Work for a Workers World; Join the Workers Party!

OCTOBER 13, 1947

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF SOCIALISM

FIVE CENTS

FOD: Truman Plan Wont Feed Europe or Lower Prices

LABOR ACTION

Stalin "Revives" **His International** In Reply to U.S.

By ALBERT GATES

The announcement of the "revival" of the so-called Communist International in a meeting held somewhere in Poland and attended by representatives of Russia's puppet states, plus the leaders of the French and Italian Stalinist parties, was treated sensationally in the press.

Although recognizing that this was one of Stalin's weapons in the interimperialist conflict so sharply manifested in the UN debates, the capitalist press reacted as though Stalin deceived his former allies in re-establishing a troublesome organization , which was previously "dissolved" in order to create a better understanding among the war allies. In this sense, the press reaction was typical: this is the resurrection of the old Communist International, with its revolutionary traditions and its socialist doctrines.

The New York Times, however, was on the right track when it said that the Polish meeting was a far cry from the old Comintern of Lenin and Trotsky. It produced no appeal to the proletariat of the world and no affirmation of the struggle for socialism. There is only an appeal against imperialism and war in behalf of another imperialist power.

The Stalinists of the world seemingly do not attach great importance to the whole business. They assert that the meeting was for the purpose of establishing an "information bureau" and to coordinate the activities of the several Communist Par- participated in the conference. Gerties of Europe. If the Stalinists of many and Austria are occupied counthe world do not feel that anything tries with grave internal conditions

know that the Stalinist International was never dissolved - as indeed it never was-but they do understand that the meeting in Poland was of singular importance.

STALINIST LINE

If Stalin's International was never dissolved, why then was this meeting held and why was such special importance attached to it by its Kremlin initiators? The answer to that lies in the nature of world political relations, the daily increasing antagonism between the Russian and American blocs in the UN and the conviction of Stalin (as of the United States) that there is no possibility whatever of reconciling the conflicts between the two imperia ist camps

The Polish meeting was held to give dramatic effect to the coming line of the Stalinists in Europe, to create a more formidable bloc of the puppet states against the U.S. and to put the Stalinist parties in Erance and Italy on an offensive against the existing governments, which are either the creation of or are maintained by the United States.

It was interesting indeed to note that there were no formal represent-, atives from Austria, Germany and Great Britain. This would seem puzzling at first, but we believe there is a logical explanation for that. The British Communist Party is too small and uninfluential in that country to warrant the difficulties that would be created ,for it in England had it has been "revived" it is because they created by intense poverty and the unbridgeable conflicts between the









Prices are high; proper food in adequate quantity and quality is beyond the reach of many people here in the United States. Europe and Asia desperately need food.

In this situation the President's Citizens Committee on Food labored and labored and labored ... and brought forth an insult.

With all the resources of this country at their disposal, with what are presumed to be the slickest brains available to the government, the Committee and the President, after probing into the situation, were able to produce nothing more than: EAT LESS.

Reporters, notorious for their cynicism, and some of them as reactionary as they come, gasped in astonishment at the con-

clusion of the first press con-

Stalemate Still Governs NMU Convention

By B. RIPLEY

NEW YORK, Oct. 7_The NMU convention, meeting now in New York, continued to be stalemated as this week drew to a close. The contending factions, one led by the Stalinists and the other by President Curran, continued their sparring and the convention has thus far accomplished virtually nothing.

The most serious delay at the convention was caused by the demand of the Stalinists that each of the vice-presidents be permitted to make a separate verbal report. In previous years these reports were incorporated in the president's and secretary's reports. This year, Curran refused to incorporate the report of one of the Stalinist vice - presidents, McKenzic, since it conflicted with his own position. The Stalinists accused Curran of trying to gag them and demanded and obtained the right to present separate verbal reports. Curran, however, pointed out that the reports of each vice - president had already been mimeographed and circulated among the delegates. In spite of this, three sessions of the convention were

ference called by Charles Luckman, head of the Citizens Food Committee. The kindest of them observed that Luckman, who is the much-publicized head of Lever Bros., multi - million dollar soap concern, would hardly try to sell Lux by the same feeble methods

None of them could believe that the Committee could conceivably have so little to offer. Rumor has it that the Committee members recognized that they had nothing to propose and wanted the press conference, as well as the Truman radio address, postponed, but that Luckman insisted on going through with

MONSTROUS FRAUD

Think of it: the food situation, both as it affects the majority of the people in the United States through outof-reach prices and as it affects millions of Europeans and Asiatics through painful want, requires ur-gent measures of control, supply and distribution. In this situation, the President and the Luckman Committee and the Secretary of Agriculture and the Secretary of Commerce and others propose that we eat a slice of bread less a day, that restaurants serve butter and bread only on request, that Tuesdays be meatless and that Thursdays be egg-and-poultryless.

There is no hint here we cannot

Detroit Glash

Herman Benson, WP candidate for mayor, received 4,639 votes in primary election of total vote for all candidates of 265,000. Lerner, SWP candidate, received 4,469. Full report next week.

Score Philly Judge; Rally Asks Write-in Vote for J. Rader

nied.

factories.

By FRANK HARPER

PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 4-The failure of Republican Judge Harry S. McDevitt to render a decision on the Workers Party's appeal to be reinstated on the ballot forges another link in the conspiracy of the two capitalist parties to bar the ballot to I. Jack Rader, the WP's councilmanic candidate in the Fifth District.

Since September 26 the notoriously anti-labor head of the Common Pleas Court has failed to act on the evidence presented by Defense Attorney David H. H. Felix in behalf of the Workers Party and Socialist Workers Party. Felix's verbal testimony at the hearing last Friday, protesting the high-handed procedure of the Philadelphia County Board of Elections in ruling the two working class groups off the ballot without hearing testimony from the candidates or affiants, was reiterated in written briefs filed this Monday.

Despite the prompt and detailed presentation of the Workers Party's position, Judge McDevitt has not rendered his decision even though two weeks ago the same authority needed but a few moments and very little evidence to sentence the two parties' candidates and affiants to 30 - day jail terms for contempt of the Election Board.

Last night the Workers Party campaign manager, Joseph Davidson, announced publicly to the voters of the Fifth District that the Rader for

occupying powers. The astute politicians of the Kremlin undoubtedly realized that the presence of the German and Austrian Communist Parties at the conference would undoubtedly have an adverse effect on Russian strategy in those countries. But really, what need was there for their presence? The Stalinist By SUSAN GREEN leaders of the Stalinist parties in those countries will just as slavishly carry out the decisions of the Polish (Continued on page 3)

labor candidates to write in the

name of I. Jack Rader at the polls

on November 4. Continuing his ad-

dress to the Workers Party members

and friends attending a social and

Davidson said that the Workers Par-

ty urges the working people to vote

and organized working class. That is

directed not so much toward plac-

building the Workers Party, in in-

and control the factories and farms.

tation to all voters in the election

district, who are tired of paying

tribute year after year to the rot-

ten, decadent Republican and Demo-

cratic ward heelers and their bosses,

to join the Workers Party, to be ac-

(Continued on page 2)

The candidate extended an invi-

Meat Starts at 5 Cents, **Reaches \$1.10 a Pound**

When those of us who can afford it sit down to a piece of steak for which the price ranges from 90 cents to \$1.10 a pound, we do not stop to think that that bit of meat originated with a little calf on a Western ranch who was worth maybe five cents the pound to the rancher. Between that five cents a pound and an average \$1.00 a pound, between that little calf and the steak, are arrayed five or six different private owners, all out for PROFIT to the tune of what the market will bear.

Readers of LABOR ACTION are acquainted with the program of the Workers Party for cracking the eter-City Council drive would continue nal problem of the cost of living. even if the use of the ballot is de-The fight for rationing and price control, says the Workers Party, is The Workers Party will carry on a good fight, provided the neighbor- put food production on a new basis. its election campaign advising the voters who favor independent and

hood committees of workers and consumers will be the ones to see that these regulations are carried out. But even this type of people's control would not strike at the root of the giant beanstalk of high prices. The root is production for profit in privately owned enterprises, and the root solution is to socialize the food industries under workers' control, so that production for use can replace the profit system.

Today the prices of meat are the most inflated of all. Let us follow the various stages of the production of meat from the little calf to the steak, and see the profit-taking at each stage. Unprecedented profits at every point are responsible for the unbearable prices to the consumer, and show how imperative it is to

The meat we eat today comes from a two-year-old steer who staggered into this world in 1945 as a promising calf on a Western ranch. Kenneth Koyen, imaginative reporter for the New York Herald Tribune, gave the story of a Nebraska steer from the mother's womb to the consumer's table, and interesting indeed are the facts revealed. Mr. Koyen's steer, whom he called Hector, went from rancher to feeder farmer, to slaughterhouse packer, to wholesale jobber, to retailer, to consumer-and the consumer paid for the profits taken all along the line.

According to Mr. Koven, one pound of Hector cost each of its respective possessors as follows:

Rancher Feeder (Continued on page 2)

spent boring the delegates while these already circulated reports were read into the record. The rank and file supported the demand of the Stalinists to be heard in order to prevent the least non-democratic shadow from passing over the convention. Every proposal that Curran makes is met with suspicion and further delay from the Stalinists. They seek to distort, in typically Stalinist fashion, his every remark. They are endlessly prolonging the convention by lengthy discussion of every minor point, by procedural actions and by abuse of parliamentary privilege.

