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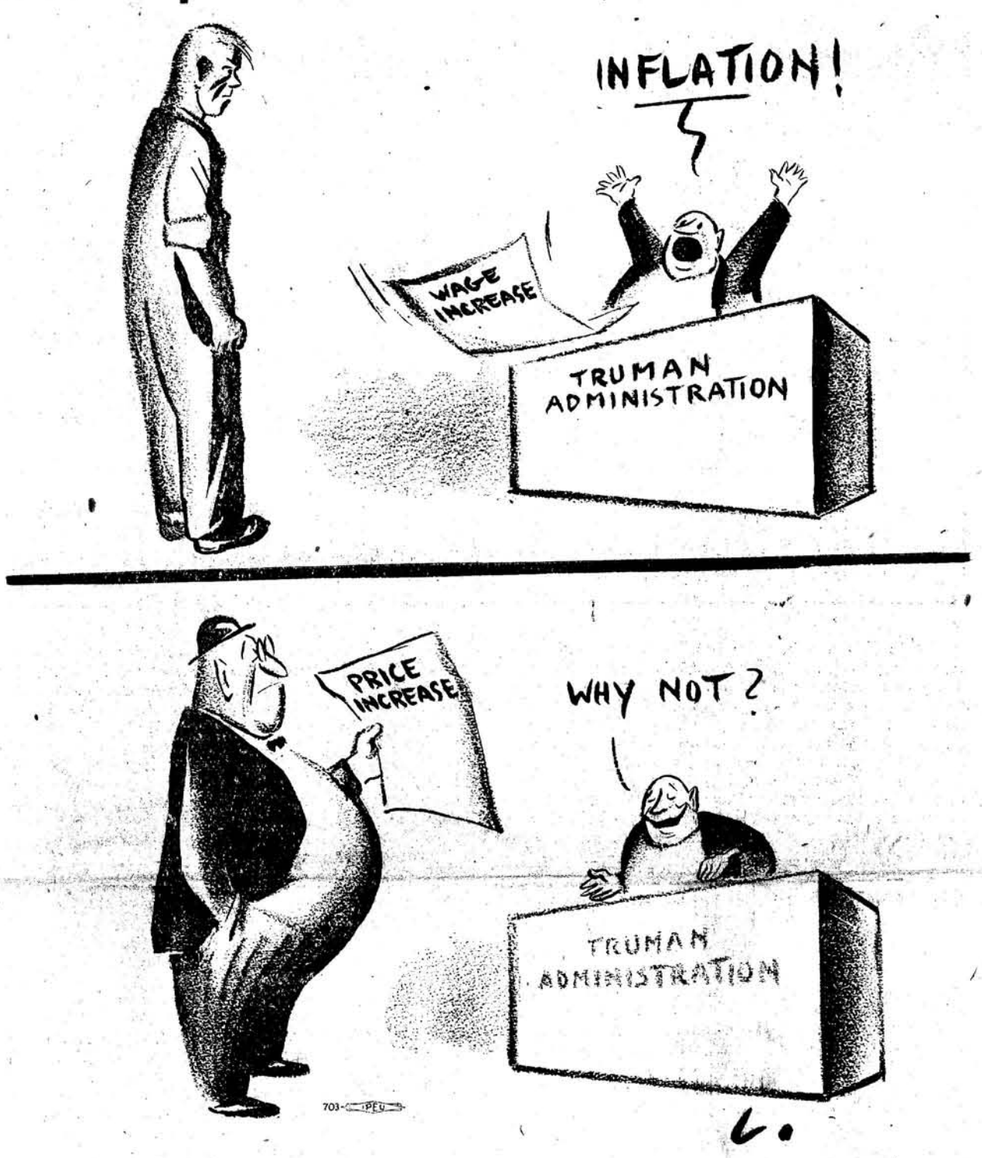
LABOR ACTION

OCTOBER 7, 1946 A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR FIVE CENTS

BREAK THE MEAT TRUST!

It All Depends on Who Asks!



Nationalize Meat Industry Under Workers' Control!

By EMANUEL GARRETT

The packinghouse workers in the most recent issue of their union paper call it: *"By Order of Congress — SCORCHED EARTH IN MEAT INDUSTRY."*

And it is exactly that. The packing monopolists have deliberately created a meat famine, aided and abetted by Congress. There is virtually no meat available, except what can be bought on the black market. And in this situation 40,000 *PACKINGHOUSE WORKERS ARE IDLE.*

It is a case of profits versus the people. It is a case of an industry that reveals the operations of capitalist "free enterprise" in its crassest form. It is a case of callous robbery.

There Is Plenty of Meat!

In a speech at Albuquerque, N. M., Secretary of Agriculture Anderson referred to "short supply" in meat. But he carefully added that the supply of "range cattle" was adequate, and in some cases *more than adequate.*

Said Anderson: "That to a nation that already has 80,000,000 *cattle*—52,000,000 *of them beef cattle—may have serious implications."*

The implications are indeed serious. And Anderson, who played the packers' and rangers' game by granting a rise in the price of meat, will never draw them. The real implication is so plain that it cries for a statement:

Nationalize Meat Industry!

Meat is plentiful on the range. Anderson admits it. The New York retailers who marketed and slaughtered their own cattle proved it too.

Why then do the packers, in collusion with big rangers with whom they operate check by jowl, refuse to bring meat to market?

The answer: their only allegiance is to their own wealth, their profits, and not at all to the people who must have meat. They are socially a bankrupt lot. It is time that this vital industry was wrested from their grasping hands.

Therefore, we say, as has UPWA, the packinghouse workers union: nationalize the meat industry. And we add—

Under Workers' Control!

By itself nationalization will not meet our ends. We have gained little if the management and control of this industry is shifted from the hands of the monopolists to their servants in the governmental apparatus.

Can Anderson control the meat industry in our behalf? He stated the case against himself when he permitted this unscrupulous gang an unwarranted increase in prices. Or Truman? All these men are part and parcel of the capitalist system; they live by it, they uphold it. They CANNOT serve the people.

But the packinghouse workers CAN. They are not interested in profits. *Their interests are identical with those of the great mass of people*—including the poor farmers who are equally gouged by the packers and big rangers.

The packinghouse workers have the know-how. It is they who slaughter the animals, prepare the meat for market. They have no need or use for the gang of brigands whose sole contact with meat is the profit they draw from it.

And the packinghouse workers are alive to the problem. Read the current issue of their paper, and you will see that it speaks, in defending the welfare of the packinghouse worker, for the welfare of the people as a whole.

Expose Huge Profits of Trusts

The packinghouse workers use the phrase: profits versus the people. They detail the enormous profits of the meat trust —including its Latin American subsidiaries. Frequent mention is made of Argentine beef, for example. But this beef is largely controlled by Swift, Armour and Wilson. And, as the Packinghouse Worker says, there is gold in beef!

In 1945 *Swift made* $5,250,000 *on Latin American operations, and* $25,600,000 *in operations outside Latin America. Armour that year made a total profit of* $30,000,000; *Wilson, a profit of* $12,900,000.

How much they have gouged from the consumers for 1946 remains to be seen. But Lyle Cooper, UPWA research director, offers the following evidence:

Between September 1, 1945 *and August* 31, 1946 *the packer paid the farmer an increase of* 43 *per cent per hundred pounds of hogs* ($14.75 *to* $21.13); *THE PACKER CHARGED THE RETAILER AN* 87 *PER CENT INCREASE* (24.21 *CENTS PER POUND TO* 45.28); *the retailer charged the consumer a* 76 *per cent increase* (29.35 *cents per pound to* 51.65).

These are facts. The facts explode the lies of the meat trust. And they show that the end sufferer is the consumer, with a squeeze on the retailer in passing!

Requisition the Meat!

The meat is available. It is there on the hoof. More than that, we say it is there in the warehouses too!

You remember that in July and August cattle were rushed to market even where they were not ready. Meat output during these months was 2,644,000,000 pounds—308,000,000 pounds more than during the same two months last year.

Where is this meat? The army is not taking as much as it was in 1945. *Perhaps there was increased consumption, although the fantastically high prices during those months made it impossible for the poor consumer to "indulge" himself. The Packinghouse Worker says: "It's a safe bet that hotels, restaurants, clubs, etc., and a lot of wealthy people hoarded at least that* 308 *million pounds."*

We suspect there is also plenty of meat in warehouses. Months ago while the packers were howling about a meat shortage, the packinghouse workers revealed that there were millions of pounds in cold storage, awaiting a rise in prices.

Governor Tobin of Massachusetts and

(Continued on page 8)

Sees Price Control Committees As Answer to Dealers' Attack

By BEN HALL

DETROIT, Sept. 27—The Detroit Retail Meat Merchants Association is circulating a petition among its customers calling for the abolition of OPA control of meat. Unfortunately, many gullible housewives are being taken in by the meat dealers' propaganda and are signing their own names to take money out of their own pocketbooks.

The association's propaganda is quite clever. Its petition reads: "OPA Vs. Meat on Your Table! We accuse the OPA of bungling the nation's meat supply and would like to have your opinion."

What is the OPA guilty of? One main thing: it does not and cannot control prices effectively. It does not and cannot cope with the determined resistance of the meat profiteers!

In effect, the profiteers themselves are saying: "You see, the OPA cannot control us. It cannot force US to sell meat at low prices. Therefore, if you want meat, you had better get rid of price control."

That is a fine answer... for the profiteers. But the working class must not and will not accept the ABOLITION of all price control merely because the OPA represents ineffectual price control. No! What we want is effective and aggressive price control instead of timid and vacillating price control.

Prices CAN be controlled and supplies of the goods of life provided. To do it, however, we have to carry out such a program for price control as is advocated by the Workers Party:

Form popular price control committees! Committees must be formed among the packinghouse workers, among the teamsters and railroad workers, among the retail clerks, among consumers and housewives.

These committees can and must control the production of the goods needed by all the people, and they can ensure their distribution at low prices.

They Prove There Is Meat

If any further evidence was needed to prove that the meat shortage is an artificial one produced by the big packing interests, it was supplied by two large retail butchers in Brooklyn last week.

"All the meat you want," was the promise these two retailers, the Fort Greene Retail Market and the Joy Retail Market, made to the thousands of customers who lined up outside.

And to prove that it was no hoax, those customers getting near enough could glimpse meat stacked on the counters nearly to the ceiling. In addition, the proprietors boasted that their cellars were full and that they had an "unlimited supply."

The whole secret of their success is that the markets are large enough to operate their own slaughter-houses. As a result, they buy directly from the range and by-pass the meat trust.

The manager of one of the markets stated that their buyers had just returned from a trip to Iowa where "they bought all the cattle they wanted." While the meat on hand was limited to beef, the market promised that lamb would be available later in the week.

The meat is sold at OPA ceiling prices and, without a doubt, the farmers are paid accordingly. This conclusively explodes the propaganda of the meat trust that the shortage is caused by the farmers' refusal to sell at OPA prices.

It likewise seems to completely answer that childish yarn of President Truman's to the effect that the shortage is due to our having eaten too much meat during July and August when the ceiling was off! (The President is probably alarmed over what could have happened to our health as a result of eating all that meat in the hot weather. But then what did he expect us to do when steaks were selling for as little as $1 a pound and our pockets were bulging at the rate of 80 cents an hour?)

Packinghouse Worker Says:

We publish below the major part of an editorial that appeared in the September 20 issue of the Packinghouse Worker. In our opinion it is a forceful statement that should be read by all workers. Further, we reprint it and make frequent reference to the Packinghouse Workers Union in our lead article because we think what the packinghouse workers say is of special importance in this situation.

We disagree with some of its formulation, such as the references to "betrayal" by Congress. Congress is the servant of capitalism, and it did NOT betray capitalist interests.

So, too, while we are completely in accord with the Packinghouse Worker on the necessity of political action, we consider the argument incomplete and ineffectual if it is not concretized in the shape of a Labor Party.

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Members of the UPWA need not be told of the ravages in the industry. We have labeled it the **scorched earth** policy of vested wealth as pitted against the people of the land.... One of the nation's most important food industries has been mutilated for weeks to come....

Today, in packing, men are being wasted through lack of jobs, there is no meat for consumers, and attempts are being made to smash what little remains of price control.... After that uncontrolled inflation. Uncontrolled inflation is a form of robbery by those who have much as against those who have been forced to live on little.

Meanwhile reaction screams! The Chicago Tribune attempts to divide the UPWA by pitting the leadership against the membership.... Its lies will not be accepted by our people, but the propaganda is part of reaction's pattern.

Packers have rushed to the press with paid advertisements—advertisements that cost thousands of dollars. Armour and Company pleads its innocence through national advertisements and emphasizes that the industry will do "everything it can to make restored OPA ceilings work."

At no times does the Armour advertisement say that the firm has not made amazing profits in these times when thousands of packinghouse workers have been unemployed....

These are examples of packers' piousness in this crisis. And, of course, packers are but a part of this scheme to destroy price control. The NAM boasts of its part in killing effective price control while it admits that people wish to retain OPA!

Yet, if it had not been for a sell-out Congress all this would not have come about. It was a test whether or not the Congress of the United States would consider the welfare of the nation as a whole or the welfare of representatives of vested interests and wealth....

Strong unionism, determined and collective political action is the road ahead. The future welfare of the UPWA will depend upon how well the job is done in the days which lie ahead.

$600 Invested—$2 Million in Profits

Cost-Plus Pays Off for Profiteers

By SUSAN GREEN

The St. Johns River Shipbuilding Corporation of Florida started to build ships for Uncle Sam with a capital investment of $600, on which pittance the corporation reaped a profit of $2,080,000. By quiz kid figuring, or any other, this is a yield of about 3,500 per cent on invested capital. Sweet indeed are the rewards to capitalists taking big wartime "risks"!

Spectacular as this rate of profit is, the amount of profit is only chicken feed. Nineteen shipyards that "risked" at most $22,979,275 of their own money, made a wartime profit haul of $356,006,612. Something like a 1600 per cent profit on invested capital for these paytriotic shipyard operators, these merchants of death!

This happened—and it is not all, for wartime profits for all capitalists pyramided to a new historical high—right under the nose of that most idealistic of all presidents, Franklin D. Roosevelt. Perhaps the workers will recall that FDR made a pledge to the American people: **"Our present emergency and a common sense of decency make it imperative that no new group of war millionaires come into being as a result of the struggles abroad. The American people will not relish the idea of any American citizen growing rich and fat in an emergency of blood and slaughter and human suffering."**

These words were only dust in the eyes of the people being mobilized for a war they didn't want to fight. Mr. Roosevelt was too shrewd and worldly a capitalist and politician not to understand that World War II would—just as its predecessor had, only more so—make many new millionaires and turn millionaires into billionaires.

A little more proof of this wartime transformation was given at the hearing before the House Merchant Marine Committee, at which the Maritime Commission was exposed by the General Accounting Office of the government and from where come the above profit figures. You see, when the politicians fall out among themselves, the people get a few revealing facts.

Ralph E. Casey, representing the General Accounting Office, told the House Committee: **"At no time in the history of American business, whether, in wartime or in peacetime, have so few men made so much money with so little risk—and all at the expense of the taxpayers, not only of this generation but of generations to come."**

And why not, according to capitalist standards of morality! The biggest war in history, the most soldiers wounded and dead, the most civilians killed and made homeless and diseased, the most cities demolished, the most war atrocities—then why not the most money for the fewest, by capitalist standards!

How was it possible to make such huge profits on such picayune investments, since modern industrial equipment for the production of ships costs a pretty penny? Well, there was good old Uncle Sam. Shipyard operators invested $22,979,275, or rather, as Marvin Coles, counsel for the House Committee, stated: **"This**

(Continued on page 7)

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Ask Special UAW Conference

By WALTER JASON

DETROIT—A growing and powerful movement among the secondary leadership of the UAW-CIO for the calling of an emergency national conference of the UAW-CIO to outline a new wage struggle policy developed this week, following action of Chrysler Local 7, spearheading such a demand.

This movement originated on Sunday, September 22, when the entire leadership of Chrysler Local 7 unanimously adopted a program presented by Nick De Gaetano, chairman of the educational committee.

OFFERS PROGRAM

The key paragraphs of the program were:

"Now with the re-opening of the Chrysler wage negotiations, are we going to assume the same role as the GM workers did by spearheading an automotive strike wave, and thus repeating the mistake of taking the corporations one at a time, causing another cycle of small strikes? I think we should follow the steel and electrical appliance workers' example by taking up wage negotiations on an industry-wide basis."

"Therefore, due to the present emergency situation, I recommend that our local union demand that our international union immediately call a special emergency conference to discuss ways and means in making the issue of Chrysler workers, the issue of all the automotive workers. And if strike action is necessary, let that action be on an industry-wide scale."

The significant thing about the adoption of this program was that it was unanimous, without regard to previous factional lines in the UAW-CIO.

Subsequently, a meeting was called of all East Side local union presidents, and there Reuther forces joined with Stalinists and others in voting to support the demand for an emergency conference.

AROSE IN RANKS

Budd local likewise passed a similar motion calling for an emergency wage policy conference.

It is important to understand that this movement arose in the ranks, and is directed, in a sense, against the entire leadership of the UAW-CIO, for the top leadership seemed to be entirely pre-occupied with or paralyzed by the deadly factional struggle.

As a matter of fact, the question of a good program for the situation now confronting all auto workers is posed by the demand for an emergency conference. Here is a golden opportunity for Walter Reuther, or any other top UAW-CIO leader, to demonstrate his ability as a leader, by coming to the fore in this movement, and by presenting a rounded-out program for combatting the inflationary crisis, and concretely, for handling the Chrysler negotiations which are to begin in the middle of October.

The Boss's Dictionary

Philanthropy:

Labor Unity Beats Pittsburg Injunction

By JESSIE KAAREN

Challenged by a united labor front, the courts of Pittsburgh beat a hasty retreat, rescinding an anti-strike injunction and dissolving a one-year prison sentence against the union president representing the Duquesne Light Company workers. It is worth special note that the two men responsible for the injunction are both "friends of labor" Roosevelt New Dealers. One of them is even supposed to have helped frame Pennsylvania's anti-injunction law!

Despite antagonism to the independent union and to its president, the CIO and AFL of Pittsburgh supported the striking union in order to beat the injunction. The power of an aroused and united labor movement was never more concretely demonstrated than in the quick success that followed.

The howl set up by the capitalist press should be heartening to workers of Pittsburgh who closed the steel mills, stopped transportation and cut down power in this baronial stronghold of heavy industry, for it exposes the naked fear of the capitalist class when confronted by UNITED labor action.

WHAT LABOR CAN DO

"It has been proved here that in a strongly unionized community the local government and even the courts are powerless to enforce their ideas for protection of the public welfare (whose welfare? — J. K.) when organized labor acts as a unit against them." (World-Telegram, September 28.)

"It has been shown that when leaders of the AFL and the CIO combine to advance their conception of the workingman's interests (the World-Telegram's is obviously different—J. K.), a community of nearly two million people can be brought to a dead stop.

