

8 PAGE WEEKLY:
STARTING AUG. 5th

LABOR ACTION

JULY 8, 1946

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

ONE CENT

Smash the Black Market Profiteers - -

LABOR CAN CONTROL PRICES!

Operation Murder at Bikini

The Shadow of The Atom Bomb

Operation Crossroads they call it. Operation Murder or Operation Horror would be a better name.

Less than a year after the war's end, less than a year after the atomic bomb killed over 100,000 civilians in Nagasaki and Hiroshima, a "test" of the atomic bomb is held at Bikini.

Why this test?

Doesn't everyone know the terrible character of the atomic bomb? Doesn't everyone know of its gamma rays which destroy life within the vicinity of the explosion?

Doesn't everyone know that this bomb is the most horrible weapon of war which an imperialist society gone mad has ever invented?

Doesn't the whole world shudder in fear at this terrible weapon, against which there is no defense?

Why, then, have the militarists rigged up this elaborate "test"—if not again to underline the idea that preparations for the new, Third, Atomic Age War continue steadily! This is not a "test"; it is a demonstration. It is a demonstration of war might made by United States imperialism to impress and overawe its other imperialist rivals and competitors.

But it is another kind of demonstration, too. It is a demonstration to the people of America and of the whole world: here is this rotten, decaying social system of capitalism. No sooner does it finish with one war—25,000,000 victims—than it prepares for another war.

A society gone mad! A system gone insane!

It plays with a weapon which destroys thousands of human beings. It shows itself openly as a murderer.

No person who opens his eyes can fail to see the lesson: war is continuous under capitalism; war is part of capitalism; war and capitalism are inseparable.

Today, in the shadow of the atomic bomb, which threatens the existence of the human race, we must understand this all the more. Capitalism gives the world its most revealing self-portrait at Bikini.

Look at it and think of the thousands the atomic bomb has murdered—and the millions more it will surely murder again if capitalism and its wars continue.

Look at it and understand why the Workers Party says that today, more than ever, the road to peace is through socialism; that only through abolishing the war-making system of greed and profit can we utilize atomic energy for construction rather than destruction.

British Terror Hits Palestine Jews

By ED FINDLEY

The desperate struggle of the Palestinian-Jewish masses to open Palestine for their homeless European brothers is fast assuming many aspects of open war against the British Empire.

Guerrilla raids, sporadic armed clashes, military sabotage and commando attacks have become the normal manifestations of the bitter conflict that rages between the Jewish masses of Palestine and the British Empire.

Two strategic perspectives seem to motivate and guide the present struggle. The Haganah (defense organization) representing the majority of the Palestinian Jews, and closely identified with the trade union movement of the country and the Jewish Agency, seeks to convince the British that the Jews of Palestine can cause the Empire more trouble than can the Arabs; that it is more hazardous for the Empire to "appease" the Arab nationalist movement than satisfy the demands of the Jews. This viewpoint was recently clearly voiced by Dr. Nahum Goldman, American representative of the Jewish Agency. "If the only language Mr. Bevin and the Colonial Office understand is one of force and nuisance value, we will have to show them that view."

On the other hand, the extreme nationalist wings of the Jewish resistance movement, the Irgun Zvai



ERNEST BEVIN

Leumi (National Military Organization) modeled after the Irish Republican Army, and the Stern group (the only organization which refused to moderate its struggle against Britain even during the recent imperialist war) openly proclaim that "a state of war" exists between the British Empire and the Jewish people. They demand that their captured activists be accorded the status and all the rights of "prisoners of war," that they be recognized as soldiers and not as "franc-tireurs."

These latter organizations believe that the Jewish masses ALONE possess the power to drive the British out of Palestine and to set up a Jewish state; that by guerrilla warfare

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FIGHT AGAINST THE PROFITEERS

We Need Our Own Party!

If there was any doubt in the mind of any worker that the government in Washington is a capitalist government serving the interests of the monopolists and profiteers against the people, the action of Congress on price control should dispel that doubt.

The issue is simple and clear! Big business enriched itself with super-profits during the war. The working men and women of this nation contributed all the sacrifices that made possible the prosecution of the imperialist war. For these sacrifices, the same politicians who served the interests of big business during the war promised that labor would receive its "just rewards" when the war ended.

Well, the war did end and the same old game of robbing and cheating labor goes on.

The capitalists want to retain their huge profits in peacetime. Since they cannot do so from war contracts they are doing it by placing the whole burden of the reconversion and peacetime economy on the mass of people who have to work for their bread and butter.

COST OF LIVING HAS GONE UP Food costs have risen higher than any other essential commodity. And food remains scarce!

The cost of living mounts higher and higher.

Rents are higher and housing remains a crucial problem for millions.

Clothing, of cheap quality and still scarce, has mounted in price.

On every important question facing the people, Congress has shown where it stands: foursquare on the side of the capitalist profiteers!

Its refusal to maintain a rigid control of prices is the clearest example of where Congress stands.

Do not be fooled by the fact that President Truman vetoed the emasculated OPA bill which Congress passed. Two things are responsible for the veto: fear of a run-away inflation and a political action calculated to overcome the rising resentment among millions against the "Missouri" administration. In all

important respects there is little to distinguish the administration from Congress.

Is the action of Congress the work only of the more outspoken reactionary senators and congressmen? No, it is the work of the overwhelming majority of these gentlemen, Republicans as well as Democrats, PAC legislators as well as all "the friends of labor."

BOSS PARTIES OUR ENEMIES Remember, the politicians are representatives of two parties which are parties of capitalism, parties of profits, parties fundamentally opposed to the genuine interests of the people—of all who work in order to live.

The genuine resentment of the mass of people against this Congress will be frittered away unless labor does what is indicated for it.

Labor needs a party of its own to fight for the interests of labor on the basis of a militant program designed to advance the cause of the working people against the profiteers.

Labor needs a party and government of its own to fight for nationalization of the basic industries under the control of the workers.