VOTE DOWN AMENDMENT

On the other hand, the Stalinists accuse Curran of delaying the convention by utilizing the time between committee reports to read communications and receive greetings from fraternal delegations. While it is true that omission of these points might speed up the convention somewhat, the procedure is in accord with the actions of previous

conventions. By this time it is clear, however,

(Continued on page 2)

produce enough; there is no hint here that profits are the real cause of inflated prices. All they have to say is: the whole thing is YOUR fault. You, the people, eat too much. You eat meat, and eggs and poultry every day of the week. And if you will but substitute fish or cheese or something else on those days, if you will eat poultry on Tuesday instead of Thursday and meat on Thursday instead of Tuesday_then we will have enough wheat to feed the hungry, and prices will somehow come down.

Complete and utter trash! They are judging the people by their own filthy, millionaire standards. Everybody admits that the majority of people are already eating LESS, certainly of meat and butter and eggs.

We know that the meat packers, who keep pretty much abreast of these matters because it concerns their sales, hence their profits, estimate that most people NORMALLY have one or more meatless days a week (and that does not include

(Cont. in edit. col., page 3)

Chicago Meeting Demands Hickman Freedom

political rally at Labor Action Hall, Resolutions Lash City Officials for Criminal Neglect in Housing and in Enforcement of Fire Regulations

CHICAGO, Sept. 29-A mood of gen-

for a socialist program of peace and uine human solidarity filled the Metplenty for all, of ownership and manropolitan Community Church yesteragement by those who work in the day afternoon as a thousand Negro and white men and women, old and Candidate Rader, emphasizing the program for social change on which young, liberals and radicals, gathhe is running, explained that it could ered to demand "Free James Hickman!" only be carried out by a determined

The audience and speakers acknowledged that the man to whose why the campaign efforts are being defense they had come had acing Rader in the city office, but in tually killed his landlord. David Coleman. But they understood, as well, that ALL guilt in this case lay creasing its membership. No race not on Hickman but on the society equality, no security is possible for in which we live. Underlying this the common people until they own was the tragedy of the four Hickman children burned alive in their tenement attic, innocent victims of the vast social injustices known as "housing crisis" and "greedy landlordism."

> From the opening remarks of Preacher Evans, each speaker brought forth his indictment of the vicious society-which makes possible

a "Hickman case," Hugh Will, member of the National Planning Commission of the American Veterans Committee; Richard Rober, star of the play, "Call Me Mister"; M. J. Meyer, one of Mr. Hickman's attorneys; Michael Mann, secretary of the Chicago CIO Council and Illinois

CIO director-all arraigned the housing shortage and those responsible for it. Henry McGee, president of the Chicago branch of the NAACP, denounced the restrictive racial covenants which so cover Chicago that Negroes may live only in 25 of its 155 square miles, which means that new disasters such as the fire that ravaged the Hickman family are a daily threat. In closing, he demanded that "society no longer bother the Hickman family" by depriving it of its father.

GUILTY-OF DECENCY

Greatest interest of the meeting was centered in the talks of actress

Tallulah Bankhead and author Willard Mottley. Miss Bankhead, attending the meeting although ill, was given a standing ovation that brought her to tears on reaching the pulpit. Her excellent talk, viewing both the Hickmans and Colemans as victims of a social tragedy, wherein the setting is poverty and discrimination and greed, ended on the clearcut note: "I find James Hickman guilty of no crime but a sense of decency.

Willard Mottley, author of the new best-selling novel, "Knock on Any Door," a book about the responsibility of ruling society for juvenile delinquency and crime, commented that he, in similar circumstances, would do what Hickman had done. He found that justice is not an abstract question for small people, the liberals and radicals and progressives. In contrast, said Mottley, Marshall, Field, multi-millionaire and publisher of the Chicago Sun, was a liberal

who talked out of both sides of his mouth when approached for support to Hickman. From his experience as a newspaper man he knew how judges may be bought and pressure brought to bear, and how smug Marshall Field was in saying that this case should not be "prejudged." What about the newspapers "prejudging" strikes? From the standpoint of the interests of property, human life is worth little; witness the tragedy of the Hickman children, the loss of soldier lives in war, and so forth. It's up to the common people to align themselves definitely with progressive forces for their own

closely followed and enthusiastically received. In his vigorous collection speech, Sid Lens, of the AFL Building Service Employees Union, pointed out how by 1947 nothing really has changed, despite all the promises of the wartime days, to benefit the lot ther with any funds collected.

salvation. Mottley's words were

of labor and the Negro people. If Hickman is left to die, there will be new and worse situations tomorrow. The collection totaled over \$500.

ADOPT RESOLUTIONS

Resolutions were passed condemning the city officials for criminal neglect in the housing shortage and neglect in enforcing fire and sanitation ordinances, and demanding the unconditional freeing of James Hickman.

The Hickman Defense Committee, chaired by Willoughby Abner, vicepresident of the CIO Council, will continue its efforts to build up support for Hickman's freedom by visiting Mayor Kennelly with its demands and stimulating further interest in the case locally and nationally. Those individuals interested in aiding the committee should send their names to the Hickman Defense Committee, 4619 S. Parkway, toge-

that a desperate situation exists.

of Detroit

LOOK AT LANDLORDS' BOOKS!

of Councilman Edwards, the man it

is supporting, that he propose a rent

control law. The CIO is in favor of

freezing rents at their OPA levels

and of placing a moratorium on evic-

tions. Let the people decide the le-

gality of passing a rent control act

On suggestion of the Greater De-

troit Tenants Council. Jeffries said

he would be willing to investigate

as to whether or not the landlords

of the city deserve rent increases.

We have had plenty of experience

with the mayor's investigating com-

mittees. Let the tenants set up their

own investigating committees. Let

the landlords open their books to

the tenants and let the tenants judge

on the basis of landlord profits whe-

ther or not rent increases are justi-

in the city of Detroit!

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Rent Control "Hot Potato" in Detroit

DETROIT, Sept. 28-With Election Day fast approaching, city rent control has been a "hot potato" in Detroit's Common Council for the past six weeks. On August 13 the Common Council voted down a proposed city ordinance that would have given hotel owners a 20 per cent increase on permanent hotel guest renters. The vote was 4 to 3. Councilman Edwards, now backed by the Wayne County CIO, voted for the proposal. Not one member of the Common Council proposed that hotel rents be frozen at OPA levels. Rent increases in hotels have gone as high as 80 and 100 per cent.

On August 17, Chief Assistant Corporation Counsel Paul T. Dwyer presented an opinion to the Common Council that the city had no authority to control rents or evictions. His opinion was an answer to a request by the Detroit Chapter of the Lawyers Guild for the city to pass an ordinance on rent control. Councilman Edwards challenged Dwyer's opinion. Edwards proposed that the Common Council pass an ordinance on rent control. PASSING THE BUCK

The next day, a few minutes before the Council was to vote on a resolution instructing the corporation

for Negro rights, drew a parallel be-

ability to lead the working class.

Activity of the Philadelphia

branch continues to be based not

only on its legal defense on the de-

nial of the ballot and on the court

contempt charges, but also on week-

ly forums and door-to-door contact-

ing and distributions in the election

area. The October 6 issue of LABOR

ACTION, which carries a feature

page on the Philadelphia election, is

being distributed to 5,000 homes in

the 17th, 19th, 20th, 31st and 37th

der in the Fifth District for City

to write in the name of Irene P. Le-

Compte, Socialist Workers Party can-

Philadelphia Rally -

(Continued from page 1) tive in the campaign, to attend the WP forums, socials and rallies and the membership meetings on Wednesday evenings, 8:00 p.m., at 1139 West Girard Avenue.

"The Workers Party, which is composed of and which represents the working men and women, invites all of you to attend its regular weekly membership meetings. We have no secrets to hide from you. It is only the Republicans and Democrats who represent big business who hide their real identity from you-who cannot afford to let you, the average man, attend the meetings of their campaign workers."

The national secretary of the Workers Party, Ernest Rice McKinney, explained why Rader was being kept from the ballot.

"The capitalists well realize that where there is smoke their is at least a spark. The Democrats and Republicans know that Rader stands little chance of being elected this year but they also know that many of the 1200 voters who indicated their support of Rader by signing his petitions would vote for him and urge their friends to do so. Further, the two big parties do not want the message of socialism spread to even 1200 voters in one district of a single state."

didate for City Council. Comrade McKinney, in the fight



Wards.

All renders of LABOR ACTION are invited to attend meetings, class lec-tures and socials sponsored by local branches of the WORKERS PARTY. Visit our headquarters listed below to purchase Marxist literature, The NEW INTERNATIONAL and LABOR ACTION. For information of WORKERS PARTY activities in cities not listed below, write to WORKERS PARTY, 4 Court Square, Long Island City 1, N. Y.

HARLEM BRANCH: Wednesday, 15 p.m., at Workers Party Head-

counsel to draw up a local rent control ordinance, Jeffries succeeded in winning over Councilman Edwards from his resolution by pointing out the fact that "it is very debatable whether a legal municipal control law could be passed." Jeffries proposed that "the orderly way to proceed ... is to ask that the governor, in his call for a special session, ask the Legislature to consider proper permissive legislation allowing Detroit and other cities to meet whatever situation they face or might face."

Jeffries' proposal to petition the governor passed 4 to 3 with Edwards, Castator, McNamara and Van Antwerp voting for and Comstock, Rogell and Oakman voting against. And so Edwards helped Jeffries pass the buck to Governor Sigler. Sigler lost no time in passing the buck back by saying that city mayors should take care of their own business. And he categorically refused to

tween the ballot discrimination shown to the Workers Party and the put rent control on the agenda of the special session of the Michigan discrimination shown to those of the State Legislature called for Monday, colored races. Both discriminations September 29. Governor Sigler is spring from the determination of the perfectly willing to call a special ruling class, the white capitalist session at a cost of \$400,000 to the overlords, to maintain "their privipeople of Michigan and not take up leged position of power." The naone of the questions most important tional secretary explained that the to the people of Michigan-rent con-Workers Party of the United States views the Philadelphia election camtrol.

