of the right-known in Bolivia as "Rosca," and embodied in the constitutional regime of General Penaranda-was shattered by the economic and social problems of the country.

BACKGROUND TO REVOLT

The Chaco war stirred the working masses against the feudo-capitalists and thus undermined the traditional Bolivian political structure. Under the pressure of imperialism, especially the American variety, the price of tin dropped, with the whole burden falling on the shoulders of the mine workers. The miners of Bolivia work at an altitude of 4,000-5,000 meters for miserable salaries, and food gotten from company stores. They live in cold huts scarcely covered with straw and are weakened in a few years to die of lung disease. Thus bleeds and dies the Indian race, the trunk and the root of Bolivian nationality, in the interests of imperialism. Socialist writers call this the tragedy of the "Altiplano" (high plateau).

The low prices of tin and rubber undermined the foundations of the Penaranda government. From the recently sprouted middle and mestizo (white and native offspring) class and from the official caste of the military, spurted a nationalist reaction, carefully prepared by the Germans. In the year 1943 this class made a coup d'etat by taking advantage of discontent against the government stemming from the massacre of

The new regime leaned on two forces, the nationalist revolutionary movement led by V. Paz Estenssoro, ex-Stalinist, and the military lodge, "Santa Cruz," headed by the mayor, Elias Belmonte, a faithful disciple of the Nazi military instructors in Bolivia. Deftly using the leftist and national anti-imperialist phraseology, the regime succeeded in maintaining itself for three years, suppressing in blood all the blows directed against the state from the right.

But it could not dominate a popular revolution which broke out in the month of July, 1946. The fall of Hitler, who was the patron of the creole Nazis, the post-war crisis and the ffensive of the masses against totalitarianism undermined the basis of the Villaroel-Paz Estenssoro regime. The system of terror, of oppression of the liberal and proletarian opposition, of elimination of the opposition press, inflamed the entire people. The mestizo class, heretofore the mainstay of the government, became disillusioned with Nazism and evolved in the direction of creole Stalinism, expressed in the PIR (Party of the Revolutionary Left) led by Jose Antono Arze, agent and functionary of Stalin. The government could defeat all the coups d'etat, so traditional in the South American states, but it could not defeat the people and their opposition.

THE STRIKE MOVEMENT

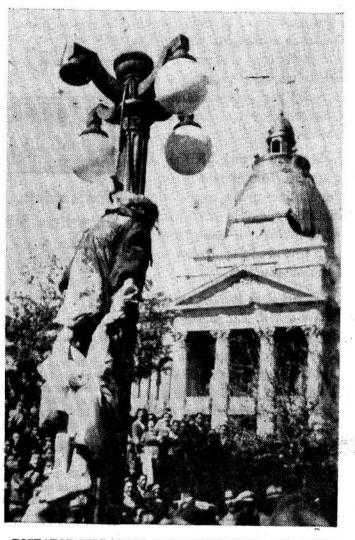
After a suppressed palace-military revolution in June, several workers' strikes broke out in railroad, transportation, and engraving which the government was accustomed to solve with great facility. But the strikes were not purely economic. They expressed, rather, the discontent of the working class with the

The strike of the newspapers and engravers was directed against confinements and arrests and the gagging of the press. The strike of the teachers, aside from its economic character-

the Bolivian teacher earns much less than the worker-had also a political character: against the totalitarian politics of the government, against the provocative comforts of the military. The strike of the teachers was supported by the university students and those of the secondary schools and produced some youthful demonstrations which were shot down by the government. Then the teachers and students asked the workers' unions for help in the form of a general strike. The unions, with some hesitation, declared a stoppage; nobody thought that this would produce a political revolution.

But the situation was pregnant with revolution. The general strike paralyzed the life of the nation completely, stopping not only factories and communications but all commerce and public offices. The people were by no means set for a revolutionary political action. The youth demonstrations, brutally

Special Photo to LABOR ACTION



DICTATOR VILLARAEL HANGING FROM A LAMPPOST IN FRONT OF HIS CHURCH

ared on by the government, played the role of a match applied to a powder key. The students, enraged by the brutality of the police, made up flying squadrons of revolutionary agitation, instigating women, workers and the people in general to demonstrate their opposition against the government of "assassins." Day after day demonstrations took place in various districts, reassembling in the main square in spite of the sharp-shooting. On Friday, July 19, 1946, the enormous demonstration of 20,000 persons, shot at by cross fire, could not retreat in the narrow streets and took the square. The government lost its courage, had to stop the shooting and retreated.

On the following day the assassin government had to abdicate and a purely military cabinet was formed. But it was already too late. The people clamored: "We want a civil government!" Sunday the demonstrators took over the municipal seat, finding arms with which they attacked the traffic and prison police. Within a few hours the palace of the government fell and president Villaroel hung from a lamp post across from his church. (See photograph.)

This Bolivian revolution was not a traditional coup of the military, but was a popular movement. Its political character was bourgeois-democratic, understandable in the midst of the

semifeudal economy in Bolivia where the democratic revolution is on the order of the day. Nevertheless, it would be false to underestimate the role of the working class. The workers' strikes had a decisive character in the development of the revolution and constituted its principal form. The first workers' strikes were a prelude of the movement and the repetition of the strikes formed the spine of the revolution. Only on the basis of a general stoppage were the small student demonstrations able to transform themselves into powerful popular demonstrations of a revolutionary character with a final popular assault on the government.

The Bolivian proletariat does not understand its decisive olitical role in the last revolution. The Stalinists of the PIR do everything to kill the social and political consciousness of the Bolivian workers, posing the slogan of a democratic antifascist front against the proletarian united front; that is, the subordination of the proletariat to the Bolivian feudo-bourgeoisie, against the independent action of the working class. The Bolivian anti-fascist front played no role in the revolution itself. Its blows against the state were moderated; it neither knew how or wished to unleash the action of the masses. Therefore the union movement spontaneously became a decisive factor of the revolution, but without a program or political con-

ROLE OF THE PARTIES

The workers' parties, the PSOB (Bolivian Workers Socialist Party) of Maroff and the POR (official Trotskyists) were caught with their pants down. It is true that in the assault on the palace and in the first hours of the revolutionary triumph, the elements of both organizations played an important role but as individuals, and not as representatives of organizations. In face of the spontaneity of the workers' movement, after the revolutionary triumph this role has been taken away from them by the middle-class and capitalist elements. One of the leaders of the PSOB said that "the revolution died when the regime was demolished, at the doors of the seat of government." If this was so, it is the fault of the workers' parties. The distinction between the ideology and the social content of the revolution is of utmost importance in appreciating the political and social status of the South American countries.

The capitalist parties were also surprised by the revolution. For this reason the people did not hand over power to any political coalition. Moreover the slogan, "We do not want a return to politics as usual," prevented this. Several hours elapsed until representative bodies of students, teachers and workers were set up to elect delegates to form a new "non-political" government assembly, headed by the supreme court of the district, whose magistrates won their prestige by their opposition to the abuses of the government.

When it handed over power to the judicial magistrates, the popular-democratic revolution died, since it could not be transformed into a democratic revolution under the leadership of the working class parties and the unions, in spite of the decisive role of the Bolivian proletariat.

The political "independence" of the government assembly, which formally does not depend on the political parties, favors the penetration of the rightists to power, a penetration the people wish to avoid. The "fuehrer" of the Stalinist PIR, Arze, on returning from Chile, tried to appropriate for the committee of the "anti-fascist front" the decisive role in the preparation of the revolution. This organization is a coalition of the rightists with the PIR (Stalinist). But the danger for the democratic revolution comes not only from the right parties. Military and civil nazism withdrew from power, with its money, arms and organizations intact. The assembly did not under a general purge against Bolivian nazism which menaces not only the assembly itself, but the democratic revolution.

THE ROAD AHEAD

The Bolivian working class, after accomplishing the assault on the palace, retired from the scene and dissolved the workers' militias. Thus, the spontaneous revolutionary action did not have either political or social consequences.

We understand thoroughly that in Bolivia and other South American countries the bourgeois-democratic revolution and not the socialist revolution is the order of the day. But the experience of "Altoplano" shows us that there is no revolution possible without the decisive role of the proletariat. To establish political democracy, to win the social rights of the proletariat, the conscious understanding of the parties is necessary. A spontaneous action of the unions is not enough.

The Bolivian revolution points out to us the great possibilities for the Marxist parties in South America and also reveals the great poverty of political development of the South American proletariat, which plays the part of a "Sancho Panza" to the middle class.

(Translated by Mary Bell)

The Social and Economic Problems of the South

How Northern Capitalism Dominates the Economy of the South

By DAVID COOLIDGE

In the previous article we asked the question: How did the South come to be what it is? We did not complete the answer to this question. In order to give the whole answer it is necessary to go back to a previous era, long before "Operation Dixie" was ever thought of.

We must begin with the old slave economy of the South. The South is still paying for its two centuries of slave economy. It pays not only by economic poverty but also by its social, political and cultural poverty.

Another pertinent fact about the South is the stubborn attitude of the planters, who really dominate the scene, in refusing to recognize that Negro slavery has passed and that the old dream of a Cotton Kingdom with millions of Negro bondmen was shattered by Northern bayonets. The Southern plantation owners attempt by every means, legal and extralegal, to revive the slave system or a close substitute.

THE "PENNY-WAGE" SYSTEM AS IT WORKS IN THE SOUTH

In their relations with the Negro toilers, they attempt to maintain a no-wage set-up, or what may be called a penny-wage system. They perpetuate tenant farming, share-

cropping and a combination of these with day labor. They operate a creditor and debtor relation through contract labor, "convict" labor, money advances in the no-work season, and peonage, which keep their "hands" tied to the land and powerless to extricate themselves from bondage.

This relationship is the planter's substitute for chattel slavery and is in fact more profitable. He has no actual cash investment in the worker, as he had in the slave, and therefore has no need to assume responsibility for even the physical well-being of his employees.

The South pays for slavery in still other ways. It pays because of the continued and intensified economic domination of the South by Northern finance capitalism. Northern commercial capitalism established this domination before the Civil War. With the replacement of commercial capitalism by Northern industrial capitalism and the triumph of the North over the South in the Civil War, the road was open for the North to complete its economic conquest of the South.

In his recent book, "The Revolt of the South and West," A. G. Mezerick has a quotation from Henry Grady, a leading Southern journalist of ground. One might say with considyears ago. Grady told a story

about a "one-gallus" white man who really furnishes only the corpse bedied in Georgia. His gravestone came from Vermont, his coffin from Cincinnati and his burial clothes from Boston and Chicago. All the South furnished for the funeral was "the corpse and the hole in the ground."

The South could furnish only the corpse and the hole in the ground because after the Civil War it had no capital to develop manufacturing. Northern finance capitalism was interested only in bringing out the raw materials of the South for Northern factories and then shipping these materials back South in the form of durable and consumer goods.

The durable goods were really not sold to Southern enterprisers for use in Southern owned factories, but for in industrial establishments owned by Northern capitalists. It was and is also true of all the agricultural machinery used in the South

ALL THE SOUTH HAS IS THE CORPSE AND THE HOLE

Northern capitalists have never had to worry about the Southern market because there was no place for the South to buy except in the North. All the South could furnish was the corpse and the hole in the erable truth that today the South

cause the hole in the ground is dug on land which is probably heavily mortgaged to Northern insurance

It is not true that the South was never interested in industrial development. This interest began to show itself even before the Revolution in the efforts of certain Southerners to overcome the British mercantile system and establish some primitive form of manufacture. These "factories," of course, were to be operated with slave labor. After the country was independent this effort continued and many slave-operated industries were established. But since a slave is not an efficiency factory worker these slave-owning enterprisers tried to reopen the slave trade in order to acquire replacements. Their idea was to keep the slave economy alongside the factory economy. The black slaves were to be confined to the cotton field and the free poor whites were to man the textile mills. Thinking that this was not going far enough, some Southerners proposed a boycott on all Northern manufactured goods. This would merely have

buried the corpse naked. After the Southern rebellion had been crushed, Northern capitalism began ruthlessly to expand. The Re-

publican Party, the Messiah of modern industrial capitalism, established its control over the whole nation. The deal made with the South's political leaders through the Compromise of 1876, by which federal troops were to be withdrawn from the South in return for votes from Tilden to Hayes, only helped to strengthen the grip of Northern capitalism over the South. After the troops had been withdrawn the South began its efforts to push the Negro back into slavery. Even his few economic and political rights were severely abridged. The "poor white" emerged as the dominant political group, led by a raucous, bestial and ignorant group of political demagogues.

THE NORTH EXPANDS WHILE THE SOUTH SINKS IN POVERTY

While the North was expanding industrially, the South was sinking further into economic degradation. White immigrants were arriving from Europe to man the Northern economy. Neither the immigrants nor native Northern labor would go South in any number. The South frantically held on to its brow-beaten black semi-slaves and its impoverished, ignorant and embittered poor whites. Hundreds of Negroes and poor whites migrated to the

North, where there was a chance to procure some food, clothing and shelter. What went South from the North was northern capital for investment, dilapidated New England textile machinery, evangelists and patent medicine.

The Northern capitalists not only own what there is of Southern industry but Northern bankers and insurance companies hold the agricultural economy in their grip through loans and credit. The North owns the railroads and ships running to the South. Northern capitalists fixed the freight rates on the South's raw materials. Hence the South could not produce those manufactured articles which give a high profit. The Republican high tariff is of benefit only to Northern capitalism.

The capitalist in the North therefore has a great deal to do with the condition of the masses in the South. Rosenwald and Rockefeller have poured millions into the South for education, but the Sears, Roebuck catalogue beat the Rosenwald schoolhouse into the South by many decades. Rocekefeller too has built schools, hospitals and churches but his Chase National Bank, oil, sulphur and gas companies only returned thereby a small part of what they had extracted from this section.

Mezerick, in the book mentioned above, calls the South "The Land of Plenty-Not to Eat." A group of Northern manufacturers operating in Alabama published a report saying that it costs more to live in Alabama than in the North. The reason given was that the flour, meal, cereals, milk, cheese, fruit, canned goods and clothing come from the North and West. And yet an industrial worker in Alabama had an annual income of \$758 against \$1,500 for a Northern worker. This report gave the per capita income of the farm worker in Alabama for the year of the report

The whole myth about the low cost of living in the South has been destroyed. The Negro woman teacher in Monroe, Ga., explained the situation when being asked how she lived on her meager salary: "It was a combination of living and dying."