"Much greater and more lasting than the huge financial damage from the strike is the damage to the prestige of the government and the courts," continues Fred W. Perkins in the World-Telegram.

These remarks by a reactionary columnist are written for the purpose of agitating Congress to pass more restrictive labor laws. But the labor movement can draw its own conclusions from the fears expressed, and draw its own directives for the future.

FIGHTING ALONE

Unfortunately, the united front broke down as soon as the injunction was withdrawn. The comparatively small independent union of about 3,500 power workers is now slugging it out alone without the support of the CIO and the AFL.

The present strike is the fourth against the Duquesne Light Company since last February. It culminates months of fruitless negotiations between union and company over the union's demands, which include a 20 per cent increase, revised pension plan, profit-sharing for employees and public, union shop and a master contract. The company's offer of a five per cent increase or settlement by arbitration was rejected by the workers.

The tremendous boost given to the union by organized labor's support in its struggle against the injunction should help its members outgrow the prejudices to which they seem to cling as a result of an "isolationist" attitude toward the main streams of labor.

NEW YORK VOTERS: All friends and sympathizers of the Workers Party are requested to be sure to register between the days of October 7 and October 12.

One-Tenth of the Nation

By J. R. Johnson

This column calls upon all readers and friends to rally to the support of Ernest Rice McKinney against those who are trying to keep him off the ballot.

Note the word *all*. I say all and mean all. Republican or Democrat, anyone with an ounce of justice or an ounce of sense should put everything into the struggle for McKinney's rights. Whoever thinks that this is purely a question of the Workers Party candidate is mistaken.

BILBO AND DEMOCRACY

Senator Bilbo is one of the most unsavory and vicious characters who ever took part in the political life of this country. Bilbo shamelessly abuses millions of fellow-citizens in Congress. Bilbo for years has made anti-Negro racism the main burden of his election speeches. This last election in Mississippi he incited his supporters to keep Negroes away from the polling-booths by force. He went on the radio shortly after and boasted that he had been a member of the Ku Klux Klan. And he did this at a time when anti-Negro violence was surging throughout the South.

Yet Bilbo sits unchallenged in his place in Congress. In other words, all these crimes are as nothing compared to the fact that he is elected by the majority of the voters in his constituency who are allowed to vote. In our opinion, as long as Bilbo remains in Congress he is one of the most discreditable elements of that capitalist state organization. That it can tolerate him is evidence of the little respect it has for any genuine democracy and the great concern it has to maintain anti-Negro thought and practice in the country. The people protest; white and Negro protest. But Bilbo is "elected" by Mississippi, and the Senate is satisfied to have Bilbo.

But Ernest Rice McKinney is not being chiselled off the ballot in Mississippi. The Senate has no control over him. This is something that the people of Harlem can do something about. They can utter such a roar of protest as would make all the authorities recognize that the people are aware that a scandalous injustice is being proposed.

McKinney is opposed to everything that Bilbo stands for. McKinney is a socialist, a Red if you like. But being a socialist he is opposed not only to the poll-tax and to lynching. He is opposed to the system which breeds scoundrels like Bilbo and is governed by a parliamentary body which tolerates people like Bilbo in its midst. Harlem, above all, has a right to hear McKinney. That Bilbo should sit in Congress and McKinney be kept off the ballot is intolerable.

WHO IS McKINNEY?

McKinney is no literary and propagandist socialist. He has many years of active work in the labor movement behind him. He has been the leader of organizations of the employed embracing thousands of workers both white and black. Not only Negro Harlem but all organized labor in Harlem therefore should recognize that this is a challenge. Is Bilbo to sit in Congress and a labor man be kept off the ballot?

Finally, McKinney is a Negro. This means that Harlem has the opportunity of deciding a political issue without complications of color. Congressman Powell is a Negro. State Commissioner Reynolds is a Negro. McKinney is a Negro. Good. Now there can be no talk about electing a Negro to represent Harlem. That slogan undoubtedly had its effect. People, and not dumb or ignorant people, were tempted to say: "Maybe there are things about Powell that we don't like, but we would like to see a Negro representing a community predominantly Negro. If politicians are no good anyway, then let us have a no-good Negro."

That argument falls to the ground now. We have a Democrat, a Republican and a Socialist. The Harlem people can choose. They have a right to be able to make their own choice. But to do so McKinney must be on the ballot. It is a duty that should be recognized by all, whatever his political views. If Harlem should recognize its duty and insist that McKinney get on the ballot, even if it does not vote for him, then a real blow will have been struck at all that Bilbo stands for.

Strike Again Ties U. S. Ports

NEW YORK, Sept. 30—A new crisis on the waterfront came to a head tonight as government representatives worked overtime once again to avert an imminent strike by the Marine Engineers Beneficial Association and the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union, both CIO, and by the Masters, Mates and Pilots of the International Longshoremen's Association of the AFL. Here in New York, members of the MEBA and MMP readied their organizations for the picket lines on Tuesday morning.

The mates and engineers, who have demanded a 35 per cent increase and other improvements in working conditions, have declared that they will not work without a contract. The present agreement expires at midnight tonight. If a satisfactory agreement is not reached before then, they will hit the dock with a total of 27,000 officers. Both AFL and CIO seamen's unions have pledged their support to the strike, which means that shipping will once again be tied up "tighter than a drum." Earlier this month both MEBA and MMP respected SIU-SUP and NMU picket lines.

SOLID FRONT

On the West Coast tonight dockers belonging to the ILWU-CIO, led by Bridges, are preparing to strike at midnight for a 35 cent increase and improved working and safety conditions they have been demanding. Their lines will also be respected by CIO, AFL and independent seamen's unions just as they did earlier this month. The militant San Pedro Local 13 has already jumped the gun on the Pacific Coast by issuing its strike call for six o'clock this evening.

The solidarity that will manifest itself on the waterfront this week will guarantee victory for the strikers. This solid front on both coasts has only one weak spot in it. The International Longshoremen's Association-AFL, led by Joseph P. Ryan (president for life), has negotiated a wage agreement with East Coast bosses which again sells the AFL longshoremen short.

The agreement, which runs to October, 1947, was opened for wage negotiations only, and "King Joe" decided fifteen cents was enough of an increase at present. The rank and file bitterly disapproves of this sell-out and where it is organized to do so, is preparing for a "wildcat" action at midnight tonight.

RANKS PLAN WILDCAT

Ryan, who only two weeks ago attempted to get dockers to bust a CIO seamen's picket line, is now up to his old finky tricks by trying to discredit the rank and filers who won't take his sell-out lying down. At this time last year, it will be remembered, Ryan's hand-picked negotiators signed an agreement that fell far short of what the membership wanted.

A wildcat strike ensued that Ryan tried to break and finally was forced to recognize. At that time, the Communist Party tried to horn it way into the newly formed "Rank and File Group," but from all reports did not have great success. The group remained "rank and file" and continued to express its well justified hatred of the Ryan machine, which represents the lowest in the trade union movement.

The CIO maritime unions have pledged support to the "Rank and File" ILA picket lines. This is forthcoming not only because CIO seamen recognize their cause as a good beef but because the Stalinist leadership of the CIO maritime unions is still trying to horn in on the ILA-AFL revolt.

It would be well for the AFL seamen to support and help guide the "Rank and File" ILA'ers. Finky Joe Ryan is on his way out. How soon depends on how effectively the opposition organizes.

Will he be replaced by the democratically-elected officials of the membership or by a Bridges-CP dictatorship? It is the duty of all militant maritime workers to see to it that the first and NOT the second of these two alternatives takes place.

PHILLY FORUM DISCUSSES WP PRICE PROGRAM

By FRANK HARPER

PHILADELPHIA — What can be done to control runaway prices? What force in America can bring about effective price control? These were the questions answered by Ernest Erber, editor of the New International, at the first of a series of Fall Forums sponsored by the Workers Party of Philadelphia.

The speaker refuted the conventional objections to Price Control. He proved that Price Control is not utopian, that prices can be controlled despite the miserable record of OPA.

GM PROGRAM

Elaborating on the OPA, Comrade Erber pointed out that this program was not designed to effect real Price Control, that is, it was not designed to be thorough-going but was created to insure smooth functioning of the war economy.

The wage and price demands of the G. M. division of the UAW early this year have been the only valid Price Control demands of labor. The demands of "Wage Increases Without Price Increases" and "Open the Books to the Union" were in essence revolutionary demands. The only effective Price Control is control by the workers through their unions at the sources of production and distribution. The unions must make political demands for Price Control in conjunction with economic demands for wage increases. Unfortunately the CIO in general did not back the UAW demands and price increases have devoured the wage increases that were gained on the picket lines.

NEXT FORUMS ANNOUNCED

In the discussion period following the lecture it was pointed out that the Black Market was only "business-as-usual" operating in violation of the law instead of being small scale racketeering as so often depicted.

James Fenwick, organizer of the Philadelphia local of the Workers Party, invited the audience of 50 and all readers of LABOR ACTION to attend the next Forum, *Hunger in Europe* on Friday, October 25. Additional Forums were announced on the topics: *What Has Become of the Russian Revolution, Literature and Politics,* and *Psychoanalysis and Politics.* Announcement was also made concerning classes starting October 16 on: *History of the CIO, Program of the Workers Party,* and *The History of the Fourth International.*

LOUISVILLE POLICE BALKED BY MAYOR, PRESS LABOR OFFICIALS IN UNION ORGANIZATION

LOUISVILLE—The policemen of this city have for some time been trying to get the city fathers to recognize their AFL local. In support of this unionization drive, the AFL threatened to call a general strike but has since retreated. Following an ultimatum by Louisville's Mayor Taylor that he will not even "think of reopening negotiations until the threat of a general strike is removed," Edward H. Weyler, AFL secretary-treasurer, agreed that "it would be a good thing if everyone had a little time to cool off."

A special panel of three AFL and two CIO representatives has come up with a proposal that is hardly in keeping with good unionism, and would set a dangerous pattern that the AFL and CIO presumably oppose. This panel produced a formula which, according to the Louisville Journal of September 22, would provide for limited recognition, "in return for which police would take an oath not to strike, not to call on fellow unionists to strike on their behalf, and to do their duty to the public in any situation."

The measure of this proposal is amply indicated by the Mayor's response. Taylor considers this formula a working basis and is willing to meet with the Labor-Management Committee if the strike threat is called off. The Mayor obviously knows that a union that cannot strike, that cannot call on other unionists to assist it, and pledges itself to engage in activity which may include strike-breaking is NOT a union.

Mark Ethridge, publisher of the Courier Journal and with a national reputation as a great **Southern** liberal, has offered a solution much like that of the panel, with the following additions: "Wages must be viewed as a budget matter, not as a bargaining matter"; "a committee chosen by members would have the right" to petition the city on working conditions.

It is not yet known at this writing what the police will do in face of the combined opposition of mayor, press and, disgracefully, the local labor officialdom.

WORKERS PARTY PRESENTS

BIZARRE-BAZAAR

Have Your Fortune Told—See Yourself Caricatured
Save Your Shopping for the Bazaar
Dance to the Music of "Le Jazz Hot"

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 1, 1946

CARAVAN HALL, 110 East 59th Street

Admission: $1.00 Plus Tax

TAPPING THE WALL STREET WIRE

By JACK RANGER

Paste this one in your hat, to refer to when the Eightieth Congress reconvenes in January. President Truman's advisers, who have been racking their brains to figure out a way to outlaw strikes in the basic industries, have come up with a plan whereby, when such a strike appears, a committee of both houses of Congress would proclaim that a "national emergency" had arisen because of the strike and would invoke compulsory arbitration. The Labor Department believes that a blanket compulsory arbitration law would be too crude, but that if introduced piecemeal—as each strike arises—such compulsion could be put over.

The men around Truman are also preparing for a drive on Congress to repeal the statutes which exempt unions from anti-trust prosecution. Industry-wide strikes are to be designated "monopolistic conspiracies against the general interest." The idea is to bar industry-wide bargaining by a ruling that would prevent a union from bargaining with more than one-half of the industry in joint negotiations with several companies. The aim is to smash the effectiveness of nation-wide unions and reduce bargaining to the local plant level.

Big Business knows that its policy of continuously raising prices will make inevitable new labor disputes early in 1947. It figures that, with the 1946 fall elections out of the way, the new Congress is the one that can be depended upon to hamstring the union movement.

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Here are some increases in the prices of uncontrolled meat subsidies since meat was recontrolled: In San Francisco, eggs up 5-10 cents a dozen, to 95 cents; in Washington, D. C., chicken prices up 10 to 50 per cent; in Chicago, halibut up 4 cents a pound, shrimp up 10 cents a pound. The dearth of fresh meat is rapidly spreading to prepared and canned meats.

In the four days from September 19 to September 23, milk went up 1½ cents a quart in Chicago. The OPA granted increases up to 8 cents a square foot on imported skins for tanners' leathers—granted increases of 2-3 per cent on building materials by permitting the manufacturers to add increased freight rates to existing ceilings—increased the ceiling price on casein by a substantial amount—permitted a 10 per cent increase on candy bars—and upped the price of innerspring mattresses 12 per cent.

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As the legal market in meat is turned off, the black market is turned on again by the packers. Most of the nation's meat markets are closed or closing. The AFL Butcher Workers have nothing to propose but the program of the bosses: i.e., end OPA control of meat prices. Black market prices in New York are about double the ceiling, with 2¾-pound steaks selling for $2.10 (ceiling, $1.21). Some black market shops are predating their invoices to dates when meat was uncontrolled. Others are selling direct to the consumer's back door through delivery boys. One operator near New York City reported that customers are beginning to ask for credit. "Apparently some people are finding such expensive meat is busting their budgets," says the Wall Street Journal.

In St. Louis less than 20 of the largest retailers have 5,000,000 pounds of meat in cold storage.

One fact throws a lightning flash on who is profiting from the black market. Under the black market that prevailed until June 30, profits of the meat packers were at a very high rate. With ceilings off, profits of both Armour & Co. and John Morrell & Co. declined, 20.6 per cent and 12.6 per cent respectively. With the reinstatement of ceilings and the return to the black market, it will be interesting to observe if profits of the meat trust again zoom. That would be important evidence that the great packing plants are maintaining "kept" black market plants somewhere in the east, to which they divert animals from their plants in Chicago, East St. Louis and Kansas City.

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Despite the continued shortages of consumer goods, business inventories reached an all-time high in July. Inventories were $18 billion at the manufacturing level, $4.6 billion at the wholesaler level, and $7.4 billion at the retailer level, for a total of $30 billion. The Treasury is concerned, and warned banks to use caution in making loans on inventories. In the past, swollen inventories have foreshadowed a curtailment of demand and a weakening of commodity prices. For the first time since V-J Day, in July the value of new orders received by manufacturers declined from the previous month's level.

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Department store sales for the week ending August 31 in 16 leading cities were 45 per cent above the corresponding period a year ago. A good share of these increased sales figures is accounted for by higher prices. ... Earnings of Henry C. Lytton's (the Hub Store in Chicago) increased 500 per cent for the first half of this year.... Montgomery Ward & Co. reported record sales of $91,864,402 for August, as compared with sales of $48,686,552 for August, 1945—a gain of 89 per cent. Sales of Sears, Roebuck were up 55.8 per cent from 1945 at the end of the first six months. Sales of Aldens, Inc., were up 44 per cent in the same period; of Spiegel, Inc., up 54 per cent.

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The Union Trust Co. of Pittsburgh and the Mellon National Bank, both Mellon institutions, have consolidated to become the Mellon National Bank & Trust Co. With a combined capital and surplus of $150 million, the bank ranks fifth in the world among commercial banks. This is the 53rd bank merger of the year in the United States.

The Mellon family and a small number of close associates control a substantial segment of the American economy. Among the industrial corporations closely held by them are Gulf Oil Corporation, Koppers Co., Aluminum Co. of America, and the giant Pittsburgh Coal Co. Westinghouse Electric & Manufacturing Co. is also assigned to the Mellon group, which also has large holdings in Jones & Laughlin Steel Corporation, American Rolling Mill Co., Crucible Steel Co. of America, and Pittsburgh Plate Glass Co. The only Mellon railroad is the Virginian Railway Co. Mellon utilities are the United Light & Power Co. and Brooklyn Union Gas Co. Total assets of the Mellon group were estimated at $3,332 millions in 1939 by the National Resources Committee. During the war the family, of course, made super-profits, and the figure is doubtless much higher today.

Philly Negroes Resist Hoodlum Attack

PHILADELPHIA—A brief riot tore through the streets of North Philadelphia in the neighborhood of Front and Susquehanna last week. One white man by the name of Harry Ulmer was killed and an undetermined number wounded.

The facts are clear and agreed upon by everyone concerned. Four white men, including Harry Ulmer and his brother, had been drinking heavily at a local bar. They walked through Hope Street, a Negro community, singing loudly, picking quarrels with Negro pedestrians and asserting their drunken white superiority.

They were chased by the police, but returned to Hope Street and stopped at the home of Dr. Parrish at 2200 North Hope. One of the four entered the Parrish home without knocking and proceeded to "commit a nuisance" on the floor. He refused to leave when asked and his companions backed him up. Neighbors came to Parrish's assistance.

The four white hooligans fled and returned with reinforcements. The residents of Hope Street defended themselves. Altogether over 100 people were involved in the fight that followed, and Ulmer was killed.

Thomas Lockhart admits trying to use the bat, but claims that it flew out of his hand. Detective Powers, police investigator, tends to confirm Lockhart's story that he did not intentionally kill Ulmer. Lockhart is being held on a charge of homicide, though he only attempted to protect his neighbors from a hoodlum attack.

The police have acted in their usual manner by arresting four whites and seven Negroes. Among the latter is Dr. Parrish. Just what crime these Negroes committed is not clear. But Dr. Parrish is undoubtedly guilty of living on Hope Street and having his home invaded by a drunk.

Racial tension is smoldering in this city. In last week's LABOR ACTION we reported the revival of Ku Klux Klan activity. There is an infamous move on to put the Negro "in his place." Small-scale street fights have occurred.

Four years after Negroes moved into the League Island Housing Project they are being molested by roving bands. Police in the project area do not respect private homes.

About a month ago Robert Easley was tried for murder in a clear case of self-defense against three white hoodlums determined to maul him.

The police are clearly useless. LABOR ACTION has explained how the Negroes can protect themselves. At League Island, for example, it would be a simple matter for the young men in the project to organize for their protection. Further, the CIO and AFL must come to the planned assistance of the Negroes

A good place to start would be to demand the freedom of Lockhart, Dr. Parrish and the five other innocent Negroes arrested after last week's battle.

LABOR ACTION magazine section

October 7, 1946 A Paper in the Interests of Labor

U. S. Knee-Deep In War for Oil

By MIKE STEVENS

State Department representatives are developing a new propaganda line to get public opinion behind the Department's foreign policy. They are now talking about the rapidly dwindling oil supplies in this country and the need for controlling a good section of the world's oil supply. This is a new approach when one considers that even the word oil itself has been taboo in diplomatic circles for the past forty years. Up to now the rulers of not one single country have ever admitted that the possession of oil fields has entered into their political thinking or governed any of their political action.