Jeffries said that he would be willpaign as one of its most important ing to pass a rent control law in activities, since here, in a most prac-January if the situation was despertical way, the party is proving its ate then and there was no enabling

\$1.10 a Pound - -

fied.

(Continued from page 1) Packer355 .57 Jobber Retailer .69 Consumer 1.10 or \$3.25 if he is so flush as to be able to buy a

Philadelphia voters are being urged steak in a restaurant. Now let us see the extent of the to write in the names of I. Jack Raprofits thus being passed on to the Council and in the Seventh District consumer from stage to stage.

At birth in 1945, Hector, an Aberdeen Angus calf, weighed less than 100 pounds and at five cents a pound he was worth to his owner around \$5.00. At the age of one, when Hector was sold to the feeder farmer. he weighed 711 pounds and his price per pound had gone up from five cents to 16 cents, so that the feeder farmer paid \$114 for the yearling that as a calf had been worth only \$5.00. Of course, the rancher put in money to get Hector up from 100 pounds to 711 pounds. The cow that

mothered Hector cost something; the breeding bull that sired him was a big item on the ranch: but these went into the \$5.00 value at birth. Of course, there were the ranchhands to be paid. As to feed, his first

well known. The congressional subcommittee supposed to be "investigating" prices may be satisfied when they are told by Armour & Company, for example, that it makes only 1.8 centseon each dollar of sale. Corporations use this trick of stating their profits in terms of cents per sales dollar because to the consumer a cent is almost nothing at all. Even on this final basis, Armour & Company's profit increased 125 per cent over 1939, when it made only .8 cents

on the sales dollar. However, profits should be figured on investment, which in the packing industry is very low. On that basis, Armour's profits for 1946 were 228.3 per cent above 1945, for which the consumer was burcened with fan-. tastic prices. For 1947 the grab will be still more, for which the consumer is now paying. In terms of percentage return on investment for Armour & Company, the picture is:

1936-39 4,2 per cent 1942-45 6.8 per cent 1946 15.7 per cent

These are figures calculated by the CIO from the company's own published statements... The company's percentage for 1947 will soar even higher—the dollar-a-pound meat tes-

that the wages of packinghouse work-

ers are definitely not responsible for

the high prices, as claimed. But here

is the proof anyway. While the price

of meat at wholesale rose 90.6 per

cent in 1946, a price boost of a mere

1.6 per cent would have covered the

amount of the wage raises in that

This story of profits as the cause

of exorbitant prices can be carried

through from the packer to the

wholesale jobber, perhaps through a

Notes on West Coast Labor Movement....

By WILLIAM BARTON

SAN FRANCISCO, Oct. 3-In their most concerted move to combat the legislation. He is absolutely opposed West Coast maritime unions for a to passing a rent control law in Seplong, long time, the Waterfront tember without enabling legislation. Employers' Association has com-And in the face of 200 evictions a pletely shut down the ports of Los day in the city of Detroit, he denies Angeles and Long Beach this week. The official excuse for this lockcut was the three-month-old long strike There was another session of the of "walking bosses" against several ship and dry-dock companies who Common Council scheduled for September 30. At that time the Council have refused to recognize the CIO's was to vote again on a proposal to International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union as their barpetition the governor and the State Legislature to put rent control on gaining agent, utilizing the provisions of the Taft-Hartley law denythe January agenda and at that time pass enabling legislation for the city ing NLRB protection to "supervisory employees" as their official rea-The CIO Council ought to demand son.

The employers have not only refused to meet with the union but have even refused to consider any government arbitration, as provided in their contract with the longshoremen. The closing of the two large ports by the waterfront tycoons was preceded by a complete dismissal of all walking bosses in those areas. and the earlier bogus transfer of stevedoring operations to a supposed "independent" company by the Luckenbach Steamship Lines in San* Francisco.

The housewives of San Francisco are seriously in revolt against high prices. The lead has been taken by a group of women in the Sunnydale Housing Project who have organized a Council of Shoppers with the immediate plan of staging a one-week boycott of all dairy products, except those absolutely essential for children and infirm. The San Francisco Council of Women Shoppers, of which the Sunnydale group is a participant, is planning a city-wide conference on Monday, October 13, in preparation for a Congressional committee hearing on prices a few days later. Extension of the dairy boycott is likely to be considered.

A short time ago, several representatives of the city-wide council demonstrated with their children against a proposed increase in milk prices at a hearing of the state regulatory commission. Though an increase was granted, the activity of the women caught the imagination of the entire city, which soon dubbed their group "mamma's OPA." The recent action is a direct follow-up of these first efforts. Great work, gals. Now don't forget to get your husbands into similar holy wrath on

1.105 Thirty 1.105 0 A number of big-wigs have come

their union floors.

to town and several departments have held conferences in preparation for next week's National AFL Convention. Words, deed, and rumor have established the possibility of an attempt by John Frey, Chairman of the Metal Trades. Department and Richard Gray of the Building Trades to gang up on John L. Lewis for his "veto" of the anti-Communist jority. affidavit in the AFL Executive

penters. To the average worker these maneuverings are not too important in themselves. But they do reflect different approaches to the Taft-Hartley Act, likely to be the

most important issue at the convention. It is imperative for every union member to note how the leading officials of all AFL unions line, up on any question related to the fight against the boss governments in Washington and the State Capitols.

You've got to hand it to the bosses. If there exists any scheme whatsoever for booting the workers, they'll dig it up. Down in the famous San Joquin Valley, the long suffering farm laborers struck the huge Di-Giorgo Ranch to gain recognition of their union, a local of the AFL Farm Labor Union. Ninety-five per cent of the 1,500 regular workers went out, with the support of the teamsters who drive the trucks on the ranch.

But, the ranchers have found at least a tiny out. A local official of the U. S. Department of Agriculture has ordered a 130 contract workers from Mexico to return to work. Since they are under special contract, he claimed, they "cannot engage in any other labor dispute but one of their own." They can only be represented by one of their own people in such a dispute, he further said. Of all attempts to break workers' solidarity, this is the most shamefaced. Incidentally, the

strike is going purty well, otherwise. It's amazing how one never stops being amazed. A little item recently appeared in the local press that really adds a new twist to the housing risis. Nearly a thousand people are being evicted from a trailer camp in El Cerrito, right outside Berkeley. The land had been leased by the federal government from one John J. (Black-Jack) Jerome, real estate operator and former dog-track owner. The site now returns to Mr. Black-Jack, with the widespread opinion that it will soon be the scene for greyhound races. The residents are, naturally, burned up, and are organizing a mass meeting and a protest to the City Council. Anybody got a spare kennel and compressed sleeping bag?



(Continued from page 1) that the onus for delaying the con-

vention rests with the Stalinists. They undertake these actions in the hope that the rank-and-file delegates, unaccustomed as they are to the tedious sessions of the convention, will become disgusted and return to sea, while their own forces, held together by the CP machine, will remain at the convention. Thus they hope in a few weeks to gain a mechanical ma-

On Monday, Charlie Keith, a

Operators Press Speed-up In **Coal Mining**

By GERALD MCDERMOTT The speed-up system is coming to coal mining.

Known and hated by factory workers, the time-study system, with the threat of piece work and rate cutting, is being introduced into the coal fields of West Virginia, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Kentucky. The Pittsburgh Consolidation Coal Co. is to blame for this. The world's largest commercial coal company,

Pitt Consol, was formed in 1945 by Hanna and Mellon to make coal mining as "efficient" as an auto factory. This "efficiency" drive has begun

to bring into the coal mines, for the first time, the time-study man and his stop watch. Cutting, loading and other operations are being timed by men who know a lot about getting more work out of workers but know very little about coal mining.

This speed-up drive is barely beginning. But the president of Pitt Consol has shown how far he hopes to drive men. He expects before long to increase production to 30 tons per man per shift. The present national average is about five tons, and the best mines at present get only ten tons!

So if the bosses have their way, the great dangers of mining will be increased by making men work faster and faster, when any mistake can mean disaster. Already bosses in some Pitt Consol mines are offering prizes to crews that break production records. And some men are foolish enough to cut their own throats.

Much of the increased production is expected to come from improved machinery. Pitt Consol is developing a machine that will cut and load coal at the same time. In this way, cutting and loading will become one operation and drilling and shooting will be done away with. This would be fine if miners got the benefits of the increased production.

However, if the company can, it will keep wages the same and lay off men not needed. An answer to this would be for the UMWA to demand a six-hour day so that work would be divided up without loss of jobs. With the new machines, the company could pay eight hours' wages, or even more, for six hours' work.

the union to bar "religious, political or any other organization" from in-

terfering in the affairs of the NMU. The resolution was defeated by a vote of 372 to 314. This vote indicates that a large number of delegates, who are customary supporters of Curran, divorced themselves from him on this issue because they feared the resolution might be used in the future against any genuinely militant progressive group that might

oppose the administration. However, the Constitution mittee has brought in a number of

Write to Box 221.

BALTIMORE

International Fellowship House, 21 West Preston St., 2nd floor. Public forums every second Friday of each month.

Socialist Youth League meets every Monday at 8:00 p.m.

BUFFALO

639 Main St., 2nd floor. Office hours: 11 a.m.-2 p.m., Monday through Friday. Open meetings Sun-Discussion groups day evenings. D Thursday evenings. CHICAGO

1501 W. Madison Ave., 2nd floor, Chicago 7. Tel.: CHEsapeake 5798.

Office hours: 3:00-5:30 p.m. daily. Tuesday and Wednesday evenings.

CLEVELAND

WP Branch meets Sundays, 8 p.m., n Room 4, Slovenian Hall, 6409 St. Clair Ave.