The cost of living in Atlanta, Texas and Norfolk is today higher than in Michigan or New York. And yet, while in 1944 the per capita income for the country as a whole was low enough at \$1,117, here are a few samples for the South: Alabama, \$655; Georgia, \$714; Mississippi, \$528; South Carolina, \$634, and Arkansas, \$601. Florida and Texas had the highest

(Continued on page 6)



A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

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ALBERT GATES

EMANUEL GARRETT, Editor

EDITORIAL BOARD

IRVING HOWE

HENRY JUDD

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Editorials

The Stalinists Call the Cops

munist (Stalinist) Party functioning in the trade unions are today playing with a very dangerous impermissible procedure should exhaust all union channels before for the labor movement. Some of these Stalinists in the IUMSWA (shipyard workers union) have recently resorted to the capitalists courts for the settlement of internal union differences. A group which calls itself a "Save the Union Committee," under the leadership of the Stalinists, has asked a capitalist court for an injunction against the General Executive Board of the IUMSWA. This group has asked the capitalist court to invalidate the last convention of IUMSWA. They charge that the convention was rigged, that delegates were elected from blue sky locals and that the convention was run undemocratically. (Workers who have had experience with the Stalinists in the unions will like this talk about blue sky locals and undemocratic action.)

by Irving Velson, president of a IUMSWA tion of IUMSWA barring "communists" capitalist court asking for a restraining ers may place in them.

Members and followers of the Com- order against the GEB. The court advised Velson that the union members should settle this case among themselves and seeking relief in the courts.

> This is not merely a hallowed union procedure. All decent' workers adhere strictly to the practice of keeping the affairs of the labor movement away from their enemies in the capitalist ruling class. Class conscious workers know that they cannot get relief for grievances against the union bureaucracy by going to the capitalist courts.

The Workers Party and LABOR AC-TION are against this provision of the IUMSWA and other union constitutions. It is a reactionary device of the union bureaucracy to exclude all those from un'ion leadership who are in opposition to the policies of the bureaucrats.

But the proper place to iron out union The second court action was instituted affairs is in the union. The working class must cleanse itself where this is needed local. In accordance with the constitution- without aid from the ruling class of exal amendment adopted by the 1943 conven- ploiters. The fact that these Stalinists resort to the capitalist courts is only one from holding office, Velson was removed more demonstration of their total lack of by the GEB from holding the president's working class loyalty and of their betrayal post in the local. Velson then went into a of any confidence which misguided work-

Quack, Quack, Quack at Paris

gate to the Paris "Peace" Conference, lost spokesman, anxious to put forward the his head last week and made a few perticase of his own imperialism, has neatly nent remarks about the gathering. De- succeeded in exposing everybody but himnouncing the Russian representatives for self. That job has been taken care of by their obvious and crude tactics in delaying the opponent. any action, Mr. Jordan said, "...it is quack, quack, hour after hour." We can sympathize with Mr. Jordan, up to a certain extent. The so-called Peace Session has degenerated into an endless debate in which Russia and its satellite stooges pit themselves in invective, accusation and vilification, against America, England and their stooges. The gathering sounds like the barnyard dialogue of the animals on Old Macdonald's farm.

Furthermore, the hypocritical speeches and demonstrations of "Quack" Molotov and "Quack" Vyshinski versus "Quack" Byrnes and "Quack" Attlee does definitely resemble the sound of ducks, as they eag-

William J. Jordan, New Zealand dele- erly wabble toward the duck pond. Each

We can't go along with Jordan, however, when he says, "It is time we got on with our work...." What work? Imposing robber treaties on Italy and the other defeated peoples? Authorizing Russian domination over the Balkans, American penetration of Europe, British control of the Mediterranean, etc.? The only work before this Conference is the passage of Treaties that are imperialistic in every sentence. The "quacking" at least is fairly harmless and serves to expose the sinister designs of these men. It's when these scoundrels get down to business that a war-weary world has to beware.

Book Burnings in America?

A nation-wide campaign has been by a serious writer, has been banned; it started by the Hearst press against "filth". in book publishing. Everyone is, of course, familiar with the high moral standards set by the Hearst gutter press which has consistently campaigned for the Purity of American Womanhood, Low Wages, Anti-Vivisection, and the Destruction of Trade Unions. The Hearst press advocates the appointment of a "czar" to exercise the same kind of censorship with which the Hays office has produced a moral and esthetic blight in Hollywood.

We are familiar with the kind of censorship which would result from the appointment of a "czar." (The very word "czar" itself is revealing of the mentality of those who make this proposal.) It would today exists in Canada, where James T. Farrell's Bernard Clare, a serious work sorship of American Books!

would make for more situations such as the recent attempt to ban Edmund Wilson's Memoirs of Hecate County. All the reactionaries, prudes, literary snoopers and busy-bodies would have a field day.

Not of course that "filth" would be the victim. The Paris-postcard kind of magazine is published without interference; Hollywood itself panders to the most lascivious layers of taste. Such a censorship would rather mean an attack on serious political and literary work, those books which contained radical criticism of existing social conditions or those books which realistically portrayed the truth about social conditions.

Before Hearst's campaign gets any transfer to America the situation which further, all labor, intellectual and socialist groups should raise their voices: No Cen-

WORLD POLITICS

The Jews of Europe

A new migration of hunted Jews, reminiscent of the exodus from Egypt many centuries ago, is taking place in Europe today. Thousands of Jews are fleeing westward-fleeing from the anti-Semitic terror which has swept Poland and fleeing too from the reign of Stalinism for which they seem to feel little affection.

It is one of the dramatic and tragic treks of history -the starved, poverty-stricken remnant of a destroyed people which has had its hopes of finding peace dashed to the ground by still another wave of anti-Semitism. And so they are leaving Poland, the Stalinist-dominated government of which seems unable to stamp out anti-Semitism. Of the estimated 160,000 Jews in Poland (all that remains of the 3,000,000 of pre-war days!) only about 50,000 are expected to remain there. The rest are fleeing for their lives; they see no hope in Stalinistdominated Poland, nor in that section of Poland which Stalin has annexed directly.

The homeless, still-persecuted Jews (Hitler is gone; his ideas and precepts live!) form the core of the general problem of Displaced Persons in Europe. There are over 1,000,000 of them: 850,000 in Germany, 100,000 in Austria and 50,000 in Italy, according to UNRRA figures-which means that there are probably many more. These pathetic people are the flotsam and petsam of a decayed, brutalized continent; they are citizens of countries which hardly exist any more or which have fallen under the domination of one or another imperialist victor; they are political refugees who can find no home in the lands of their birth; they are former inmates of the concentration camps who have travelled through so many political prisons that they have become homeless and without nationality.

And these weary souls, their hearts ripe with desperation, have nowhere to go; they depend for their daily piece of bread upon foreign charity. In Germany today there are 94,000 Jews of whom 74,000 are DPs and the rest "natives." None of them want to remain there; they all wish to find a new home and most of them yearn for Palestine. In Italy there are thousands of Poles who refuse to return to Stalin-dominated Poland. There are Hungarians, Czechs, Germans, Austrians, Italians-stranded in miserable DP camps and always on the verge of starvation.

But the most desperate of all are the Jews. Their Underground Railway, a remarkably skillful and heroic organization, has succeeded in bringing many from the east to ports of embarkation in Italy from where they hoped to go to Palestine. Now they see that their . brothers are being shunted from Haifa to the barren

Is it any wonder that reports from Europe tell of moods of desperation in the DP camps, of waves of suicide? For here, in crystal form is still another result of the imperialist war: the most persecuted and murdered people of Europe, the former slave laborers, the political prisoners from the concentration camps and the Jews are today stranded on the Continent without hope or salvation. Here it is-the bright wonderful future which Churchill and Roosevelt promised, the fruit of imperialist war and capitalist society, the toll exacted by a society decadent to the point of barbarism.

Will the last pathetic remnant of European Jewry expire in the DP camps? Are the doors of the world to be closed to them in their last agony? No one who still. functions on the level of humanity, no one who still responds as a human being rather than a robot can fail to urge, with the Workers Party, that the doors of the United States, Palestine and whichever other country they wish to go to, be opened to the Jews of Europe.

IRVING HOWE.

Fourth International Notes

Trotskyists Active in Egyptian Struggle

CAIRO-While the Egyptian government is carrying on protracted negotiations with the British, the workers, peasants and students are taking the struggle for independence on to the

Minister of Justice Ahmed Kamel Moursi Pasha declared: "In order to bar the road effectively against communism and to protect the workers being swept by an extremist wave. the government must face the situation by amending the penal code." The bill he presented before Parliament for this purpose calls for five years' imprisonment and 50 to 10,000 pound fines for persons "receiving subsidies from or maintaining contact with foreign organizations with a propaganda aim." Meanwhile 1,000 persons have been arrested and four journals suppressed "to prevent the threat of a general strike."

In this struggle the Egyptian Trot-

skyists are playing an increasing and leading role.

On February 9, the day on which the police fired on demonstrations in Cairo and Alexandria, killing 27, the Trotskyists held a meeting in Cairo and issued their first leaflet. In this leaflet they called on the students to quit the bourgeois districts and to go where the workers are. The leaflet concluded with: "Students and workers! Unite as the specter of reaction haunts the country. You students alone cannot overcome the police. Go to the workers and you will find enough power to meet the police. Without a swift link with the workers our revolution will lose its popular basis. Don't appear before the Royal Palace but to the factories, to the workers, the true representatives of the people and thus encourage them to continue their heroic

This call met with immediate response, the students making the slogan, "Toward the Workers," their own. In Alexandria 3.000 students marched to the workers' districts,

where they were joined by 30,000 workers from textile factories. The police estimating the danger of such a situation fired on them and three students and two workers were killed and thirty injured. The Prime Minister, replying to a question in Parliament, justified the shooting of the students by saying: "Do you know what happened in Alexandria? Three thousand students went where the textile factories are and if the police had not taken exceptional measures our whole history would have been changed."

On the same day the police, infuriated by the activities of the Trotskyists, made a city-wide search, arresting three students and a worker who were distributing leaflets.

In Cairo also the students succeeded in joining forces with the workers and a Joint Committee of Students and Workers has been created on which the Trotskyists have a majority. It marked the beginning of a new era in the history of our movement in Egypt.-Reprinted from

the British Socialist Appeal. Books you Should Know -

DARKNESS AT NOON, by Arthur that lies very often serve more ade-Koestler, Modern Library, 95

Reviewed by ABE VICTOR

One can only welcome the appearance of Arthur Koestler's Darkness at Noon in the Modern Library edition. After five additional years of the Stalin régime, his novel is more interesting than ever as an analysis of the human element in the degeneration of the Russian state.

Those who read the novel in 1941 will recall the essentials of the story, which revolves about three characters: Rubashev, the Old Bolshevik, who confesses to crimes he could never have committed; Ivanov, an examiner of the "old school" who is himself liquidated for his "incorrect" handling of the star prisoner; and Gletkin, a Neanderthal Stalinist, humorless, stolid and skilled in the use of GPU torture methods.

Rubashev is arrested shortly after his return to the Soviet Union from a diplomatic mission. Having several times previously recanted and denounced the Russian Left Opposition, he is still suspect. Convinced by Ivanov's gentle methods that he has nothing to gain by holding out and "dying in silence," Rubashev decides once more to denounce the Opposition. Ivanov, however, is removed because of his "soft approach" and Gletkin takes over. Representative of the "hard school," Gletkin soon induces Rubashev to confess to attempts against Stalin's life and to collusion with foreign powers.

From the time that Rubashev is arrested until he is tortured and broken by Gletkin, he rationalizes his submission to the will of the Russian bureaucracy in a way which only someone as adept as Koestler could reproduce. If rationalization can be. said to have a certain beauty of form, its elements are developed to their ultimate by Koestler.

PERSONAL DEGENERATION

History, as perverted by bureaucratic cynicism, has taught Rubashev quately than the truth, because mankind is sluggish and has to be "led through the desert for forty years" prior to each ascent in its development. This journey through the desert is only achieved by whipping and coaxing, by terror and the creation of imaginary consolations.

Then follows the second stage in Rubashev's rationalization. He argues to himself: the extent to which a people may retain their freedom "depends upon the degree of their political maturity." The maturity of the masses can be determined by their ability to recognize where their interests lie. This, in turn, requires a certain understanding of historical processes. The ability of the masses to govern themselves is therefore in proportion to the degree to which they understand the historical process. Until they understand it, they cannot be permitted the "luxury" of democracy free from bureaucratic distortion.

What in the long run will be revealed to the Russian masses as having been true, they consider false today; so Rubashey reasons. He who will eventually be justified is today condemned to death because he is considered harmful to the state apparatus. It is only in the somewhat vague and distant future, Rubashev thinks, that men will discover whether or not one or another of their leaders has been right. In the meantime one who chooses to advance ideas and act on them must act on credit and hope that coming events will find him solvent.

Still there must be some basis upon which the present can gauge its understanding of the future. The followers of Stalin have recourse to faith, to an "axiomatic" conviction in the absolute infallibility of their leader.

GOOD, BUT NOT ENOUGH

Rubashev feels that his will to struggle against this authoritarian concept has all but vanished; he feels doomed and he surrenders. Ivanov, Gletkin and Rubashev rep-

resent three different reactions to the victory of Stalinism in Russia. Stolid acceptance of the powers that be; that is Gletkin and that is why Koestler refers to him as the Neanderthal man of the Stalin regime. Ivanov is conscious of the terrible dangers implied by the growth of bureaucratic power. But he is weak and he rationalizes his submission. This rationalization he transfers to Rubashev, who after gradual demoralization and a final taste of GPU torture is no longer the courageous oppositionist he was during the first years of the Stalin regime. Koestler does not include a portrait of those oppositionists who fought for their ideas to the very end.

Since the novel does not attempt any direct political analysis of the Stalinist corruption of the Russian revolution, one must seek the fine points of historical analysis elsewhere -particularly in the writings of Trotsky. For an understanding of a certain type of individual capitulator and his submission to Stalinism, however, Koestler's DARKNESS AT NOON is

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James M. Fenwick

THE RICH HAVE TROUBLES TOO

We revolutionary socialists are often accused of being biased, of being unable to see the capitalist's point of view. After all, we are often informed, the capitalists have their troubles too. And, really—they do.