Labor needs a party and government of its own for the production of vast quantities of goods to feed, clothe and house the people.

Labor needs a party and a government of its own to keep prices and profits down.

Labor needs a party and government of its own to increase the standard of living of all the people at the expense of the profiteers.

FORM LABOR PARTY NOW The way to achieve this goal is to begin now. The labor movement has the numbers, the energy and the resources to create a mighty political party that would strike fear in the hearts of all reactionaries.

Let the many-millioned voice of labor be heard: Away with the capitalist politicians and their government! For an independent Labor Party. For a government of labor, for labor and by labor!

Both Boss Parties Share Blame for Price Debacle

By SUSAN GREEN

On the one hand President Truman vetoed the booby-trap OPA bill on the ground that it would mean sure inflation, that it meant yielding to the greedy monopolists. On the other hand he went on the air and appealed to these very same greedy, to "every business man, every producer and every landlord to adhere to existing regulations, even though for a short period they may not have the effect of law."

This doesn't make sense. It is true that President Truman also stated that the "will of the people is still the supreme law of the land," and urged: "Your determination to retain price controls and so prevent in-

flation must be made known to the Congress."

This also makes no sense because exactly what labor, veterans, housewives, white collar workers have been doing is to make known to Congress their "determination to retain price controls." Only it turns out that these are not the people whose will is the supreme law of this capitalist land.

Mr. Truman boasted that in vetoing the bill because it is "a sure formula for inflation," he was calling a spade a spade. Certainly the profiteers' bill passed by Congress was "a sure formula for inflation." However, so is the absence of all price control the open floodgate to inflation, and

so was OPA yielding to the pressure of the monopolists a road to inflation, though not so steep. Mr. Truman's spade-calling is with one eye shut. We'd like to do some spade-calling of our own.

LEFT IN THE LURCH

The capitalist government of America has left the masses completely in the lurch with no protection against inflation. We can only speculate on how high prices of food, clothing and other necessities will go. There is no predicting what landlords will do. The stark fact is that all these matters have been relinquished to the will and will of the very business

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Should the People "Tighten Their Belts"?

Scarcity of Consumer Goods Is Artificially Whipped Up to Aid Black Market Profiteering

By DAVID COOLIDGE

All over the United States there are long lines of working class housewives outside meat markets. There are working class men in these lines too, who join the lines after they leave the plant or before they go to work.

Some of the meat and bread which is being bought by these long lines of working class housewives and their husbands is black market. The black market is a thriving institution: big business on a vast scale. It is a bootleg business somewhat like the bootleg liquor traffic of Volstead days. There isn't any hijacking or gangsterism yet. The profits aren't big enough, but above all the meat and bread bootleg traffic is conducted by our "solid citizens," by the "respectable" and "God-fearing," by the "upright" and "patriotic" leaders of "our system of free enterprise."

In the New York Times for June 30, James B. Reston, who has been in the cattle regions of the Middle West, reports as follows: "Bonuses of \$500 to \$1,000 for closing deals are

reported as 'common'... Some buyers are offering anything from nylons and whiskey to farm implements, tractors and even automobiles to close deals they want to make."

GRADE A AND GRADE B

Reston tells of a small "country buyer" of cattle who walked into a bank one day and deposited twenty-one \$1,000 bills. This was his commission for black market operations in cattle buying and selling. Middlemen "charge the city purchasers for large quantities of feed which they never give the cattle and demand payment for the cattle at a weight above what the cattle actually were at the time of purchase." Not only this but Reston reports that many slaughter houses demand Grade A prices for Grade B meat. The bootleggers also used to "cut" their whiskey and "needle" the near-beer, but they always demanded the Grade A price.

Callman Gottesman, New York City OPA chief, said last week that the OPA was helpless against the wholesale black market in poultry. This is

the story all over the country. Not only is the OPA with its 34,000 employees helpless against the New York poultry black market but it is helpless against the nation-wide black market in meat and wheat.

In the meantime, however, the long lines of working class housewives stand at the meat markets. While they wait for hours with their children and baskets they can read the placards: "Don't Waste Bread," "Eat One Roll Instead of Two," "Buy Half a Loaf if You Don't Need More,"

"Feed Hungry Europe," "We Must Tighten Our Belts."

Before we consent to tighten our belts we would like to have answers to a few questions. The working class men and women in the bread and meat lines need the answers to these questions.

We want to know: Why "Wheat Is Choking Grain Elevators"? (New York Times headline). Why isn't this wheat sent to the millers and made into flour for the people to eat? Why is it that the New York Times correspondent, Reston, can report from the cattle ranges of the West that "the beef is here on the hoof"? Why doesn't this beef go to the slaughter pens and the packing houses to be processed into food for the people to eat?

There are millions of bushels of wheat, rye, oats and other grains being harvested. The elevators are bursting. The cattle ranges are filled with cattle; millions of head of beef, pork and lamb. The poultry farms are filled with fowl of all varieties.

The people of this country face a catastrophe. It is a catastrophe which is imminent and real. It means the possibility that the rising price spirals will go up to such an extent that all the wage gains which we have won, by such sacrifice and struggle on the picket lines and which were being outstripped by rising prices, will be completely wiped out; that the dizzy profiteering which has lately been gathering momentum will roll at breakneck speed; and that the few dollars which some of us put away, from long hours of overtime during the war or from discharge pay, will be eaten up by the black market and by the "operation inflation" which the profiteering monopolists have launched.

"Operation inflation"—you know what that means.

It means the danger in the immediate future that:

- food prices will go up an additional 20 to 25 per cent;
- rents will go up 15 per cent;
- clothing prices will go up another 20 per cent;
- household items will soar even higher.

This is only the IMMEDIATE future, that is, the next two or three months. It is true if Congress fails to pass any price control bill; it would have been true if the "booby-trap" bill it did pass had not been vetoed; and it will probably be true of whatever watery compromise is finally passed.