The State Department realizes, of course, that in talking about oil it is pursuing a dangerous line because the population as a whole is suspicious of any political maneuvers in which oil is involved. But the State Department has no alternative. It knows that the "Four Freedoms" propaganda is worn pretty thin. In addition, during the coming months the question of oil is bound to come up in all diplomatic deliberations.

The propaganda line of the Department is simple: If the U. S. controls the world's supply of oil, which is vital for war, there will not be another "Pearl Harbor"; this country will be prepared for any eventuality; and, since the United States is a peace-loving country, there will be no war. Whereas, if some other country controls the world supply of oil and decides to make war, the United States will be caught off guard. The State Department feels that with this slick approach it is putting the question in such a way that no "citizen" can oppose the Department's future actions.

OIL PROPAGANDA

This line of propaganda has begun to flow through the channels of the press and radio. Its chief spokesmen are John Loftus, chief of the petroleum division of the State Department, and Charles Rayner, who is James Byrnes' adviser on petroleum policy. They have appeared on the NBC national hook-up and at the weekly radio Foreign Policy Forum. Other State Department officials and lesser lights are grinding out the above line through various agencies. At one of the recent NBC "University of the Air" national broadcasts an officer of the Army-Navy Petroleum Board also pushed the same propaganda.

All of these propagandists begin with the prediction that the United States faces such a drop in domestic oil production that it will have to import about half of its requirements by 1965. They add that the government is already being forced to consider seriously conservation of oil reserves within this country.

These "facts" are expected to throw people into a panic. But these "facts" do not happen to be so. The State Department is on the spot and feels that it must resort to such fantastic tales. Evidence that its "facts" have nothing to do with reality as to this country's oil supplies is found in the recent meeting of the American Chemical Society. The oil researchers attending the 110th meeting of the petroleum division of the American Chemical Society at Chicago last week agreed that there is absolutely no danger of an oil famine in this country for the next 100 years.

One of the authorities addressing this group, Dr. Brown, said: "The United States still has proven oil reserves in excess of 20 billion barrels. Moreover, the known reserves of natural gas are seven times greater than they were 25 years ago, and now we know how to make liquid fuels from gas, from coal and from shale. If we were to draw from only one-third of our present known gas reserves at the rate of 4 per cent per annum, we could produce 500,000 barrels a day of gasoline by variations of the F-T process." Dr. Brown spoke for over an hour, giving more facts along these lines.

No one at the society's meeting questioned this speech and no one at the State Department has to this day. Whether any more speeches like this will be made, now that the government has developed its new line, is hard to tell. All the important oil researchers are working for the government or the big corporations, which will be the sole benefactors from the government's foreign policy.

Here are some of the moves the government knows will be coming into the open in the next period. These are the moves that the government does not want "misunderstood" by the people. It wants the people to think they are being made "to safeguard the country," "for peace," "for the American standard of living," etc.

AREAS OF CONFLICT

1. Oil fields in Hungary, formerly owned by the Standard Oil of New Jersey, are being taken over by the Hungarian government. The United States will make strong demands that this property be returned to the Standard Oil of New Jersey.

2. American and English oil companies have signed agreements with the native owners (one of them is Herbert Hoover, Jr.) of the oil fields of Iran. The State Department has pledged to give "full diplomatic protection" to American interests. This protection may become necessary, especially with Russia moving in also to develop oil production in Iran.

3. Half of the reparations that Russia is taking out of Rumania is in the form of oil. And all this oil is from Standard's fields. Russia has also taken large amounts of Standard Oil equipment out of Rumania.

4. Russia is demanding some of the Austrian oil fields as reparations. But American capitalists have deeds in their safes to prove that these fields belong to them. In addition to that, the American oil men have representatives in Washington who will

SECRETARY OF STATE

JAMES F. BYRNES

insist that these fields be returned to the capitalists for the good of the "people" in the United States!

5. The Trans - Arabian pipeline from Saudi Arabia to the Mediterranean and going through Palestine, Trans-Jordan and Lebanon is owned by American oil barons. This project has received the whole - hearted support of the Saudi Arabian government. This may make clearer to some Zionists why the United States quietly supports British policy in that section. Even Clifton Daniel of the New York Times can see it and wrote to his paper: "Oil, Palestine are all mixed up in the current picture of American diplomatic relations in the Arab countries." He could have added, it also explains the U. S. position on the Dardanelles question.

6. In Italy the workers are disturbed at the 21 oil importing, industrial plants and firms handed over last week to American capitalists. The workers had hopes that these would be nationalized. Now they visualize Italy becoming more and more a colony of the United States and Great Britain.

The world is facing another "oil war" such as preceded World War II.

War Helped $ Billion Corporations Tighten Grip on Nation's Economy

By MARY BELL

We are indebted to the CIO News of September 4 for dramatizing a UP dispatch on the 43 billion dollar corporations which account for more than one-fourth of the total assets of all industrial concerns, banks and insurance companies in the United States!

These 43 "billion dollar babies," as the CIO News labels them, have total combined assets of more than 101 billion dollars! Actually, in the field of American corporate wealth, a million-dollar corporation is a babe, while these billion dollar businesses are behemoths. Given tremendous nourishment from war orders, by December 31, 1944, their assets totaled 97 billion dollars. But they didn't stop growing with the war's end. One year later they were worth more than 101 billion dollars.

These giants mirror the process of profit accumulation characteristic of all business during and after the war. In 1939, total assets of all industrial concerns, banks and insurance companies were 319 billion. By 1942 they were 371 billion. Government officials estimate today that the total assets of all are about 400 billion dollars. This is after cutbacks and cancellation of military contracts.

HOW THE OCTOPUS LOOKS

Let's take a look at the giants in the appended table. In 1932, with a paltry 3.8 billion dollars in assets Metropolitan Life, the insurance gouger which heads the list, was even then the largest financial organization in the entire capitalist world.

Six of these corporations were accused by the Senate Sub-Committee on Education and Labor of belonging to the "Special Conference Committee" which was set up to coordinate the fight against labor unions. American Tel. and Tel., du Pont, General Motors, Irving Trust, Standard Oil and U. S. Steel met in secret with representatives of Bethlehem Steel, General Electric, Goodyear Rubber, Intl. Harvester, U. S. Rubber and Westinghouse Electric to conspire against progressive labor legislation and labor's fight for higher wages.

Now, some people may argue, "So what? A corporation is not an individual. These aggregates of wealth are shared by the stockholders, who own the corporations." This is typical big business propaganda. It creates a picture of tens of millions of people owning stock. Yet out of a population of 140,000,000, only nine to ten million own stock. But even this figure is meaningless for it does not paint the real picture. Actually, the scale of ownership of stock is graduated in the same disproportionate manner as the size of the corporations. The studies of the Temporary National Economic Committee showed long before the war that a mere ten thousand persons owned one-fourth, and 75 thousand persons owned one-half, of all the corporate stock in the country. Ten thousand persons is a small fraction of one per cent of the total population, and 75 thousand is not much greater.

Counterpose to these figures on corporate wealth those on the income of the "common" people of the United States. Recently the New York Times inconspicuously published the calculations of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics and the Federal Reserve Board that even in this era of full employment ALMOST HALF OF AMERICA'S FAMILIES HAVE INCOMES UNDER $2000 A YEAR! In this group are included many Negro and poor white families of the South WHO EXIST ON $500 A YEAR!

According to the same figures, in this wealthiest country on the globe, ONLY ONE FAMILY IN EVERY THIRTY-THREE OR THIRTY-FOUR HAS AN INCOME TOTALING MORE THAN $7,500.

POLARIZATION OF WEALTH AND POVERTY

All of these figures are merely by way of underscoring the tendency to monopoly that exists in capitalist society, polarizing more and more wealth at one end into the hands of fewer and fewer persons, and at the other, misery, oppression, poverty and degradation as the lot of more and more. This tendency of capitalism was discovered long ago by Karl Marx, the founder of scientific socialism, and, however it has been attacked by the apologists for capitalism, it still remains an inescapable fact.

It is these wealthy monopolists, bankers and industrialists who, with their rival counterparts in other countries, had to go to war to protect the wealth they already had and to acquire new sources of revenue. True, the president urged war, the big business press prepared the minds of the people for war and Congress declared it, but all of these agencies acted as the servants of the wealthy ruling class. This class won the war and thereby increased its profits, property, privileges and revenues.

It is the existence of these privately owned corporations which causes the recurrent breakdowns in capitalist society. For under private ownership, production is undertaken to satisfy not the needs of the people as a whole, but to satisfy the lust for private profit. If profit cannot be obtained, if the working population does not have sufficient purchasing power to buy the products of any concern, production shuts down. Businesses compete against each other, not out of a desire to satisfy the needs of the people for clothing, cars or refrigerators but in order to capture the market and outsell their competitors to make more profits. From time to time the market becomes glutted. A depression ensues. Alternating boom and depression are the only too well known characteristics of capitalist society.

Socialists propose that these monopolies and all big business be taken over and managed in the interests of the people as a whole. Production would then be planned. The sole determining factor in what is to be produced would be the needs of the people. With profits and the profit motive eliminated, production would expand, the standard of living of the masses of wars of plunder would disappear The cycle of prosperity and the people would be immensely increased and the motive for depression would be replaced by an upward spiral of increased production, shorter hours of work and a higher income for all. The concentration of wealth at one pole, and poverty at another, would be eliminated.

A NEW POLITICAL STRATEGY NEEDED

The propagandists of the CIO do not understand the full significance of the figures on monopoly which they quote. Or, better, they do not understand the relationship between big business and its political servants in Congress. An editorial in the CIO News states:

"The extent of big business' influence in politics was clearly demonstrated by the 79th Congress, which speedily granted its demands for increased prices, profits and privileges, while blocking or defeating all progressive social legislation which big business opposed.... The American people face lower living standards, depression, unemployment and possibly another war unless they curb the power and greed of the big-business monopolists."

The solution which the CIO leaders propose is "progressive political activity to which the CIO is trying to arouse all Americans." But the politics of the CIO continues to be horse-and-buggy politics, choice of the "lesser evil," the attempt to put in a "good" capitalist politician instead of a "bad" one. But all of these politicians, even the most liberal of them, are pledged to uphold the system of private property, that is, the system which breeds these monopolistic giants which the CIO battles on the picket lines every day.

Organized labor in this country will continue to battle windmills until it rids itself of its illusions in capitalist politics and forms its own political party, independent of capitalist parties, pledged to eliminate private ownership and introduce social ownership of the monopolies. These monsters of monopoly must be challenged politically as they are economically, by the organized might of the working class. The nemesis of big business is the working class itself.

The Growth of Monopolist Combines

Company	Latest Assets	1944	Company	Latest Assets	1944
Metropolitan Life Ins.	$ 7,561,997,270	$ 6,995,450,471	General Motors Corp.	$ 1,642,382,142	$ 2,182,609,504
Bell Telephone System	6,765,557,026	6,548,361,704	First Natl. Bank, Boston	1,576,526,000	1,514,356,981
Prudential Ins.	6,355,984,306	5,856,880,815	Union Pacific Railroad	1,524,361,793	1,508,261,913
Bank of America, NT & SA	5,554,310,000	4,599,124,133	Travelers Insurance Co.	1,512,224,247	1,412,982,760
Chase National Bank	5,403,847,000	5,160,003,956	Chemical Bk. & Tr., E N. Y.	1,470,213,000	1,500,836,755
National City Bank, N. Y.	5,184,476,000	4,469,686,465	Baltimore & Ohio Railroad	1,341,924,257	1,324,976,750
Equitable Life Assurance	4,000,115,000	3,507,983,461	Northwest Bancorporation	1,332,447,934	1,193,006,255
New York Life Ins.	3,813,504,095	3,570,738,941	Consolidated Edison	1,323,687,070	1,409,919,908
Guaranty Trust Co., N. Y.	3,489,673,000	3,826,161,882	Natl. Bank of Detroit	1,261,075,000	1,295,926,015
Standard Oil (N. J.)	2,531,808,387	2,490,309,946	Irving Trust Co.	1,259,475,000	1,262,589,365
Manufacturers Trust Co.	2,489,525,000	2,100,298,087	Bank of the Manhattan Co.	1,255,330,000	1,170,340,024
Contl. Ill. Natl. Bank	2,371,676,000	2,619,321,040	Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Ry.	1,246,835,971	1,325,751,290
Pennsylvania Railroad	2,223,731,246	2,304,346,240	E. I. du Pont de Nemours	1,245,911,622	1,170,038,642
First Natl. Bank, Chicago	2,169,056,000	2,217,921,206	Commonwealth & Southern Corp.	1,205,243,639	1,192,816,544
Central Hanover Bank	1,902,366,000	1,921,737,110	Aetna Life Insurance	1,152,901,151	1,040,777,100
U. S. Steel	1,890,768,775	2,082,374,183	Marine Midland Corp.	1,133,511,000	1,037,595,829
Northwestern Mutual Life	1,887,664,905	1,757,656,104	Cleveland Trust Co.	1,087,360,000	955,015,150
John Hancock Mutual Life	1,837,622,237	1,631,326,701	Socony-Vacuum Oil	1,043,665,369	1,057,969,363
Mutual Life Ins., N. Y.	1,798,385,011	1,717,638,788	Penn Mutual Life Ins.	1,016,977,550	949,107,010
Bankers Trust Co.	1,758,506,000	1,907,634,889	Mutual Benefit Life Ins.	1,006,427,438	937,351,272
Security-First National Bank, L. A.	1,756,521,000	1,415,117,263			
New York Central Railroad	1,734,709,321	1,795,248,222			
Southern Pacific Co.	1,688,329,649	1,793,511,184	Total Combined Resources	$101,808,613,411	$97,731,561,226

Echoes of Hiroshima and Nagasaki:

Atomic Scientists Find Their Conscience

By IRVING HOWE

Hardly a day passes but some new statement is issued by frantic scientists, urging humanity to realize the danger which the atomic bomb represents to its future. These scientists, who gave their highly specialized talents to create a bomb which could kill 100,000 people, are now terrified at its possibilities. It disturbs their days and nights: the echoes of the wailing victims of Hiroshima and Nagasaki agitate their consciences.

Especially since the publication of John Hersey's report on Hiroshima—an appalling picture of the abyss to which capitalist civilization has brought humanity—have the voices of the scientists been raised in uneasy, troubled quavers. They glumly warn us that there is no defense against the bomb; they urge some sort of "international control" to prevent atomic warfare.

Of their solution — "international control"—it is a waste of time to write. The notion that the atomic bomb, which represents a danger when in the hands of one imperialist power, can become less of a danger if jointly controlled by all the imperialist powers, is merely ...quaint. It is as if one believed a convention of thieves more honorable than each of its participants.

But the belated recognition by America's scientists of the nature of the weapon they developed at the command of American capitalism, offers us the opportunity to discuss another and more interesting question. Just what is the responsibility of the scientist in the present social dilemma?

SCIENTISTS—MYTH, REALITY

The scientist has always been an especially respected and revered figure in the American mythology. A whole series of stereotypes have been developed and exploited by books, the movies and the radio: the man in white sacrificing to discover the cause of yellow fever; the kindly country doctor rearing generations and giving of his energy and life to help others; the neglected, persistent researcher delving into hidden mysteries to find some new technique to ease man's life or cure his ills.

Such stereotypes can be discovered in as diverse cultural manifestations as Dr. Kildare, the miraculous physician; in Sinclair Lewis' novel, Arrowsmith, one of whose main characters, Dr. Gottlieb, represents disinterested medical devotion at its best; in Sidney Howard's play Yellow Jack, which exalted the doctors who discovered a cure for yellow fever; and in the national elevation of Thomas Edison to the rank of folk-hero.

Now, such stereotypes are not undeserved—or at least have not been. Despite the fact that many scientists sold themselves to corporations, many doctors became bedside racketeers and many researchers worked more often for war than for peace, there has still been a higher devotion to humanity among scientists than among most other groups.

The cultural stereotype which gave heroic dimension to the scientist, always saw him as one somewhat divorced from common concerns, as one who narrowed his breadth of vision so that it could be more intense. Hence, the frequent myths about the "absent-minded professor" (to which even as uncritical a film as that based on Louis Pasteur's life had to pander); and hence, too, the common mistrust in America of professors and scientists who would enter politics — a field traditionally reserved for business men and the more petty variety of thieves.

WHAT SHOULD SCIENCE DO?

The scientist was supposed to stick to his own field and not be concerned with social problems; and most of them conformed to this pattern. Exceptions were rare, such as the great Charles Steinmetz, who was an active Socialist in his day. The role of the scientist was simply that of one who made possible by his discoveries great advances for mankind. Whether mankind properly utilized these discoveries was ITS business.

But nobody in his right mind blamed the Wright brothers for the fact that the airplane they discovered was later turned into a terrible weapon for destruction. The airplane was there, to be utilized for good or evil in accordance with man's skill at social organization. Likewise, with the innumerable other discoveries in physics, chemistry, biology and optics which were neutral in quality: that is, they could be utilized for construction or destruction. And there was no doubt in anyone's mind that the bulk of the scientists hoped they would be used to make man's life better.

The attitude of Marxists was rather similar. They hailed scientific discoveries as indices of human progress, despite the possibility that such discoveries might later be misused—and we believe they were right, too, for without such discoveries a society of plenty and leisure such as socialists want would be impossible from the very start.

Yet in the case of the atomic bomb there is a different situation. The scientists who worked on the atomic bomb knew perfectly well—at least those key figures who understood what the project was about; the others were mere tools—that they were engaged on an assignment that could only bring horror and destruction to humanity. If today they shudder when reading Hersey's report on Hiroshima, just a little bit of imagination two years ago, especially after the New Mexico experiment, should have enabled them to foresee exactly what would happen.

They were NOT engaged in a project which was socially "neutral," and the value of which would be determined by the use to which it was later put. They were not engaged in an abstract attempt to split the atom which might be a great boon, as well as a great danger, to humanity. In the specific situation, they were working on the most terrible weapon of destruction which humanity has ever known; the key scientists knew this; they went ahead anyhow. There was no doubt at all about the immediate use to which their work would be put.

And that is why their wails of despair and concern today are so significant. Having sold their skills and their skulls to an imperialist war machine, having fathered the ghastly murder at Hiroshima, their present conscience pricks of belated responsibility is understood by us.

It is said that some scientists—their names are not at hand—more keenly aware of their responsibilities to humanity as a whole, refused to work on the atomic bomb project. These men, whoever they were, displayed a sense of courage and responsibility that is admirable. They were not going to prostitute their skill in order to produce a Hiroshima; and they, we are certain, sleep better at night.

SCIENCE AND HUMANITY

The time is past when the scientists could divorce himself from common social concerns; when he could discover, and then allow man to use his discoveries as best he could. For today the scientist must realize that his work has direct and obvious social implications; his manipulations with electrons and protons may tomorrow result in the literal destruction of entire cities.