If you are one of those soldiers or sailors who went through the recent war and, having seen what nightmarish cascades of rubble so much of Europe and the Far East were reduced to, break out in a sweat at night when you think of the horrors of an atomic war-don't worry. The capitalists are sweating too.

Of course they are not worrying about quite the same thing as you are. They have accepted the war itself. What they are mulling over is another problem which the underwater atom bomb test at Bikini revealed.

What is worrying them is the deadly radioactivity which is induced in the sea water, in the atomic cloud, and on the ships by the explosion.

THE BURNING PROBLEM

"... A new and difficult kind of morale must be built up to combat the invisible killer, radioactivity," says Hanson W. Baldwin in the New York Times.

"Crews doomed to slow death from exposure to lethal radioactivity are nevertheless able the first few days after exposure to continue normal duties. The seamen of tomorrow must be prepared to accept radioactivity as part of the hazards of their living and be ready to work and fight and save their ship even though they know they are doomed to slow death."

So you see it's not all skittles and beer for the

The interesting problem of the creation of "a new and difficult kind of morale" we leave to the generals, the admirals, and the Hanson W. Baldwins who have so cold-bloodedly revealed the type of world they are building for us and our

Our job is just as cold bloodedly to create a socialist morale which will bring a final end to war and change radioactivity from an atomic pestilence devastating whole peoples to the greatest liberating force which mankind has yet been able to apply to nature.

The September Issue of the NI

The September issue of The New International, devoted to a commemoration of Leon Trotsky, will be off the press next week. One of the greatest leaders of world socialism, Trotsky's career makes possible a many-sided treatment. Thus, among the articles devoted to his life and work are the following:

TROTSKY'S HERITAGE AND THE WORKERS PARTY By Ernest Erber

TROTSKY AND THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL By Albert Gates

A CRITICAL REVIEW OF THE NEW COURSE By Irving Howe

THE CHURCH QUESTION UNDER FAS-By Leon Trotsky

In addition to the above articles, the September issue carries the second part of A. Rudzienski's brilliant review of Poland, as well as James T. Farrel's, "The March of American Literature." Notes of the Month on price control, Poland, and the Paris Peace Conference complete one of the finest issues of the NI.

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The Polish Resistance Against Stalinist Rule

By A. RUDZIENSKI

saw was implanted in Poland after the bloody "liquidation" of the Warwere liquidated in bloody purges in against the new western frontier of Russia, the latter are either in the Russian prisons (Puzak, general sectoretary of the PPS—Polish Socialist cite will show us the gigantic Ther-Party—and vice premier of the under-ground government of Poland; Pay-dak assassinated by the GPU, etc.), or in emigration (Kwapinski, Ciokosz, Prager, etc.). The leadership of the government belongs to the ex-agents and officials of the GPU; Bierut-Bienkowski-Rutkowski, "president" of Poland; Radkiewicz, White Russian GPU official, now "minister" of interior; Gomulka, vice premier and secretarygeneral of the Polish Workers Party (Stalinist) a little-known leader of the

The PPS is represented by Osubka-Morawski, an obscure individual The socialization of industry and without a political past, appointed by the agrarian reform was in the pro-Stalin as leader of the PPS; Szwalbe, gram of the leftists and the anti-Nazi known before the war as an adherent of Pilsudski; Rusinek, an obscure union bureaucrat of no importance, etc. forms in the hands of the Stalinist Aside from the popular party of Mikolajczyk, there are in the government reactionaries of the stripe of Rzymowski, Chancellor, ex-adherent of Pilsudski, defender of the "pogrom" against the democratic opposition in 1930 in Brest-Litovsk; in the national council, St. Grabski, old leader of the National Democratic Party, the most right-wing in Poland, former servant of the Russian Czar; Kwiatkowski, Strasburger, Kirtiklis, Zeligowski, high dignitaries around the government, ex-leaders of the "Saneaja" of

The Polish people supported the government of national resistance, the government of the Warsaw insurrection, in spite of all its faults. When, through the machinations of Big Three imperialism, the government of Stalinist police puppets, accompanied by the old reactionaries, was imposed. a wave of violent indignation ran through the country. The new Stalinist government began its activities with the cruel persecution of the underground resistance and the remains of the Warsaw insurrection.

Neither the nationalization of industry nor the agrarian reform could calm this opposition, because the new government obeyed the interests of Russian imperialism and not the interests of the Polish people. Stalinist imperialism destroys the remainder of the bourgeoisie and the Polish latifundists, but not in the interest of the workers and peasants of Poland, but in the interest of the Russian bureaucracy. The "socialist" reforms of Stalinstruments for the exploitation, expropriation and colonial exploitation of the Polish people. The political terror and cruel persecution of all the oppositionists is only the consequence of this imperialist politics.

Hence, because the Lublin-Warsaw government governs Poland by means of Stalinist bayonets, two years passed without elections of any kind. Hence,

The Quisling government of War- proceeded to the grandiose fraud of , to reduce the country to the status of the "popular referendum" in Poland. a colony of "Holy Russia." The poputhe bloody "liquidation" of the War-saw insurrection in which the Nazis had the collaboration of the Stalinist of or against a unicameral parliament armies. The Lublin government was a not made up of the prominent leaders of or against the "nationalization" of of the old Communist Party (KPP), nor of the Socialist Party. The former rian reform"; (3) in favor of or The referendum was supposed to of or against the "nationalization" of industries and the "democratic agra-

> midorian fraud. The traditional position of the proletarian and peasant left wing in Poland was for the abolition of the Senate. But, in the conditions of the Stalinist dictatorship in Poland, the abolition of the Senate would tend to introduce a police-totalitarian dictatorship without any restraints or control. The national council of Poland is composed of figureheads appointed by the GPU who guard Russia's imperialist interests in Poland. The fraudulent plebiscite is to legalize this crime against the Polish people.

gram of the leftists and the anti-Nazi national resistance. But the same rebandits are converted into a reaction-

lar plebiscite can only legalize the robbery of the national Polish landed property, approve the slave status of the Polish peasant workers.

The Curzon line, which is identifled with the Molotov - Ribbentrop line, constitutes an international crime, a new partition of Poland once more perpetrated by Russian and German imperialism. The Oder line is a crime not only against Europe, but it makes of Poland a country on wheels, pushed from east to west and back again. Approving the Oder line, the "silent plebiscite" must not only approve the partition of Poland but the division of Europe into two imperialist spheres, thus rendering to international reaction incalculable

Under Catherine, Peter and Alexander, Poland knew "silent parliaments," which under the bayonets of the "soldateska" approved the partitions of Poland. Under Stalin, not only deputies, but the whole people must approve not only the partition, but must declare agreement with the STATUS ESCLAVORUM and the robbery of the national land; under Stalin, the "silent parliament" is not

"silent referendum."

According to official data, 68 per cent of the voters voted the first question affirmatively, that is, in favor of the government; 32 per cent against the government. The entire international press openly doubted these results. To better illustrate the fraud of electoral arithmetic, we record the figures of the Polish Diet:

		1920	1923	1928	1931*	
Right (National					
Démoci	rats and		158			
satellite	es)	142	126	37	62	
Bourgeo	is Center			1		
(Christ	ian Dem-	î .				
ocrats	and sat-					
ellites)		79	61	37	49	
Peasant	Parties.	121	122	90	48	
"Sanacja	" of Pil-					
sudski	*************	2.60		122	247	
Socialist	s (1919)	35	41	63	24	
Commu	nists		2	7	4	
*"The	Polish W	Jorke	r"-1	c. Gre	oss, p.	

134, Roy Publ., N. Y. ELECTORAL ABUSES

The opposition to the Stalinist régime of Poland embraced not only the traditional rightists and peasant parties, but also a large part of the worker and peasant left. It suffices to analyze the figures cited to understand the Stalinist fraud. The "socialist" reforms and the partition of the country

before holding the elections, they ary imperialist instrument and serve enough—it is necessary to have a could not in any case conquer the ma- Radkiewicz) surely got hold of these government and organized by its jority for Russian imperialism.

This majority is explained not only by the barbarous, totalitarian terror but by arithmetical juggling. According to the declarations of Mikolajczyk, thousands of leaders and activists of his parties had been seized, their meetings banned, their delegates expelled from the electoral colleges, their press censored.

The electoral abuses in the departments of Cracow, Pulawy, Silesia, Pomerania and Lublin, according to the same declaration, ARE ENOUGH TO SHOW THE OPPOSITION WAS IN THE MAJORITY. According to reports in the Polish press in America, in Warsaw, Cracow, etc., mountains of burned ballots were found; the government was not anxious enough to hide them. In some districts, according to Homer Biggart and English correspondents, the presidents of the electoral commissions threw out the ballots of the opposition, filling the urns with blank ballots, which, according to the rules of the referendum, were considered as affirmative votes.

Furthermore, "anyone who wished" could vote "publicly." Of course, all the public employees, who now constitute the majority of the voters in the city, voted thus. The "secret" voters were led to a special compartment. Of course, the "Bezpieka" (GPU of

surnames. In Praga the school children found mountains of torn ballots.

The objections of Mikolajczyk have not been heeded and the referendum will not be repeated in any province. The Stalinist dictatorship needs the legalization of the "silent referendum" and cannot permit itself the luxury of repeating it.

WHO IS THE OPPOSITION

In spite of all frauds and all pressure, terror and "electoral arithmetic," the quislings have to admit the considerable opposition of 32 per cent, whose existence is a defeat for the Stalinists. In Poland, since they cannot accomplish "unanimous" elections as in Russia, it is necessary to admit the opposition even if reduced by GPU arithmetic.

Now the GPU is contriving documents in order to accuse the whole Polish opposition of "Nazism" which is supposed to be headed by the Nazis of Gdansk (Danzig), and also by General Anders and the London government. A series of trumped-up lawsuits will prepare the way to declare the opposition and the peasant party of Mikolaiczyk "Nazi" and to eliminate it from the elections, already postponed more than two years. The anti-Semitic pogroms, tolerated by the lish people.

agents, also serve this purpose.

In reality, the opposition in Poland is composed of all political colors from the traditional right and "Sanacja" of Pilsudski, through the Peasant Party, down to the peasant and proletarian left. The strikes in Silesia and Pomerania, the cynical resolutions of the "unions" criticizing the workers' strikes, the resistance of the peasants against the requisitioning of grain by the government, constitute the major proof of our affirmation. It may be added that the reactionary circles, ex-bourgeois and agrarian, try to find employment in the new privileged caste and to reconcile themselves to the Stalinist bureaucracy (Prince Radziwill as chief of protocol in the "Communist" government of Warsaw and tens of thousands of other reactionaries).

The Trotskyist and socialist proletarian opposition which, cruelly persecuted, fights underground, the democratic opposition of the peasants, the elementary and organized opposition of the resistance, deserve the full support of the international proletariat in its fight for the socialist revolution of Poland, which at the same time will be national liberation for the Po-

The Mushroom Growth of Socialist Sentiment in Japan

In the Land of the Emperor Hirohito and Emperor Douglas

By WILLIAM BRAD

"If a general election were held tomorrow it might produce a Socialist Japan.... It is increasingly evident that discontent is growing and a vast number of Japanese, who do not want to see a revival of totalitarianism either from the right or the left are finding an answer

These are some of the conclusions reported by the New York Times of a popular poll conducted by the Tokyo newspaper Asahi. The facts themselves prove that even these conclusions are in some respects conservative. The poll shows that the Social Democratic Party, which won 93 seats in the elections last April. now has the support of 40 per cent of the general population, the bulk of it from the working class of the large cities. In the April balloting the Social Democrats received only 18 per cent of the total votes cast.

The Stalinists, who received 3.2 per cent of the votes in April do not show any appreciable rise in popularity. This is a fact in spite of an intensive propaganda barrage during the past three months which they have been able to produce through their temporary contrel of several of Tokyo's largest dailies. In addition the Communists have received substantial aid of all kinds from the over-sized Russian mission to the Allied Council in Tokyo. A mission which, incidentally, operates free of charge to the Russian government by simply drawing all its expenses out of "future reparations."

THE YOSHIDA REGIME

The present government, headed by Shigeru Yoshida, is in general disrepute. The Asahi poll indicates 67 per cent "either opposed or cool" toward it. And no wonder. This government is a political cocktail of all the old reactionary and conservative elements, united under the benign protection of the court of the Emperor. And Hirohito, in turn, continues to rule by the tolerant dispensation and blessing of General MacArthur.

The "Liberal" and "Progressive" parties are the names of the parliamentary groups supporting the Yoshida government in the Diet (congress). But these are merely the "MacArthur era" labels for the same

parties that operated throughout the 1920's and 1930's and who paved the way for Tojo's military dictatorship and the war. Moreover, it is today understood, as then, that these parties are the direct tools of the Zaibatsu, the four capitalist ruling families of Japan. They were and are corrupt tools of the Mitsui and Mitsubishi. Today they are not even good for this purpose because they aim primarily to please MacArthur, to become his quislings in the government and thus to salvage the futures of the big monopolists.

The first lesson of the Asahi poll is that the masses have already seen through the phony labels of "Progressive" and "Liberal." Sixty-seven per cent turned against the government of these parties because it is not their government. What they next have to recognize is that this government was forced upon them and exists only through the support of MacArthur.

Yoshida and his regime have been incapable of producing any program for the present crisis of this warruined land. One figure will illustrate its failure sufficiently: The total of all production is estimated at eleven per cent of the pre-war level; which is a two per cent increase since April. A brilliant accomplishment indeed! Two million Japanese are completely destitute. Hundreds of thousands sleep nightly in railroad stations or in the open street, while construction of new homes has hardly begun.

To the pressing problem of inflation Yoshida replies with some fancy financial manipulation of recalling the old yen and issuing a new, revalued yen. These magicians' tricks caused great hardships. For days there was no money at all available for even the most essential purchases. And only a few months later the inflation has overtaken the worst figures of the old yen and is more rampant than ever.