It's time to think of these things now, brother unionists and fellow veterans and sister housewives. It's time to act now. Now, before it is too late. Now, before we are reduced to paupers by the capitalist profiteers and black marketeers.

One thing has been obvious during the past week. There is food available; there is meat; the grain elevators, according to reports in the New York Times, are bulging; there is plenty of cattle on the ranges.

But the big packers, the large manufacturers, the monopolists (read: black marketeers) have been deliberately creating shortages in order to force up prices. When you go to buy something in the store, you may get mad at the little shopkeeper; but remember, he is almost as much a victim as you. At worst, he is a small link in the chain. Let's not fritter away our anger on the small fry.

The present crisis on the food problem is deep and serious.

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PRESIDENT TRUMAN

UAW Begins Campaign to Hold Rents

DETROIT—Aroused by the attempts of landlords to raise rents as much as 30 to 40 per cent, the UAW-CIO moved forward this week toward organizing tenants against the real estate profiteers.

Approximately 250 unionists attended a meeting sponsored by the union's Political Action Committee which established a committee to lead the tenants' fight against rent jumps.

Approval was given to a motion for leadership of a consumers' strike against price run-aways, with individuals buying "only necessities" in order to stop price gougers.

Vice-President Leonard, head of the union's PAC, said he expected many Detroit tenants would soon feel the effect of rent increases.

He said, referring to the GM strike which lasted 113 days, that "We cannot bring our people out on the street every three or four months to keep pace with the cost of living."

Sentiment was expressed at the meeting to use picket lines to put evicted workers back into their homes.

Every worker in Detroit is looking eagerly to the UAW to carry this program into action, to begin a militant struggle against the profiteers.

The same is true about clothing. The clothing warehouses too must be reaching the bursting point.

We are not ready to tighten our belts yet.

There is no need for working class men and women to tighten their belts.

There is plenty of food. There is plenty of clothing.

WE'LL HELP OUR BROTHERS

Of course, we want to feed and clothe the starving and naked masses of Europe and Asia. We don't need to have this told to us by the capitalist exploiters and the imperialist brigands. It is these oppressors and scoundrels who are responsible for the misery, the hunger and the nakedness of the masses of Europe and Asia.

After they made a shambles of the whole world with their Second Imperialist World War they tell us to tighten our belts so that the victims of their carnage can have a few crumbs. These hypocrites shed tears

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NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Fight on Stalinists Imminent in UAW As Leonard - Thomas Seek Way Out

By JACK WILSON
DETROIT, July 1—Behind the sensational reports that George Addes, secretary-treasurer of the UAW-CIO, and Richard T. Leonard, vice-president, held a secret caucus meeting of their supporters and planned a purge of all Communist Party members in the UAW...

for vice-president on the anti-Reuther slate. Tracy Doll, prominent UAW official, was replaced as chairman of the caucus by John Anderson, another admitted Communist Party member. Then came the defeat and then the dissatisfaction. So a secret meeting was called by twenty union presidents who support either Leonard, Addes or R. J. Thomas, which brought up the whole question of the role of the CP.

The Detroit newspapers came out with sensational stories about the secret meeting, and said Addes was breaking with his Stalinist collaborators. No one in the Reuther camp however, took this report seriously.

DENY PURGE
Late this week, Addes and Leonard and a spokesman for R. J. Thomas issued statements denying a purge, but insisting that no political party would be permitted to dominate the union.

It represents a serious rift in the anti-Reuther camp and does indicate that the Stalinists will lose some of their influence in the UAW. It represents a partial victory for Reuther since it is an admission by his opposition that he has a sound view of the impossibility of permitting the

Stalinists to play a dominating role in the union movement because they are merely using the unions as pawns for Russian foreign policy.

Later this week, another meeting of West Side presidents in the Addes-Leonard-Thomas camp is supposed to be held. The fact that anyone known as a Stalinist is excluded from these two meetings signifies the extent of the rift within the anti-Reuther camp. A new program has been promised by Addes-Leonard, but this too is to be taken with a large grain of salt.

The full significance of the rift will be revealed in the August meeting of the UAW-CIO Executive Board, where Reuther is expected to make a last bid for support before going to the ranks openly and perhaps calling a special convention of the union to support his program.

Packers Demand Annual Wage

CHICAGO—The 200,000 members of the United Packinghouse Workers (CIO) will demand a cost-of-living bonus from the meat packing industry when negotiations begin on July 10 for a new contract.

The cost-of-living bonus, according to the union, will be computed weekly or monthly and would call for a periodic payment to workers above their salary and would be based proportionately on any increase in the cost of living that the index shows.

This plan is a big improvement over the "escalator" clause found in some union agreements which provides that if the cost of living should rise above a certain per cent while the contract is in force, the union then has a right to reopen the wage section of the agreement.

The meat barons are not expected to yield very easily to these demands. They know the cost of living will go up. These meat barons who have been making billions of dollars during the past few years will not want to pay an annual wage so that the workers can meet their bills during the slack periods.

GUARANTEED ANNUAL WAGE
The guaranteed annual minimum wage demand of the union will be based on a year-round forty-hour week. This demand, coupled with the union's demand for a \$1.00-an-hour minimum, will bring the wages of the workers in the lowest-paid

categories to \$2,080 minimum each year.

The entire labor movement is watching the packinghouse workers. Their struggle and their demands may begin a new cycle in demands by the workers who are already feeling the heavy pressure of the rapidly rising cost of living.

Should We Tighten Our Belts? - -

(Continued from page 1)

over the starving masses of Europe and Asia at the same time that they squander one hundred million dollars at Bikini in preparation for completing their devastation in the next world war.

Sure, the working class in the U. S. will meet its full responsibilities toward its class brothers in Europe and Asia. We will give and give.

USE THE WHEAT

But we want that wheat in the elevators taken out. We want part of it sent to Europe and the rest made into bread for us. We want the cattle made into meat for us and for Europe. We want the cotton made into clothing for Europe and for us.