The scientist can no longer exist as the specialized folk-hero; if he attempts to do so, he will find himself merely a tool of reaction, a cog in a war machine. Today, if the scientist is to continue true to the ideals of his tradition, if he is to find a bond of social kinship with the rest of humanity, he must become a **whole man**, aware of the meaning and responsible for the work he does. He must be ready to refuse to prostitute it because he is not an isolated specialist but a responsible member of society.

The scientists who live up to this standard will discover—we believe—that their liberation, as well as that of all humanity, depends on the triumph of socialism. Otherwise they will merely plunge humanity further into the Gehenna of a world where Hiroshima is merely the prelude of more terrible things to come.

TURN TO

Page 5 for first in a series on New Developments in Stalin's Russia, by F. Forest.

When Labor Downs Its Tools, No One Can Deny Its Power

By SUSAN GREEN

An inspiring demonstration of the absolute indispensability of labor has been given in the great strikes that have swept the country since the latter part of 1945.

The General Motors workers struck, and the plants of the greatest corporation in the world became useless, empty buildings.

The steel workers walked out, and the furnaces of Bethlehem and U. S. Steel went cold.

The electrical workers made the plants of Westinghouse, General Electric, Allis Chalmers as dead as morgues.

The coal miners demonstrated once again that only they can mine coal.

The seldom noticed tugboat workers showed their indispensability to the port of New York.

The maritime workers reduced thousands of ships to the status of helpless hulks cluttering up the harbors of every coast.

And the teamsters of New York gave proof positive that trucks are useless vehicles unless there are drivers on them and that even the Great Atlantic & Pacific Tea Company can be put out of business.

What irrefutable evidence of labor's controlling position in production! Labor is the heart of it all. If it fails, there is paralysis. If it stops, there is death.

Compare this indispensability of the workers with other classes in society. Not all the gold in the treasury of the United States could bring a glow to the steel furnaces. Not all the stocks and bonds in Wall Street—certificates of ownership of the means of production—could dig one lump of coal. Not a capitalist—whose so-called risk-taking and so-called management are supposed to be essential —could produce even a nut for an automobile.

WHEN PLANTS SHUT DOWN

When a corporation closes down its plants and stops production, it is no proof of the indispensability of capitalists in the production processes. It only points up the folly of the workers in allowing capitalism to stand between them and the plants of which labor is the heart.

Such a demonstration of labor's might as we have seen in recent strikes also makes clear the relation between engineers, scientists, technicians and the masses of workers. Absolutely necessary as these brain

(Continued on page 5)

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Editorials

For a Rising Scale of Wages

Most of the papers gave it only a few lines. But we think it's important enough to be given some prominence. Not that most of our readers do not know about it from their own experience. It's just that having it put down, black on white, in the cold statistics of a government bureau helps make the case stronger: the case for an escalator clause for a substantial boost in wages, and for some genuine price control!

Here are the cold facts: according to a report issued last week by the Bureau of Labor Statistics approximately *one-fifth* of all the nation's factory workers received NO general wage increases between V-J Day and May, 1946!

Of every ten workers who *did* receive a wage increase, said the Bureau, three workers had their hourly rates lifted 18½ cents, three from 15 to 18½ cents, two from 10 to 15 cents and two by 10 cents an hour or less.

The average general increase comes to 14½ cents an hour. In non-manufacturing employment typical increases averaged between five and ten cents an hour. The Bureau didn't say, but we suspect that if it had averaged the wage increases for the entire working class population, in all forms of employment, the figure would be closer to five cents than to 14 cents.

Now, we do not cite these figures to impress those idiots or scoundrels who fill huge newspaper advertisements (in addition to what they get free in their capitalist press) with a hypocritical wail about labor's high wages. They know the facts and they do not have to be impressed—except with the power of our unions, with the power of a Labor Party, and with the vigor of our socialist activity.

We do, however, cite the figures as ammunition labor can use against these scoundrels and their agents in government. To the figures must be added the known facts about price increases, increases which, as every man, woman and child knows, have far outstripped the pitiful wage boosts. Together they establish what we have contended for months is true: labor has suffered and is suffering a terrific and growing wage cut. Together they point to the inescapable need for a real *wage increase*.

We wrote in last week's LABOR ACTION that the seamen and truck strikes were heralds of a big strike that is coming, one that would match or exceed the scale of last winter's strike wave. The figures explain why this is so.

More than that they prove the necessity of militant union policy, and of a nation-wide, democratically coordinated campaign for *wage increases WITHOUT price increases*, and a *rising scale of wages* incorporated as an escalator clause in all union contracts.

Kaiser and the Profit System

If you still don't understand what big business means by "free enterprise," take a good look into the hearing of the House Merchant Marine Committee which delved into the "mystery" of shipbuilding profits. The Committee has discovered that profits in shipbuilding were exorbitant! But this is really not news; LABOR ACTION has written about the war profiteers many times. We have pointed out how big business, in collusion with the government and its war boards, used the war to increase its profits over and above what it normally takes out of production, i.e., from the exploitation of labor. See what happened in this one series of war production:

Companies with little or no investments of their own made tens of millions of dollars in profits! How? They received government contracts to build ships for guaranteed profits. With cost plus contracts they upped their take. Thus, the Kaiser companies with an investment of $2,510,000 *made profits of* $192,237,294. *Bethlehem Inc., made* $53,906,980 *profit for an investment of a million dollars; the California Ship Building Corp., received a* $44,423,014 *profit on an investment of* $600,000. *One Kaiser company made* $43,647,026 *profits on an investment of* $100,000! *These are only a few samples of what was the practice in all industries throughout the war.*

When you read the story on page one of LABOR ACTION, you will understand why we said the Mead Committee investigation of the Garsson combine and their congressional sponsor, Andrew May, was a sideshow; that the Committee was avoiding the real profiteers, the big monopolist firms who had contracts running into billions of dollars. But neither the Garsson affair nor the shipbuilding scandal are unusual occurrences under the profit system. They are normal during wartime.

Why, then, does the capitalist government hold these hearings which seemingly expose the foul nature of this system? Well, they operate as a safety valve for dissatisfaction in the country. Through these hearings the government appears as a defender of the interests of the people, of justice and right. Senators and congressmen, facing new elections, utilize the hearings to strengthen their reputations with the "common people" as defenders of their interests against the profiteers. Often they serve as a weapon against political opponents.

But these defenders of common people and the public treasury are the very same people who during the war voted for legislation that made possible unbridled profiteering. They defended big business in every action it took to increase its profits at the expense of the people. They voted for all legislation to increase the wealth of the monopolists and against legislation which might improve the conditions of the people.

Look beyond the sideshow and you will see the capitalist politicians for what they are: defenders of the profit system. They are not really decrying the system itself; they are chastising some of the boys for being too brazen.

Russian Occupation

The following item is reprinted from the August 30 issue of the London Tribune :

A Socialist member of the Provincial Diet of the Austrian province of Burgenland, Franz Bögl, has just had occasion to learn that suppression of official information is just as feasible under the Russian as it was under the Nazi occupation. Bögl, who is editor of the Socialist newspaper *Burgenlandische Freiheit*, published two months ago extracts from the official security reports of the Austrian gendarmerie, cataloguing a series of murder and robbery under arms, nearly all of which were carried out by persons discreetly specified in these official reports—not intended for publication—as "individuals wearing Russian uniform."

Bögl was immediately arrested and his newspaper suppressed for ten days. He was taken to Baden, the seat of the Russian military command for Austria, and subjected for several weeks to long and rigorous, though civilly conducted, daily interrogations. During this period, although an elderly and sickly man, he was kept locked up in an underground cell and had to sleep on a stone floor. Now he has been summarily tried by a Russian military court on charges of insulting the dignity of the Russian army of occupation. He was allowed no legal representation. He was sentenced to three years' imprisonment with forced labor. Execution of the sentence was suspended for one year, conditional on good behavior and he was set at liberty. Bögl immediately returned to his duties in the Russian zone, declining the opportunity which, no doubt, the Russians hoped he would take, of seeking refuge in Vienna.

Although this is the first occasion that a Russian court has disregarded the immunity enjoyed by Austrian members of parliament and of provincial diets to sentence a Socialist leader to imprisonment, we have failed to find any mention of the case in any Austrian newspapers, not even in Bögl's own paper or in the central organ of the Party. The reason for this silence is unfortunately only too obvious.

WORLD POLITICS

Odds and Ends

Every time Moscow makes a pronouncement on border revisions for new European treaties, one of the Stalinist parties is greatly grieved. A little while ago in response to Byrnes' hint that the Polish-German frontier was not a settled matter and might be revised in favor of Germany, Molotov issued a sizzling statement in support of Poland's claim to make permanent its present extended border. Before that, however, he led Germans to believe that the Eastern border was not finally settled. The area in dispute is the industrially rich border area between Stettin on the north and the Czech border on the south.

This strip, together with a rural portion of East Prussia, adds 42,000 square miles of territory to Poland worth about 9 billion dollars, compared to the 69,000 square miles worth $3,600,000,000 which Poland has lost to Russia in the East. The Big Three turned this strip over to Poland for administration, stating at Postdam that the peace treaty with Germany would fix the frontier permanently.

One of the greatest population movements in history is being carried out in this area. All save one million of the nine million Germans in these districts have fled westward into Germany. More than four and a half million Poles, mainly from territories ceded to Russia, are settling there.

Now Byrnes' speech—dangling bait before the Germans in order to win their support against the Russians—threw a scare into the Poles who have been exploiting this area for all it is worth. They, together with Molotov, don't want any changes naturally enough. The Polish Stalinists joined with the Polish nationalists in insisting that the present Western border be maintained.

But where does this leave the German Stalinists? They have been insisting on a "united Germany"—under their domination of course. Now their support of the German demand for the restoration of the Silesian area is contradicted by Molotov's statement in support of the Poles. This has stupefied the wretched German Stalinists of whom Harold Callender writes in the New York Times of September 22, 1946:

"The statement confounded Otto Grotewohl, leader of the so-called Socialist Unity Party (Stalinist controlled—Ed.), formed with Russian backing in the Russian zone of Germany.... The Unity Party can no longer advocate unity. Hence it can probably make little headway outside the Russian zone of Germany, where it will subsist as long as the Russians have any use for it as a political instrument."

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British Labor Slows Nationalization

The British Labor Government has retreated before the crucial issue of nationalizing the steel industry. The bourgeois press has hailed the Labor Government's statement that nationalization of the steel industry would be "postponed," and not carried out in the immediate future as previously announced. The American magazine, *World Report*, gleefully comments:

"The first intention, to have a control group, which included members from the steel industry, draw up the blueprint for nationalization, has been abandoned. Instead, the Board is to supervise modernization of the industry and exercise limited control over allocation of raw materials, and over output, distribution and prices of finished products."

In other words, a government-industry board—the head of which is to be Sir Archibald Forbes, a director of several British boards—is to help the privately-owned steel and obsolete industry reorganize its plant and try to put it in a position where it can compete with the more modern steel industries of the U. S. and what remains of the Ruhr. The Labor Government's nationalization of coal was so eagerly hailed, though it was often forgotten, that the Conservative Party itself had urged nationalization of coal because the industry failed to yield its investors a profit. Now, however, the British Labor Government has retreated before the pressure of the powerful steel industry and withdrawn its plan to nationalize it.

If that is the road to socialism, we'll see heaven first.

International Socialist Notes

SEEK TWO MILLION FRANCS FOR CAMPAIGN

The Parti Communiste Internationaliste (French Fourth Internationalists) is energetically preparing to participate in the elections scheduled for October. Having polled close to 50,000 votes in the last elections in June, despite Stalinist calumny and innumerable obstacles, the comrades of the PCI are out to better that vote by presenting candidates in the greatest possible number of districts.

The French election law is specifically designed to make it almost impossible for minority parties, without great financial resources, to appear on the ballot. However, the PCI does not propose to be daunted by the legal difficulties any more than it was in June. Inasmuch as the law requires that each party put forward a minimum of twenty lists, with an average of five candidates to a list, and further requires that 20,000 francs be posted for each candidate, the PCI is conducting a campaign to raise 2,000,000 francs. It has appealed to workers everywhere to assist the PCI in putting its revolutionary candidates in the field. These will be the only candidates running on a revolutionary socialist program.

A substantial vote for the PCI will be a victory for revolutionary militants in every country. We join our comrades in the hope that they will raise the money needed, and look with confidence toward a vigorous campaign that will advance the cause of international socialism. We are in receipt of a communication from the PCI on this matter, and shall publish further details next week.

PCI CONVENTION RECORDS GROWTH

The PCI, which met two weeks ago, recorded, first, a growth in party membership from 50 to 75 per cent in all sections of the country, and, second, the formation of many new groups. The former "minority" group, led by Comrade Albert Demazière, won a majority for its political resolutions. The main political resolution that was carried noted that the masses of the French working class had not yet abandoned their bourgeois-democratic illusions, and consequently stressed the importance of putting forward democratic demands, especially in the circumstance of the capitalist drive for a strong state The resolution, reiterating the party's stand for an SP-CP-CGT (Socialist Party-Communist Party-Trade Union Federation) government, demanded that the three-party coalition be broken. It further established the necessity of linking each demand made with the transitional program of the Fourth International and advancing the slogan of workers' control. Albert Demazière was designated political secretary of the party and Yvon Craipianas, general secretary.

The Russian question (the nature of the Russian state) was raised at the convention, and various points of view presented. While most of the comrades still hold to the traditional policy of the Fourth International that Russia is a degenerated workers' state, two small groups took issue with this view. One of these groups has developed a point of view similar to that of the Workers Party, namely, that Russia is a bureaucratic-collectivist state; the other holds that Russia is not a workers' state, but leaves its exact character as yet undecided. Vote on this question was postponed on the ground that further discussion is necessary, and a six-month discussion period opened.

As we receive the texts of the resolutions and of the various positions advanced at this convention on all questions, they will be reported in LABOR ACTION—E. G.

Books You Should Know...

GOD'S LITTLE ACRE, by Erskine Caldwell. Penguin, 25c.

Reviewed by SAM JONES

There are many-sided qualities to this short novel, not the least of which is the healthy, Rabelaisian humor, rather unique in American literature. As a regional novel, it stands out in comparison with some of the books (such as those which have been written about the Armenians of the San Joaquin Valley and the "paisanos" of Monterey Peninsula) in which the authors, in their patronizing attitudes toward the people described and in their desire to entertain their readers, are impelled to resort to whimsy, clothe their characters in a pseudo-Homeric aura and reduce them to comic, distorted caricatures of living types.

In **God's Little Acre** the author of **Tobacco Road** interwove three stories. One may wonder why he deliberately built a highly humorous story around what should be the central theme: the heroic but tragic attempt of the locked-out cotton mill workers to reopen their plant and run it themselves.

There is no build-up of the hero, Will Thompson, though the author does emphasize his prowess as a passionate and primitive lover. One might wonder if Caldwell is using sex politically — getting his male readers to identify themselves with Will in order to humanize the character and arouse greater sympathy for him and his fellow strikers. By contrast, the other male characters are either ridiculous (fat Pluto Swint), dull (Buck), lecherous and grasping (Jim Leslie) or crude (Shaw: "He likes anything with skirts on").

PLOT AND CHARACTERS

The female characters suggest a distillation of the daydreams of the sexually frustrated American male. There is the spirited and beautiful slut, Darling Jill, who snuggles into her brother-in-law Will's bed the minute his wife goes out to shop. And what a wife, Rosamund! She not only is not jealous of Jill but stands in rapt admiration as Will, in an incredible seduction scene, rips off the clothes of her still more beautiful sister, Griselda.

The heroic action of the workers in reopening the mill is not, ostensibly, the major theme, which is rather the attempt of the impoverished Georgia landowner, Ty Ty, to utilize the "divining" powers of a kidnapped albino to locate a gold "lode" on his plantation soil while his Negro "croppers" sweat over the few acres which have not been ruined by previous diggings and mountains of dirt. The one section of the farm which Ty Ty has long ago set aside as "God's little acre" is constantly being moved about by him in order that the gold found there will not have to be turned over, as his conscience would bid, to the local clergyman.

When Ty Ty is not goading his sons into more digging, he is rapturing over the personal charms of his daughter-in-law, the fair Griselda, whose beauty is such that his wealthy son, Jim Leslie, having seen her for the first time when Ty Ty is compelled to call on him for a loan, drives out to the farm to bear her off to his city castle! Which attempt precipitates the final tragedy in this tragi-comic tale.

The author treats the Negro characters with understanding and sympathy. A lyric note is introduced in their Greek chorus lamentations on receiving news of Will's murder by the company-hired detectives.

GALA HOUSEWARMING

Celebrate the Opening of the New Chicago Headquarters of the

WORKERS PARTY

1501 W. Madison St.

DANCING SMORGASBORD

MOVIE:

"The Private Life of Henry VII"

Film Starts at 9 P. M.

SATURDAY, OCT. 12

Contribution: 75c

OFF LIMITS

By James M. Fenwick

Slave Labor...

That eighty years after the abolition of slavery in the South slave labor should reappear in the western world is an index not only of the sapping of moral values which has taken place since 1914 but of the economic disintegration which European capitalism in particular is experiencing.

The conscription of slave labor in our times, of course, was begun by the Stalinists in Russia who organized vast prison camps in the north under the control of the NKVD. Here millions of Russians labored and died under the most primitive conditions, felling timber, digging canals, and doing other exceptionally arduous work. The Nazis followed the same pattern, first employing Germans and then, as Europe fell beneath their armies, nearly all the peoples of Europe.

These inhuman practices called forth the condemnation of the allied powers during the war, who spoke with professional horror of the forced labor system. But, it turns out, the English government is not averse to the use of such labor either. One out of four farm workers in Great Britain, for instance, is now a prisoner of war. In other words, twenty-five per cent of English farm workers are slaves.

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That despite "repeated questions in Parliament just before the current summer recess" no steps have been taken to send home these men who are suffering for the guilt of their untouched capitalist masters in Germany, indicates that these PW's supply a definite economic need.

Under "normal" capitalist conditions to employ PW's would be unprofitable. To do so would only increase the army of unemployed which characterizes capitalism. It would thereby provoke undesirable clashes between labor and capital over the issue. Because of lower wage rates the market for goods would be curtailed. Further, slaves, having little stake in the job, are notoriously poor workmen.

That is under "normal" conditions.

But today conditions are far from normal. First, because of deaths in the war, a large army stationed all over the world, a reduction in hours worked in comparison with the war years, and the withdrawal of women from industry there is a shortage of workers. This is especially acute in the agricultural areas. Because of the less desirable working conditions in these areas workers tend to migrate to the cities. Capping all this is a large backlog of demand for civilian goods difficult to meet because of an adverse position in the foreign trade market in relation to the United States, a large, parasitic army and navy, and relatively antiquated plant equipment.