CAPITALIST BANKRUPTCY

These failures to solve the pressing problems of food, housing, employment and inflation are reflected in Asahi's poll. But these failures are not only the incapacities of the Yoshida regime. They represent the inability of the entire ruling class to organize a national

program. Yoshida is the front for the Zaibatsu, the Privy Councillors who represent the landlord-feudal elements, and the solid fascist-minded core around the throne and the hated bureaucracy. Not one of these elements can formulate a solution to the national crisis. Their sole desire, and that has been the core of Yoshida's program, is to preserve themselves. They hope, jointly with the Americans, to continue to rule over their 72

The basic fact of Japanese national life today is this inability of the Japanese ruling class to re-establish an independent capitalist state. It seeks only submission. The ruling class is driven to this for many reasons, the chief one being that Japanese capitalist cannot survive as a vital force, in fact cannot perform the most elementary function of an industrial society, that is to produce, without an empire. The fatal flaws of the economy, the shortages of capital, raw materials and efficient skills were at least partially compensated by empire. That was the drive to war. Today, stripped bare, this capitalism is revealed as the spindly-legged parasitic monstrosity it indeed is!

The second lesson of the Asahi poll is that the Japanese working class no longer has any faith in capitalism's ability to survive as an independent force, capable of re-establishing an independent state or of organizing production and economy. This August 14, one year after V-J Day, despite all the assistance of MacArthur, Japanese capitalism and its ruling classes are in open disrepute. In this sense, one basic aim of American occupation has already failed.

The working class is daily a more thoroughly organd force, though it is still in its early stages. after the end of the war there are over two million organized trade unionists in over 4000 unions. Most of these unions are as yet local and independent. The rapid mushroom-growth of workers' organizations has for the moment outstripped the available organizing ability with which to unify the movement. Also the Social-Democratic party has been hesitant and has failed to develop such a unifying program. The tactics developed by these young organizations have been most advanced and efficacious. Most famous by now is that of workers occupation of the factory, ousting the management and organizing production through democratically elected committees. This strike strategy has proven extremely effective and has been fairly widely used and understood. After the settlement of one of these strikes, the reinstated manager reluctantly admitted "the workers had done some things better on their own than when management was around.'

TOWARD WORKERS' RULE

The meaning of workers' control and operation of factories has been understood. And the lessons have been drawn. For the working class is the only class that has begun to develop a program, to indicate a solution. And this is the third meaning of the Asahi poll: The demand for nationalization of industry and banks is more and more popular and today is supported by probably a majority of the working class. The workers alone have given vigorous, militant leadership, have displayed the creative energy and consciousness of faith in their future.

These struggles have only just begun. The working class has yet to become a cohesive national force; it has yet to produce a party which will boldly articulate and organize the struggle. It has yet to break from the deceptive, cautious, kow-towing leadership of the Social-Democrats. Above all, it has yet to begin the struggle against MacArthur and American military domination.

The indications are evident of increasing awareness that MacArthur and his army are not liberators but props under a hated and collapsing regime of failure. It is not yet widely understood, nor related to the failure of the Japanese ruling class. Perhaps a joke will better illustrate the molecular process of formation of conscious ideas than do statistics. There is a joke current in Tokyo that "all that has happened (since V-J Day) is that the Japanese now have two emperors instead of one, Emporer Douglas and Emperor Hirehito.

American workers can best celebrate V-J Day by assisting their fellow Japanese workers in demanding the recall of all American troops. Bring the troops back home. Put an end to the American military dictatorship. Let the Japanese develop their own rule. Let the growing socialist movement take control and establish a true

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

TROTSKYIST UNITY AND THE NATURE OF THE PARTY - III

A Discussion to Prevent Unity

Several questions present themselves in connection with the list of subjects for discussion. Do not the leaders of the SWP know the position of the WP on the various questions enumerated by them for discussion? If not what kind of revolutionaries are these who pretend to lead a revolutionary political party? If they know the position of the WP on the various subjects do they expect to hold a real discussion, in the sense of trying to persuade the WP comrades that they are wrong? And suppose they do not succeed in that task? Are they not able, as political leaders to state beforehand, on the basis of their knowledge of the WP program, whether or not the differences permit membership in one party?

And if the "discussion" is for the purpose of acquainting the SWP members with the program of the WP, how does it happen, as asked by Max Shachtman, that the members were and are all opposed to unity? Are they opposed to it because they are ignorant of the WP program?

If one considers the list of questions it becomes clear even to an inexperienced person that the "discussion" is to be held not for the purpose of arriving at an honest decision as to whether unity is possible or desirable but solely for the purpose of giving a political cover to an unpolitical rejection

I quote from a statement by the Minority, dealing with the list of questions to be discussed. "The questions listed by the PC for discussion include all subjects upon which there is or may possibly be some differences with the WP. From the point of view of a discussion on unity they are absurd; but from the point of view of confusing an inexperienced membership and killing the possibility of unity the questions listed for "discussion" were formulated by "clever" people who see in "clever" maneuvering a solution for the problem opposition to unity....

"Undoubtedly the dialecticians of the PC will prove that unity is impossible by citing the law of quantity changing into quality. One or two differences, we shall be told, may not be a bar to unity, but fifteen differences create a quali-

"What other purpose than the one mentioned above can a list of questions have that would fight the battle of 1940 all over again; that asks for a discussion on the methods, principles and philosophy of Marxism; that raises such a silly subject for discussion as the attitude of the WP to the Young Peoples Socialist League; that wants to discuss subjects that are part of history (India and China during the war); that wants to revive a discussion on Russia...?

"Honest and serious revolutionists confronted with the question of unity with another organization would take the trouble, once the question was raised, to find out the basic program of the opponent party with which unity was proposed; would follow the agitational press of that party to see what its position is on the basic questions of the day; to decide whether the differences that exist are or are not compatible with membership in one party; they would find out whether the membership of the opponent party are willing to abide by the decisions of the majority; honest and serious revolutionists would propose a period of cooperation to decide whether unity will be followed by harmony in action....

"From the point of view of unity the attitude of the Workers Party to the war waged by the United States is of infinitely greater importance than its attitude to China. But the former question is not raised in the list of questions. From the point of view of unity the position of the Workers Party on the no-strike pledge is a thousand times more im-

of preventing unity without giving their real reasons for portant than its attitude to the YPSL but that is not mentioned in the list of questions."

> If the coming convention of the SWP is not asked to decide that unity at present is not feasible because there are too many differences, it will be only because we have succeeded in exposing Cannon's petty maneuver. It is difficult, however, to find what else he can do-except to state that the Minority and the WP leaders were not honest in proposing unity and accuse those of us who are sincerely for unity of using the question of unity as a maneuver for a split.

> Conscious of the dishonesty which accompanied every one of their steps connected with their maneuvers against unity, the leaders of the Majority decided to smear the leaders of the Minority and of the WP as dishonest. They discovered that Max Shachtman had written some letters to me. One would imagine from the stir created that they found the letters in my coat pocket and not in the Bulletin of the Workers Party, a magazine for discussion of party problems available to non-party members as well as to party members. In the SWP there is published an internal party bulletin which is marked in bold letters INTERNAL, and in smaller letters "for party members only." The leaders of the WP on the other hand, very properly consider that a revolutionary party as part of the working class can have no political secrets from the working class.

> In these letters, Shachtman discussed with me the policy which he thought should be followed by the Minority of the SWP. On the basis of the absolutely correct premise that Cannon would never permit unity at the present relative strength of the two parties, he urged that we leave the party because it would be far more gainful to the revolutionary movement. The letters clearly indicate that Shachtman and the other comrades of the WP were seriously and sincerely

for unity but that they realized that unity was not to be achieved because of the opposition of Cannon.

With great glee Cannon and his dutiful hand-raisers pounced upon the letters; they printed them in their secret bulletin. For the first time since the split Shachtman had something published in the SWP press. The leaders of the SWP launched an attack on Goldman and Morrow as initiators of unity proposals for the purpose of creating a split. Of course Cannon could easily frustrate such a purpose by accepting unity, but that did not occur to him.

We challenge anyone to read Shachtman's letters and find a single sentence which would prove the absolutely unfounded charge that the proposal for unity was the result of a conspiracy between the Minority and WP leaders to create a split in the SWP.

Study the record made by the various groups on the question of unity and you cannot help but conclude that the Minority and the WP sincerely accepted unity whereas the Cannonite clique, in a thoroughly dishonest manner, sabotaged unity. The record of the Cannonites is a record of petty maneuverers who fear to meet in intellectual conflict a large group of independent revolutionists. In the statement from which I already quoted we said:

"It is tragic enough to see that leaders of a revolutionary party insist on continuing a split which necessarily is detrimental to the movement.

"But what is doubly tragic is that in a movement founded by a genius who is the very incarnation of intellectual integrity, a leadership relies not on an honest presentation of a position but on petty, dishonest maneuvers calculated only to fool the membership.

"It is clear that a desire to build a monolithic party goes hand in hand with political dishonesty."

(To be continued)

Where Is The Ex-GI's Dream Of the Future?

By CHARLES STEWART

(A 15-minute speech delivered on the 1946 elections) One year after V-J Day the veteran finds himself in the glamorous new world he was promised. The millions discharged from the armed forces have already had a sizable amount of experience.

This experience has been one of extremely bitter disappointment. It is true that, unlike the vets of World War I, they went in without patriotic fervor. But many of them, having given a good part of their lives (some as many as five years) to the mess, torn from families and friends, began to believe a bit in the glowing promises of the post-war world.

A fellow had to live on pretty dreams in fox-holes and on watch on cold lonely nights at sea-especially when these dreams were fed him as gospel truth by the official and unofficial propaganda agencies of the gov-

ANTI-LABOR CAMPAIGN FAILED

It was all part of a carefully staged game. First they told the vet as a new draftee that he was chosen as the cream of American manhood, selected because he wasn't a yellow draft-dodging 4F who was pulling down a hundred bucks a week in defense plants. Later, overseas he was given to understand that the miners on strike were just as bad as the German and the Japanese enemies, stabbing the soldier in the back. The campaign reached its lowest point in the flood of rumors of how war-workers were stealing GI wives and sweethearts. Running through the whole barrage like a recurrent musical theme was the chant-"Just wait till the boys come back-nothing will be good enough for

This campaign to divide the worker at home from the soldier at the front didn't succeed. The first crack in the rosy picture came when GIs all over the worldin Europe and in the Pacific-shouted in a million voices that they had enough of the stinking mess; the war was over-they wanted to go home! So powerful were these demobilization demonstrations that all the gold braid and brass hats couldn't prevent them from occurring. The censorship of enlisted men's papers like "Stars and Stripes" also started the GIs thinking.

When they came home, the vets weren't taken in by the phony promises of the big corporations and government officials. There was no movement of the vets to smash the radical organizations and unions. On the contrary, the vets helped the strikers in the GM and Western Union strikes. The GIs took all those promises at their face value-if they didn't pay off they were no

These 14 million GIs expected no presents but they did expect jobs at decent pay, good housing, and the chance for an education. They felt that these weren't extravagant claims. Indeed, wasn't that what they were promised? Didn't most of them lose money by giving up their jobs aside from the lack of home and family life? Weren't some of them going to school when drafted? Was it too much to ask for a decent house after years on K-rations in fox-holes?

HAT THE VETS NEED

The mustering out pay of two or three hundred dollars went in most cases for shoddy civilian clothes at terrific prices. When they came back to the old place for the job it was either taking the job away from an old timer because of cut-backs or no jobs at all. The former choice was the vicious scheme of veterans' super-seniority—a "patriotic" gesture on the part of the boss to split the veteran from the worker.

The next thing for the vet to do was to go to the USES-and the offers were mainly under \$30 a week. Of course, this was hardly a living wage for a single vet, let alone one who was married. Many of the vets in disgust joined the "52-20" club rather than sweat in a job for a little more. Why shouldn't the vets get jobs at union wages or else adjustment allowances which are the equivalent of living wages?

The growth of the 52-20 club is viewed with alarm by the politicians. "Take any job now," they shout. 'Jobs will be scarce soon." The jobs will be scarce when the bottom drops out of this inflationary boom for the bosses. But the vet is thinking about the stupidity of it all. Everybody has a job for war. Everything is done for the war-money, priorities, requisitions, plants, clothing. How about peace? Is it any wonder that the vet is getting fed up with all the hooey; he wants decent jobs at decent pay without cutting into the rights of the old workers.

Many GIs tried to take advantage of the loan provisions of the GI Bill of Rights to get a home or to start a business, but the government takes no risks in helping vets live in decent homes; no loans because the prices are too high! What then, sit back and wait? How about taking over the boarded up mansions, requisitioning hotels, condemning property for GI resale—things like that were done during the war. But now the government must "respect" property rights! What a laugh!

A War Department report made after V-J Day disclosed that 84 per cent of the vets can't afford to buy or rent at more than \$50 a month. This works out to a \$6,000 house. The average house being constructed now costs almost \$10,000—so veterans aren't getting them. The vets are making the best of it, doubling up with other families and in-laws, managing in abandoned buses or trolley cars.... American style for fox-

THE VET IS THINKING

More than two million ex GIs are in the education and training program. The schools are working three shifts-facilities are inadequate and teachers are underpaid. The subsistence allowed is terribly insufficient -most vets who are married or have dependents can't afford to take advantage of the education provisions. Theoretically every vet gets the chance, but the workerveteran actually never gets the opportunity.

Even Veteran Administrator General Omar Bradley has finally opened his mouth about the widespread abuse of "on the job training" and apprenticeship. The meager subsistence allowance, getting less and less in value every day in the face of rising living costs, is an excuse to cut wages of vets and to undermine union standards. It is a cheap labor racket that the bosses are putting over, and the clumsy VA machinery will never clean up the mess. Why not hike up subsistence and let the unions control on the job training and apprentice-

The veteran who is a Negro, or a Nisei, or a Mexican realizes that his return to the good old USA means Jim Crow, lynching, discrimination in schools and jobs.

Is it any wonder then that the veteran is thinking things out; his disgust with things as they are is growing. This discontent needs to be channelized in the direction of the labor movement and socialism. The fascist hirelings of the bosses, Gerald Smiths, the Ku Klux Klan, and Joe McWilliams are going after the vet. The place of the veteran is with the labor movement; the place of the worker-veteran is in his union as well as in the vet organization that is pro-labor; the place of the worker-veteran is with the Workers Party in the battle for a really new world-Socialism!

Answering a Frequently Asked Question:

What Was Trotsky's Goal In Russia?