Empty the granaries, the refrigerators, the cattle ranges and the warehouses! Put the food and clothing in the stores and on the boats for the peoples of Europe and Asia! There is enough. The "Cattle Population" is 10 Per Cent Higher Than It Was

in 1945; "Wheat is Choking Grain Elevators." (New York Times Headlines.)

Of course, what is on hand now will not last. But the U. S. can produce more. Before we tighten our belts, we want more and bigger production. Grow more wheat. Raise more cattle. Grow more cotton and wool. There is plenty of land in the U. S. Pay decent wages to agricultural workers and there will be no shortage of workers. If need be, build more packing plants, more grain elevators, more warehouses, more refrigerators, more freight cars, more plows and tractors, more processing plants, more textile mills, more clothing factories.

FOR TRADE UNION CONTROL

That's what the government at Washington did during the war. Ninety thousand airplanes a year. A hundred thousand tanks. Millions of shells and bullets. Trucks and railroad cars. Factories and more factories, in every nook and corner of the country. Two BILLION dollars for an atom bomb!

The government at Washington did all this during the war for the purpose of killing and maiming millions of people. We've got to make them do it for feeding, clothing and housing the masses of the world.

The only way we can be certain that things will go as they should be for the democratic organizations of the workers, that is, the trade unions, to have control. The unions and organizations of housewives can and should control the production and distribution of consumer commodities. Then the masses of the people in the U. S. and in Europe and Asia will get enough. There will be no capitalist trickery, no holding for higher prices and no black market bootlegging.

After this is done and not before should the workers and their families begin even to think about tightening their belts.

Akron CIO Absolves 'Honorable Walter'

By GEORGE WHITNEY

AKRON, June 24—Upon the recommendation of the PAC, the CIO Council of Akron voted tonight to absolve Representative Walter B. Huber from blame for voting for Truman's union-busting "labor emergency legislation."

Paul Fessenden, reporting to the Council for the PAC, made it known that he and other leaders of the PAC had a lengthy interview with Huber on this question. Huber explained that he had done what seemed best to him at the time. He said that it wasn't until after several roll call votes had indicated to him that the outstanding representatives of labor in the House were casting their votes in favor of the legislation that he finally voted as he did.

The fact that the "outstanding representatives of labor" were observed by Huber to be casting their vote for Truman's legislation only further indicates the fact that Democratic and Republican representatives backed by the PAC do not represent labor. Huber further indicated that he would welcome a reading of the record rather than a reading of the Akron Beacon Journal to determine his role on labor issues.

The situation is this: the capitalist press is backing Fred Danner, arch-reactionary, against Huber. The PAC takes the attitude that it is better that Huber be elected than Danner. They say it is better to have a man in office who will vote for labor '97 per cent of the time" than it is to have a man like Danner, who will vote consistently against labor. There can be no arguing with that line of reasoning, in so far as it goes.

LESSER EVIL THEORY

But here is where the whole point of dispute lies. LABOR ACTION, as well as a large and growing section of the Council, believes that to organize labor's vote for the lesser of two evils is wrong, in fact a disservice to the labor movement despite any good intentions on the part of many local unionists.

It is incorrect to say that "now is not the time" for labor to run its own candidate on its own program. Now is the time, and no time has ever been more favorable. Fessenden said in a meeting of his own Local 5 of the United Rubber Workers, repeating the words of L. H. Watson of Local 7, URW: "We must learn to crawl before we can learn to walk and we must learn to walk before we can learn to run." He cited as an example of what he meant the fact that only about 40 per cent of Akron's labor vote is even registered.

But doesn't everyone understand that the reason for this apathy on the part of labor lies precisely in the fact that labor has no faith in the representatives of the two existing parties? This situation will and can only be changed when labor has a candidate to vote for whom it knows is ITS OWN candidate.

LABOR ACTION was distributed at the meeting of the Council mentioned above. It was received favorably by a large section of the delegates and was read both in the meeting and following the meeting in local establishments where groups of delegates gathered. Opposition to LABOR ACTION came from the Stalinists when William Fowler, UAW international representative, took the floor to support the PAC stand on Huber and seized the occasion to wave LA and refer to it as "this sort of factional trash."

A Boss's Dictionary

Sedition:



Fisher UAW Calls for Rent Strike

By GERRY McDERMOTT

Cleveland labor, spearheaded by Fisher Body Local 45, largest UAW-CIO local in Cleveland, has acted immediately to fight soaring prices and rents.

As rents skyrocketed as much as 100 per cent, beef 15 per cent and pork 20 per cent DURING THE FIRST DAY after all price control ended, Fisher Body Local issued leaflets calling on all consumers to ally themselves with organized labor in fighting the raid by profit-hungry big business on the people's pocketbooks.

Strongest plank in Local 45's program of action was a call for a rent strike against all landlords who raise rents, with tenants organizing tenant committees to refuse to pay more than their former rent.

Also proposed was a consumers strike against any merchant or store that raises prices. Local 45 asks consumers to buy only absolute necessities and to patronize merchants who do not raise prices. Local 45 asked consumers to sign a pledge contained in their leaflet and return it to the local office.

This UAW union, whose program was headlined in the Cleveland papers, is asking the cooperation of all other locals in the city in carrying out their program.

The program contains one bad error, however. It calls for the inevitable telegrams to Congressmen and in Ohio that includes Senator Taft. Thus, Cleveland labor is asked to continue to place its political fate in the hands of the two old parties who gleefully passed the Case bill, which would have become law if a strike-breaking President hadn't wanted an even more vicious anti-labor law.

Philly Lecture

Speaking on "The Stalemate in France" before the shipyard branch of the Philadelphia local of the Workers Party on June 24th, James M. Fenwick continued a series of open summer forums which the branch has inaugurated.

Tracing in detail the decline of French economy since 1913, Comrade Fenwick concluded with an analysis of the recent elections and the WP program in the situation.