Under these conditions the employment of PW's becomes economically feasible. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that the government is intending to increase the number of PW's in farming until they account for one-third of the farm labor force.

The United States government is a partner to this crime. Prisoners supposedly being sent home from the United States have been retained in England and put to work. They have been informed that they will spend one to two more years in England!

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Thus some half-million Germans find themselves virtual slaves in England reconstructing houses and working on farms at twenty-five cents a week. This silent chorus of 500,000 men forms a suitable background for the dapper Sir Hartley Showcross at Nuremberg as he thunders against Sauckel, the former organizer of the German slave labor corps.

Capitalism in its decline is poisoning the world's conscience. Accompanying the world economic disintegration is both an inevitable and a calculated progressive moral anesthesia. What once could electrify the best men and women of a generation—a czarist pogrom, an Amritsar, the anti-socialist laws of Bismarck, chattel slavery—now provokes only a shrug of the shoulders. The atomic war is being prepared before our eyes. Lacking a politicalized working class to inform it, mankind stumbles toward a new cataclysm.

Socialism represents the economic, and hence the moral, salvation of our times. Every socialist, every worker who is beginning to recognize that capitalism is the common enemy, and every veteran who is beginning to realize that the German GI was as helpless a victim of the capitalist military machine as he was himself, is obligated to defend the German PW's.

They who were the first victims of fascism, who served in the military machine so long, and whose world is bounded by a few faded photographs, fading memories, and an occasional letter out of a shattered homeland should be allowed to return home.

THAT BRAVE NEW POST-WAR WORLD...

"NEW ROCHELLE, N. Y., Aug. 23—Two Army veterans ,unable to gain admittance to overcrowded colleges within the forty-eight states, will try to solve their problem of higher education by starting tomorrow for Alaska."—(*New York Times.*)

NEXT WEEK:

A Review of the Nuremberg Trials:

Why They Saved Schacht and Papen: The Meaning of the Trials
By Irving Howe

From Moscow to Nuremberg
By Albert Gates

Stalin: Partner and Prosecutor
By Ernest Erber

NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN STALIN'S RUSSIA - I

By F. FOREST

The wide-spread purges now taking place in Russia have the world bewildered. Are the Russian rulers punishing "thieves and misappropriators of nationalized property," or are they punishing workers who are rebelling against the inhuman speed-up system known, ironically enough, as "socialist emulation"?

Is the Stalinist bureaucracy removing people who have succumbed to "bourgeois nationalism," or is the severity of the purges in the Ukraine due to the fact that this part of Russia, which is the greatest single source of coal, iron, steel and grain, is not anywhere nearing the production standard of 1940?

Are writers being removed for their acceptance of "bourgeios ideology," or is this only a method this exploitive ruling class uses in warning workers that it will not stand for continuous low productivity "merely" because the workers have no houses in which to live or food sufficient for an intensive day's work?

Is the removal of certain military generals a way of showing the military caste its subordination to the powerful Politburo, or is this also a manner of throwing a sop to the veterans who are complaining of not receiving their meagre financial allotments while the military budget is expanded to compromise a full 40 per cent of the entire national budget?

It is impossible to answer any of these questions by looking at the official version of the purges. One must go behind the gaudy façade and observe the role of labor in Russian society. This is the key not merely to an explanation of the purges, but of the very nature of the Russian state.

Stalin, without batting an eyelash, answered affirmatively the question put to him by Alexander Werth of *The Sunday Times of London:* "Is 'Communism in one country' possible?" This makes sense only if, instead of considering communism a classless, stateless, free society, you consider, as does Stalin, that "socialist emulation is the *communist method of the construction of socialism* on the basis of the maximum *activity of* millions of masses."

What, in reality, is this "socialist emulation"? The first slogan that Stalin issued when Nazi Germany attacked Russia in June 1941 was: "There is no distinction between the front and the rear." This meant that just as the soldiers at the front could not quit because the clock chimed 5, so the workers in the factories could not quit then. The working day was extended to 12 hours, and a "new" mode of labor introduced. Stakhanovism, which is the Russian version of the piece work system, was replaced by "socialist emulation." Under the system of Stakhanovism the individual worker had some choice left as to whether he wished to become a pace-setter. Under "socialist emulation" he has none, for "socialist emulation" depends not on the competition between individual workers, but between *factories.*

ON "SOCIALIST EMULATION"

"Socialist emulation" means that Factory Stalin challenges Factory Molotov to "fulfill and overfulfill" its quarterly plan by ten per cent and to accomplish that a month in advance of schedule to boot. Factory Molotov must take up the challenge. That means that *all* workers in *both* factories, whether they wish to or not, must do all possible within the time limit set to fulfill the goal.

Bolshevik, the official theoretical and political journal of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party, in its issue of April 1946 (No. 7-8), devotes its editorial to the need of "Socialist emulation for the successful carrying out of the new Five-Year Plan." The whole editorial centers about Stalin's interpretation of this demoniac speed-up system:

"Socialist emulation says: some workers work badly, others well, still others better,—CATCH UP WITH THE BEST AND ACHIEVE A GENERAL RISE. This, precisely, explains the unprecedented production enthusiasm which has embraced millions of toiling masses as a result of socialist competition. There is no necessity to state that competition has never called forth anything resembling this enthusiasm of the masses."

The tyrannical government has accepted as a matter of course the unexampled heroism of the Russian worker during the war, his untold sacrifices, and the sufferings he has had to withstand. And all that he is told now is that there will be no let-up; that, as the official government newspaper, *Izvestia,* puts it in its June 10, 1946, editorial:

"There must not be a single worker who does not achieve the norms set—that is the chief significance of socialist emulation."

The "enthusiasm" of the Russian worker is so great that he is rebelling against the planned, systematic sweatshop conditions introduced during the war and since developed to a fine point. *To a large degree it is this which is producing the chaotic conditions in the country. This is not the first time the Russian worker has shown his dissatisfaction with his lot in the so-called "workers' state."*

Ever since August, 1943, when the first order for the restoration of the liberated areas was promulgated, the Russian worker has had to bow to the grindstone. *Pravda, Izvestia,* the Russian press as a whole hailed 1943 as "the year of the great conversion to the conveyor belt system." With the end of the war, the Russian worker is being told that, just as there was no distinction between the front and the rear during the war, so there will be no distinction in the mode of labor between war and peace.

The working day was reduced to eight hours (though not to the prevailing seven hours before the war broke out), but the system of "socialist emulation" remains as the prevalent mode of labor. *However, so great were "labor offenses," that the Russian planners have found that, if they wish a sufficient labor force at hand to put into effect the Fourth Five-Year Plan, they must grant labor a general amnesty for all its wartime "offenses." This it did.*

The question now is: Will the Stalinist bureaucracy modify its conception of "socialist emulation," or does it think it can keep the Russian masses quiet by diverting their attention from their dissatisfaction with the state to the scapegoats the state is now furnishing them in the purges? To answer that, we must look into the devastation wrought by the war and the goals set by the Fourth Five-Year Plan, which we shall do in our next article.

Rubber Workers Convention Muffs Basic Wage Issue

By MILTON BILLER

SAN FRANCISCO—The week-long eleventh annual convention of the United Rubber, Cork, Linoleum and Plastic Workers of America, CIO, was brought to a close today with a victory of the incumbent administration on all principal issues confronting this important section of the American labor movement.

The convention brought together 334 delegates from 154 locals in more than 30 states, casting 1284 convention votes on behalf of some 193,000 members and represented a new high point in organization of rubber workers and allied industries.

L. S. Buckmaster was re-elected president of the union by unanimous vote, as was the general secretary, Charles Lanning. Only in the fight for the general vice-presidency did expected opposition materialize when a three-cornered struggle developed among H. R. Lloyd, incumbent from Local 6, George Bass, president of Goodrich Local 5, and Claude Wisdom, field representative. "Whitey" Lloyd backed by the conservative-Stalinist coalition was re-elected with 741 votes, as against 365 for Bass and 175 for Wisdom. The elections for General Executive Board showed the same trend with as many as nine of the Administration-supported candidates elected out of a total of twelve. Thus the militants representing the large locals in Akron, the heart of the union, paid the price of lack of a common program and organized caucus. This same pattern was clearly shown on all of the major problems confronting the rubber workers.

OFFICERS' SALARIES

The principal issue of wage increases to meet the rising cost of living was delayed to late October when action by the Wage-Price Policy Conference, convened during the convention, was postponed to October 21st. The convention itself did not adopt as policy for the rubber union the proposals of Goodrich Local 5 and Firestone Local 7 for an Escalator Clause to be included in industry-wide contracts which would automatically raise wages with any increase in the cost of living.

The union administration did succeed in solving its own financial difficulties with the raising of the salary of the president from $4500 *to* $6500 *a year, and the vice-president and secretary-treasurer from* $4300 *to* $6000 *yearly. District representatives were boosted from* $75 *to* $90 *weekly and field representatives from* $70 *to* $80 *weekly.*

The attempt to raise the dues from $1.00 to $2.00 fell through when considerable opposition developed and a compromise of $1.50 was voted, with the understanding that this would obviate local unions levying assessments because of increased revenue from dues. However, many of the delegates actually voted against the wishes of the rank and file of the local unions who sent telegrams demanding that no increase in dues be voted.

The convention reaffirmed its decision for the six-hour day, thirty-hour week and a guaranteed annual wage, but the failure to elect an aggressive new leadership will undoubtedly result in these resolutions again remaining a dead letter, unless the ranks of the local unions exert sufficient pressure on the General Executive Board.

QUESTION OF DEMOCRACY

The delegates did defeat an administration proposal to give the international president the right to remove any local officer who "encourages the violation of a valid collective-bargaining agreement." Too fresh in their minds were the actions of ex-president Dalrymple who had penalized militant union leaders who refused to order strikers back to work in so-called "unauthorized" strikes caused by company provocation.

Another healthy sign was the action of the delegates in voting down a resolution that would limit union democracy by barring individuals from union posts because of political beliefs.

On the vital issue of the Labor Party, the convention Resolutions Committee brought in a motion that eliminated the demand of Goodrich Local 5 in calling upon the rubber workers to take the initiative in immediately convoking a national conference of unions to organize a Labor Party. Instead, the resolution confined itself to the usual "support of the PAC" and the "eventual establishment of a political party which will more truly represent the interests of the American people." The militant delegates at the convention were seriously remiss in not pointing out that this meant a continuation of the policy of supporting the Republican and Democratic candidates who always "betray" their supporters by their reactionary acts in Congress.

WHAT MUST BE DONE

The failure of the genuine militants from the large locals to openly formulate a common program and take united action on the floor of the convention provided the administration with the opportunity to solidify the small locals in a voting bloc. Consequently all kinds of maneuvering went on without educating the delegates one bit.

This was clearly revealed when the convention took action to amend the constitution to provide for the appointment of the general organizational director on a yearly basis, instead of the existing provision which could be interpreted as having created a life-time post. In actuality, the motion was designed to clip the wings of N. H. Eagle, incumbent general organizational director who has been identified as a Communist Party supporter. Delegates for many of the large and small locals could have testified to his ineptness but the matter never was discussed in that way. It remains to be seen whether president Buckmaster will not reappoint him, since, in any case, the action of the convention was a virtual repudiation of Eagle's continuation in office.

The convention closed with the selection of Boston as the convention city for the following year. If the militants have finally learned their lesson then 1947 *can well be the occasion for a victory of the rank and file rubber workers; the consolidation of a unified program and caucus to put the Rubber Workers Union in the forefront of the American labor movement.*

When Labor Shows Its Strength - -

(Continued from page 3)

workers are, without the mass of workers all the engineering, scientific and technical know-how would be wasted. It is toil that makes reality of new ideas. Even if scientists conceive a push-button civilization, it will still be labor that will manufacture the push-buttons. Therefore, both by their all-controlling position in production and by their overwhelming numbers the workers are the mightiest class in modern society.

WHO ARE THE WORKERS?

This mighty class is by no means numbered by industrial, mining and transport workers only. The agricultural and dairy workers, without whom we would all starve, are part of the working class. So are the various categories of white collar and wage-earning professional workers, all necessary in our intricate society. The middle class people whose security capitalism has completely shaken, is also dependent on the mass of workers for a better future.

So, to repeat: By its all-controlling position in production, by its vast numbers and by its relation to other elements in society whose security has vanished under capitalism, the working class should be up on top, in political leadership, as well as controlling production in the interest of all the people — and, by no means incidentally—directing the efforts of engineers, scientists and technicians away from atom bomb into life-preserving channels.

However, the working class is not on top, it is not in political leadership and it is not controlling production. While the splendid strikes of this period have shown so clearly that without labor there is nothing, the same strikes have shown what limited use the workers make of their power.

The workers have struck for wage increases, shorter hours and improved conditions. Their militancy and solidarity have been beyond reproach. In some cases, as with the General Motors strikers, they won the support of whole communities. As in the case of the New York truck drivers' strike, thousands of unaffected drivers went out in sympathy so that bosses, politicians and labor leaders were frightened stiff at the working class solidarity.

WHAT HAPPENS NEXT?

All this is splendid and it has won the workers part of their demands. Then what happens?

The workers put away their might in dead storage! Production is turned back to the capitalists whom the workers just fought with such militancy. The government remains in the hands of the capitalist politicians of the major parties. Then what happens?

The capitalists ask for higher prices. The government, anxious to relieve the capitalists of every "hardship" and mindful of the "risks" of profit-making, grants price increases. The cost of living climbs. The wage increases won in militant struggle are nullified. White collar and professional workers who have suffered in silence see their standard of living reduced. All those who have the wrong end of the rope feel it tighten around their necks. And the capitalists, rubbing their hands, shout: "Produce more, boys, and everything will be okay!"

A LABOR PARTY NEEDED

As we see the absolute indispensability and overwhelming might of the workers demonstrated in their strikes, the question to be asked today is this: "Why does labor not make permanent use of its strength to break through the vicious circle of capitalism and take with it all the exploited and oppressed?" Strikes are necessary and splendid weapons for definite objectives and for limited periods. But permanently, the affairs of the country are settled through government. Labor must use its strategic industrial position, its tremendous numbers, its logical position of leadership of all the oppressed, to control the government of the country—so as to be able to plan and control production in the interest of the people of the country.

From its industrial power, labor must project a mighty independent Labor Party, aiming at the establishment of a workers' government. This is the way to break the crazy and vicious capitalist control. If labor makes up its mind to do this, nothing can stop it.

See Next Week:

The First of Two Articles on the

KU KLUX KLAN

By JERRY TODD

Harlem Election Meetings

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 16, 8:30 P. M.

THE THREE CONGRESSIONAL CANDIDATES AND THEIR RECORDS

Speaker: CONRAD LYNN, *Noted Harlem Lawyer*

Head of Lynn Comm. to End Discrimination in the Armed Forces

PLACE: 2143 SEVENTH AVE., ROOM 106

Wednesday, October 23:

NEGRO WOMEN FACE THE ELECTIONS

Friday, October 25 **8:30 P. M.**

MASS ELECTION RALLY

Speakers: ERNEST RICE McKINNEY and Others

Imperial Hall, 160 West 129th Street

Wednesday, October 30 **To Be Announced**

ELECTION WINDUP MEETING

All Meetings Except October 25 at 2143 Seventh Avenue., Room 106

SHIP WORKERS CONVENTION SHOWS POOR LEADERSHIP

By DAVID COOLIDGE

Special to Labor Action

SARATOGA SPRINGS, N. Y.—The Twelfth National Convention of the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers (IUMSWA), held here last week, was a demonstration of what an inept and bureaucratic trade union leadership can do to disorient and retard the development of its members. Here was an international faced with the near wiping out of its industry, with the closing of shipyards, with mass lay-offs and unemployment, with the reduction of wages, with all-over attacks from the shipyard corporations and a government at Washington which had demonstrated its determination to hold wages to a year-old formula. Furthermore, this convention met after it had been shown that the present wage formula was a millstone around the neck of labor. This convention also met at a time when shipyard workers along with the rest of labor were without meat

In this situation the leadership of this union came to the convention with a program which did not even approach what was necessary. Criticism for this must be directed at President John Green particularly. Throughout the convention he seemed to be in a fog of uncertainty and inertia. He did not seem to understand that it was his responsibility to supply leadership to the union.

The convention was not only faced with the external problems which I have enumerated but also with a serious internal problem. Green and the other top leaders were concerned with this internal problem: namely, what to do about the "Save the Union Committee." Their handling of this group, however, was stupid; their proposals for dealing with such problems and situations in the future were reactionary and totally undemocratic.

A STALINIST SUBTERFUGE

The earliest test of strength in the convention came on the resolution condemning the reactionary "Save the Union Committee." This was the group which had been organized after the last convention under the direction of Communist Party members and followers to fight against the union leadership. Besides the Stalinists, the "Save the Union Committee" was composed of a few misguided and confused honest militants. Also in the group at the beginning, and associated with the Stalinists in the leadership of it, were outright conservatives who opposed the Green leadership for wholly reactionary reasons. About a month before last week's convention this extremely reactionary group got the upper hand and expelled all the known Stalinists from the "Save the Union Committee."

While the Stalinists were still in the leadership of the committee, it had instituted legal proceedings in the capitalist courts against the national officers of IUMSWA, claiming that the 11th convention had been rigged and that its procedure was undemocratic. The committee asked the court to invalidate the convention and order a new convention. At the time of last week's convention the case was still pending in the courts.

The resolution against the "Save the Union Committee" charged that this group had attempted to spread disunity in the international, that it was unscrupulous and undemocratic, that it had shown no tendency to discontinue its "harmful activity." The resolution condemned the committee and instructed the General Executive Board to take such action as it deemed necessary against its "union-busting" activities.

Despite the fact that this was a resolution of the union leadership, the leadership did not seem inclined to give it any real vigorous defense. Here was only one of the many instances of leadership bankruptcy on the part of Green and Co. One delegate said that this issue should not have been brought to the floor of the convention in these "critical times." It was his position that the convention should be discussing "political action."

A delegate from Local 18, in discussing the resolution said that Mike Shapiro, Staljnist organizer in IUMSWA had come to Mobile for the Save the Union group and had disrupted the development of good relations between the white and Negro workers by his activities. McPherson of Local 22 said that he did not start the suit in the courts but that he participated in the action because he agreed with the people who did start it. It was McPherson's position that if the national officers did not want suits in the courts they should conduct the affairs of the union in a different way.

There was much talk about "unity" from the Stalinists. No one made any clear and adequate attack on the Stalinist "unity" talk. Even here the bureaucratic conceptions and attitudes of the top leadership were in evidence. They wanted to strike at the "Save the Union Committee." This should have been done. But the hands of the leadership were far from clean and they just could not do an effective job. Their record of lifting charters and taking away the autonomy of locals was unenviable and reprehensible. They had sent organizers into various locals to do hatchet jobs on militants and opponents.