By SUSAN GREEN

Very often we hear the idea expressed that Russia would have been no different today if Trotsky had remained at the helm of the State instead of Stalin. This ideas is expressed in several forms. One hears it thus: "Trotsky would be the same as Stalin" -a positive statement made by people who lost faith in Socialism and have become cynical. These people seek to color the world with the brush of their own cynicism to make it appear that there is no such thing as a true revolutionary Socialist.

However, there are workers moving closer to Socialism, not away from it, who honestly seek information and understanding. They wonder whether Trotsky in power would have been different from Stalin. They wonder because they want to be sure where they are going. They do not want to engage in a revolutionary fight against capitalism only to find themselves in a Stalinist type of prison-society. It is for these workers moving toward socialism that this article is written.

Let me say at the beginning that this article is limited in scope. It will just give one illustration of the difference in Trotsky's conceptions and those held by Stalin. The illustration pertains to the ideas of these two men on how to increase the interest of the workers in their own work, in production as a whole, in economic planning. This is a most important problem; being nothing less than the question of how to draw every worker into an active, interested, efficient participation in the construction of Socialism after power has been wrested from the capitalists.

EXPLOITING THE WORKER

How Stalin solved this all-important matter is fairly well known. His was not a Socialist solution, but one that served the needs of the new ruling class, the bureaucrats. Thus Stalin used falsification, force, intimidation, and terror against the workers. All political and economic democratic rights were taken away from them. They became veritable slaves of the new regime.

The main ruse for raising the pro-

set to work under the most ideal conditions. For example, all auxiliary work in production is done for them. Naturally they make a production record. This record then is made the norm for the whole plant and for all workers notwithstanding the real conditions of the plant. If workers cannot make the grade, they simply suffer wage reductions.

This is how bureaucrats "solved" the problem of production. They add new wrinkles to exploitation, such as labor cards which enable plant superintendents to blacklist workers. It also prevents workers from leaving one job for another like serfs tied to the

Another Stalinist method of dealing with the production problem are socalled trials for absenteeism and tardiness. If the biased judges of the secret police find a worker was not ill enough to warrant absence or tardiness, the punishment is a sentence at slave labor. This last is, of course, the crowning infamy of Stalinism, and nobody knows exactly how many tens of millions of prisoners of the secret police toil as slaves for the Stalinist

Thus have Stalin's conceptions been put into practice.

In contrast, Trotsky was deeply concerned with the problem of drawing every worker into active, interested and efficient participation in the construction of Socialism, not only by increasing his productivity but also by raising his standard of living, his cultural level and his understanding of what kind of a society he was working for. Trotsky spoke and wrote on this subject many times. In this article I want to take up some of his ideas on this subject as he presented them in his book "Problems of Life," in the first chapter entitled "Not by Politics Alone Does Man Thrive."

WHAT SHOULD BE DONE

In the first place, Trotsky's aim was to strengthen the workers as the ruling class, not to subjugate them once more. "The problem in Russia at the present moment is the constructiveness of the working class. For the first | familiar with the technical conditions ductivity of labor in Stalinist Russia time in history the working class is is called Stakhanovism. A group of doing constructive work for its own

above-average workers in a plant are benefit and on its own plan.... All our political, industrial and technical unseparate and minor problems...are parts of the general plan which will enable the ruling working class to overcome its economic weakness and lack of culture." This is Trotsky's basic approach: the advancement of the workers in their own behalf, for their own benefit.

> He was concerned about the workmen who did not belong to the Communist Party, before its degeneration. when it was still a living, active party of the Russian working class. These "unpolitical" workers were on the side of the revolution. Some had fought on different fronts in the civil war; some supplied the Red Army with the needed munitions. But in peacetime they were primarily interested in their particular jobs. Trotsky showed his great respect for these workers, even though they did not join the party and were tired of political speeches. He wanted to reach these workers, whose primary interest was in their jobs, on their own level and to show them that their job was contributing to the building of

Trotsky made several suggestions to accomplish this end. He emphasized the need for a series of new handbooks that could be given to the locksmith, the cabinet maker, the electrician, to appraise him of the up-to-date technics in his own trade. But these workers must also learn that the then existing poverty of the whole country affected their own jobs, and that the great possibilities under Socialist planning could be realized only by common effort. Trotsky did not conceive these handbooks as dry, routine stuff to be written by hacks removed from the problems of the workers who were supposed to read the handbooks. He saw them as living, educational material that would increase the technical knowledge, skill and productivity of the worker, and also deepen in him the feeling of community in the larger economic task. The authors of these handbooks, according to Trotsky's plan, would be three in number for each: a specialist in the trade, a skilled worker in the particular trade, and a Markist with

derstanding and knowledge.

These details are all very significant. They color the whole approach. No fraud, force, intimidation, terror; but education, deep and true, to raise the cultural level of the worker and thereby his worth as a producer, and thereby his stature as a responsible member of the proletarian ruling

Trotsky also felt the responsibility of the Soviet Government to the workers: "The most telling political arguments, however, for the workers of that type are our practical achievements in industrial matters. . . . Again, Trotsky did not consider dissatisfaction with conditions in the workshop and factory a matter for the secret police to handle, but a matter for earnest attention and correction. Nor did he place within the jurisdiction of the secret police the illfeeling that workers harbor toward those in authority who "get off with idle talk." Trotsky's ideal was a completely give-and-take relationship between the workers and those whom they had chosen as leaders.

A NEW RULING CLASS

One final point as revealed in this

But Trotsky didn't carry these ideas out. That is true. Could he have carried them out in Russia as it developed after 1917? That is difficult to say. These ideas are Socialist ideas and could have been put into practice only if the forces for Socialism had advanced in Russia instead of the counter-revolution that triumphed. The crux of the situation then was that the European revolution did not succeed and did not come to the aid of backward Russia. Thus the exhaustion of war and civil war and the backwardness and the poverty, gave stimulus to the self-seekers to grab what little there was, at the expense

one chapter of this little book. Trotsky aimed at the closest cooperation between the new generation, developing into qualified, devoted Socialist workers, and "the old men" skilled in their trades. The latter, though outside the party, would yet help build Socialism in all ways, including training the young.

Paris Postal Strikers Resist Stalinists

by JACK ARMOR

PARIS, August 3.-The postal strike continues to halt postal, telephone and telegraph communications in all France. Conceived in maneuver by the Communist Party-controlled leadership of the PTT, the strike scheduled, like other Stalinist-led strikes, to last only 10 hours on Tuesday, July 30, kept right on going. Refusing to be victims of CP political maneuvering, the postal workers decided to continue the strike. The stoppage was not complete, but some 80 per cent of postal workers had ceased work. Only communications for the "peace" conference were permitted to go through. Post boxes throughout Paris are loaded with mail since Tuesday, July 30. For five days the postal workers struck against the capialist govern-

(Continued on page 6)

per capita income of any Southern

state: \$929 and \$884, respectively.

This was for a peak war year. For

1940, the per capita income of the

country as a whole was \$575. But for

this same year it was only \$268 for

Alabama, about the same for Ar-

kansas, \$202 for Mississippi, \$286 for

South Carolina, and \$413 for Texas.

course, deceptive, in that they are

only a sort of idealized or hypotheti-

cal distribution of the total income

payments. But they are extremely

valuable for our purposes in that

they show the total amount of money

available for wages, salaries, divi-

dends and interest. The figures show

that the total amount available for

distribution in the South is complete-

ly inadequate for even half-way hu-

man existence. At present the South

is only a pretentious slum area. Any

state with a per capita total of about

\$300 for income distribution, includ-

ing dividends and interest, is in a

condition in which starvation wages

for all will prevail and semi-slavery

and lynching for Negroes will be the

This only underscores again the

problem before the Northern labor

movement as it moves into the South.

In another article I will deal further

with the absentee ownership in

Southern capitalism, showing how

Northern and Southern capitalism

are related, who are the Southern

leaders of this unified capitalism and

how Northern capitalists support the

Southern political, economic and so-

Per capita income statistics are, of

Dixie--

fused to confer with strike leaders until the strike is called off. It is to be terminated tomorrow (August 4th) at 4 a.m. and Schuman has promised to meet its leaders. But at strike headquarters in Paris the leaders said the strike would continue if the workers' demands were not met.

The principal demand is for a raise in pay of government postal, telegraph and telephone employees who had been neglected in the general July pay boost. Where in 1914 the postal employees received a little more than gasmen, today the postman gets 4,500 francs a month, while the gasman (whose company has been nationalized) now gets nearly 9,000 francs a month. From top paid government employees in 1914 the postal employees have slid down to worst paid in 1946. When the 10-hour stoppage of July 30 produced nothing but some MRP Finance Minister Schuman re- Stalinist political muscle-flexing, the rightwing socialists rpresenting the

workers accused the Stalinist chiefs of having defended weakly in the coalition government the pay de-

Faced with a loss of authority though not of control which they gained at the general membership meeting of Limoges in September. 1945, the Stalinist heads of the Postal Union called the strike "unauthorized," assailed "undisciplined elements" and maintained the 10-hour strike of July 30 had gained its objectives of speeding up government hearings on wage demands. The Stalinists called the continuation of the strike a political provocation and said that the strike leaders are "in the service of fascism."

But the strikers are used to Stalinist political shenanigans. Leftwing elements, middle of the roaders and even various departments of France joined forces against the Stalinist tops and their abuse of the strike weapon, and set up the National Strike Committee. First it made clear it was not splitting from the Postal Union or from the national CGT ("We made the strike in the CGT ... and we shall remain in the CGT no matter what happens").

Though not a basic industry, the postal system offered an opportunity -the first on a national scale-for a leftwing revolt to smash at Stalinist domination of the unions. It gave the first real challenge to the Stalinist forces since last September.

Of considerable import too is the fact that many militants in the CP's ranks participated in the strike against party discipline. So did Christian-Socialists against MRP insistence on calling off the strike. The "bottoms" were united against the "tops."

The Veterans **Enter Politics** In Tennessee

BY RVING HOWE

For several weeks now public attention has been focused on the little town of Athens, Tennessee (population, 6,700) which is the seat of McMinn County, There, for the first time since the end of the war, veterans worked together as a political group, organizing the GI Non-Partisan League to drive out the local wing of the corrupt Democratic Party machine headed by Boss Crump. In their ranks were former Democrats and Republicans-McMinn County is a border area which oscillates between the two major parties-who campaigned on the issue of "clean government."

They won. That is, they got a majority of the votes. The local machine, which had always worked on the maxim that it was more important to count votes than to get them, then proceeded to steal the ballot-boxes and organize its "own count" in the county courthouse. Since the GI Non-Partisan League knew what that meant, it called upon its friends to take up arms. They forced their way into the courthouse, after a big display of gunfire, and the Crump machine acknowledged that the GIs had won.

This incident is of considerable importance on the American political scene. Whether or not it is part of a trend or merely an isolated incident, several questions of interest are raised:

1) Were These Ex-GIs Merely Organizing to Get Political Jobs?

It seems most unlikely that their only or even major motive was a raid on the county treasury. No doubt that motive was present to some extent, as it always is, but surely if the leaders of the veterans were interested only in featherbedding themselves, they could have made deals with one or another of the political machines. Such conservative observers as Harold Hinton. the N. Y. Times correspondent who rushed to Tennessee, and Perry Jennings, Nashville editor, report that the issue of clean and honest local government was taken quite seriously by these former soldiers who, in their years of army misery, had spent many hours brooding about political conditions back home.

As soon as they were elected, the veterans announced they would abolish the former "fee system" of paying county officials-by which Crump's men made as much as \$25,000 a year!-and would impose a ceiling of \$5,000 for county salaries. It is clear that there is a genuine element of democratic idealism in the action of these veterans.

2) What Is the Program and Perspective of the GI Non-Partisan League?

There is little information on this point; probably because there is little to be had. The N. Y. Times correspondent, Harold Hinton, writes that many of the veterans to whom he talked seemed to be nursing a vague sense of grievance accumulated over their years in the army. Yet, beyond a few words about kicking out the crooks, there was little that they could tell him

What, to raise one crucial question, is their attitude toward Negroes? True, McMinn County has fewer Negroes than most Southern areas, but the question is still vital as an index of the political development of these

And, secondly, what is their attitude toward labor? Again, McMinn County is, because of its agricultural nature, devoid of trade unions but the question is also important as an index.

We do not mean to suggest that if these veterans don't have exactly the opinions on these questions we should like them to have, that they should be condemned out of hand. But it is necessary to point out that there are only three courses open to them: they can fritter away their energies in local politics in which case they will sooner or later develop into a routine political machine different from the Crump machine in perhaps being less corrupt; they can look toward the labor movement, the CIO's Operation Dixie drive, as a base and ally; they can become part of a veterans movement that is generally pro-labor and democratic in its orientation; or they can be deflected into some kind of reactionary nationalistic veterans outfit such as the native fascists are trying to organize.

3) What Is the Future of Veterans in American Politics?

The Athens incident raises the general question of the future political activity of America's veterans. Before the war's end, there was much talk about how veterans would come back to run the country. The veterans were then seen as a threat to the labor movement which they had been taught to hate in the army. Thus far these dire prophecies have not been realized. There has been more pro-union activity reported among veterans than anti-union activity. In many strikes veterans have marched in the front ranks of picket lines and have fought with heroism against police attempts to smash

But the full story has not yet been told. The danger of veterans being deflected into reactionary outfits remains. Until now that danger has been minimized because the temporary post-war boom has made it possible for a good many of them to get jobs (even if poor jobs). The test will come when conditions get a little worse, when a social crisis develops in the country's economy and the veterans find themselves on the streets, jobless and dismayed.

It is then that narrow appeals will be made to them by the G. L. K. Smiths and the other fascist rabble. It is then that attempts will be made to organize veterans to "take over the country." One thing is certain: any exclusively veterans movement, pretending to a political and social independence which it cannot really obtain, must sooner or later become reactionary. Particularly sensitive as some are to extreme patriotic appeals, and disoriented as they will be on finding themselves helpless in the post-war world, veterans will be prey to the appeals of reaction—unless the labor movement is in there pitching, and pitching fast and hard.

An opportunity has already been muffed. The CIO's Operation Dixie and its Political Action Committee have had nothing to say to the GI Non-Partisan League of Tennessee. We think that the CIO has here shown a lack of imagination; we think it should have made a bold appeal to work together with these veterans, even if only for limited objectives and on a limited basis.