DETROIT

6341 Gratiot, Room 10. Telephone: ·PLaza 5559.

For volunteer work in election campaign, send your name to local

LOS ANGELES

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with food and transportation and the original cost of \$114, Hector now stands at \$278 to the feeder farmer. At the Union Stock Yards in Write to J. P. Walters, Box 605. Omaha, Neb., through which 1,800,-000 cattle are sold yearly, the bidding for Hector, who is to be converted into prime meat, is heavy. He is knocked down, along with the whole herd, to a 35.5 cents a pound hidder-the highest price in history. Hector brings \$468-a profit of \$190 on a \$278 investment—a profit of 68 per cent. This too is passed on to the consumer. When Mr. Koyen got to the stage when the packers take over to convert Hector into a carcass and prepare him for distribution, his reporting was not as clear-cut as up to that point. He seemed to slide over the profit-take at this point. But the

and his mother's milk, and for Hector's mother, besides grazing, there was hay for making good milk. But Hector was one of a herd of calves. and that made expenses per head much less.

year Hector ate grass, drank water

Therefore, a \$99 mark-up on each yearling sold to the feeder farmer was not a bad profit for the rancher, not at all, especially when he got only 10.5 cents a pound for the same yearling and in 1947 is getting 25

cents a pound for him-almost 250 per cent above pre-war. The Nebraska State Bank in Valentine, in ranch territory, showed increases in bank deposits which re-

flect bonanza profits: June, 1939 ____ \$455,817 June, 1946 1.482.075

June, 1947 2,037,508 Those deposits, five times pre-war, are from profits that the consumer eventually pays out of his pocket. The feeder farmer, who has re-

duced to a science the fattening of

cattle for beef, now starts treating

Hector like a star boarder. Well he

may. For Hector and his brethren

are going to bring a 68 per cent prof-

it when sold at the Union Stock Yard

in Omaha to the buyers for the

slaughterhouse packers. First Hector

is turned out to feed on cornstalks

and grass; then he is confined in a

small yard for the final fattening

process. From light meals of corn

and alfalfa, his rations are gradually

increased until, his weight 1320

pounds (not quite double), he is fit

for slaughter. Mr. Koyen, of the

Tribune, figured item by item that

profits of the packing industry are

retail jobber to the retailer-but the plot is the same: PROFITS as high as the traffic will bear. Nor does the plot change for any other branch of the food industries. nor for any industry under capitalism. That is why so much emphasis

year.

must be laid on a root solution for the problem of living costs. The industries necessary to produce the wherewithal of life have to be taken out of private hands grasping for profits. The working people must socialize the food industries under workers' control, to produce for use. This will break the vicious circle.

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Council. Lewis' leading supporter ran supporter, brought in a proposal, tifies to that. It need hardly be said may be his erstwhile number one in behalf of the Constitution Comenemy, Bill Hutcheson of the Car- mittee, to amend the constitution of

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proposals that would serve to extend the democratic base of the union by giving policy-making power to a rank-and-file referendum of the union. This would prevent a clique in the National Council from usurping policy-making to themselves. So far all such resolutions have been stalled on the floor. As it stands now, the National Council has the right to override convention decisions and jam any policy it may please down the throats of the membership. HIT DISCRIMINATION Today Curran, in a surprise move,

shocked the convention by proposing that an election for all national offices be held immediately following the convention, and that all national officers tender their resignations as of that date. In doing this he indicated his confidence that his support in the rank and file of the union is much broader than that indicated by the convention delegations. Certain Stalinist officials were compelled to concur in the proposal because a number of the delegates who support them at present would be alienated if they admitted fear of taking the question to the rank and file of the union. Curran's proposal, however, was sidetracked indefinitely by a procedural action to table.

Among the few positive actions of the convention have been the passage of a number of resolutions against Jim Crow and discrimination against minorities and in support of Jewish immigration to any place in the world. Another resolution condemns Coast Guard interference in the affairs of the Merchant Marine. Still another resolution opposed the Truman program of universal military conscription.

All the activity at the convention thus far has indicated that there is a large group of rank and filers standing between the contending factions and seeking a positive solution of the present stalemate. By and large this group must vote with Curran because it fears that a Stalinist victory will mean the end of all opposition to the CP line in the union. Even where it disagrees with Curran, this group indicates that it understands that a victory for the Curran forces will mean the possibility for the development of a militant program in the future.

BY IRVING HOWE

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E.

Editorials

Truman Plan--

(Continued from page 1)

those who are too poor to eat meat on any but extra-special occsions!). We know too that as prices have gone up and up, millions of us have eaten less butter or none at all, and that the better cuts of meat are becoming a seldom-seen rarity on more and more tables. Note merely the startling growth of margarine sales, listed in detail two weeks ago in Jack Ranger's column in LABOR AC-TION.

The meat packers accuse the ranchers of holding cattle back, and want the government to intervene. The ranchers probably accuse the farmers. And all of them probably accuse the packers, as the end-profiteers. (See Susan Green's article in this issue.)

Two measures, only two measures, are proposed by way of interfering with business. One asks the distillers to cease production for two months, inasumch as liquor stocks are more than enough. The other makes a lot of whoop-de-doo about margin requirements on the commodity exchange. Nothing else is proposed to disturb the tranquility of "free enterprise"-its free and inalienable right to suck blood out of the people. Nothing is proposed to compel better production. Nothing is proposed to reduce and control prices.

The whole thing boils down to a monstrous fraud. Theirs is not a plan to make more food available to the needy of the world. It is a plan for making political capital out of the need of millions. to be used in the world imperialist struggle to bolster the U.S. position. And it serves the mulicious purpose of leading people to believe that the needs of the world conflict with our own right to demand a decent standard of living, which includes a decent standard of eating.

No one had a right to expect a committee headed by Luckman, or a "food cabinet" composed of Secretary of Commerce Harriman and others like him, to do better. These men are big business, and represent big business. They could not be expected to crowd the blood-suckers, because they are OF them.

And it is in crowding the blood-suckers that the solution lies!

If the millionaire cattle ranchers and meat packers can't or won't produce in sufficient quantity, and sell at price levels within the reach of the people, then it stands to reason that we dare not entrust them any longer with so serious a responsibility as supplying food. And the same goes for the big farmers.

The meat packers said something about asking the government to requisition cattle. Their loyalty to the prerogatives of "free enterprise" ran up against the snag that there is no profit for packers unless they can get the meat to sell. And profits are ALL they are interested in.

But they unwittingly gave the show away. Why doesn't the government requisition food as it requisitioned everything it needed during the war? Why? Because it is a capitalist government, dedicated to protecting capitalist interests.

But we are NOT capitalists! We haven't the slightest reason to be concerned with capitalist "rights" and prerogatives. What, then, makes better sense than for us to demand that the government nationalize the whole food industry from one end to the other-that is, take it out of the hands of the blood-sucking bankrupts—and operate it UNDER THE CONTROL OF THE WORKERS in the various branches of the industry? What interest has a packinghouse worker or a farm laborer in fleecing anybody? None whatsoever! He's the man to see to it that production is adequate to satisfy needs, and that prices are within reason.

Of course, the capitalist government won't propose anything like that, or agree to it. But. after all, it's only a government that represents the few. And the packinghouse workers and the kers of all industries millions upon millions strong-can say whether it is possible or not. They are the ones who do the work! And they can get their own kind of government to do their bidding. cerned with feeding the hungry in other lands, just as we are naturally concerned with high prices here. Not for Truman's imperialistic reasons, but for reasons of class solidarity and comradeship and simple humanity, the bond that links us in common interest with the people of every nation against want, AND against the imperialist designs of the Kremlin despotism or the U.S. Helping them, we help ourselves to freedom and security in a world of plenty. We should be prepared to help, and to sacrifice, and to eat less, if need be. But let's do it right. Let's have a hand, THE hand, in distributing food abroad, through supervision of government shipments of food by our unions in cooperation with the unions, representative people's groups, in other lands. And, with that, let us move toward controlling the source! Let us see just how much can be produced, and just how much has to be sacrificed. And let us remember that the major part of the problem lies in helping the people of Europe to re-establish their shattered economies.

true of the fancy dining places of the wealthy. How many families can afford to waste food? There IS criminal waste in the kitchens of the rich. Fortunately, the rich are few in number. Nor are food shipments abroad the cause of

high prices here. This lie has been nailed more than once. Two weeks ago we devoted an editorial to the figures which showed that, while prices were zooming in 1946, overseas food shipments were negligible in comparison with total consumption here. And if there were really a conflict, it would simply demonstrate the inadequacy of this system. Food for Europe? Yes.

Lower prices? Absolutely!

And there is no contradiction between the two.

Production is in the hands of those whose aim it is to feed the hungry, and not to mulct profits out of need.

Prices are controlled by those to whom low prices are a necessity for proper living, and not an obstacle to stupendous profits.

To the extent that the President's proposals, which caused so much furor in the Democratic Party press when they were mouthed by Taft of Taft-Hartley fame, are not affronts to the intelligence of the people, they are hopelessly meaningless and pitifully inadequate.

It is time for labor to step in with ITS proposals and demonstrate the leadership which it alone is capable of exercising. It is time for labor, we repeat, to demand:

NATIONAL PRICE CONTROL, SUPERVISED BY LABOR AND POPULAR CONSUMER COMMITTEES. NATIONALIZATION OF THE FOOD INDUSTRY UNDER WORKERS' CONTROL!



France is approaching another election campaign-this time involving municipal elections in all cities throughout France. Although these elections will not have any decisive political influence upon the country's immediate development, the results in this month's voting will be of major symptomatic importance.