PLACE OF UNION ORGANIZER

It was reported in the convention and not refuted by Green, Grogan and Blood, that there had been waste and inefficiency in the union's organizing activities. Everyone knew that many of the organizers did not put in their time bringing workers into the union but spent it doing the hatchet work of the top bureaucracy of the union. Therefore all that Green and Co. could do was to push through the resolution against the reactionary "Save the Union Committee." They made no effort to tell the convention in an educational way, why the activities of the committee were "disruptive," or why grievances of labor should be kept out of the capitalist courts. This leadership just used a mechanical majority to pass its resolution.

Yet, here was an excellent opportunity to give the delegates some genuine trade union education, to deliver an open blow to anti-labor Stalinism while at the same time opposing the reactionary "red-baiters." But this leadership did not do this. It made blocs with the Stalinists many times before and may want to do it again.

The next fight arose over a proposal in connection with the appeal rights of hired organizers, who are members of the union. The proposal was that when and if fired they could have no right of appeal to the convention. It did not occur to anyone that this question might be solved by making it mandatory for all organizers to be members of the union with the same rights as any other member.

ISSUE OF LOCAL AUTONOMY

There was a contest over the question of lifting the autonomy of locals. It was not difficult to see that the delegates were dissatisfied with the past procedure of the national officers in lifting autonomy and placing dictatorial administrators over locals. A resolution was introduced which would require the officers and General Executive Board to use the most elementary procedure in the case of charter lifting. This amendment to the constitution would require the GEB to review the case 30 days after autonomy was suspended. A two-thirds vote of the GEB would be necessary for continuing the withholding of autonomy. At each meeting of the GEB thereafter the case would have to be reviewed and only a majority vote would be required to restore the autonomy of the local.

The posiiton of the administration resolution was to keep the matter of autonomy in the hands of the GEB with the local involved having no right of appeal. The minority amendment was defeated by a combination of parliamentary trickery and skullduggery. A two-thirds vote is required to amend the constitution. It is required that a minority resolution or motion be voted on first. This is the customary parliamentary procedure. It was the procedure in this convention. On another question, Green had apologized to the convention for not putting the minority motion first. But on the autonomy issue he put the majority amendment first. He then announced that the "minority amendment has not carried because it takes a two-thirds vote." Actually, the delegates were not voting on the minority amendment. As a result, the procedure was confusing and many delegates were not clear on how to vote for their real sentiments.

What is important to emphasize is that this leadership was opposed to any genuine democratic procedure in connection with taking over locals and placing them under an administrator. The attitude of the leadership of IUMSWA on this important question as on others was reactionary and bureaucratic.

The resolution finally passed was far better than the original one proposed by the leadership. It requires that in case of the lifting of autonomy that a provisional government be set up, consisting of eight members of the local. The administrator need not be a member of the local. The case may be reviewed by the GEB on appeal, by any deposed local officer or by any member.

There was one issue on which the officers were defeated. This was on the proposal to raise the dues from $1.25 to $2.00 a month. The delegates would have none of this; not even those delegates who belonged to the administration bloc. Later, however, the convention voted favorably on a proposed amendment to permit those locals which desired to set the local dues at $2.00 a month. The amendment specified, however, that the per capita to the "national office" would not be increased. Here was an extremely interesting situation. Delegates who had voted for the reactionary position of the administration on the autonomy question voted against Green on the dues question and then voted to permit locals to increase dues provided the per capita to the national office was not raised.

A LITTLE HORSE-TRADING

It was evident therefore that the delegates were really only against the national office getting any more money. They felt that the organizational work had not been done effectively and therefore no money was necessary. But these same delegates were willing to continue the disgraceful arrangement by which the leadership could lift charters at will and maintain a dictatorship over the locals.

This wasn't all. Delegations which were really against the motion to permit locals to raise their own dues, finally voted to permit. Local 1 with the biggest vote was against. Local 2 was against. Before the vote was completed Local 1 asked for a recess for a caucus. They returned and announced that they had changed their minds and would vote for. Local 2 did likewise. Green and the other officers voted for.

It was clear that something was going on. This something was the preparation for the forming of blocks looking to the elections the following day. Local 9 had introduced the amendment under consideration and was insistent on its passage. The administration wanted the vote of Local 9 for its GEB slate. Local 1 wanted the support of Local 9 for support to its nominees for the GEB. Local 2 also wanted support for its two nominees. It was necessary for all concerned to woo Local 9 and try for its support. The amendment was passed overwhelmingly.

There were two more contests. One was over the powers of local executive boards and the other over the rights of members who had been fired, laid off or who had quit the industry. Here the stupidity and the bureaucratism of the leadership revealed itself again. The amendment on EBs as first presented stated that the EB had the right to appoint all standing committees. When the question was asked from the floor whether or not this was subject to review by the local the answer was "No."

This being entirely unsatisfactory, Green took the floor to explain that, of course, the grievance and negotiating committees were to be elected. But nobody took the pains to word the amendment in such a way that it would be clear from the amendment itself. Nor did it occur to Green and Co. that there was a simple democratic way out of the objections which were raised. That was to say that all committees but the two excepted were to be appointed by the EB subject to the approval of the membership.

STRENGTHENING THE BUREAUCRACY

The next matter was the position taken by the leadership that all members who were laid off, discharged or who quit the industry could not hold office in any local or have a vote in any local. As was usual with the proposals brought forward there was no explanation as to its meaning or effect until objections were raised from the floor. There were delegates who

(Continued on page 6)

Answering a New York Times Editorial

The Working Class and the "Public" in America

By ERNEST RICE McKINNEY

In its Sunday, September 8 edition, the New York Times discusses the strike situation under the heading, "A Threat to Liberty." The editorial begins: "Since the end of the war it has become more and more evident that the industrial strike has ceased to be primarily a contest between employers and workers and has become primarily a test of the public endurance."

What do they mean by "a test of the public endurance?" What do they mean by the "public?"

There are approximately 15 million workers in the counrty organized into trades unions. Are these 15 million a part of the "public" as the Times understands it? Of the 140,000,000 million inhabitants of the U. S. fully 100,000,000, to be conservative, are wage-earners of one sort or another. Are these 100,000,000 a part of the "public?"

LABOR AGAINST CAPITAL

Obviously, the Times considers the "public" all those who are not members of trade unions. The Times thereby puts organized labor into one category and all others into another. This is a favorite trick of the capitalist press. They refuse publicly to recognize the fact that there is a working class and a capitalist class. They make it appear that the trade unions are not representative of the working class.

The capitalist class likes to make workers believe that unions represent only the relatively few who are members of a union and that these unions often do not even represent their members. Therefore strikes have become not a contest between workers and employers, but a contest between the 15 million members of unions and the remainder of the population.

This is an attempt to make white collar wage-earners, non-organized industrial workers and middle class persons believe that they should not place any confidence in the organized labor movement.

The strikes today are contests between the owners and those who are forced to labor for the owners. The strikes are not a contest between some mythical entity known as the "public" and the unions. Strikes are a struggle between the two main classes in capitalist society: the working class and the capitalists. The situation is more complicated today because in the present precarious state of capitalist society it is necessary for the government to intervene more directly in the interest of capitalist society. This was the mission of Roosevelt and the New Deal.

Roosevelt never made any pretense that he had had any other purpose than to "save capitalism." In 1936 Roosevelt told the "economic royalists" who were opposing him for reelection; "I saved you...." Roosevelt then went on to say that it was the measures which his administration had taken which had avoided "rioting in the streets."

A POLITICAL STRUGGLE

The Times goes on to say that strikes of the type occurring today, particularly the trucker and seamen strikes are not "altogether new. The railway strike of 1877 and the Pullman strike of 1894 were in the pattern." There is a difference, however, according to the Times. There is something new: "...more men and more occupations have been organized, so that the impact is greater; that the organization is more effective, that strikes are conducted with an almost military sense of strategy, and that such struggles have taken on a political complexion."

Every plodding, bungling and blundering trade union leader in the country should read that statement. That is, all of the trade union leaders should read it. The capitalist owners of the Times understand the situation better than the labor leaders.

Labor has learned something in the fifty years since the railway and Pullman strikes. More industries have been organized, there are more workers in unions, strikes are a sort of military operation. This means that the organized workers have far greater defensive and offensive power today than fifty years ago. And, "such struggles have taken on a political complexion." This is the phrase the labor leaders should read and ponder over. What does it mean?

The Times is saying that at certain periods and under certain conditions, what appears to labor as merely an economic struggle is in reality a political struggle. Perhaps the owners of the Times have been reading from Karl Marx. Of course they would not need to read Marx to understand when, how and under what conditions the struggle of a class becomes a political struggle. The capitalist ruling class engaged in a long and savage struggle against feudalism for the purpose of overthrowing that class and establishing capitalism and the social and political rule of the present day capitalist class.

The struggle which the new capitalist class waged against the feudal landlords was not a peaceful struggle: it was real warfare: national wars, international wars and civil wars. Northern industrial capitalism did not free itself from the political, social and economic threat of slave society at the ballot box but on the battle field. The capitalists of today of course defend all these wars and revolutions. That is, they defend their past mass strikes and *their* wars. The capitalists are great defenders of all past revolutions. That is, all except the Great October Revolution in Russia because that was a workers revolution.

ONLY THE BEGINNING

The capitalist class did precisely what the workers are attempting to do today. Capitalism and feudalism reached a "deadlock." "Neither side" would "give in." There was "wild talk" from the capitalists (and still is) "like that of the agent of the Seafarers International Union." The capitalists organized "more men and more occupations...so that the impact" could "be greater." They made their organizations "more effective" and conducted their struggles against the defenders of feudalism with a "military sense of strategy." What is the capitalist press howling about. The working class hasn't really hurt them yet. WE HAVE ONLY MADE THE BAREST BEGINNING.

The Times says that the present struggles of the workers and the unions is beginning to look political. That's true but the Times must know the reason. All the ruling class must know the reason. Didn't they go through a similar experience? Isn't it true that the young rising capitalist class discovered that its economic struggles against the feudal landlords threw that class face to face with the government of the feudal landlords? Isn't it true that the young capitalist class finally discovered that in order to protect and consolidate its economic gains it had to have political power; a political party of its own and a government of its own?

And is it not true that the present capitalist class overthrew feudalism and the feudal landlord régime in one civil war after another? Isn't it true that after this the capitalists established capitalism and the political and social domination of the capitalist class?

Why does the Times think it so strange that the workers should begin moving in the same direction? This big capitalist paper really is not so surprised. They understand. It is only the labor leaders who don't understand or who don't want to understand. They are the constant muddle-heads. They think that they can make capitalism and capitalist democracy work tomorrow just as it did yesterday. These labor leaders don't know as much as the capitalist of 200 years ago. They didn't try to make feudalism work. They destroyed it and established capitalism. Now when the workers begin to have some vague notions about another kind of social order the labor leaders follow the Times and orate about the glories of capitalism.

The Times closes its editorial very solemnly with the adjuration that "the unions have an especial responsibility..." because "they have grown enormously in power." That's right. Our unions have the responsibility to use this power for the complete organization of the working class, to support the political organization of labor, to aid in the organization of labor for the struggle against capitalism and the capitalist class; AND FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SOCIALISM AND A SOCIALIST SOCIETY.

Workers Party Candidates Answer NAACP Questionaire

NAACP Questions to Candidates for Congress

Answers by Shachtman and McKinney

FAIR EMPLOYMENT

1. Will you actively work for the passage of federal legislation to establish a *Fair Employment Practice Commission* with power to enforce its orders? YES

(a) (Relates to Senatorial candidates.)

(b) If you are elected to the House, will you sign a discharge petition to bring the FEPC bill to the floor for vote? YES

2. Will you insist that all federal departments and agencies hire, assign and upgrade their personnel on the basis of qualifications, without regard to their race, religion or national origin? YES

CIVIL RIGHTS

3. Will you actively work for the enactment of a *federal statute abolishing the poll tax?* YES

(a) (For Senate.)

(b) If you are elected to the House, will you sign a discharge petition on the anti-poll tax bill? YES

4. Will you insist that no qualified citizen shall be denied the ballot in Federal elections, and call for a Congressional investigation when there is evidence that such ballot has been denied? YES

5. Will you actively support and vote for the passage of *anti-lynching legislation?* YES

(a) (For Senate.)

(b) If you are elected to the House, will you sign a discharge petition on the anti-lynching bill? YES

6. If elected to the House, will you vote against further appropriations for *Rankin's Committee on Un-American Activities?* YES

(a) Will you support a resolution to abolish that Committee? YES

WELFARE LEGISLATION

7. Will you vote for housing legislation such as the Wagner-Ellender-Taft *Housing* Bill which provides for the construction of a million units annually of public and private housing? YES

8. Will you actively work for the passage of health legislation such as the Wagner-Murray National *Health* Bill, providing for pre-paid health insurance, maternal and child care aid? YES

9. Will you vote to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act so as to increase the minimum wage for persons covered by the Act from 40 cents per hour to 65 cents the first year, 70 cents the second and 75 cents the third? YES — And we would fight for an even higher minimum wage to provide a guaranteed annual wage of $2500 for the worker.

10. Will you actively work to secure the early enactment of a *federal Aid to Education Bill?* YES

11. Will you actively work for the early consideration and passage of legislation such as the Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill extending the benefits of Social Security laws to domestic and agricultural workers? YES

12. Will you offer and work for the adoption of amendments designed to prohibit racial segregation and discrimination wherever federal funds are used to aid education, housing, health, and employment? YES

ARMED FORCES

13. Will you work to promote the integration of qualified citizens in all branches of the armed forces without regard to race, religion or national origin? YES

VETERANS

14. Will you work to assure that veterans of minority races receive full benefits and participate in all phases of the GI rehabilitation program, including housing, hospitalization, education, employment, training and loans? YES

LABOR

15. Will you oppose all legislation which would impair the right of organized labor to bargain collectively, engage in peaceful picketing, or strike? YES

LIBERALIZE RULES OF CONGRESS

16. If elected to the House, will you support:

(a) Resolution revising House rules so as to take away the power of the Committee on Rules to bottle up proposed legislation thereby preventing the same from coming to the floor in due course for vote? YES

(b) Resolution to reduce the number of signatures required on a discharge petition from 218 to 145 (one-third of House membership) the number that was necessary before the rule was changed in 1935? YES

17. If you are elected to the Senate will you actively support a resolution providing that filibusters may be shut-off by simple majority vote? YES

Program of the Workers Party

I. For Price Control by Labor and the Consumers

Wipe out profiteering and high prices by action. Only the workers can control prices. Labor must have the decisive voice in determining the prices of consumer commodities. For wage increases without price increases. For popular price control committees.

II. For a Living Wage

1. For an immediate wage increase to meet the rising cost of living.
2. For an escalator clause in every union contract to provide for automatic wage increases to cover any additional price rises.
3. For job and wage security through a guaranteed annual wage, providing for a $5000 annual minimum per family.

III. Clear the Slums! Build Homes!

1. For a 250 billion dollar five-year program to provide decent housing at low rental for all and an extensive public works plan to provide schools, hospitals and other needed community facilities.
2. For a national plan to begin work immediately on the erection of 25 million permanent low-cost housing units.

IV. Tax the Profiteers

For a 100 per cent tax on all wartime profits above five per cent on invested capital. For a $25,000 ceiling on all annual incomes.

V. Nationalize Big Business

For the nationalization of the big monopolies: the industrial establishments, transportation and communication systems and the banks. To be owned by the nation and operated under workers' control.

VI. End Discrimination Against the Negro People

For full social, political and economic equality for Negroes.

VII. Open the Doors to the Jews

1. For full and unrestricted immigration into the United States by the persecuted and homeless Jews of Europe.
2. For the right of the Jewish people to unrestricted immigration to Palestine or any country of their choice.

VIII. For Full Economic and Educational Opportunities for Veterans

1. Readjustment allowance, on-the-job training subsidy provided by the GI Bill of Rights, to be based on a wage of $40 a week for single veterans and $55 for married veterans, plus $5 a week for each additional dependent.
2. For immediate granting of a federal bonus of $1,000 for each year of service.

IX. For Peace and Freedom

1. For the right of all peoples and nations to decide their own future. For self-determination for all nations. For freedom of the colonies.
2. For the withdrawal of all armies of occupation. Bring the American troops home. For an end to conscription.

X. For an Independent Labor Party and a Workers Government

For an independent Labor Party of the workers and working farmers based on the trade unions. Break with the Republican and Democratic Parties. For a government of and by labor.

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Shipyard Workers Convention - -

(Continued from page 5)

could not understand why a member who was fired or laid off by the company should be placed in the same category as a member who left the industry. Also, it was not clear why a member should be denied the vote merely because the company laid him off or fired him.

Then the Constitution Committee and Green came forward with some lame explanations. Of course, they said, this would not apply to members whose cases were still pending before the company or to members who were only being "shaped up." But the point is that even this lame explanation came under pressure. Obviously, the explanation was not adequate. It was one more reactionary proposal which meant that loyal members of the union were to be penalized merely because they were not momentarily employed.

The elections took place on Friday morning, the day before adjournment. The three top officers, Green, Grogan and Blood, were re-elected without opposition. Then nominations were made for the GEB. Here was the place where the Stalinists attempted to get in their licks. They nominated two delegates from Local 2, Quinn and Belcher, a Negro, and more from other locals. There was also an administration slate without any known Stalinists on it. It was an anti-Stalinist slate. There was a great deal of opposition to the re-election of Carter, the only Negro on the GEB. Among the Negroes, Carter is known as "Uncle Tom." They took the position, however, and correctly, that Carter must not be "dumped" in any anti-Negro move or for any other reason than that a more militant Negro than Carter would get the place.

The administration slate won by about two to one. The Stalinists were defeated. On Saturday, the Daily Worker reported that "unity" had been given a slap in the face at the convention. This, of course, was nonsense. What had been given the slap was not "unity" but elementary trade union democracy and simple trade union education.

With all the caucusing and maneuvering, often over the most trivial matters, there was not much time for the consideration of a program for the international or the pressing and harassing problems before the shipyard workers. Resolutions were passed on foreign policy endorsing the Baruch plan for international control of atomic energy. The resolution was aimed at Russia and called for abolishing the present veto system in the United Nations.

There was a resolution on wage policy which no one can take seriously if it is to be carried into effect by the present officers of the union. It warned that if employers or the government agencies "fail to allow" peaceful methods "we shall have to rely on our organized strength and on the collective determination of our members. For we mean to do our utmost to see to it that each shipyard worker receives economic justice."

This resolution means very little in a union with a leadership which is more militant at lifting charters and sending dictators to locals than it is at fighting the employers and opposing a reactionary capitalist government. Furthermore, a group of officers who give as an argument for increasing dues that it is necessary to save the shipbuilding industry in order that there may be jobs, is not a leadership which should inspire confidence. In his speech in support of the dues increase, Blood said that there is need for a maritime industry for this country "second to none." He did not explain how the union can save the maritime industry, if it needs saving, or how 75 cents more in dues would accomplish this. Nor did he explain how and why it is the business of the working class to save capitalist business enterprise.