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JOIN NOW WITH THIS MONTH'S SELECTION THE LEAGUE OF FRIGHTENED PHILISTINES

By JAMES T. FARRELL

A recent collection of some of the best critical essays of Mr. Farrell. The articles are short and pointed and written in the same fluid style as the author's better known works of fiction.

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demand for colonial freedom

One-Tenth of the Nation By J. R. Johnson

(Continued from page 1)

But in the North also, in their own way, the authorities are encouraging Negro persecution.

For months now a gang of hoodlums in Greenwich Village has been molesting Negroes who live or work there. Members of the gang are known. Complaints have been made to the Mayor and Commissioner Wallander. Nothing has been done. A deputation led by Walter White of the NAACP visited the Mayor. He complained about "Communist" agitation. The hoodlums are not fools. They read this and become bolder.

Another more subtle piece of anti-Negro action has occurred in regard to a Long Island murder case. The grand jury has returned an indictment against Ward Beecher Caraway, a 23 - year - old Negro veteran, for first-degree murder only. Now it will be remembered that this case, in-

volving a wealthy Long Island fam- state police in Athens, Ala., transily, created a great stir, and a whole wagonload of detectives were turned

When Caraway was arrested he denied the charge of rape. But the police gave out the charge to the press and flaring headlines accused the Negro and (by implication) smeared the Negro population. Now suddenly the charge is dropped. Why?

It is rumored that Miss Logan and Caraway were previously acquainted and were friendly overseas. This obviously throws a different light on the whole case.

But now the police step in. They deplore the idea that any Negro organizations should intervene in the case. This, they say, would only focus attention on the race angle. They, on the other hand, claim to be treating Caraway as an individual. It is the technique of the FBI and the

ferred to Long Island. Tell Burnham "to get to hell out."

This is NOT only a question of Negroes. These are the symptoms of a social order diseased, a population restless and dissatisfied and a government which does not bestir itself when social tensions work themselves out at the expense of a persecuted minority. The labor movement

If this violence continues unchecked and the apathy and connivance of the government continues, then a pattern is being set and a foundation laid for violence against organized labor itself.

We have repeatedly seen this in countries abroad. And the U.S. is no exception to the law that the only consistent guardians and defenders of democracy today are the organized

Resistance in Palestine - -

(Continued from page 1)

realization of their most passionate hopes, they need allies. That these allies cannot be found in American or Russian imperialism, each of which is playing its own filthy, hypocritical game with the lives and fortunes of the Jewish and Arab peoples, whom they regard as mere pawns in the struggle for world power. That these allies, sure allies, can be found only in the ranks of the Arab people and of all others who are exploited and oppressed by imperialism and have a common stake in crushing it to earth.

WITHDRAW THE BRITISH ASSASSINS!

We have indicated more than once that we are not supporters of Zionism which has led the Jewish people into one trap after another, and that we are not partisans of the notorious Zionist aim of a "bi-national state," which is to be achieved by continuing to deprive the Arabs in Palestine of their most elementary democratic right—the right to self-determination. For us, the Arab people, like any other, are comrades and brothers and equals in every respect, and are not to be treated like our Southern Bourbons treat the Negroeslike "inferiors" who are not entitled to the rights of their "superiors." We are for the immediate independence of Palestine, for a democratic national assembly elected by equal and universal suffrage of Arab and Jew. And as we have said on many occasions, as revolutionary socialists-who are separated by a gulf from the wretched reformist-imperialists of the British Labour Party-we are at the same time for unrestricted immigration for all peoples and all countries. As Americans, we are for unrestricted immigration of the terribly harassed Jews into this country, contrary to the hypocrites here who keep silent on this matter and howl loud and long about immigration for Jews...to Palestine and only to Palestine. As Internationalists, we are for unrestricted immigration of the Jews into Palestine as well-or into any other country of their choice.

The mutual suspicions and antagonisms of Arab and and Jewish peoples will not vanish overnight. They have been too long and systematically poisoned by British imperialism, Zionism and the Arab feudalists for so speedy a salvation. But whatever suspicion the Arab people have felt toward the Jews has been due primarily and overwhelmingly to the fact that they regarded the Jews as the instruments of British imperialism. No more dramatic and effective refutation of this suspicion can be imagined than the actual struggle against London that the Jews of Palestine have now

What this struggle will develop into, is of course difficult to say. It is not impossible—quite the contrary! -that the Zionist bigwigs are working with might and main in London and Washington to make another rotten compromise with British imperialism. It is not impossible that they may succeed for a time in keeping the Jewish people subjected to British policy. But the recent events have shown that such a "victory" would not only be a defeat for the hopes of both Jews and Arabs, but would, fortunately, be short-lived.

The great disillusionment with British imperialism has begun among the Jewish people of Palestine, and not only of Palestine. It cannot fail, in the end, to flower into a triumphant union of the oppressed.

To start now to speed that day means, for us and all of us here, to demand irresistibly: "Withdraw the British assassins from Palestine! Hands off Palestine! Free immigration for all the Jews!" Then the Arab and Jewish peoples will find a comradely way to each other and decide their freedom and independence themselves.

They Were Murdered 19 Years Ago

Sacco and Vanzetti: Men to Remember

By TOMMY POWERS

Nineteen years ago, on August 22, 1927, Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti were executed by . the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Their case, now almost forgotten, was among the most important labor cases in American history; only the Mooney case equalled it in stirring the workers of this and all other countries. It is a story worth repeating-and remembering: the story of a poor Italian fish-peddler and a poor Italian shoemaker who were railroaded to the electric chair for their convictions. We can only tell a small part of the story; we cannot even hope to convey the character of Bartolomeo Vanzetti and Nicola Sacco who died leaving behind a message of courage almost unequalled in its simplicity and beauty. (See page 3—Editor.)

At the time of Sacco and Vanzetti's arrest on May 5, 1920, the nationwide campaign against socialists and communists had reached such a point of hysteria that the ruling class was able to arrest two workers, try them, imprison them for over seven years and finally execute them for a crime they could not possibly have committed.

GUILTY THOUGH INNOCENT!

The atmosphere at the trial mirrored the feverish pitch of the country's nationalism. The judge and prosecution did not for one moment let the jury forget that the nation had just finished a war to "make the world safe for democracy"; that thousands of "our boys" had died over there; and that here were two "foreigners" who believed they had died in vain.

So it was that after a short trial Vanzetti was found guilty for a robbery he could not possibly have committed, and sentenced to fifteen years imprisonment. As we today reread the evidence of identification upon which Vanzetti was convicted we realize that the whole jury had already convicted him before the court had even held it's first session. Prosecution witnesses obviously perjured themselves; 16 witnesses swore to having bought eels for Christmas Eve dinner from Vanzetti in Plymouth on the day of the robbery. But Vanzetti was a "foreigner" and an anarchist!

On May 31, 1921, Vanzetti was again put on trial, this time with Nicola Sacco, for having allegedly killed a paymaster and his guard in the main street of South Braintree, Mass. As at the first trial, the jury was not allowed for one moment to forget that the two men on trial were radicals and anarchists. A flag was prominently displayed before the jury box and the foreman gravely saluted every time upon entering and leaving the courtroom. This foreman had told all his friends before the trial that he thought Sacco and Vanzetti should be shot immediately without any trial at all.

The state produced over fifty witnesses to prove Sacco and Vanzetti's identity as members of the Braintree gang. Of these only six were left international leaders in every field, political, sci-

in the end who could in any way claim to have actually seen someone looking like Sacco or Vanzetti. And Judge Felix Frankfurter in his lengthy. legal analysis of the case expresses utter amazement that even the testimony of these few was given any credulence. One of the state's "star" witnesses, a certain Miss Lola Andrews, after first telling the defense privately that she was sure that the man she'd talked to on the day of the crime wasn't Sacco, changed her mind after admitted pressure from government agents. Still later she admitted having committed perjury and finally even retracted that statement. Despite all this Prosecutor Katzmann had the gall to say most reverently that she was the most convincing witness he'd ever met up with in his eleven years as a lawyer! Another witness, who from a distance of 70 feet had seen the speeding escape car for a period of less than three seconds was able to identify one of the men with great accuracy down to details of his facial construction. All this of course after she had had plenty of time to study photographs of Sacco and to see him personally in the police lineup and in the court

The defense on the other hand had no difficulty finding witnesses of the South Braintree crime who testified that neither Sacco nor Vanzetti were members of the gang. And many people testified from the stand to having seen Sacco in Boston and Vanzetti in Plymouth on the day of the crime. Officials of the Italian consulate testified to having received a visit from Sacco at the very time of the crime. All this in vain, however, for Sacco and Vanzetti were already convicted before the first witness was sworn in. Not for their part in any robbery, but because they believed that all of humanity would profit by a new type of society. And so it was that on July 14th the jury returned a quick verdict of guilty.

GOVERNOR FULLER SAVES THE SYSTEM

From this date until Sacco and Vanzetti's execution six years later the case history is full of appeals as further conclusive evidence was unearthed proving Sacco and Vanzetti's innocence. All in all there were eight motions for a retrial and each was denied by Judge Thayer. The same Judge Thayer who shortly after the Dedham trial had boasted to a group of his friends, "See what I did to these anarchist b-s." Evidence was produced refuting completely the testimony of all the state's witnesses. Even the ballistics expert admitted that his findings had been completely falsified before the jury. All in vain, was an appeal to the State Supreme Court on the basis of the prejudiced nature of the presiding judge.

The only road open to Sacco and Vanzetti was Governor Fuller of Massachusetts who could grant executive clemency. This was asked in thousands of letters and petitions that besieged the State House. From France there came a petition signed by a million workers. Letters came from

West Virginia Coal Production Reduced

entific and literary. But they had no effect on Gov. Fuller, super salesman of Packards and Cadillacs. The names of the delegates to an advertising agents conference would have interested him far more. Here was a man with an annual income of two million dollars, reputedly the richest man in all of New England; here was a man who during his term in Congress had been most vehement in his attacks on trade unions, IWW, socialists and anarchists. How could he possibly be the judge of whether these two men had had a

From the beginning, Vanzetti had sensed that reliance upon our present-day institutions could never save him and Sacco. "Only the people, our comrades, the world revolutionary proletariat, can save us from the powers of the capitalist reactionary hyenas or vindicate our names and our blood before history." And so it was, for Governor Fuller and his three-man commission, after "impartial" investigation, found no prejudice or irregularity in the case and allowed Sacco and Vanzetti to be executed on that night just 19 years ago.

INTERNATIONAL PROTEST

For a long period of time the Sacco and Vanzetti case was kept from the general American public. It was not until late 1921, after repeated protest demonstrations by foreign workers before the U.S. embassies in London, Paris, and Rome that the American workers began to realize that two of their brothers and leaders were being sacrificed to the hysterical patriotism of the American ruling class. That these bankers and businessmen utterly controlled the government and its courts and policemen was clearly revealed by the Sacco and Vanzetti case.

Thus, in New York City over 100,000 workers marched in protest; in Chicago police dispersed the mobs with tear gas. All over the U.S., in Philadelphia, in Rochester, Baltimore, Scranton, Los Angeles, Detroit there were demonstrations. Across the seas, in London, Paris, Berlin, Rome, Prague, Moscow, Vladivostok, Marseilles, Brussels, Rio de Janeiro, Melbourne, Tokyo, everywhere, the working men rose in wrath at the execution of their brothers in America, marking the international solidarity of the working class-the greatest tribute that could have been paid to these two simple, workingmen who died in humanity's cause.

Today, nineteen years after the execution of these two martyrs of the labor movement, it is well to ponder a moment and realize that the very institutions that electrocuted Sacco and Vanzetti still exist and are equally capable of committing similar acts at any time. The workers of the world have not forgotten what happened to these two Italian immigrants and to thousands of other martyrs of the labor movement. As long as the prisons and electric chairs of capitalism exist there will be more Saccos and Vanzettis.

NAACP Offers No Direction

DETROIT - Three thousand Negroes attended the NAACP meeting on August 12 at Ebenezer Church to protest the Georgia lynchings. Unfortunately the meeting remained on a typical NAACP level, and ended without any meaningful directives being given to those present.

Every Negro present at the meeting felt that the Georgia lynchings were indicative of the plight of the Negro in this country. Thus, we joined the chief speaker, Rev. Bradby, Jr., in proclaiming with determination that "We Negroes are not going to take these injustices any longer! We are entitled to every right and privilege that any other U.S. citizen enjoys. We understand that as long as lynching can be executed anywhere in the U.S., every Negro in the country is a notential lynch victim. We condemn the traitors of our race who betray our interests for an ounce of personal security for themselves. We denounce the residents of the Houses of Congress for their failure to pass the Anti-Lynch Bill, FEPC, Abolition of the Poll Tax, etc. We state that any government that cannot assure its people civil rights and protection, is not worthy of our support. We declare that 'Uncle Tom' is dead,-destroyed at the hands of 13 million militant

NO PLAN OF ACTION

with, and having shown our readiness for action, we awaited the "plan of action." We waited,-and the speaker sat down!!!! We thought that perhaps the next speaker would "follow through" with concrete plans. But, the next speaker, a Dr. Leach, State President of the NAACP, then began a tirade about the "poor whites"-declaring that "he, a physician, wouldn't attend them, himself." (The implicacation being that, of course, he would attend the "rich whites.") From that lofty pinnacle, he went on to relate the case of a Negro in Flint, Michigan, who was wanted in Alabama for a crime that he allegedly committed. The Negro refused to return to Alabama,-so the sheriff sent for the speaker, Dr. Leach, for help. Whereupon the latter called a few doctors, lawyers, and other professional men together, and all went promptly to the governor and "settled things quietly" so that the wanted Negro did not have to return to Alabama.

All of these statements we agreed

'mass action'—we,—a few 'influential people'-just settled the case." He concluded with a mad clamor for 10dollar-bill contributions, so that "when we get enough money to offer as a reward for information about the lynchings, somebody will 'sing' in Georgia-especially a 'poor white.' " (Incidentally, there were about 50 whites present at the meeting, who, obviously, were not representatives of Ford or du Pont, but were working class people and were interested in

the struggle of the Negroes.) Among those present was a representative of the working class, Emil Mazey, International Representative from the UAW-CIO, who pointed out the intimate relationship between the struggle for Negro equality and the struggle of the whole working class in general, giving the development of the UAW-CIO in its fight against discrimination.

Thus ended the NAACP rally! We Negroes having "let off steam," adjourned until the next lynching.