Further talks in the series will include "The Fight for Socialism," a review of Max Shachtman's book by Mickie Bryant; "Socialism or Atomization" by Frank Harper; and "The English Labor Party" by Jack Brad.

With the Workers Party

AKRON

For information, write to Bill Ford, Box 221, Akron, Ohio.

BOSTON

LABOR ACTION Educational Forum, Otisfield Hall, Dorchester, Mass. Wednesday—8 P. M.

BUFFALO

HEADQUARTERS at 639 Main St.

CHICAGO

LABOR ACTION, 1703 West Madison St., Room 3, Chicago 12. Telephone: Chicago 9738. Office hours: 3-5:30 p.m. daily, except Sundays, Tuesday and Wednesday evenings.

DETROIT

HEADQUARTERS: 3773 Gratiot (at Mt. Elliott).

LOS ANGELES

Office, 127 South Broadway, Room 310. Office open daily 11 a.m. to 3 p.m. except Fridays and Sundays. Open evenings: Wednesdays 6:00-8:30.

NEWARK

LABOR ACTION HEADQUARTERS in Newark at 248 Market St.

GALA SOCIAL, Saturday, July 6, at 8:30 P. M. at Labor Action Hall. Dancing, refreshments. Admission 75 cents.

NEW YORK CITY

CITY OFFICE—114 West 14th St.,—open all day until 7 p.m. Tuesdays, Wednesdays and Thursdays—open until 10 p.m.

PHILADELPHIA

HEADQUARTERS, 1105 Walnut St.

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: Manhattan, N. Y.; Brooklyn, N. Y.; Philadelphia, Pa.; Baltimore, Md.; Boston, Mass.; Detroit, Mich.; Chicago, Ill.; Cleveland, Ohio; Madison, Wis.; and Seattle, Wash.

If you live in any of these cities and desire to attend the youth meetings, write to the Socialist Youth League, 114 West 14th Street, New York 11, N. Y.

October to June - The Meaning of the Recent French Elections

(Continued from Last Issue)

By NATHAN GOULD

Between October 21 and May 5, France writhed under the unchallenged domination of the coalition government, headed by the Socialist Gouin. Her industry was literally crushed by the war; the franc inflated and unstable; the burden of the national debt (from which France can never extricate herself) mounting. The coalition government failed to take a single measurable step (could not, in fact) to ameliorate the tragic poverty. Flourishing only was the black market, the only industry in post-war France displaying any vitality and organization.

The masses of France, particularly the working-class and large sections of the middle classes, had in October 1945 turned to the anti-capitalist parties to end capitalism in France as the only means of extricating the nation from the bankruptcy, disorganization, corruption, hunger and paralysis which gripped the country. But the Stalinists and Socialists rallied to the support of the government of oppression and frustrated the movement of liberation by transferring its struggles from class actions in the streets to class collaboration on a parliamentary plane.

THE MAY REFERENDUM

The pattern has followed the classic lines discernible in every instance where class conflicts reach that stage of acuteness, where the question "Who Shall Have the Power?" is posed with iron insistence. In the mounting intensity of this struggle the working class is either galvanized into progressively social and political actions along the road to power, in which

case the layers of the vacillating middle class is swept into its orbit. Or, its parties, revealing impotence, immobilize the working class and its allies in a paralysis of despair, and diffidence, apathy and abstention. The forces of the right are emboldened in restored confidence. Reaction takes the initiative from the working class and rallies the wavering middle classes behind its banner.

There was no digression from this pattern when the voters of France turned out on May 5 to cast their ballots in a referendum upon a new constitution. The constitution became a symbolic barricade dividing the classes in France. Whatever the political faults of the constitution, Stalinists, Socialists, Trotskyists—rallied to its support, each for its own reasons. All of the parties of the right—Popular Republicans, Radical Socialists, Republican Liberty Party—opposed the new constitution. The vote on May 5 reflected the effects of the policy of the CP and the SP in supporting the coalition government; in refusing to intensify the class struggle by forming a CP-SP-CGT government. Incident to these policies, the virus of apathy had already started to gnaw at the vitality of the working-class. The middle classes began their shift back to the right. Reaction had mounted a limited offensive, and in an acknowledged test of class strength, the united front of the right won by almost 1,000,000 votes.

The victory of the right in the May referendum was hailed by the capitalist press throughout the world as a decisive defeat of the left (the working class), marking the significant turning point for France and for all Europe. A defeat it was—but by no

means decisive. The working class is not so easily defeated—certainly not by ballots. But the May Referendum was a warning to the working class; provided them with something of an insight into "their" parties. It emphasized the conviction that the first step for the French working class must be a break with the parties of capitalism, an end to collaboration with the MRP.

THE JUNE ELECTIONS

From May to June, 1946, the situation in France underwent no perceptible change. The tactics of the CP and the SP were troubled by no alterations. Instead of breaking with the coalition government of inaction, the Socialist Party clung more desperately to what it looked upon as protective armor against Stalinism. Instead of looking toward a militant class policy to recoup its losses, it relied upon the success of Leon Blum's "Mission to Washington" (to obtain the loan for France which Washington candidly acknowledged was assured only after, and in view of, the victory of the right in the referendum), to bolster their support among the middle class voters. As for the CP, their tactics could not change since the strategy of Russian diplomacy remained unaltered. Given these factors, the outcome of the June elections for a new constituent assembly, was presaged by the results of the vote on the referendum.

Twenty million voters, about 700,000 more than in October, went to the polls in June to elect a new Constituent Assembly. The CP, which in the October election had emerged as the largest party in France, dropped to second place. While its 5,000,000 votes

represented an absolute gain of some 150,000 votes, the gain was not commensurate with the increase in the number of participants in the election. In consequence, the CP lost four deputy seats in the new Assembly. Although still speculative, indications point to a loss by the Stalinists in the direction of the left. These partial reports also suggest that a sizable bloc of former CP voters abstained from participation in this election—the first signs of apathy.