All in all, this convention saw a miserable performance by a trade union leadership. It is not a real leadership in any sense but a petty, inept and blundering little group of jobholders which is retained in office only because the members of the union do not know what to do about it. They are bureaucratic, ignorant and inefficient. Green is the worst of all. He has gone down a long way since he was a member of the Socialist Party and a member of the Revolutionary Policy Committee in that party, which was going to make a militant revolutionary organization out of that party. One year he is crying out against the Trotskyists in the union and making a bloc with the Stalinists. Another year he is sobbing and shedding tears because the Stalinists have him hemmed in and will not consent for the militant Local 42 to get a place on the GEB. This year he is engaged in a drive against the Stalinists but has no program for the union. He just stands there, gavel in hand, turning this way and that, hoping that somehow or other, unknown to him, the delegates in their mercy and political backwardness will return him to office.

The Stalinists at the convention were up to their usual tricks. They wanted "unity." This means, of course, that they did not want the resolution on the "Save the Union Committee" passed. They did not want Green re-elected but they had no alternative but to support him and lie in wait with dagger poised for the stab in the back. "Unity" to them means to get enough people on the GEB and among the organizers to exercise their type of bureaucratic control, in the interests of the murderer in the Kremlin. They didn't get far, but neither did the shipyard workers. And this is the pity of it. But perhaps by next year these workers will have learned better and will know how not to let such a stupid and undemocratic leadership hold them in check.

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LaGuardia Explains How Boss Parties Rig Laws And Courts to Keep Minority Parties Off Ballot

By ABE VICTOR

A furor has been created in New York by the attempt of the Democratic Party machine to remove the minority parties from the ballot. The politicians have been forced to take a stand on the question, notably the Republicans. They are using this issue for their own ends, as an effort to break the labor vote from the Democrats. It is not because of their concern for the Workers Party, Socialist Workers Party, Socialist Party, Socialist Labor Party and Communist Party. But the mere fact that outstanding Republicans are using this issue indicates how much feeling has been aroused in New York.

LA GUARDIA KNOWS

Foremost among the commentators has been the ex-mayor of New York, Fiorello La Guardia, who has campaigned over the radio stations and in the pages of PM against the New York electoral situation.

Says La Guardia:

"There are many unreasonable requirements now in the law, PUT THERE INTENTIONALLY TO MAKE DIFFICULT, IF NOT IMPOSSIBLE, INDEPENDENT NOMINATIONS BY PETITIONS."

"The mere fact that a protest (to an independent petition) is filed can almost be taken as a foregone conclusion that they will be politely and judicially kicked off the ballot.... From my own experience, I know how the will of the people is thwarted by legalistic technicalities.... THESE ARE GROUNDS UPON WHICH THE INTENT AND SPIRIT OF THE LAW ARE FRUSTRATED INTO GIVING ALMOST FULL AND COMPLETE CONTROL TO THE POLITICAL MACHINES." (PM, Sunday, September 29, page 3.)

Fiorello La Guardia is no novice in politics. He knows whereof he speaks. And though it may bring a faint blush into the soft jowls of the now famous "Little Flower," this is the time to mention that during his own term of office, and by the machinations of the political machinery which elected La Guardia to office, minority parties were subjected to precisely the same runaround when they attempted to get on the ballot.

HOW IT WORKS

The will of the thousands of petition signers is thwarted by the following legalistic technicalities:

A signature in pencil, good on a promissory note or a deed, will throw out a petition.

The wrong number of an Election District—and there isn't one person in 10,000 who knows the number of his Election District—will disqualify a petition.

If a person unintentionally and without malice or wilfullness kills another person, free from neglect, it is not murder. But only last year when there was a reapportionment in Assembly Districts, and the new numbers of the Districts were not known at the time of filing the petitions, the failure to guess the right number disqualified a petition. Hundreds of signatures were thown out, although there was no question as to the genuineness of the signature and the identity of the voter.

Simply because the attesting witness had his business address instead of his residential address, many sheets of petitions were invalidated. If a notary public gives the wrong address or uses the wrong stamp or even if he isn't a notary public but the parties to the contract or deed are identified, that does not invalidate the deed.

This year, simply because an attesting witness used her married name instead of her maiden name (she registered under her maiden name) all the petitions she attested to were thrown out by the Board of Elections.

This year also (both of these instances were the Workers Party petitions) an attesting witness who registered from overseas had all his petitions thrown out.

We could continue quoting cases ad infinitum.

BOSS PARTY ALLIANCE

The important thing is that "when it comes to independent nominations and independent voting there is a very close alliance in this state between the two major parties," as La Guardia so clearly states.

When the protests in all these cases reach the courts, then the court with all the dignity of its robes and ceremony and with an assumed attitude of impartiality, uses a judicial magnifying glass to look for excuses to throw out legally good signatures.

La Guardia again:

"It is really a sight to watch an Appellate Court sitting on a political petition case. It is a sight because each and every one of these judges knows all about political machines, each and every one—I CANNOT THINK OF A SINGLE EXCEPTION! AT THE MOMENT SITTING TODAY WHO WAS NOT PICKED BY THE LEADERS OR BOSSES OF A POLITICAL PARTY AND THEN PRESENTED TO THE VOTERS. Often there is little choice between the hand-picked candidates for judicial office, regardless of party emblem." (Emphasis La Guardia's—Ed.)

La Guardia, of course, is quite vague on what to do. He has no concrete proposals to make on the revision of the election laws. And he can only afford to be as liberal as he is because he has no stake in this year's election. He has been strangely silent during the past ten years about exactly the same matters.

WP PROPOSALS

The Workers Party therefore proposes:

That the preposterous signature requirements be eliminated. Seattle, Washington, for example, requires only a handful.

That the Board of Elections eliminate the requirement that the petition signer signify his intention to vote for the party in the coming election.

That no technicalities be used to disqualify the petition except the genuineness of the signature.

That any three people in the state, regardless of residence, be permitted to serve as a committee on replacements.

That it be unnecessary to list Election Districts, Assembly Districts, etc., since these are revised every year and the revisions published too late to be included in independent nominating petitions.

The Workers Party further proposes that all working class parties combine their efforts to insure the right of minority parties to the ballot.

SEATTLE SP'ERS RETREAT UNDER UTILITIES ATTACK

By VINCENT S. WHEELON

SEATTLE — Members here of the Socialist Party local, which is running a candidate for the state senate in the 37th district, have demonstrated their characteristic incapacity to put up a fight when they become crossed with capitalist politics.

Directors of the Public Utility Districts' research and information service called for the resignation of Bernard L. Pearce, executive secretary of the organization, and his assistant, Thomas L. Scanlon. Both of them are members of the Socialist Party, and Pearce is the campaign manager for Scanlon who is running for the office. Both of them resigned.

It appears that this supposedly non-partisan public power association in the State of Washington has slipped under the thumb of Democratic Party hacks. Evidence supports the charge that the pressure was put on the PUD staff members because Scanlon is running against the Stalinist-supported Democrat, George Hurley. One of the board members, Kirby Billingsly, is holding down a patronage job under Democratic Governor Mon C. Wallgren.

The SPers screamed. They declared the action constituted a "violation of civil rights and rank political discrimination." But the fact remains that neither Pearce nor Scanlon stood on their civil rights. They hastened to submit their resignations instead of hanging tough until they were fired. This would have given the SP an opportunity to throw the case in court and build up a sizzling fight.

Pearce said he resigned because he believed that if he remained on the staff, this episode would jeopardise the public power fight in the state against "Initiative 166," a measure backed by the electric trust, which is designed to hamstring financial operations of the districts. In other words, Pearce sacrificed an opportunity to fight in an open arena the attempt of the capitalist Democrats to gain control of the rapidly expanding public power movement.

He also failed to see that he could have brought "166" into the struggle, by asserting that the willingness of the PUD commissioners to indulge in cheap political maneuvers brings into question what sort of a compromise they might make if the power-trust backers of the measure are able to make some "back-stairs" deal with the Democratic machine.

Cost-Plus Pays Off Big - -

(Continued from page 1)

money of the operators was the capital which they had available and was not actual investment in the shipyards themselves." But let's not quibble. On the other hand, for shipyard facilities which enabled the private shipyard operators to collect $356,006,612 in profits, yes, the government spent $424,250,694.

No wonder Mr. Casey testified that the taxpayers **"not only of this generation but of generations to come"** will be paying the bill — and that means us workers being docked each week out of the pay envelope.

HORATIO ALGER KAISER

The testimony given before the House Merchant Marine Committee on September 23 revealed that the companies owned or controlled by Henry J. Kaiser and his associates made the most money on the least investment. The Kaiser companies, namely, California Shipbuilding Corporation; Kaiser Company, Inc.; Kaiser Cargo, Inc.; Oregon Shipbuilding Corporation; Permanente Metals Corporation and Walsh-Kaiser, Inc., had a total capital investment of $2,510,000, and made profits estimated at $192,237,284.

This seems to be a yield of about 9600 per cent. Henry J. Kaiser certainly did all right by himself out of ships in which American boys went to their death. Of the nineteen companies under inquiry, Mr. Kaiser's group, with about one-ninth of the capital invested, took home more than one-half of the bacon.

Up for questioning before the House Committee, Mr. Kaiser, smart industrialist that he is, developed a convenient case of extreme ignorance about his companies' affairs. "I don't know," was a stock answer. However, he claimed that his losses in his steel mill must be charged against his profits in shipbuilding. Funny he said nothing about his profits in other wartime projects such as aircraft, aluminum and the eighteen different industries he was engaged in. He protested that he was being singled out as a scapegoat and wanted to know why the Pew family, also engaged in wartime shipbuilding, was not being investigated. Why not?

A NEW THEORY

Kaiser also developed a new theory of profit, in his testimony. He thinks that profit should be figured on the basis of production and not invested capital. He said that on this basis his profits were **"less than one-tenth of one per cent of the total volume of work done for the Maritime Commission,"** whereas General Motors netted 6.0 per cent on production and du Pont 12.7 per cent in 1945.

In this nice scheme for concealing real profits, what, Mr. Kaiser, becomes of the claim of you and your class that you are entitled to profits because of the "risks" you take in investing your money? As, indeed, what becomes of that claim when a $600 "risk" brings $2,080,000 in profits, and your own "risk" of $2,510,000 brought your companies $192,237,284 in rewards?

To the contention of the shipyard operators that they were being paid for "know-how," Mr. Casey said it sometimes appeared that **"the only know-how covered by government fees to shipyard operators for engineering and other tehcnical skills was knowing how to secure a contract from the Maritime Commission."**

LIMIT TO GULLIBILITY

During the hearing, an uncomfortable listener was Admiral Emory S. Land, chairman of the Maritime Commission throughout the war. It is reported that as his conduct of the commission was being assailed, he nervously rubbed his chin and stared into space. This is the same anti-labor Land who in October, 1942, told a convention of investment bankers in New York that **"As far as any (union) organizers are concerned, for the duration, in my opinion, they ought to be shot at sunrise."**

Between the Roosevelts and the Lands, and capitalist war, what else could the outcome be but, on the one side, the Kaisers, du Ponts, Pews, the merchants of death, with fantastic profit yields; and on the other side, ex-war workers and ex-soldiers without any savings, with a lowered standard of living because of high prices, facing a famine situation in meat and other foods, in clothing, and in housing.

And when World War III approaches, the war President will then also pledge to the American people that there will be no **"new group of war millionaires."** But there is a limit to human gullibility.

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NEW YORK VOTERS: All friends and sympathizers of the Workers Party are requested to be sure to register between the days of October

READING AUDIENCE HEARS ERBER SPEAK ON PRICE PROGRAM

Eighteen members and friends of the Reading, Pa., branch of the Workers Party heard Comrade Ernest Erber discuss the price crisis and present the program of the Workers Party on that issue.

Comrade Erber pointed out the OPA could not solve the question of maintaining the living standards of the American working class because its main purpose was to get the workers to support the imperialist war. "Only by having an organization with a million eyes and ears can prices be controlled and the black marketeers exposed," Comrade Erber stated.

"If we are serious about price control we must be prepared to penetrate deeper and deeper into the economy of the nation, to the point of workers' control over production and to the political rule of the working class," Comrade Erber remarked during the course of a criticism of the superficial and hesitant steps of the present trade union officials in their dealing with the question of price control. Comrade Erber pointed out that the present trade union officials don't have any other viewpoint except to maintain capitalism and therefore cannot adopt a price control program that goes to the core of the problem. Comrade Erber concluded by indicating the program of the Workers Party, which is:

1. On-the-job committees of workers to set prices and control them.
2. The GM Program, Wage Increases Without Price Increases.
3. Workers' Control of Production.
4. A Workers' Government.

A total of $12.50 was collected by sales of tickets and donations. A quantity of literature was sold.

Many of those present indicated that they were interested in attending the regular discussion group that the Reading branch is now conducting every other Tuesday evening.

With the Workers Party

AKRON

The Akron Branch of the Workers Party invites readers of LABOR ACTION to attend a class on FASCISM AND STALINISM—THEIR SEEDS IN AMERICA, Tuesday evenings at 8.

Write to Box 221 for further information.

BUFFALO

HEADQUARTERS: 639 Main St.

Open meetings on Sunday evenings.

All Out for a Real Good Time! Sunday, October 6, at 8:00 p.m. Plenty of food and cheer, dancing, absolutely no ceiling on fun. Admission 25 cents. p.m.

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CHICAGO

LABOR ACTION, 1501 W. Madison, 2nd floor, Chicago 7.

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Office hours: 3-5:30 p.m. daily, except Sundays, Tuesday and Wednesday evenings.

1. A series of classes is being held on each Friday night at party office at 8 o'clock on "The Fight for Socialism."

DETROIT

Headquarters, 3773 Gratiot (at Mt. Elliott).

Office hours: 11 a.m.-3 p.m., Tuesdays, Wednesdays and Thursdays. Class in "Fight for Socialism" every Thursday at 11:30 a.m.

LOS ANGELES

Office Telephone: RIchmond 7-3230.

Class in "Socialism & Capitalism," every Monday evening at LABOR ACTION headquarters.

Study groups in advanced Marxism also forming. Interested readers get in touch with office for details.

NEWARK

HEADQUARTERS: 248 Market St.

OFFICE HOURS: Tuesday—3 to 6 p. m.; Wednesday—12 to 3 p. m.; Saturday—3 to 4 p. m.

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168 Belmont Ave.
Stand, Market and Mulberry, northeast corner.

NEW YORK CITY

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

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

EAST HARLEM—Meets every Thursday at 8:00 p.m. Rand's Harlem Terrace, 210 East 104th St., 2nd Floor.

HARLEM—Meets every Wednesday at 8:00 p.m. Workers Party Headquarters, 2143 Seventh Ave., Room 196 (near 127th St.).

QUEENS—Phone City Office. Meets every Thursday evening.

BROOKLYN DOWNTOWN—Meets every Wednesday at 8:00 p.m. Workers Party Headquarters, 276 Fulton St., 2nd Floor.

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

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

READING

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

PHILADELPHIA

HEADQUARTERS, 1105 Walnut St.

Branches meet Monday and Tuesday evenings at 8:00.

Socialist Youth League meets Fridays at 8:00 p.m.

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Near Northeast Corner of Broad Street and Girard Avenue.

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SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA

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

LABOR ACTION and **New International** may be purchased at 2059 Fillmore St., San Francisco; Golden Gate News Agency, 81 3rd St.; McDonald's Bookstore, 867 Mission St.

In Berkeley: Whelens, Bancroft and Telegraph.

SEATTLE

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

Announcing a class on PRINCIPLES OF SOCIALISM, based on Max Shachtman's new book, The Fight for Socialism, every Monday night at 8 p.m., at Independence Hall, 41st St. and University Way. Sessions will continue on every Monday through October 14.

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

SOCIALIST YOUTH LEAGUE

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

PRESS MANAGER'S

PRESS ACTION

BY HENRY JUDD

RENEWAL SUBSCRIPTION CAMPAIGN

The campaign for renewal of LABOR ACTION subscriptions is making more progress, week by week, as witness the results.

Until now, the heroine of the campaign has been Comrade Lorraine Baker of Chicago. Lorraine went out and spent an entire Sunday visiting thirty people whose subscriptions to LABOR ACTION had expired. She got her quota of renewals, too. We'd like to see a few more supporters of LABOR ACTION do a fine job like this.

BILLS, BILLS, BILLS

This week, the regular 5-issue bills for LABOR ACTION bundle orders will be in the mails. So far, we have published 10 issues of the 8-Page LABOR ACTION. Some of our agents are accumulating bills already, but most are paying their debt well. We wish to advise those who are falling behind that now is the time to catch up, because our credit is strictly limited. Make this Pay-Your-LABOR ACTION-Bill-Week.

Here's the list of subscriptions (renewals and new ones) that came in during this past week. Not as good as the previous, record-breaking total, but not bad. New York City is reviving:

NEW YORK CITY	13
Chicago	7
Newark	6
Reading	5
Cleveland	4
Detroit	4
Akron	2
Streator, Ill.	2
Los Angeles	1
Philadelphia	1
St. Louis	1
Seattle	1
San Pedro	1
Miscellaneous	2
TOTAL	50

New York City's organizer, Paul Bern, informs us that the Workers Party branches will devote their time in October to getting renewal subscriptions to LABOR ACTION, in conjunction with their active electoral campaign. This is good news, since a good percentage of the expirations are from New York.

Chicago is still active, although slowing down a bit, on its renewal campaign work. But Chicago is still far ahead of all our other cities in actual renewals sent in. San Francisco has begun to pick up a bit, under the direction of Peter Marlow.

Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor . . .

Family Evicted In Richest City

Dear Editor:

"Family of Ten Evicted, Roam Street." This news item appeared in a lower left-hand column of the New York Post, Thursday, September 28.

The details revealed that the family was evicted last Friday from 731 East 136th Street, Bronx, N. Y. From Friday till Wednesday this family was searching in the largest and richest city in the world for shelter. According to the story in the New York Post, the first night as they were sitting in St. Mary's Park, it began to rain. The baby began to whimper.

Harold, 42, the father, with the two-year-old baby in his arms, went to the Bronx Children's Home at 1130 Grand Concourse.

"So sorry," he was told. "There isn't room for another person, not even a child."

But a matron told him to try the Heckscher Foundation on 104th Street. There, too, he received the same reply.

"So sorry," they said, "but you will have to have a letter of referral from a social service agency."

The curse and shame of institutional red tape! Instead of giving the child shelter and then going through with their institutional agonizing investigation, a two-year-old child was turned out again to the streets of the city.

Is it not time for grown-up people of our institutions to use a bit of judgment and to have some human sympathy for a two-year-old child and give it immediate shelter? Oh, institutionalism, what crimes are committed in thy name! How can a human being in charge of an institution be so inhuman and turn a child out into the street because of some institutional rules?

Back went the father with the child in his arms to St. Mary's Park. There the family of ten sat through the night.