FAILURE OF NAACP

Dr. Leach's talk was representative of the NAACP officials, and, therefore, of the type of leadership which the NAACP has. He made no single reference, either literally, or by inference, to any economic factors which form the basis for all discrimination, and consequently, of lynching, which constitutes the most brutal form of discrimination. Ignoring the economic basis, it was easy for Dr. Leach to cast snobbish aspersions upon those he

classified as "poor whites." He, in his professional niche, chose to ignore the fact that 99 per cent of the race of which he is a member, are "poor Negroes," and that the "poor" in all races share the same economic plight, whether they recognize it or not, and that from the economic basis, flow the social opportunities and civil rights that Negroes, as a race, are denied For who can deny that discrimina-

tion, in whatever form, is imperatively necessary for the survival of the capitalist society in which we live? Who profits by the segregation of Negro workers from white workers? Not the Negroes, not the white workersbut the great industrialists and manufacturers. Henry Ford would have burst with glee had he heard Dr. Leach's speech, for he knows, if we black and white workers don't, that his power and the strength of the whole capitalist system is doomed when black and white workers achieve solidarity, and unite to fight their common enemy, the ruling class.

Dr. Leach is mistaken-we do need mass action! We can filibuster until the end of time, and lynchings will continue. When we have action by the masses, and with militant leadership!-instead of non-working class leaders who pussyfoot around all issues and whose personal interests, tied to the capitalist structure, differ from the interests of the millions of working class Négroes-then will we be able to wage a militant fight for

WEST VIRGINIA - The greatest coal producing region in the world as a "shortage" of coal cars although has seen production forced down to a fraction of normal for many weeks. In a cynical public letter the presi-From mid-Ohio to the central Pennsylvania field, through West Virginia stated that "mutual interests" should and the Monongahela Valley the prevent any protests from the coal mines have been working on a two or three-day week schedule. In UMWA District 31 in and about Fairmont, W. Va., between 60 and 150 mines are

idle each day with tonnage dropping to as low as 50,000 tons daily. This lack of work coupled with the daily rising cost of living creates a situation of incredible hardship among the workers who have not yet recovered from the effects of the twomonth work stoppage during the recent no-contract period. West Virginia

workers are especially hard hit as

they received no unemployment com-

pensation from April until July.

eye-witness reports indicate hundreds dent of the Baltimore and Ohio RR operators. And it is well known that hundreds of the larger mines are directly owned and controlled by the railroads. An official government report of

last week which stated that there were more coal cars on the roads than activity. at any time dúring the war, about a fourth of which are new, tore the mask from this "shortage." In reality there are two basic reasons for the shutdowns. The first is that the shippers are demanding an additional seven cents per ton above their already bloated profits and are willing to hoard their cars to force this increase. The second is that a concerted effort is being made to discredit the

it is, of course, a matter of little con-Pittsburgh announced on August 8 tion. that the 350 million dollar loss in- It is ironic to recall that these very curred during the four months strike would be made up by these tax returns. Similarly, the shippers and op-

But to the workers, to whom taxes are very real but to whom tax refunds are unknown, it is an entirely different situation. Among the company stores where the vast majority of miners are forced to deal because of the lack of transportation, the OPA has been nothing but a myth. Each day sees an increase in prices and it is not infrequent to find meat abso-

lutely unavailable. Moreover, in many

erators are in a position to afford

many months of almost complete in-

The excuse for this lockout is given government "seizures" of the mines. of the company camps the miners To the operators and the railroads have received the ultimatum to buy the houses in which they live or vasequence whether the mines work or cate. These "houses," scarcely more not. The government through its tax than chicken coops, are being sold at returns policy will see to it that a unbelievably high prices-often sevprofit is made. Westinghouse Corp. of eral times the original cost of erec-

operators and railroad magnates shouted loudest against the "unpatriotic" actions of the miners who demanded better living conditions and refused to produce coal until they received them. President Truman, who called for a forced labor bill to coerce the miners into production, continues to ignore the present crisis in spite of union pleas. The miners are having one hard fact rammed down their throats: that the government is a tool of the capitalist class, a tool used against the interests of the miners and all other workers.

NMU Strike Hits Great Lakes Shipping

By GERRY McDERMOTT

CLEVELAND, Aug. 17-Strike action by merchant seamen on the Great Lakes is steadily spreading through the entire inland shipping industry as unorganized seamen are joining NMU members in a fight for the 40hour week, wage increases, and union hiring halls.

Despite vicious strike-breaking activity on the part of the shipowners organization, the Lake Carriers Association, more and more unorganized seamen are joining NMU strikers as ships reach port. A strike victory will mark the end of open shop conditions largely prevailing on

the Great Lakes, where only a mi- its own halls. Union seamen who are nority of seamen are organized in the NMU or the AFL Seafarers International.

Great Lakes ship owners are the same tight-fisted and ruthless capitalists who own much of the rest of midwestern industry. The list of ship owners includes United States Steel, Ford Motor Company, Jones and Laughlin Steel, Standard Oil, Inland Steel, International Harvester, and similar corporations. Their record of union fighting and strike-breaking through the Lake Carriers Association is long.

The association hires only through

active on unorganized ships are fired. When the NMU attempted negotiations with companies which do have union contracts, the operators insisted on negotiating separately, despite their tightly organized association. They further blocked negotiations by asking union officials to meet with different companies in widely separated cities on the same day. Now that the strike is underway, they are operating what ships they can with scab crews. The union has charged that scab ships are sailing without full crews, a dangerous business and a violation of maritime laws.

Truman and his strikebreaking ad-

Detroit Rally Protests Anti-Labor Arson Attack

DETROIT-Over 100 people attended a rally called by the Detroit branch of the Socialist Workers Party on August 15 to protest the arson attack on its headquarters three weeks before by a group of fascist inspired

The speakers included the presidents of two UAW locals: William Jenkins of 490 at Chrysler and Tom Clampitt of 212 at Briggs. All speakers emphasized the close tie-up between the vigilante fire attack and similar attacks upon labor and minority groups in Detroit and elsewhere.

Following the attack on the SWP Here, Dr. Leach emphasized the fact hall, the police began an "investigathat "we didn't need to call for any tion" but this investigation has been

directed not against the perpetrators where it belongs, and to declare its requested to do so from the floor, reof the crime but against sections of the labor movement. The police first tried to blame the attack on "factions" in the socialist movement. But this was quickly disproved. Next, the SWP was ordered by the Department of Safety and Engineering to close its hall on the pretext that the use of the hall for meeting purposes violated certain legal technicalities. The hall, however, had been inspected and reinspected many times before and given the OK.

The Workers Party had requested that one of its spokesmen be added to the list of speakers in order to give an effective reply to the attempt to divert blame for the attack from full solidarity with the protest. But this request was denied by the SWP.

This afternoon before the protest rally, the hall of the Workers Party at 3773 Gratiot was visited by an inspector from the Department of Safety and Engineering, the very same department which had ordered the SWP hall closed. This visit came as a surprise, for the WP hall had already been inspected many times before. The sudden interest in the "safety" of the WP hall can only be attributed to an attempt to find some pretext to deny it its right to meet.

The Workers Party presented a brief statement to the SWP protest rally which the chairman, although

fused to read. It follows:

"We solidarize ourselves completely with this protest against the vigilante arson attack on the headquarters of the SWP. We likewise vigorously denounce all attempts to shift the blame for this crime away from the responsible hoodlum elements

who organized the attack. "The attempt by the municipal authorities to utilize red tape and legal technicalities as a pretext to close the headquarters of the SWP is another effort to interfere with the civil rights of labor organizations and places in jeopardy the right to free speech and free assembly of all.

"This afternoon we were informed

that the Labor Action Hall is now under 'investigation' by the Safety and Engineering Department, the same department that has already ordered the SWP hall closed. We bring this to your attention as added ploof of a conscious plan to destroy the right of free speech of militant socialist and labor groups.

REN HALL. Organizer Workers Party, Detroit Branch"

NEXT WEEK ...

LABOR ACTION'S Magazine Section will feature several articles on the political situation in America.

ministration have not as yet entered the picture. No doubt he remembers that deep-sea NMU members struck despite his seizure order until the last minute agreement was ratified by the rank and file. Strikebreaker Harry undoubtedly also remembers that his threat to use the armed forces against the Atlantic coast NMU strike only served to forge unity between AFL and CIO seamen. Perhaps, also, the government hopes that the shipowners' desperate attempts to break the strike will be successful, so that the government can avoid showing its true colors again as it did in the rail strike. In case the shipowners do need their government later, however, the Office of Defense Transportation is already on record requesting seizure. Other unions are rallying to sup-

port the seamen in their drive against the last open shop industry in the midwest. The Executive Board of the UAW has pledged support and has backed it up with a 900 man Flying Squadron from Ford Local 600 in Detroit. The CIO Longshoremen are behind the strike and AFL seamen are honoring CIO picket lines. The international labor solidarity evident in the recent deep-sea strike is again present as the Canadian Seamen's Union on the lakes is cooperating. Support from the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen is expected as this is written.

Program of the

Workers Party

Wipe out profiteering and high prices by action. Only the workers

1. For an immediate wage increase to meet the rising cost of living.

2. For an escalator clause in every union contract to provide for

3. For job and wage security through a guaranteed annual wage,

1. For a 250 billion dollar five-year program to provide decent

2. For a national plan to begin work immediately on the erection

For a 100 per cent tax on all wartime profits above five per cent

For the nationalization of the big monopolies: the industrial estab-

1. For full and unrestricted immigration into the United States

2. For the right of the Jewish people to unrestricted immigration

1. Readjustment allowance, on-the-job training subsidy provided

VIII. For Full Economic and Educational Opportunities for

by the GI Bill of Rights, to be based on a wage of \$40 a week for sin-

gle veterans and \$55 for married veterans, plus \$5 a week for each

2. For immediate granting of a federal bonus of \$1,000 for each

1. For the right of all peoples and nations to decide their own

2. For the withdrawal of all armies of occupation. Bring the

For an independent Labor Party of the workers and working farm-

future. For self-determination for all nations. For freedom of the

X. For an Independent Labor Party and a Workers Govern-

ers based on the trade unions. Break with the Republican and Demo-

FOR A SOCIALIST AMERICA AND PLENTY FOR ALL!

lishments, transportation and communication systems and the banks.

housing at low rental for all and an extensive public works plan to

provide schools, hospitals and other needed community facilities.

on invested capital. For a \$25,000 ceiling on all annual incomes.

To be owned by the nation and operated under workers' control.

For full social, political and economic equality for Negroes.

VI. End Discrimination Against the Negro People

can control prices. Labor must have the decisive voice in determining

the prices of consumer commodities. For wage increases without price

I. For Price Control by Labor and the Consumers

automatic wage increases to cover any additional price rises.

increases. For popular price control committees.

providing for a \$2,500 annual minimum.

III. Clear the Slums! Build Homes!

of 25 million permanent low-cost housing units.

II. For a Living Wage

IV. Tax the Profiteers

additional dependent.

IX. For Peace and Freedom

year of service.

V. Nationalize Big Business

VII. Open the Doors to the Jews

by the persecuted and homeless Jews of Europe.

American troops home. For an end to conscription,

cratic Parties. For a government of and by labor.

to Palestine or any country of their choice.

Concrete Plan of Action on Wage Increases Missing in CIO Conference Price Program --

Walter Reuther, president of the UAW-CIO, authorizing the Chrysler Local, and other locals that have renegotiation clauses in their contracts. to reopen the wage agreements. "If the Price Decontrol Board, the Office of Price Administration and the Secretary of Agriculture have not taken vigorous steps to restore effective price control on food, clothing and other basic necessities," reads the UAW statement, "we shall demand adjustments in our wage structure to compensate for increases in the cost

This action of the UAW Board came as a result of mounting pressure for wage-price action in the Ford and Chrysler locals. Reuther, like Murray, is clearly unwilling to undertake a general wage offensive. "But we are compelled to take these preliminary steps. We have got to get ourselves in a position to act if the government fails us." How far these preliminary steps will go beyond serving a 60-day notice on Chrysler remains to be seen.

"IF the government fails us!"

YOUTH NOTES ...

CLEVELAND, OHIO

The newly formed Cleveland unit has launched a program of activity, education, and expansion. Having already participated in demonstrations against fascist G. L. K. Smith and against Jim-Crow at the Euclid Beach Amusement Park, the Cleveland unit feels assured of continuing success.

The members in the new unit were originally members of an Inter-racial Youth Club formed to combat racial discrimination. They decided that a socialist organization was the best means to continue such a fight.

A successful social celebrating the unit's founding was held August 17.

NEW YORK

Irving Howe, LABOR ACTION writer, spoke at the New York unit's Trotsky Memorial Meeting at which approximately 40 youth attended. After the speech on Leon Trotsky's Life and Writings, the comrades heard a record of a speech Trotsky originally delivered at an anniversary celebration of the Founding Conference of the Fourth International.

PHILADELPHIA

The Philly unit holds two study classes a week. On Tuesdays, they study the Fundamentals of Socialism and on Wednesdays, the History and Program of the Fourth International.

WEST VIRGINIA

The new West Virginia unit has organized trips to the surrounding towns to sell LABOR ACTION subscriptions to coal miners. They have already reported the sale of 26 subs.

The Detroit unit in conjunction with the Workers Party holds a study class every Wednesday evening on Max Shachtman's new book, The Fight for Socialism.

SYL SUMMER SCHOOL

All young readers of LABOR AC-TION are invited to attend the SYL Summer School to be held in New York City from August 26 to September 7. If you write in advance, we will be able to provide free housing for all out of town students.

The following courses will be

taught at the school: Essentials of Marxism - Shirley Waller, Nat'l Sec'y, SYL.

Nature of the State-Max Shachtman, Nat'l Chairman, WP.

Trade Unionism-E. R. McKinney, Nat'l Sec'y, WP.

Marxian Economics - F. Forrest, LA writer.

Workers Party Program — E. Vaugnn, LA writer.

Rise and Decline of the Communist International-Al Gates, LA Editorial

The school will hold two picnics at which the students will participate in the outdoor discussions. One will be on Youth Today led by Gertrude Blackwell, NC member, SYL and the other will be on The Revolutionist as an Individual, led by Ernest Erber,

Educational Director, WP. In addition, the students will spend the evenings participating in field work such as conducting open air meetings, literature sales, model indoor meetings, etc. The school will close with a farewell party for which the New York SYL unit has planned a floor show.