The Socialist Party lost "only" 3,500 votes, which, in view of the total vote, cost the party 15 deputies seats in the assembly. The Socialist losses, as predicted by the party crisis over the referendum, were probably somewhat to the Stalinists, but primarily to the Catholic Center, the MRP.

The Popular Republican Movement, headed by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Bidault, emerged from the June elections as the largest party by a gain of 1,000,000 votes and 14 seats in the Constituent Assembly. It is true that in 29 districts the parties of the extreme right withdrew their own candidates to help assure the victory of the MRP. But this does not alter the class picture as, even with these withdrawals, the parties of the extreme right gained votes and seats.

BREAK THE COALITION

The victory of the right in May and June has given a real impetus to the forces of reaction. Unlike the "treaty" of the CP—and the SP following their October victory—the forces of reaction are already probing the possibilities of extending their limited offensive of April-May, into a full scale offensive. The reaction understands that the question of power is

still in the balance. De Gaulle has emerged from retirement. A demonstration of reaction assembled at La Opera and marched on the Headquarters of the Communist Party and fought. The fists and missiles used in that demonstration will be grenades and rifles on the morrow. The forces of the right will not dally or slacken their reactionary duty. A counter-offensive by the working class must be initiated without delay.

The Communist and Socialist Parties have lost their popular majority. But, incontestably, they retain the support of the overwhelming majority of the working-class. That is decisive. The working class must be galvanized into action, brought into the streets, must strike with the economic and political weapons at their disposal. The primary step in this direction is a break by the Communist and Socialist parties from their alliance with the bourgeoisie. These parties will resist such a break. They can be compelled to take this course only by the pressure of the masses. Hence the Trotskyist party (PCI) of France carried on an agitation among the working class for a "CP-SP-CGT government" not only as the answer to the main problem of the day, but as a means of arousing the working class to pressure the parties concerned. The PCI understood that the advent of such a government would signalize actions that would advance the working-class along the road to power at the expense of the Communist and Socialist betrayers.

Given the victory of the right in the June elections the central slogan of the day is: "Break the coalition." Corollary to this is the slogan "For a

CP-SP-CGT government." "CP-SP-CGT government" and "end the alliance with the bourgeoisie" are the two sides of the same coin. "Break the alliance with the bourgeoisie" means, in the context of the present situation in France, a "CP-SP-CGT government"; for once the coalition is broken, the "CP-SP government" again becomes the first order of the day. The end of the coalition will be accompanied by a new class offensive by the workers. Their actions will shatter the "victory" of the right.

A PROGRAM OF VICTORY

The most important fact to bear in mind is that the working class has not been defeated—only set back. The situation in France remains fluid. The entire relationship of forces can easily shift back to the left in the coming elections (October 1946). It can be accomplished only upon actions corresponding with the platform "Break the alliance with the bourgeoisie"; for a government that can carry out the following program:

- 1. The nationalization of all the basic industries under workers control of production.
2. The immediate and complete demobilization of the Army and all special police and spy services. Replacement by workers militia.
3. Immediate withdrawal of all occupation forces from the conquered territories in Europe and advocacy of an immediate democratic peace on the basis of no disarmament, no violation of national sovereignty and independence, no indemnities, reparations, or tribute burden upon the conquered peoples and nations.
4. Immediate withdrawal of all

armed forces from the colonies of France and the proclamation of their national independence; support of all national revolutionary movements directed against French imperialism in particular, and against all imperialist rule in general.

5. Adoption by the Constituent Assembly of a truly democratic constitution guaranteeing and enforcing the right of free speech, press and assembly; freedom to organize and to strike.

More than ever the problem in France is to set the restive masses in motion. But neither the Communist Party nor the Socialist Party has made a single move toward "Breaking the alliance with the bourgeoisie." The Socialists immediately declared their intention and desire to enter the new coalition government with the MRP. Stalinist delay was motivated not by any hesitation, but to maneuver for the best possible conditions. They utilized this maneuver to cover their treachery by demanding a 25 per cent wage increase as a "condition" for entering the coalition. They too have entered the government of Premier Bidault.

The PCI, French section of the 4th International, is slowly gaining strength. Running upon the program of "Break the coalition" and a "CP-SP-CGT government" to carry out a program of workers demands, the PCI increased its vote from 11,000 (in October 1945) to 45,000 in the current elections. In the coming months the PCI will conduct vigorous propaganda for a Workers' Government, by bringing to the fore the demand: "Break the Coalition"—"Break the alliance with the bourgeoisie."

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

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**WORKERS PARTY PROGRAM FOR ORGANIZED LABOR
IN THE RECONVERSION AND POST-WAR PERIOD**

FOR THE UNEMPLOYED AND VETERANS

- Full Unemployment Insurance**
Full unemployment insurance beginning with \$30 a week for single men and women and graduated upward for dependents to all workers for whom government and industry do not find jobs.
- Less Hours—More Pay**
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- A Planned Rise in National Income**
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- Workers' Control of Production**
Control of production by democratically-elected workers' committees.
- An Independent Labor Party and a Workers' Government—For a Socialist America with Plenty for All!**

Make the machines that now produce only for war and capitalism produce for the needs of all the people!



NEW PURGES IN RUSSIA

By IRVING HOWE

A brief glimpse behind the "iron curtain" of Eastern Europe was possible last week. Reports from Stalinist Russia indicated that a new purge was about to begin; a typical story of fraud and corruption by industrial managers was aired in the Moscow press. Such stories are always the prelude to purges of one extent or another. Simultaneously Moscow announced the "dissolution" of two of its "republics," Crimea and Chechen-Ingush. And, finally, fragmentary reports filtering through from Poland indicate that a virtual civil war was in progress in that Russian-dominated country which might reach its peak in a national referendum scheduled for this week.

And so once again reports have begun to come through that in the land of Stalinist terror all is not well. Purges, dissolution of republics, repression of dissident nations under Stalin's imperialist yoke—these are just the few bits of information that manage to leak out. Imagine how much more there must be!