To begin with, de Gaulle's newly created party-a reactionary organization organized by the most extreme right-wing elements in the country with the would-be dictator at its head-has decided to risk the first major test in the parliamentary field by running candidates in its own name. Further, the elections will give an answer to the often asked question: Has the French Stalinist movement declined? Has Stalinism reached its peak in France, and is it now on the downgrade? Thus this month's elections will serve as political sign posts to those concerned.

The French Stalinists are, of course, centering heir campaign around a crude and even chauvinistic anti-American program. Anything and everything American is denounced, in the most unrestrained and indiscriminate manner, in their press. Little or no distinction is made between American imperialism, its capitalist exponents and the American working class, along with its labor movement.

The newspaper Figaro, leading publication of French conservatism and Catholicism, summed up the dilemma of French Stalinism in a recent editorial. It is this dilemma, described by the paper as the negative policy of "neither revolution nor recovery" which lies at the heart of the difficulties of the French Communist Party.

Figaro, however, must ignore the equally signifiant dilemma of the other, anti-Stalinist side, composed of French reaction and American capitalism. Its program too is "negative"—that is, the preservation of the increasingly feeble French capitalist system, together with a long revealed inability to bring about a substantial economic recovery in the nation. It is precisely this failure of the capitalist of producing only new wars and new opposition to Stalinism which accounts for the crises. That International died with strength of that movement. It is ure of both political camps which accounts for the stalemate and stagnation of the country. The analysis of French Stalinism is, nevertheless, worth reprinting in part for its accuracy Yes, we surely have every reason to be con- and keeness. It confirms the approach to European Stalinism that LABOR ACTION has had for a long time. Below are the important points made by Figaro: "In reality, the situation of the French Communist Party is dominated by certain facts that should be regarded as decisive in the present political situation. The first of these facts is the strict subordination of the French Communist Party to the Government of the Soviet Union and the absolute discipline with which the party is at the disposition of the masters of the Kremlin. "The second fact is this: By her situation at the extremity of Western Europe and facing Britain, by her ports on the Atlantic, and by her African possessions, France is included in "the American zone of security" and the United States cannot tolerate the presence of her virtual adversary on Atlantic shores. "Now, it is likely that the Soviet Union, ill recovered from the terrible blows of the war just ended and inferior to the United States from the technical point of view, does not wish a test of arms in the immediate future. It seems little likely that they [the Russians] will ask French Communists to make an early attempt at insurrection.



British Tories and Nationalization

By IRVING HOWE

As if to underline the contention advanced in this column that the partial and greatly limited nationalization of several industries by the British Labor Party government is not, and has nothing to do with, socialism but is rather part of an inherent tendency of capitalist economy in its late stages, news reaches us that the British Conservative Party's convention has come out in favor of "a good deal of the nationalization of industry that has already taken place. (Herbert Mathews. New York Times. October 2.) Since the Conservative Party is the acknowledged spokesman of the British capitalist class and the traditional political vehicle of British imperialism, it can hardly be suspected of "socialistic" designs; its declaration is clearly proof that the British capitalist class knows that it is sheer nonsense to speak of socialism in England, even though it may be useful campaign demogagy.

The report of Herbert Mathews is highly interesting in this respect. He writes that one delegate to the Conservative convention, Sir Waldrom Smithers (hear! hear!), took the floor to denounce the party's stand on this question as "milk and water socialism," but "was laughed down by the 3,000 delegates" of whom not more than 12 voted against this position.

Now this should not be taken to mean that the British Conservative Party is happy about nationalization, or that if itself in power it would have nationalized all the industries which the Labor Party government did. (Though it seems likely that it would have been forced either to nationalize the coal industry or set up some scheme whereby the government became a partner in it, for clearly the coal industry could not survive as a private venture.) In fact, in his keynote speech to the Conservative convention, Anthony Eden declared against any further nationalization.

In a word, then, the British capitalist class through its political party, declares that nationalization, at least as thus far effected, is not a threat to capitalist economy and is in fact on indispensable crutch in that the government takes over unprofitable industries and handsomely compensates their former owners with high interest bonds. Thereby it shows considerably more perspicacity than a number of American liberals and "radicals,"

For, by one of those minor twists of history, this declaration by the British Conservative Party comes only a very few days after a discussion conducted in the pages of The Nation, in which a number of liberals plumped for the British government as the true vehicle

Stalintern Replies to US --

(Continued from page 1) meeting as those organizations which were present. The totalitarian nature of Stalinism guarantees the uniform ideology and activity of all of its parties no matter where they reside. Already the initial comments of the American and British Stalinist press are noteworthy for their identity. But that too is not hard to understand once it is realized that these comments really emanate from Moscow and its agents.

The old Communist International was a voluntary association of Communist Parties all over the world, bound together by common socialist principles, and dedicated to a struggle for the construction of a new and free society from amid the ruins of a disintegrating capitalism capable the victory of Stalin in Russia and the assassination of the old Bolshevik leaders of the Russian Revolution and the leaders of the independent parties by Stalin's GPU. The old Communist International became transformed into the Stalinist Inter-

national, composed of parties whose principles and activities have nothing in common with the old organization. The Stalinist International is nothing but the world agency of the Kremlin, its international brigade whose sole reason for existence is to advance and protect the interests of Russia's new ruling class of bureaucrats.

SIGNIFIES OFFENSIVE

The uniformity of Stalinist policy all over the world is of course the living proof of the above characterization of the Stalinist International. Observe for a moment who was present in Poland: the Russian Stalinist Party and state officials; and the state officials and party leaders of Poland, Rumania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Jugoslavia, Hungary, Italy and France. And were these heads of states and parties in nine countries meeting merely to es-

for the achievement of socialism. The discussion was occasioned by an article by Margaret Marshall in which she raised the following question: why are American radicals and liberals so indifferent to the "British experiment" where socialism is being built while civil liberties are being preserved, while twenty-five years ago they were wildly enthusiastic about the Russian Revolution? She then called for American liberals and radicals to throw their support to the British "experiment in democratic socialism" as an alternative to American capitalism and Russian totalitarianism. This article elicited enthusiastic responses from a number of prominent individuals, among them Sidney Hook who generously declared that it was the best article The Nation had printed in 12 years.

Now all of these people are in a rather embarrassing position. Their discussion, especially the Marshall article, simply took for granted what it should have had to prove: that socialism is being built in Enlgand today. They mistook partial nationalization within the framework of continued capitalism for socialism; they mistook partial nationalization in which the capitalist class retained social control over the nationalized industries and for which they were liberally compensated by bonds which increase and regularize their wealth for a genuine socialist regime in which workers would themselves take over industry, run it in their own behalf and totally expropriate the capitalist class.

But along comes the spokesman of British capitalism. the Conservative Party, to give its blessing to nationalization. Are we then witnessing the unprecedented phenomenon of a ruling class not merely peacefully acquiescing to its own gradual destruction but actually giving its virtually unanimous approval to the process? If so, then this is the eighth miracle which makes the previous seven seem paltry by comparison. And though we are accustomed to seeing all sorts of strange and grotesque sights in modern society, we do not think we shall live to see the day when the British capitalist class approves of its own destruction. That is too much . . . even when sponsored by a scholar like Sidney Hook.

In our opinion, the statement of the Conservative Party makes the entire discussion in The Nation seem ludicrous, and more important, quite completely smashes the illusions of those who think any kind of socialism is being built in England today. What is happening there is simply the classic pattern of reformism plus certain emergency measures (nationalization) required by the extreme situation of British capitalism. It is not quite necessary to toss the Marxian theory of the state into the ashcan-not by a long shot!



The biggest joke of all associated with the conference is the decision to establish its world headquarters in Belgrade. But there will be no misunderstanding this decision if one realizes that the way to spell Belgrade is M-o-s-c-o-w.

The anti-socialist and anti-working class character of Stalinism is reflected precisely in the fact that this Polish conference was able to pro-

duce a document which has not the



GRAPES OF WRATH AGAIN

Recall the conditions of the migratory farm workers in California in the 1930s, as depicted in Steinbeck's "Grapes of Wrath"? And how the federal government, in an effort to alleviate the growing militancy of these workers, stepped in and constructed a number of federal farm labor camps throughout the state? Well, the federal government is pulling out now and it will be surprising if conditions do not soon return to those of 12 years ago.

The two boss parties united in the last session of Congress to slash appropriations for maintaining the federal camps. A few days ago the government leased the camps for \$1 a month until December 31. To whom? To the workers who live there? No, to the wealthy ranchers. After December 1 the wealthy ranchers plan to buy the camps.

There are some 20,000 workers and their families who live in the 27 camps strung throughout the state. The camps hold from 250 to 1,800 persons each.

The very first step the ranchers took after taking over the camps from the federal government was to raise rent from 3 to 100 per cent, according to a story in the Wall Street Journal. At the labor camp in Woodland, rent for a single tiny room was raised from \$2 to \$4 a week. At the Yuba City camp, rents were raised from \$1,50 to \$2.25 a week on the 268 one-room sheet metal shelters, and from 4 to \$6.75 a week on the larger apartments.

The Journal said only a few beefs were received from tenants about the rent increase. If this is true, it is because of the raging housing shortage. Camp managers say they have had to turn away thousands of families. Woodland camp has been 80 per cent occupied even during the winter when migrant farm work declines. Overcrowding is common at the camps. At Woodland, for instance, "as many as 10 people are crowded nto a single 16 by 14 room."

The ranchers are already beginning to "screen out trouble-makers," according to the Wall Street Journal.

How long will it be before the class struggle breaks out anew in California between the farm workers and the feudalist ranchers? So long as food prices remain at the peak, the ranchers will probably grudgingly give their "hands" enough to exist on. But when food prices drop, the old struggle will be resumed.