What a civilization! A landlord has the right for some petty reason to evict a family with eight children, ages 2 to 13, into the city streets.

A man called a judge, receiving a good salary to live comfortably, he and his brood well protected, has the right and the authority to decide that another human family shall be turned from their home into the streets.

In the first paragraph the New York Post story says: "Their only bed a borrowed blanket, Mr. and Mrs. Harold Myers and their eight children passed the night on the wet grass of Tompkins Park (Square)."

ROSE FIRMAN, N. Y.

Urges Reading of Kravchenko Book

Dear Editor:

I am writing to urge all your readers to read Victor Kravchenko's "I Chose Freedom." What Trotsky traced politically and theoretically is told here forcefully and definitely in an autobiography of a rank-and-file Russian; a man who was molded exclusively by Stalin's system, not "burdened" by memories of the October Revolution, Left Opposition, or other non-Stalinist ideology. His report is staggering. It creates a realistic feeling for the Stalin system that is unsurpassed, nightmarish.

As it stands, Kravchenko's book is neither for nor against Bolshevism. It calls for a struggle against Stalinism but does not state how. The Hearst press, Knights of Columbus and other imperialist fronts have been quick to tell the millions of aroused readers that struggle against Stalin means going to war with Russia. Besides the obvious duty of a socialist organ to spread the truth and therefore spread this book, LABOR ACTION should invest Kravchenko's report with more concrete as well as theoretical political meaning by directing mass resentment into a real struggle against Stalinism.

Fraternally yours,
CURT MULDER.

Spends His Money For Socialist Cause

Dear Editor:

Enclosed please find one dollar for my subscription to LABOR ACTION as I pledged to pay in thirty days.

Was asked for a dollar donation to the PAC but told them I believed in socialism, not capitalism. All my spare dollars go to socialism. Would go along with as a union member for the benefit of labor but would not follow them politically. So you will find enclosed the dollar that the PAC wanted, which will make two dollars in this letter.

One member got mad and won't speak to me. A capitalist without capital won't speak. Isn't that something? Capitalism gets no more of my dollars than is necessary for my existence.

Yours sincerely,
C. G. P., Iowa.

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Shachtman Radio Speech Calls for Meat Control

(Address by Max Shachtman, national chairman of the Workers Party and its candidate for Congress in the 15th Congressional District of New York over Station WLIB on Saturday, September 28, at 1 p.m.)

During the war, industry and agriculture performed miracles. We reached levels never before reached in the United States. We outproduced the rest of the world.

These miracles were performed in the service of war. Never before was such a thorough job done of destroying life and property.

Now the job is to maintain life, not to destroy it. More than a year has passed since the end of the war. But that job seems further from success than ever.

We are faced with an unbelievable spectacle:

A country which spent billions to erect buildings for war production cannot provide decent housing for millions who badly need it, including millions of war veterans.

With a record figure of livestock in the country, it is impossible to buy a pound of meat without paying fantastic black market prices for it.

The industrialists and bankers say: "No more controls, no more ceilings. If we don't have the right to unlimited, monopolistic profits, the people can go on living in holes and without decent food."

The Republicans respond to this shameless blackmailing and blackjacking of the whole country by saying: "Remove all controls. Do what the monopolists say."

The Democrats in office answer: "No, let us have controls which controlled nothing yesterday, control nothing today and will control nothing tomorrow.

"Every week we will raise ceilings until the monopolists get what they want."

Meanwhile, there is no meat, no housing, no consumer goods in general, and no relief in sight.

The Congressional election gives you an opportunity to answer these self-confessed bankrupts who cannot even feed or house the people of the richest land in the world.

In presenting me as its candidate for the 15th Congressional District of Brooklyn, and for the Congressman from Harlem, the noted Negro labor leader, Ernest Rice McKinney, the Workers Party, a socialist political organization, has put the food and price question right at the top of its election platform.

As candidate of that party, I call for the immediate nationalization of all food industries under workers' control.

I call for a 12½ billion dollar national appropriation for housing and other public works, which is very little compared with two billion dollars spent for the atom bomb.

We can have fair distribution of food at low prices only by ending the farce of OPA and nationalizing the basic industries.

Take them out of the hands of the bankrupts and blackmailers. Put them under the control—not of a few thousand helpless bureaucrats—but of the 15 million workers democratically organized in the trade unions and price committees of housewives and consumers.

They are not interested in blood profits but in feeding and housing the people decently.

They are in a position to keep a close check on production and distribution all the way down the line, from raw materials to the retail outlet—

To control profits and prices democratically and without an army of bureaucrats.

You can't know the truth about shortages, secret deals between manufacturers and black marketeers, profits and prices — unless you control production and distribution.

And there is no more effective agency for such control than the workers, housewives and consumers of the country.

That is the main point you are supporting when you cast your vote for Max Shachtman in Brooklyn or Ernest R. McKinney in Harlem this November.

If you are interested in our platform, write the Workers Party, 114 West 14th Street, in New York City.

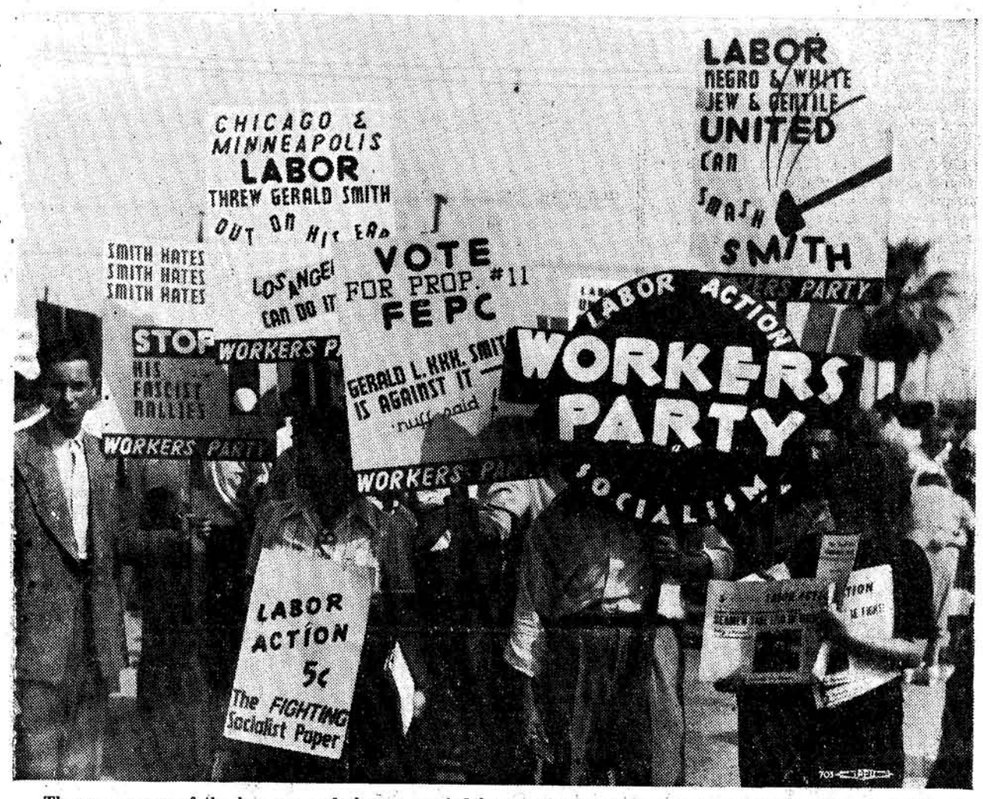
With the Workers Party in Action

NEW YORK—On Saturday, September 29, members of the Workers Party, New York Local, and the Socialist Youth League gathered in front of the British Consulate in protest against British imperialist policy in Palestine.

The pickets arrived carrying vividly colored signs calling for "A Free, Independent Palestine," "Against British Imperialist Terror," "Arab-Jewish Unity" and "Full, Unrestricted Immigration Into the United States." Police ordered the pickets to march only five at a time. It was likewise forbidden to disturb the slumbers of the British Consulate officials by cheering or singing.

Nevertheless, the picket line looked quite impressive and drew the attention of numerous passers-by. A resolution, embodying the slogans and protests of the Workers Party and the Socialist Youth League was presented for forwarding to an official of the Consulate by a delegation of the pickets.

The picket line of members and friends of the Workers Party and Socialist Youth League circled the British offices in Radio City, Fifth Avenue, for two hours. (Photograhp below by D. Corbin.)



These are some of the banners and slogans carried by members and sympathizers of the Workers Party at the anti-Smith meeting in Los Angeles on Sunday, September 22. The non-party demonstrators are visible in right background. The fully story contained in Hal Draper's article on protest meeting against Gerald L. K. Smith was in last week's LABOR ACTION. The protest meeting took place on a vacant lot across the street from Polytechnic High School, which the school board of the city of Los Angeles granted to Gerald L. K. Smith for use as a free fascist forum. (Photograph by E. Enright of Los Angeles)

Tennessee Defense Proves Intimidation of Witnesses

By EVA EVANS

In a courtroom in the United States, an attorney general asked a judge to allow members of the KKK to serve as jurors and witnesses. He declared that the Klan stood for "Americanism, Law and Order." The judge, who was of the same opinion, assented.

This cold-blooded agreement between two upholders of the "Law," permitting a man guilty of the most vicious anti-Negro prejudices to sit in judgment over Negroes, has set the keynote for the trial of the Columbia, Tennessee, Negroes. It condemns the trial from the start as an open fraud.

As LABOR ACTION has already reported, the trial is the outcome of the so-called Columbia, Tennessee, "riot," in which over a hundred Negroes were arrested for fighting back against an armed lynch mob that had invaded the Negro neighborhood. The trial finally opened on September 20, after four months of legal skirmishing and six weeks of selecting an all-white jury from a panel of fifty, almost all of whom admitted membership, or warm sympathy with the KKK. Typical of the veniremen is one who stated that he "didn't believe anything a nigger said, even if he was under oath." Over strenuous defense attorney objections, men such as these were qualified as jurors by the judge.

WITNESSES INTIMIDATED

Besides biased Judge Joe Ingram, prosecuting attorney Bumpus and the jury, the defense attorneys of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) have to deal with coerced and intimidated Negro witnesses. These people were arrested on the night of the affair, kept in jail for a week or longer. Then, starved and beaten, they were forced to make statements testifying against the defendants, as the only price by which to obtain their freedom.

This was brought out by defense attorneys during the state's presentation of its case, now completed. This week, the defense will present its case on behalf of the 25 Negroes.

Typical of one of these alleged witnesses is Mamie Lee Fisher, a 19-year-old Negro girl. She told the court that she had been kept in jail a week, and was "scared" when she made a statement to the District Attorney. In her statement, she identified one of the defendants, Robert Gentry, as having said, "We shot a policeman." On the stand, when she faced the kindly questioning of NAACP lawyer Z. Alexander Looby, she denied Gentry's involvement. When again pounced upon by the prosecuting attorney, she recoiled and nervously said, "Just come to think of it. I don't remember whether Bob said that or not."

Another Negro state witness, Lee Anders Spyer, testified that he had been beaten, and that an FBI man had offered him money if he would talk. He denied knowledge of actual shootings, and told the defense attorney that he had made the statement to that effect to the prosecutor so as to get out of jail.

He also told how, while he was in jail, he had witnessed the shooting to death of two Negro defendants, William Gordon and James Johnson, by a highway patrolman. These men were murdered in cold blood as an example to the others. District Attorney Bumpus, who did not like this sort of evidence, battled to keep it from the record. He suggested suicide as a possible explanation for the riddled bodies of the two men.

The evidence of other state witnesses is grotesque in its crudeness. One of the policemen, Bernard O. Stowe, who had battled the Negroes declared, for instance, that he "did not see a lynch mob." According to him, the white mob was only a group of people "unarmed and totaling about fifty." He maintained this despite photographs offered by the defense showing a vast crowd of men, brandishing fire arms.

FBI WITHHOLDS PHOTOS

Should anyone think this is strictly a Southern affair and that "decent" government officials could have no part in it, we must note the role of the federal government:

(1) The FBI had taken pictures of the rioting, but has so far refused to release them. The reason for this is, according to defense attorney Dr. L. S. Ranson, that some of the defendants might be recognized and might "appear to be acting in self-defense rather than being guilty of assault with attempt to kill."

(2) *Tom C. Clark, head of the Department of Justice, informed Dr. Ransam that the Department had looked into the proceedings of the Columbia trial and had "found that no civil liberties had been violated." This, after the brutal beatings and shootings of Negro defendants and witnesses, and after the open invitation by Judge and District Attorney to KKK'ers to sit in the jury box.*

It is clear that more than defense council in a trial is needed. This case demands the support of the whole labor movement. It must do everything in its power to aid these 25 innocent Negroes of Columbia, Tennessee. One way to do this is to support the National Committee for Justice in Columbia, Tennessee, the defense committee set up by the NAACP.

For Workers Control of Meat Industry - -

(Continued from page 1)

Mayor O'Dwyer evidently share the same suspicion. One day's raid in Boston revealed 8,000,000 pounds of stored meat!

It is a rare phenomenon when capitalist spokesmen such as they feel compelled to speak out. They are impelled by the severity of the situation and the widespread demand for action. They want a check on warehouses, but they are not the ones to make this check. It needs to be made on a scale that disregards the "sanctity" of "free enterprise"—and not only in Boston and New York, but in Chicago, Philadelphia, Los Angeles and everywhere. It is a job for

Consumer-Labor Committees

We have many times spoken of the necessity of organizing price control committees composed of housewives and labor representatives.

These same committees are urgently needed today to check on meat supplies. Housewives' committees, ACTING WITH COMMITTEES OF PACKINGHOUSE WORKERS, TRUCK DRIVERS AND SO FORTH, can ferret out the meat, and take ACTION.

They can mobilize thousands and tens of thousands in front of warehouses where meat is stored and kept from market They can force the placing of meat on the market at a *low* price within the means of every consumer.

Break the Black Market!

Labor and consumer action, *concretized in price control committees and committee of packinghouse workers designated to examine the books of the corporations,* can break the black market.

It is strange that when meat is unobtainable on the open market, it is plentiful on the black market. In a highly centralized industry such as meat, it is impossible for anything more than a lone carcass to get on the black market. The meat industry is controlled by Swift, Armour, Wilson and Cudahy. These four also control the American Institute of Meat Packers.

These packers claim that on two days in September 77 per cent of cattle received in Chicago went to eastern packing plants. But these eastern packing plants are owned by the same four.

Now, asks Lewis J. Clark, UPWA secretary-treasurer, "If 77 per cent of the cattle received on the aforementioned dates were shipped to eastern markets, and presumably to the black marketeers, as charged, who received them? Where were they unloaded? . . . Who bought them in Chicago and from whom did he purchase them?"

The packers cannot answer without admitting their responsibility for the black market!

Back the Union Demands

The packinghouse workers are engaged in a struggle for higher wages. Theirs is an extremely legitimate demand—to which we think must be coupled the demand that this *wage increase be granted WITHOUT any price increase.* The profits of the corporations are more than sufficient to provide for this increase. And just as the General Motors workers proved this to be a fundamental demand for the auto industry in their strike last winter, so is it a fundamental demand for the meat industry — with the additional argument that meat prices affect us more intimately than auto prices.

The packinghouse workers want a guaranteed annual wage. It is an essential demand that we must join them in achieving. The action of the packers in locking out 40,000 workers from employment is an added argument for the demand. To be truly effective, we think, it ought to be coupled with an escalator clause providing for an increase in wages with every jump in the price graph.

These are two of the immediate demands, along with such demands as retroactive pay for time lost in unemployment, that are raised by the union. They are only initial steps, however. A more far reaching policy is required.

That the union realizes this is evidenced by its seven-point program on the meat crisis which begins with a plank calling for making the meat industry a public utility.

We have, in effect, already commented on the weakness of this formulation. It is a demand for nationalization without the equal demand for workers' control. Without workers' control it cannot be of fundamental benefit to the packinghouse workers specifically, and the people generally.

We are glad to see the packinghouse workers raising the demand for nationalization; we look forward to their making it genuinely meaningful for labor and the people by calling for nationalization under the control of committees of packinghouse workers.

Organize a Labor Party!

The union includes in its seven-point program the necessity of political action. It rightly calls attention to the dismal record of Congress.

Political action may appear to be far removed from meat on the table. But the union is absolutely right in linking the two. They are inseparable. The packing meat monopolists conspire with their agents in government.

The union is wrong, however, when it argues that PAC as it is now set up is a vehicle for this political action. It is not. It could become one, but only on the condition that PAC WAS TURNED INTO A LABOR PARTY.

Rewarding our "friends" and punishing our enemies is a political line with a long record of disaster. These so-called "friends" are equally servants of capitalism, and as such preserve the basic interests of capitalism regardless of what concessions they deem it wise to toss labor along the way.

We require a party that will speak labor's interests, that will contest for governmental power in the name of labor and on behalf of the people, a party that will inscribe in its program:

NATIONALIZE THE MEAT INDUSTRY UNDER WORKERS' CONTROL!

GIVE 100 PER CENT SUPPORT TO THE DEMANDS OF THE PACKINGHOUSE WORKERS!

ORGANIZE LABOR AND CONSUMER COMMITTEES TO CONTROL PRICES AND CHECK ON SUPPLIES!

DEMAND THAT THE BOOKS OF THE CORPORATIONS BE OPENED TO INSPECTION BY COMMITTEES OF WORKERS!

WHAT CAN CONGRESS DO ABOUT

The Displaced Jews of Europe

COME AND HEAR

MAX SHACHTMAN

Workers Party Candidate in the 15th Congressional District (Brooklyn)

Also

ERNEST RICE McKINNEY

Workers Party Candidate in the 22nd Congressional District (Harlem)

Will Speak On

The Program of the Workers Party

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 18, 8:00 P. M.

PARK PLAZA, 1530 Pitkin Avenue

Auspices: Workers Party Campaign Committee

ADMISSION: 10 CENTS

Campaign Meetings in Harlem Set

Despite the frantic efforts of the Powell Democratic-Stalinist machine to take from the independent voters of Harlem their democratic right to nominate an independent labor candidate, the Harlem campaign to nominate E. R. McKinney as congressional candidate continues unabated.

Protest rallies will be held throughout October, it was announced by Local New York of the Workers Party.

"Prices and Profiteering," a socialist analysis of the relation between wages and prices, will be the subject of the Harlem meeting Wednesday, October 9. Later meetings will feature "The Three Candidates in the 22nd Congressional District: their records and their programs," with Conrad Lynn, prominent Harlem attorney, as principal speaker; "Negro Women," with Florence Frazier, LABOR ACTION staff writer, October 23; an election rally with Workers Party candidates E. R. McKinney, 22nd C. D., and Max Shachtman, 15th C. D., speaking; and a windup rally on October 30.

All meetings will be held at 2143 Seventh Avenue, and will begin at 8:45 P.M., with the exception of the October 25th rally, to be held at Imperial Hall, 129th St. near Seventh Ave.