These reports should give cause for thought to those people who have adopted an attitude of helplessness toward the Stalin régime. Just as many people were fooled by the external stability and power of the Hitler régime into believing that it would exist for an indefinite period, almost accepting thereby the Hitlerian boast that the Fourth Reich would exist for a thousand years—so have some despairing liberals begun to talk about the "stability" of the Stalin dictatorship.

Now we have no desire to exaggerate the scope or significance of these recent events. There is no indication of an immediately acute crisis which could threaten the stability of the Stalin régime. In that sense, it is for the moment secure. But the Stalin régime, we have always insisted, was no more secure, ultimately, than any other government based on terror and the whip; it too would suffer deep-going crises, it too would be wracked by internal disorganization and difficulties. The Stalin dictatorship—no matter what the liberals thought; either the liberals who worshipping it or were cowed by it—was not omnipotent nor immune from social crises.

THE "CRIMES" OF THE MANAGERS

Examine, in the light of these ideas, the news reports that have recently come out of Russia. First, the purges. The Moscow papers report "widespread dismissals and firing of factory directors, engineers and accountants as a result of the discovery of evidence that industrial-production figures had been faked, bonuses had been distributed illegally and factory funds had been misappropriated." These are highly serious charges. The purges have taken place in such widely-separated areas as Moscow, Leningrad, Stalinsk and Toms in Siberia. Thus far, there is no talk about a "plot"; that may come later.

But the very extent of the dismissals, their spread over major industrial Russian cities, indicates that there must be a deep-going internal crisis. Among the charges launched against the plant managers is "mismanagement of industrial plants and poor quality of production." That means that the level of production and the quality of consumer goods must have become so intolerable that the bureaucracy found it necessary once again, in typical fashion, to find a scapegoat for its own ineptitude.

For surely everyone understands that in as highly centralized an economy as Russia's this kind of thing can't go on for very long without the top layers of the bureaucracy becoming aware of it—assuming, of course, that the whole business isn't a mere frameup with the sole intention of deflecting popular dissatisfaction with consumer goods. But that is the price of a dictatorship: no one dares move, no one dares utter a word of criticism even when aware of dishonesty or nepotism; everyone waits for the bureaucracy to decide on top.

(One interesting parenthetical aspect: The local Stalinists use the official Russian statistics—which, alas, the Russian workers cannot eat—to "prove" all kinds of glorious things about the Stalinist fatherland. But if, as is now charged by Moscow, these statistics are often falsified by plant managers, then how can Stalinists claim them to be reliable?)

Why were the "autonomous republics" of Crimea and Chechen-Ingush abolished? The official reason given by Moscow is that in these Southern regions many inhabitants, most of whom are Tartars, supported the Nazis during the war. But that is a remarkable admission. For the propaganda of Stalinism—often shamefacedly echoed by those who were not Stalinists and should have known better—continually harped on the claim that the peoples of Russia fought so heroically because they realized that Stalin's dictatorship was the nearest thing to Paradise which this world could bring to them. If that is so, how explain the failure of the Tartars to appreciate this fact as much as, say, the Azerbaijanis or the Ukrainians?

A strange admission which the Stalin bureaucracy has made—and a damning one.

THE NEW ARMY CODE

Together with these developments came the announcement that discipline is to be tightened in the Russian army. In a decree signed by Stalin, a new military code has been announced. This code provides for stricter discipline, including a greater emphasis upon saluting (at the very time when mass discontent of the American soldiers has forced the Washington brass-hats to loosen saluting regulations a little in the American army). It also provides for special officers' courts to try offenders.

Surely if there were not rather serious breaches of discipline and low morale somewhere in the Stalinist army, such measures would not be required. Possibly they are provoked by a desire of the bureaucracy to "liquidate" sections of the officer caste which, flushed with victory, may become a little too independent.

The reader will notice that on many of these matters one can do little more than speculate, because the censorship in Russia is one of the tightest the world has ever seen. But a bit of news leaks out every now and then—and we learn that all is not well in the Stalinist prison camp, that there too faint rumblings of discontent may perhaps be heard. Or rather, that if the rumblings of discontent themselves may not be heard, we can see the repressive measures which the bureaucracy takes, the presence of which proves beyond a doubt that some discontent does exist.

**Truman's Attack
On Rail Workers**

Inside story on the railroad strike reveals two fascinating bits of gossip:

1) The President's tough radio speech had been seen by the Association of American Railroads, representing the bosses, several hours before its delivery over the radio, and it was on the basis of that info that the railroad owners felt safe in rejecting the demands of the strikers.

2) The President knew, BEFORE his speech to Congress, that the railroad strike had already been broken. Nevertheless he went ahead as if he didn't know it and demanded repressive powers over labor.

All we hope is that the American workers don't express their disgust by quitting the Democratic party for the Republican party. Make a clean break with both and organize your own party, a workers party! Best proof that no middle-of-the-road solution is possible may be seen by chewing for a minute on this piece of news.

**Russians Aid
Anti-Jewish
Move at UN**

At a session of the Refugee Committee of the United Nations a motion was introduced by the Lebanese delegate that would PREVENT Jewish immigration to Palestine. The Ukrainian delegate spoke for the motion and the entire bloc of Stalinist-dominated countries—Russia, Poland, White Russia, Ukraine, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia—voted for the motion.

The motion was couched in general terms, not mentioning the Jews or Palestine, and read that the UN would not approve of the admission of refugees without the consent of the native population and of the governments in nearby countries. It was obvious to all—except the deaf, dumb and blind—that the motion was aimed against the Jews and Palestine.

The local Stalinists try to squirm out of their dilemma: "Dr. Charles Malik, Lebanese delegate, brought in three proposals to the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, aimed at preventing the immigration of Jewish refugees into Palestine. This smooth politician of the Arab League made his proposal in an innocuous form—so that it is quite understandable why the delegates of the Soviet Union, Ukraine, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia supported the general political principles involved." (Freiheit, Jewish Stalinist paper, June 21.)