STATE ANTI-LABOR LEGISLATION

Just for the record, here's a list of the antilabor legislation enacted during the 1947 state legislative sessions throughout the country. Sort of background music for the Taft-Hartley law. Bills to curb jurisdictional strikes, secondary boycotts and sympathy strikes were enacted in at least 12 states-California, Delaware, Iowa, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Texas, Utah and Wisconsin. Some of these state legislatures are Democraticcontrolled, others are Republican-controlled. They are equally anti-labor, just as both capitalist parties gave majorities in Congress to the Taft-Hartley bill.

California's legislature outlawed jurisdictional strikes and gave permanency to the state's antihot cargo law prohibiting secondary strikes, secondary boycotts, sympathy strikes and picketing in support of any of these activities. A new Delaware law outlaws secondary boycotts and mass picketing. lowa's legislature outlawed secondary boycotts and jurisdictional disputes, and authorizes the use of injunctions against labor, providing fo a fine of \$100 or 30 days in jail for persons found guilty of violating the law. A new Michigan statute outlaws jurisdictional strikes and mass picketing; it also prohibits coercion of a fink or blockading of highways under a penalty of a \$1,000 fine or six months in jail. Another provision outlaws picketing of private residences. Georgia's legislature passed a measure to restrict mass picketing, while a new Pennsylvania measure makes picketing of a struck plant by non-employes an unfair labor practice. A new South Dakota law makes mass picketing or inducement of others to picket unlawful. The Texas legislature enacted a measure making it unlawful to engage in mass picketing and fixing the number of pickets which may be used in strikes. You can't say the boss politicians aren't aggressive on behalf of their masters, who are looking ahead to the industrial civil war that will break out when the depression is upon us. I wish it could be reported that labor's leaders were as aggressive and far-seeing as are the bosses and their politicians. But we all know that is not the case. And we know why. The very labor leaders who should be working to strengthen the unions and educate the workers to prepare for the coming struggles are in bed with the very same politicians who jammed through the Taft-Hartley law and the anti-labor laws of the various states. Such labor leaders are company-men politically. They work for the success of the Republican and Democratic parties which are successfully striving to shackle the unions. Intelligent workers will aim to force their leaders to break with the capitalist parties and launch the national labor party, or to throw out the misleaders.

The same thing holds for prices and food supplies to meet our own needs. There is, or COULD BE, plenty for everybody, if we removed the heavy tribute exacted in fabulous profits. Thus, socialism is the real solution and we must fight for its victory. While working toward that end, there are things we can do and demand now.

Prices must come down. They won't come down voluntarily—that much has been proved over and over. They have to be forced down, and controlled. The CIO, other groups, have come out for price control. Good! But we must make it real controlcontrol in the hands of those people who are really. interested in control, namely, in the hands of workers' and consumers' committees.

Waste is not the cause of scarcity. This, the capitalist system, is by definition and operation a system of scarcity. The lurid tales of waste are

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EMANUEL GARRETT, Editor EDITORIAL BOARD LBERT GATES HENRY JUDD IRVING HOWE

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"It is therefore, essential that French Communists now keep and increase their strength with the voters, hold to their posts in the administrative offices and regain their place in the government if they are to prevent France from yielding to the attraction of the United States.

"The French Communists cannot run the risk

of permitting that economic recovery or social peace be attained without them. A policy of sabotage of recovery efforts is essential for them to prove not only that 'it isn't possible to govern without the Communists,' but also to keep France in a state of revolutionary tension acute enough so that a revolution would be possible when the requirements of world strategy cause the Soviet to give the signal.

"More precisely, and in a more immediate sense, Communist agitation has another aim-to discourage the American will in favor of economic aid to Western Europe. If strikes succeed and French production cannot get its normal rhythm; if the Communist Party grows in strength, and if American suppliers of credit have the impression they are dealing with a country doomed to anarchy or on the verge of sliding to Soviet obedience, then the United States will cease to take an interest in France, and France will conceive a resentment against the United States that will be profitable to Moscow. The aim is to turn Americans away from France, and Frenchmen from the United States.

"The present policy of the Communist Party, therefore, is a negative policy-neither revolution nor recovery.'

tablish an "information bureau," as the Daily Worker says, echoing the slightest internationalist socialist and official statement of the conference? working class content. It is merely To hold such a conference merely an "anti-war" and "anti-imperialist" for the purpose of establishing an . appeal of one set of warmongers and information bureau would be like a imperialists against another.

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LABOR ACTION

By JACK RANGER

HENRY WALLACE's great-grandfather, John, an Orangeman, got out of Ireland in 1832, a few years ahead of the potato famine, and settled in Pennsylvania. A son, Henry, was born in 1836. The family must have been well off. Henry graduated from college, studied at a theological seminary at Allegheny, taught school, and was ordained as a preacher in 1862. Thirty years old at the time, he was a moral man and sat out the Civil War. In 1863 he was married and accepted a Presbyterian pastorate in Monmouth, Ill. He remained a pastor until 1876 when failing health dictated that he give up his church duties. With his wife and five children he settled on an Iowa farm, drifted into editorial work for the rural press, and in 1895 bought a paper which became "Wallace's Farmer." He continued his editorship until the black camel which kneels at every one's door came for him in 1916.

Henry Cantwell Wallace (father of our Henry) was born in 1866. He attended agricultural college in Iowa, married in 1885, had six children (of which our Henry was the eldest). For 14 years he was secretary of the Cornbelt Meat Producers Association, a marketing organization. At the death of his father he assumed editorship of the family paper. Like his father, he was a Republican. President Harding, that great Christian statesman, appointed Wallace' Secretary of Agriculture, a post to which he was reappointed by President Coolidge, and filled until his death in October, 1924. Wallace was a Presbyterian and "a loyal supporter of Y.M.C.A. work."

Our Henry—Henry Agard Wallace—was born October 7, 1888, In Adair County, Iowa, while his father was teaching on the Ag campus at Ames. His childhood must have been secure. The eldest of six children of a solid Republican, Presbyterian, wealthy family known throughout lowa, he attended the local grade and high schools. As a boy, he raised prize-winning corn, which wasn't pretty but gave an abundant yield of hardy ears. He received his B.S. from lowa State College in 1910, traveled to Europe in 1912, married an lowa girl in 1914. The Wallaces have three children, two boys and a girl. Henry served on the editorial staff of Wallace's Farmer from 1910 to 1924, and at the death of his father assumed the editorship, which he held until 1933 when he was appointed Secretary of Agriculture by President Roosevelt.

Henry, in his biography in the Congressional Directory, gave additional information about his earlier life: "Devised first of corn-hog ratio charts indicating probable course of markets, 1915; author of many publications on agriculture; chairman, Agricultural Round Table, Williamston, 1927; delegate, International Conference of Agricultural Economists, 1929."

A GOOD KIND OF CORN

Wallace's experiments with higher-yielding strains of corn are considered an important contribution to plant genetics, and are mentioned by Paul De Kruif in the latter's "Hunger Fighters." Humanity needs better grains, and this was a genuine social contribution from Wallace. It is likely what he will be best remembered for. No doubt a socialist society would know how to draw the best out of a man like Wallace. But this society has abused him terribly. It took him away from his worthy experiments with corn in lowa, and brought him to Washington where he began evolving a different type of "corn," and one that has never been of any positive social value.

Wallace, like his forefathers, was and is a successful business man and farmer. An owner of farms in Iowa and other states, he organized the Pioneer Hi-Bred Corn Co., becoming president and general manager. In 1944, this firm, said to be the first modern seed-corn drying and processing plant in the world, had sales of \$4,000,000. Wallace probably clears \$50,000 a year from the business.

Wallace also showed business acumen in 1929 when the family lost Wallace's Farmer, it being merged with the Iowa Homestcad, a bankrupt magazine. Wallace, abroad at the time, cabled his objections. Though the journal passed out of family control, Henry remained as editor until 1933.

Like his forefathers, Wallace was a Republican while editing Wallace's Farmer. However, in 1928 he supported Al Smith because he felt Smith had "social vision."

Through Morgenthau, Wallace met Roosevelt when the latter was governor of New York. Wallace's support for Roosevelt in 1932 is credited with carrying lowa for the Democrats. Maybe it helped but a mad dog could have carried lowa and the farm belt against the Republicans in 1932. Those were the years of farm foreclosures, and of mass action by the farmers to stop the foreclosures. The very center of militant farmer action against the banks was in lowa.

Roosevelt appointed Wallace his Secretary of Agriculture in March, 1933, Wallace serving until his resignation in September, 1940, to run for the vice-presidency, to which he was elected in November, 1940. During the next four years, Wallace served as Roosevelt's "ambassador of good will," traveling to Latin America, China, Russia, India. He was also head of the Board of Economic Warfare, and thus a member of the "war cabinet." When Roosevelt accepted Truman as his vice-presidential candidate in 1944, he offered Wallace as a consolation prize any cabinet post save Secretary of State. Wallace chose to be Secretary of Commerce, but before he could take office, Congress took the RFC-that \$32-billion pipeline from the government to.Big Business-away from the Commerce Department. Wallace remained in office until his politically inexpedient speech at a Stalinist rally in Madison Square Garden in September, 1946. Truman asked him to resign and he did. In November, 1946, he became editor of the New Republic at \$15,000 a year, a post he still holds.

fink farm truck was trying to get to town. The truck would have to stop, and if the fink still didn't see the point, his milk was dumped. The bankers and the big-city papers thought the world was coming to an end, and it pretty nearly did-their world.

By 1934, the militant farmers, through John Bosch's Farm Holiday movement, were hooking up with the unions in the cities. In Minneapolis, for instance, during the 1934 drivers' strikes, farmers drove into strike headquarters almost daily with truckloads of food for the strike commissary.