A registration fee of \$2.00 is charged to cover the cost of study outlines. Readers who can attend the school should write to SYL School Committee, care of LABOR ACTION.

BALTIMORE

Approximately fifteen youths attended the SYL class on Engel's Socialism, Utopian and Scientifie, last Friday. This Monday, the unit will continue its LABOR ACTION sales at a local steel plant.

of the CIO, AFL and Brotherhoods spokesmen. It means, in effect, that energies that would more profitably be expended elsewhere, will be wasted eyeing 'the government. Murray, for example, is still chasing after the utterly useless and dangerous chimera of a labor-management conference. He has, up to now, been getting the cold shoulder from Truman and management; but even should it convene, there isn't a thing labor could get from such a conference except disillusionment and disorientation.

"IF the government fails us!" What HAS it done? What CAN it do but "fail" us? It won't fail the profiteers, for it is THEIR government. It will act in our favor only if we compel it union, especially in the two large to by the pressure of action, and the promise of more action.

"IF the government fails us!" Prices have gone up and up. Last week alone, prices on household commodities were raised three per cent. Coffee went up ten to thirteen cents a pound - "even higher than the best the industry was led to expect," according to the Journal of Commerce. A neat little bonus for the coffee

We go to press too early to comment on the expected decision of the Decontrol Board. Much is being made of the prediction that the Decontrol Board will most likely restore some ceilings. But it is equally predicted that these ceilings, while lower than current prices, will be higher than June 30 ceilings.

FOUR-POINT PROGRAM

There is nothing uncertain about the facts. They prove that wage increases and a price roll-back are vital needs. Speaking at the CIO emergency conference, Murray presented the following facts: Despite the 181/2 cent an hour increase won early in the year, real earnings of the average steel worker have dropped \$11.04 a week, or about 20 per cent, in the year since May, 1945. "About \$5.62 of that amount is represented by a loss in actual cash, due to a shorter work week, and the balance comes from an estimated 12 per cent increase in the cost of living." (CIO News.) According to a statement presented at the same conference, gross weekly earnings for auto workers dropped by 15 per cent since April,

To meet this situation, the CIO therefore drafted a four-point pro-

(1) Consumer resistance. An excellent idea that has already proved that it can bring results UP TO A POINT. Consumer action as well as labor protest is credited with the contemplated action of the Decontrol Board in re-establishing ceilings on a few commodities. But this consumer action has to be ORGANIZED, with union initiative, in a way that has not yet been attempted, and concretized in the form of POPULAR PRICE CONTROL COMMITTEES capable of acting.

(2) Enforcement of OPA laws. Again a necessary idea, but one that is exceedingly limited in its application. OPA laws are only a flimsy pretense at price control. We are for enforcing such controls as OPA has

SOUTH AFRICAN LABOR STRIKES GOLD MINES

The biggest labor struggle of many years has begun in South Africa. Fifty thousand members of the African Miners Union have struck the gold mines of the famous Witwatersrand, outside of Johannesburg, the biggest gold mines in the world. They have demanded a raise in wages from 50 cents a day to \$2.00, recognition of the union (at the present time, all native African unions are unrecognized by the government of South Africa). They urge the destruction of the compound system, whereby the workers are herded into concentration camps, from which they emerge only temporarily with the aid of a complicated pass system.

There are 300,000 gold miners on the Rand altogether, and the first two days of the strike saw bitter battles as the strikers attempted to shut down mines that had not answered the first call. On the second day of the strike, six strikers were killed and scores wounded in a battle with police outside an operating mine. In spite of this blood bath, most of the strikers held firm, and news reports on the third day of the strike announced that although a few struck mines had reopened, many additional ones had been struck for the first time.

The Smuts government, representative now as always of the gold and diamond mine owners of the country, has already denounced the strike as the work of agitators out to destroy the country. And indeed, this struggle can well lead to the destruction of the present setup in South Africa, where 2,000,000 whites, ranging from big capitalists to farmers and skilled workers, sit on the backs of 8,000,000 black pro-

and, as Murray himself has said, price "roll-backs are required in the situation. Further, the resolution of the CIO conference says:

"The cold and unsympathetic treatment, which labor received at the Wage Stabilization Board contrasts sharply with the enthusiastic price rises which were initiated by the OPA. It soon became apparent, when the ink of the wage-price regulations (of February 15, 1946) was scarcely dry, that the policy was to be extraordinarily liberal with respect to

We will return to this statement in a moment, for it contains a pointed merely to demonstrate that enforcing the elastic laws of the OPA is only a small, and a tiny part of the job, especially given the present OPA setup with its heavy emphasis on de-

(3) Continued payment of government food subsidies. NOT a very good idea, except in so far as it is payment made to poor farmers, sharecroppers and such. Experience has demonstrated, however, that the poor farmer benefits least from subsidies, that those who profit the most are the big food combines which simply net that much more of a profit.

(4) A progressive tax policy to siphon off the super-profits of the rich. Certainly a good, idea that could be concretized, for example, in a demand to limit profits to five per cent of invested capital.

PROGRAM IS INADEQUATE

There's the program. Given Murray's own statement on the urgency of the price situation, the squeeze "between rising prices and shrinking earnings," it is not enough to fill the bill. The CIO's program got considerable publicity, and with the true perspicacity of the capitalist press, they almost uniformly featured the idea that Murray intended to discourage strikes-at least until after the November elections, for sure.

Now, WE are in no position to know when and if strikes ought to be called. A strike is an action that is not to be entered into light-mindedly and without detailed knowledge. Union leaders like Murray ARE in a position to know what action can be taken, and when, But, though they are in a position to know, there is no indication that they are availing themselves of their knowledge. The point we are making is one of orientation, of direction, of spirit, of method.

Murray spoke about the necessity for wage increases, but when he got down to brass tacks ... he offered little of a program for getting these wage increases. If, as he said, "we cannot accept a situation in which wages are frozen," what are we to do to rectify this situation? It appears that the closest the CIO conference came to actually tackling the situation in the shops was to attack speedcampaign and one that has a close bearing on wages as well as on general working conditions. But it is by no means the sum of a campaign on wages and prices.

The fact is that Murray bears a good deal of the responsibility for the situation. Refer back to the quotation above about the "cold and unsympathetic treatment received by labor." It was apparent that labor was being gypped long before the ink was dry on the February 15 set-

NOT take the elementary stand of resisting price increases; he approved a price increase in steel which was bound to have the effect of erasing any wage gains. At the very moment that Murray was conferring in the White House, steel workers were prepared to man picket lines in militant. struggle. At the same moment, auto workers were walking picket lines in a strike that had begun with the demand for WAGE INCREASES and PRICE INCREASES.

UAW PRICE POLICY

We have to get back to those fundamentals. That is why we take Murlesson. For the moment we cite it ray to task so severely. Truman? We expect nothing from him other than to do what the profiteers who put him where he is, want him to do. Truman is not our representative. Murray is! And, it seems, unless the situation and the demand of the rank and file compel him to act differently, that he will again by-pass the needs of the workers in fruitless appeals to the White House.

Going back to fundamentals takes us back to the situation in the UAW. Elsewhere in this issue you will find a report from Detroit. Reuther is under severe pressure in the union. The auto workers want wage increases. The UAW Board accordingly yielded to the pressure and reversed a decision it had made some weeks ago not to raise the wage question, which was itself a reversal of a previous declaration that the union would go out for wage increases generally. Hard to follow? The shifts in policy most certainly are.

This kind of vacillation does no good. The auto magnates take heart; they count on division in the union, and uncertainty of program. Even in the latest statement there is hesitancy: negotiations will be reopened where permissible, but there will not be a general wage offensive, etc. Either there is a wage offensive, or there isn't. And a wage offensive is precisely what is indicated-plus popular consumer action.

Quite properly, the UAW statement reiterates its opinion that "our task is to increase real wages by insisting that wage increases be paid out of the higher profits of industry made possible by the economies of full produc-

tlement. At that time, Murray did tion and improved technology and not passed on to the consumer in higher prices."

By itself that would deserve to be featured. But one gets the impression from the accounts of the Board's deliberations in the daily press and in the union paper, that it lacks concreteness and meaning in terms of contemplated action. When the GM strikers hit the pavement last winter, no one was in doubt as to what they meant: Wage Increases Without Price Increases. The current UAW Board statement sounds like a pale repetition of a well established fact, something that is not intended to go beyond the printed page.

Reuther is obviously in a quandary. In the union he is under attack from the Thomas forces whom he displaced at the last convention. The Stalinists are making hay. United States relations with Russia being what they are, the Stalinists are playing the role of aggressive champions of labor militancy. It serves their general political purposes, and their particular union purpose of knifing Reuther, who is independent of them. However, we repeat the point we made last week: the dishonest intentions of the Stalinists can only be combatted by a militant union policy. The major issue today is the wage-price issue; and an aggressively bold wage policy will rout the Stalinists in the auto unions as it will promote the essential welfare of the auto workers.

No issue is of greater immediate importance today than wages-prices. Every week that goes by without a vigorous assault on the inflated price structure confronts us with so much more of a wage cut, so much more of a fight. We are waiting for our unions to give leadership, in action, for that is their function. In this situation, the Workers Party and LA-BOR ACTION offer their program: 1. The GM Program—IMMEDIATE

WAGE INCREASES WITHOUT PRICE INCREASES! 2. Popular Price Control Commit-

3. For a rising scale of wages, an

escalator clause in every union contract. 4. For a guaranteed annual wage at a level to provide a decent standard of living for every working class

family in the country.

UAW Compromise Wage Formula --

mands is the fact that he has the probpay for vacations lost during military

(Continued from page 1)

Stalinists, he did so. In a bloc with supporters of George Addes, secretary treasurer, and second dominant figure in the UAW-CIO, Reuther authored the compromise wage-price statement that bridges the gap between Murray and the Stalinists.

In all this sure of the rank and file, or more exactly their deep discontent over presup. That is undoubtedly an important ent policies, played a big role. In a sense, there is a race between Reuther and the Stalinists for leadership of this rank and file movement. The next test of strength will be the Wayne county CIO convention, which should duplicate the recent Michigan state CIO convention in importance as a battle ground between the Reuther caucus and the Stalinists.

Behind this maneuvering on policy in the UAW-CIO, and one of the reasons why Murray had to retreat in his stand against any fresh wage de-

lem of a strong Stalinist bloc in the national CIO leadership, and Reuther is trying to utilize this situation for his own ends, namely to consolidate his control of the UAW-CIO.

workers in the plants were reported to the IIAW-CIO board in so and to the national CIO leadership in Washington. In many auto plants, veterans walked out on V-J Day, either simply as a protest against their lot. or in organized expression of their resentment against the raw deal the big corporations are giving them in the factories. In Pontiac, Michigan, for example, veterans who are members of the UAW-CIO shut down the whole town in protest against General Motors refusal to give them back

service, and which the GI Bill of Rights guarantees them. In Detroit, the biggest Chrysler plant Dodge, was ship is revealed as not standing up shut down by veterans, and in other Chrysler plants production was crip-Indications of the mood of the pled by a spontaneous walk-out of ing Reuther, fears taking up seriously veterans. Likewise, the series

downs, 24-hour walk-outs, and slowdowns continues in many plants. These facts were known to the UAW-CIO leadership when it was meeting. Out of all this maneuvering and confusion displayed in the top lead-

ership of the CIO, one thing is certain. The growing pressure of the workers in the shops will not cease. The compromise formula of Reuther may become the wedge heralding a second strike wave.

In all these developments, one other thing stands out like a sore thumb. The entire UAW-CIO leaderwell before the major problems of the day. Every one of them, includthe question of real political action to supplement the economic war. The CIO leadership is going to try again to sell the ranks of labor the idea of wasting their vote by supporting cap-

tragic blunder. And the problem of meeting the new line of the Stalinists in the CIO. calling for strikes and militant action, has only been postponed by the Reuther formula, not settled. The big struggles inside and outside the CIO lie ahead.

italist politicians. This policy is a

New York Workers Party Surpasses Signature Goal

By ABE VICTOR

Election Campaign Director

. The Workers Party now has more than the legal number of signatures required to get on the New York State ballot. In spite of the fact that we were rained out for three successive days this week, the Workers Party petitioners have rolled up a total of 8,500 signatures in two Congressional Districts to meet the legal requirements of the Board of Elections. This figure is the result of only three Saturday mobilizations by the members, friends and sympathizers of the Workers Party. The fourth mobilization, scheduled for Saturday, August 17, was rained out.

The New York State Board of Elections requires a minimum of 3,000 valid signatures in each Congression-'al District in order to place any independent candidate on the ballot. This legal minimum has been surpassed in the 22nd Congressional District by a margin of 2,000 signatures and exceeded in the 15th Congressional District by 500 signatures.

Since there are always a number of invalid signatures, especially of people who live out of the district and who sign because they would like to put a Workers Party candidate on the ballot, the goal set by the New York City Campaign Committee is 12,000 signatures.

There are two weeks yet to go and the Workers Party petitioners have set themselves with renewed energy to completing the goal ahead of time. Unless the Board of Elections uses

some flagrant excuse to keep working class parties off the ballot, the names of Max Shachtman and Ernest Rice McKinney will appear on the election machines this November, enabling workers in the 15th and 22nd Congressional Districts to vote for revolutionary socialist candidates.

Our petitioners and our upstate party members report that the Socialist Workers Party is still collecting signatures in its drive to place candidates on ballots for state-wide offices. There is no new report on the situation as it relates to the use of the name Socialist on the ballot between the Socialist Party and the Socialist Workers Party. Neither The Militant nor The Call has as yet commented on the article, that appeared in last week's LABOR ACTION.

Readers of LABOR ACTION will recall that we reported on the letter signed by Norman Thomas and sent out to all SP members and to SP sympathizers. The letter made scurrilous attacks and false allegations against revolutionary socialists who use the name "Socialist" in their propaganda.

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HONOR THE MEMORY **OF** LEON TROTSKY

Six Years After Leon Trotsky's Assassination—

Speaker:

MAX SHACHTMAN

National Chairman, Workers Party

PLACE: IRVING PLAZA, 15th Street and Irving Place **New York City**

TIME: FRIDAY, AUGUST 30, at 8:00 P. M. Sharp