From the viewpoint of capitalism, the situation was genuinely fraught with danger. A hook-up between the worker and the farmer is the winning combination against capitalism. Roosevelt and the state governments had to act fast. Various states put through farm mortgage moratorium laws, and the Roosevelt administration passed the Agricultural Adjustment Act.

The AAA was just a mean capitalist law, with as much social value as a dead catfish. It's sole purpose was to win back the farmer to capitalism, by artificially limiting production and artificially raising farm prices. It was the technique of monopoly capitalism, applied to the countryside, and administered through that section of big farmers closest to the bankers—the Farm Bureau.

The AAA served the purpose of Roosevelt and of capitalism. Wallace, in peddling the AAA, was just another liberal in office, one who feels that it is enough to have liberal ideas and thoughts privately just so long as you remain in office. To remain in office, you have to play ball with the big banks and insurance companies. Wallace played ball. For several years he tried to double-deal the Farm Bureau, but in the end he knuckled under. Office and political power were more important to him than the fight for principle.

The AAA was designed to help the big and middle farmerat the expense of the small farmer, the tenant farmer, the sharecropper, the farm laborer, and the consumer. That is exactly what it did, and Wallace headed the AAA.

Under Wallace's directives there began that monstrous policy of plowing under crops and destroying food and farm animals, that has probably done more than anything to awaken the people with bad eyesight to the insanity of the capitalist system. Corn and cotton were plowed under, 6,000,000 young pigs were killed, farmers were paid for NOT planting crops, and of course farm prices rose as farm surpluses were cut down or wiped out or held off the market.

Listen to this. When strong objections were voiced to the slaughter of pigs at a time when millions of families throughout the U.S. were on the verge of starvation, Wallace had the gall to spout off with the crack, "People are more important than pigs." By "People," Wallace meant the wealthy farmers who served to gain most by the destruction of pigs (and other farm produce). Wallace did not mean the people who would have to continue going

without pork-and oranges and potatoes and wheat and milk. There are People and there are people. Wallace is true to the People. In 1936 the Supreme Court, still with a Republican majority,

threw out the AAA, the NRA and a few other New Deal measures. But the AAA was continued in its essentials, and was combined with Wallace's "ever-normal granary" and Roosevelt's farm-subsidy plan.

FARM PLAN IS DOOMED

From the viewpoint of boss politics, the plan has worked, in that it has served to swing the farmers away from radicalism. But it is still too early to say that the system of guaranteed federal subsidies for farm products will continue to work. The plan was already beginning to swamp the government in 1939, when the huge stocks of wheat, cotton, potatoes, eggs, etc., were spilling outside the nation's warehouses. The war was unleashed, and saved the farm program as it saved capitalism in general; and the huge foreign demand for U. S. farm produce has continued to make the Roosevelt-Wallace farm program look very good indeed. But give it another five years, and the plan won't look good at all. You can write this in your hat. Once the inflated foreign demand for American food is broken, the program will be put to the test. There will be a terrible pressure from the masses for lower food prices, a pressure which even today is mounting steadily. There will be a glut of farm produce. There will be the fight by the farm lobby to continue the federal subsidies and the guaranteed prices for farm commodities. That section of Big Business not having extensive farm holdings or interests will be ready to throw the farmers to the dogs, in the interests of lower food prices and lower factory wages. Something will have to give. The weakest force will be the farmers, and they will give.

Under the Roosevelt-Wallace farm policy, the big farmers have gotten bigger and richer, and the middle farmers have gotten rich. The other rural classes have suffered and the worker has suffered.

WALLACE GETS THE SQUEEZE

By 1944 Roosevelt was having more difficulty holding his party together. Under the wartime social strain, it was coming apart at the seams. That was the Democratic convention, where Byrnes. Wallace and Truman all entered, believing they had Roosevelt's backing for the vice-presidential nomination. Wallace and Byrnes discovered at Chicago that Reosevelt had forgotten to sign their checks. The liberals messed up Byrnes' chances, the Southern Democrats and the big-city machines tossed Wallace aside and put Truman in as Roosevelt's second. This was the vice-presidency that counted.

Stepping down a notch to the Department of Commerce, Wallace tried to cotton up to big business. He submitted plans to stimulate foreign trade, to disseminate statistical and technical data to business men ("particularly to small business men") and to seek 60,000,000 jobs. But Wallace had no time to apply his plans. He made that speech in New York City last September, attacking U. S. policy on Russia, and Truman (who had approved the speech beforehand) forced him to resign. Wallace was the last of the New Dealers to leave Washington. This too is quite a comment on the man. His over-all grade in Washington: zero.

After he left Washington, the hopped-up post-war economy reached and surpassed Wallace's "60,000,000 job" slogan.

WALLACE AS N. R. EDITOR

The first issue of the New Republic to come out under Wallace's editorship was that of December 16, 1948. Any reader can satisfy himself that the magazine is worse than ever-more fuzzy, more senile, more pretentious and more hollow. Even for the purposes of this article, I cannot goad myself to read the dreary pages of that unhappy magazine. Like The Nation, it long ago lost all social value for the people. Warmed-over Teddy Roosevelt trust-busting, dressed-up Stalinist prejudices, elephantine comments on the third and fourth rate issues of the day-without passion, without understanding, without confidence, without courage. That is the New Republic, and The Nation too.

Editing the NR is just a sideshow to Wallace's main circus. which is drumming up sentiment and support for Wallace, the politician, the aspirant to lead a "left wing" of the Democratic Party.

WALLACE'S WRONG GUESS

Unfortunately for Wallace's political future, he was a terribly wrong guesser in the early years of the war. He guessed that the forced marriage of Moscow and Washington, stemming from Hitler's attack on Russia, would continue into a post-war world. He overestimated the strength of Stalinism in the U.S. He committed himself quite irrevocably to stooging for the Stalinists.

Wallace is not a Stalinist, he only likes the support they give him in return for his support to Russia. Wallace in his own crude way must recognize Stalinism as an anti-socialist doctrine. Wallace himself is repelled by socialism. In the closing chapter of his book, "Statesmenship and Religion," he wrote in 1934: "Neither socialism nor communism meets the realities of human nature as I sense them. Both of them have an emotional dryness, a dogmatic thinness which repels me. They deal in the dry bones of the 'economic man' and I crave in addition the flesh, and blood and spirit of the religious and artistic man."

Wallace dreads the class struggle in all its aspects. In the same book, he wrote: "The bitterness in the hearts of many of the communists and farm strikers in this country appalls me, adding that, "of course, our hope lies in the fact that the great bulk of laboring men, farmers and business men, are neither bitter nor rapacious. They are patient, long-suffering people, slowly struggling to find the light."

Wallace likes to see his masses "patient and long-suffering." He must feel that the Stalinists see eye to eye with him on this point. Ever since 1941 the Stalinists have been playing up Wallace big in their press, have drummed up big meetings for him. For his part, Wallace has consistently apologized for Russia and its slave economy and lack of workers' rights. He has campaigned for such Stalinist candidates as Johannes Steel and Vito Marcantonio. A year ago, in the speech at Madison Square Garden which resulted in his forced resignation from Truman's cabinet, Wallace proposed that American imperialism recognize Stalin's "sphere of influence" in eastern Europe and Asia, and that the two powers work out a friendly division of the world. In a dispute with Baruch over U. S. atomic policy, Wallace took the part of Stalin.

Today he is the chief attraction of the Stalinist "Progressive Citizens of America," which sponsored his tour across the U.S. last spring and will probably tour him again this fall.

group said its purpose is "to fight for progress in the tradition of Franklin D. Roosevelt" (!).

Frank R. Kent, a conservative columnist, has taken the measure of Wallace and the Stalinists accurately: "For 13 years they have been registering and voting Democratic," he wrote recently. "They still are—and they will be in 1948. The third-party talk is a bluff. They do not want a third party for obvious reasons.... For the Communists to go third party with Mr. Wallace would be to break away from the CIO leaders who, now that Mr. Truman has vetoed the Taft-Hartley labor bill, certainly are not going to follow Mr. Wallace solely on his foreign-policy views, with which they have no sympathy."

It is obvious that Wallace's Stalinism has led him into a blind alley from which there is no escape. The Democratic Party has lost what traces of liberalism it had in the middle 1930s. Stalinism is losing support both among its working class and middle class followers because of its reactionary line in the trade union movement and because of the growing schism between American and Russian imperialism.

There is only one chance that Wallace's political fortunes might be revived for a time. A blazing revolutionary situation in Europe or Asia could throw the two great imperialist powers of our time into a temporary united front for the purposes of crushing the socialist revolution. Such a rapprochement might throw Wallace into prominence, but this period would be shortlived.

Setting aside the above contingency, there is no future for Wallace in American politics. The Democrats won't accept him. A genuine labor party movement wouldn't touch him with a tenfoot pole. I predict that Wallace eventually will leave politics and devote himself to some variety of mysticism, perhaps even to Rome.

Born a Republican, Wallace later became a Democrat. Born a Presbyterian, he was attracted by the ritualism and social superiority of the high Episcopaleans, and became a convert to that church.

He is blue-eyed, gray-haired, five feet ten, weighs 170 pounds, fancies himself as an athlete. He plays an inhibited game of tennis, throws the boomerang, does setting-up exercises and takes brisk walks to keep his mind off things.

He can believe more things in one minute, dear reader, than you can believe in a year. He is a vegetarian, a tea-leaf reader, a devotee of fortune-tellers and crystal gazers, mystic, a faster, a seeker after esoteric knowledge, an astrologist, a health crank. He won't hunt or fish because he hates to see animals die, yet he had no compunction in ordering the destruction of six million piglets. He thinks the labor fakers are naive for selling out so cheaply to Truman, yet he let the Stalinists sell him the idea he had a future by stringing along with them. He fancies himself a liberal, yet in every political crisis while he was in power, he applied the boots to liberals and liberal ideas in favor of America's Sixty Families. He doesn't smoke, doesn't drink, doesn't tell dirty stories, doesn't swear, fancies himself as a moral man, yet strings along with the foulest nest of counter-revolutionaries in history, the Stalinist gang.

Wind. Nothing but wind.

WE ASK TOO LITTLE

It is preposterous that labor should ask so little from people who set themselves up to be leaders of the masses.

Here was Wallace, occupying a leading post in the federal government for 14 years.

During years of huge unemployment, did he ever proclaim that the government was letting the unemployed starve?

During the Little Steel strike in 1937, did he ever say a word on behalf of the union victims of the Chicago police?

During the 1939 WPA strike, when strikers were shot down by the police, did he ever protest by so much as a peep?

When Roosevelt, acting for the Sixty Families who rule America, dragged this country into war, did Wallace protest the imperialist nature of that war?

When Roosevelt organized the scientists to produce atom bombs for use against civilians, did Wallace protest?

When Roosevelt framed the Trotskyists in Minneapolis and sent them to prison for their opposition to the war, did Wallace protest?

The list could go on and on. The liberal reader, the man with the penetrating eyes, may reply: "Be practical, man. If Wallace had done any of these, he couldn't have remained in the government."

THAT is the most overwhelming comment on the Roosevelt administration, and on Henry Agard Wallace.



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WALLACE AS POLITICIAN

We are only interested in Wallace, the politician, and in his 13 years in Washington, and his free-lance politicking of the past year. Judged on that record, he is only a big wind from Iowaylacking in any principle save the desire to remain in, or recapture, political office; lacking in any idea save that of preserving the status quo; lacking in any inspiration save that of winning support for the Democratic gang of politicians. He has no political talent, and has the political judgment of a backward child.

Dwight Macdonald, in Politics earlier this year, fairly exhausted Wallace as a subject for radical criticism, and also exhausted some of his readers. His article is an excellent one. and we are grateful to him for writing it, though it seems to me that Macdonald took Wallace's measurement the hard way, and that he was soft in places where it would have been better to bear down.

Things in 1933 were just as tough on the farms as they were in the cities. I recall a trip through southern Minnesota and Iowa during the Farm Holiday movement - gangs of grim-looking farmers with rifles and shotguns under their arms, all set to "go huntin'" on any day a farm in the neighborhood was due to be foreclosed. The sheriff usually took the hint. At times the farmers would organize to hold their produce off the market-milk for instance—in order to wrangle a raise in price. They had a cute trick to teach country finks how to line up. An old tractor belt, studded with nails, would be hauled across the highway when a

We're Sorry

-but we just can't fit it all in. We have been compelled to omit comment and analysis on many important domestic and international events, and to reduce the space we have given to others. We have found it necessary to hold for next week an article on the arrested Polish Socialists by A. Rudzienski, the value of whose articles is well known to LA-BOR ACTION readers. Also: an article analyzing the labor vote in Cleveland, two article on the UAW, a radio address by Herman Benson, an article by Susan Green on the billions spent for military research, etc. For reasons of economy, we cannot afford to remove material already "set" to cover all late developments. In time, everything will appear. So, make sure that LABOR ACTION reaches you every week.

I have talked to enough farmers to know how the plan works, and the sly view they have of the plan. A farmer will agree with the Department of Agriculture to cut down his wheat acreage, for instance. But then he will shift that wheat to his best land (if he is a big farmer) and will cultivate that land more extensively, coming up with a larger crop than he had before. The government has already pledged to take the crop off his hands at a guaranteed price. Playing this game, the odds are against the house, and the farmer with lots of land can win every year, unless there is a drought, which there hasn't been for a decade.

Recently there have been several stories in the nation's press of farmers who had a tough time weathering the depression, who didn't have enough money in 1935 to buy a tire for the farm truck and who today are worth a quarter of a million and more. I know such a family. Last fall when they went to town to shop, they bought a couple of Buicks, a new tractor, a refrigerator, a stove, a deep-freeze unit, a truck. This family voted for Roosevelt in the depression. Now that the family is back on its feet it has swung back to the Republicans. This is what is driving the Democrats mad.

Wallace did a good job for capitalism as Secretary of Agriculture. But he didn't do a good job for the poor farmers and the workers. His grade thus far: Zero.

WALLACE IN THE WAR

The Second World War was an unpopular war, not only in Europe but in the U.S. The people here were against the war, they didn't want the country to enter the war, and they didn't like the war after they got dragged in. They don't like the peace, either.

Roosevelt knew the war was unpopular, and knew that, in the interests of America's Sixty Families, it was necessary to take the nation into war. In 1940 he needed a good bullshooter to team along with him as Vice-President, someone who would whoop it up for the war, someone with a liberal reputation who could make a lot of people feel that even if Roosevelt was going to war, he was still, by God, sticking with the liberals. Wallace was a natural for the job and Roosevelt tapped him on the shoulder. Wallace went around chanting that the war was "a fight between a free world and a slave world." He compared it to the Civil War. He said the war was part of the "march for freedom." He found lots of quotations in the Good Book to justify the war. He proclaimed that the war was a "people's revolution." He whooped it up for the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms and the People's Century. The liberals with the penetrating eyes ate it up, and the labor skates used Wallace's phrases to sell the war to the workers.

As head of the Board of Economic Warfare, Wallace bought up war supplies in foreign countries, partly for the U.S. war machine and the U.S. economy, partly to keep the supplies out of the hands of the imperialist rivals of Washington. In his good will tour to Asia, Wallace told the Chinese they were fortunate to be guided "by the mature wisdom of President Chiang," and he told Stalin's slave laborers in Siberia to their faces that they were "free pioneers." Fortunately, they didn't understand his inanities.

As head of Roosevelt's atomic policy group during the war, Wallace agreed with the group's recommendation to expand vastly atomic research, and to give the War Department hegemony over the bomb. There is no record of Wallace's objecting to the use of the bomb against the Japanese people.

Wallace did a good job for capitalism as Vice-President during the war. He did his best to sell the imperialist war to the people as a crusade for world justice. But he didn't do a good job for the American people, for whom the war only brought death, servitude in the armed forces, crushing taxes, swollen prices. His grade thus far: Zero.

I attended the Wallace meeting in Chicago at the Arena. The composition of the audience was poor-all middle class, with a sprinkling of Stalinist CIO officials. Over Wallace's oratorical talents we'll draw the curtain of mercy.

The Stalinist line today is to try to build up a strong Stalinist wing of the Democratic Party and force concessions on foreign policy from Truman. The CP agrees with the old-line labor fakers that "now is not the time to build a Labor Party because it will split the progressive vote and bring a Republican victory."

Wallace accepts this line. But in order to retain the ear of the masses, the Stalinists and Wallace must talk radical, must talk of a new party (they are always careful to specify a "third party," not a Labor Party).

Wallace is so crude that his real intentions stick out of his speeches like a sore thumb. He means to back the Democrats in 1948 but he thinks the union bureaucracy is too quick about committing itself to support Truman. In a Labor Day editorial in the New Republic, he wrote that "no labor official interested in political progress will proclaim support of the present administration AT THIS TIME (my caps—J. R.).... Some progressives, through an astounding naivete and lack of political judgment, are dissipating their power with PREMATURE pledges to an administration which has not earned the support of progressives.... No liberals can safely pledge support to this administration at a time when our foreign policy includes the support of reactionaries everywhere ... and makes only feeble gestures to win liberal and labor support."

Wallace would consider it a truly handsome gesture on the part of Truman to select Wallace as the vice-presidential candidate, say, or to take Wallace back in the cabinet.

On September 11, speaking at Madison Square Garden, Wallace said he would work within the Democratic Party to prevent it from committing suicide by continuing its war-like policies. He repeated his stale threat to form "a new party of liberty and peace," but it is clear from his line that he will string along with the Democrats so long as he remains in politics.

The new Independent Progressive Party of California, pledged to support Wallace for President in 1948, was founded August 24 by 600 Stalinist liberals and trade unionists in Los Angeles. The

In our analysis of Henry Wallace, we have not referred to the Roerich matter, about which Westbrook Pegler has been beating his typewriter in recent months. Briefly, Pegler charges that Wallace was a follower of Nicholas Roerich, leader of a mystical oriental cult, and of Louis L. Horch, a disciple of Roerich's; that Wallace, in letters to Roerich, referred to the latter as "Guru" (meaning teacher by divine selection), to Roosevelt as the Flaming One and the Wavering One, to Cordell Hull as the Sour One, to the British as monkeys, to the Russians as tigers, and that Wallace signed himself "Galahad"; that Wallace regarded Roerich as a divinely chosen leader, and appointed his disciple, Horch, to various important posts in the Agriculture Department, and organized for Horch, at the taxpayers' expense, an expedition to Mongolia, ostensibly to hunt for grass seed.

Pegler and Frank Kent and a lot of other reactionaries get all hot and bothered about this case. We have a slightly different view of the matter.

Suppose Wallace does follow the Roerich religion. Hasn't he the right to follow any religion he wishes, or to renounce all religion? Doesn't the Constitution guarantee freedom of religion?

Why should Pegler, a Roman Catholic, become so upset about Wallace's religion? Pegler believes in a different brand of spookery, that is all. What if Wallace did put a few of his fellow religionists on the Department of Agriculture payroll? I am sure Pegler wouldn't dare to argue that no Catholic politician ever overlooked a bet to pad the public payroll with Catholics, and to spray government money the priest's way.

Wallace has the right to believe in any brand of spookery he wishes, and Pegler, in exposing Wallace, only exposes himself as a bigot.