In other words, Freiheit claims ignorance and stupidity as an excuse for the actions of Stalinist diplomacy.

INTENT OF MOTION IS CLEAR

However, even if the Stalinist diplomats were dumb, debate preceding the vote clearly brought out the intent of the motion. At least three speakers, among them the Cuban and French delegates, pointed out the real meaning of the resolution. That did not stop the delegates from voting for the motion of the Arab League.

This action comes on the heels of numerous reports of a rapprochement between the Arab League and Stalinist Russia. One has only to remember the position of the Stalinists in support of the pogroms to 1930 to see how easily it would be to revive an old friendship between these two reactionary forces. Whether this rapprochement will take place depends on many factors, but one thing is clear—Russian expansionism in the Near East is hot choosy about the tools it uses.

Palestine - -

(Continued from page 1)

and terror the British can be forced to relinquish control of the country; that the Jews can maintain themselves in Palestine against the whole Arab and imperialist world.

But it should be pointed out that Irgun Zvai Leumi is semi-fascist in nature; that its excessive nationalism leads it to oppose Jewish trade unions and Jewish-Arab unity—a dangerous and reactionary position.

The campaign of the Haganah and the Jewish Agency to convince British imperialism that the Jewish masses have the greatest "nuisance value" is in competition with a similar drive by the Arab nationalist movement. In the Arab Bulletin (London) of May 31, a spokesman of the Arab Higher Committee warns the British imperialists not to acquiesce to the Jewish show of force; that the Arabs can, if provoked, disturb and trouble the Empire, not only in Palestine, but in the whole near and Middle East.

Fundamentally, the reactionary leaderships of both the Arab and Jewish nationalist movements veer away from an all-out struggle against the British occupation of Palestine and seek only to impel the imperialist masters to bestow favors on their side.

The militant nationalists who spearhead the revolutionary war against British imperialism unfortunately are blind to the crucial need for unity of the Jewish-Arab masses—the indispensable basis for a SUCCESSFUL anti-imperialist fight to oust Britain from the country. Their utopian over-estimation of their own strength against the British Empire leads them to deprecate the JOINT MOBILIZATION of both peoples of Palestine. Thereby they fail to harness the tremendous power that would be provided by a strategy based on the community of interest of Arabs and Jews inherent in the fact that continued British rule is incompatible with the national interests of BOTH peoples; that the ONLY beneficiary of Arab-Jewish non-cooperation is the decadent British Empire.

The régime of terror and brutal repression, reminiscent of the notorious Black and Tan police rule in Ireland, which the British military are clamping down on the Jewish community of Palestine once more gives the lie to those who see in the British Empire a benevolent despotism eager to grant self-rule of the peoples under its sway.

The arrest of the Executive Committee of the Jewish Agency will no more result in "rooting out terror and violence" than did the arrest of the Indian Congress leaders halt the drive of the Indian masses toward freedom and independence. The British imperialists mistake the mood and temper of the aroused, oppressed masses of Jews, if they imagine that they can terrorize them into submission and abandonment of their just struggle for the democratic right of their homeless European brothers to shelter and security.

These masses have lost their faith in and illusions about the Big Three World, a world which permitted the annihilation of a third of the Jewish people. They have no real hope that ANY of the Big Three will give haven to the 500,000 dispossessed refugees who wander over the face of Europe.

They are aware that the Anglo-American imperialist partnership, which has no sincere desire to aid the Jewish victims of Hitlerism, includes a third partner—Stalinist Russia—which like its Anglo-American partners exploits the fate of the Jews for its imperialist intrigues. It is for this reason that the Palestinian Jewish masses have not proved receptive to the Stalinist cry that the Palestine question be turned over to the United Nations Organization to become another football of Big Three power politics.

Victory in this war depends on how soon these masses realize that this struggle calls for the forging of a firm alliance with the other anti-imperialist force in Palestine—the Arab masses; that a democratic, independent Palestine can only be achieved through a political program that satisfies the NATIONAL aspirations of BOTH peoples.

Editorials

Labor Must Control Prices - -

(Continued from page 1)

The capitalist class has serious disagreement within its ranks on exactly how to cope with it—hence the split in Congress and the Presidential veto. Some sections of the capitalist class—big ones and small ones, the more reckless profiteers and merchants—are in favor of junking price control completely. Other, "more responsible," sections of the capitalist class, aware of the danger to themselves which is presented by UNCONTROLLED inflation, favor a weak price control bill which would really amount to CONTROLLED inflation.

That, in reality, is what the OPA has been doing in the past period: it has sanctioned many unwarranted price increases; it did not succeed in keeping prices at the low level at which they should have been.

But the existence of this disagreement among the capitalists—which really represents a disagreement about WHAT RATE prices should be raised, about HOW QUICKLY it is advisable for them to engage in profiteering sprees—is all the more reason why the labor movement should act on this matter quickly, with determination and understanding. For the labor movement, as the organ of the oppressed and the poor, as the spokesman of all who work for a living and who suffer under our unjust economic system, has the responsibility of fighting on this issue.

The issue is very simple. Let's put it this way. You, the UAW workers at GM, who fought for four months on the picket line to win your 18 cents an hour raise, will soon see this raise completely wiped away by high prices; you will see yourselves suffering actual wage cuts because your pay envelope will buy less and less of the things you need.

We would all make a tragic mistake, a mistake for which we would pay with our hard-earned money, if we merely depended on the "good" representatives in Congress. We have seen what they have done for us—including those boss-party politicians endorsed by the PAC. They have hit away at labor in a blind fury; they have passed the Case strike-breaking bill; they have passed the Hobbs strike-breaking bill; they just passed a mockery of a price control bill.

CAN'T DEPEND ON WASHINGTON

We cannot depend on Washington. We cannot depend on the Republican and Democratic politicians who are in the service of the corporations and the black marketeers. (And when we say black marketeers, we're talking about the big corporations, not the small fry chiselers.) If we depend on either party in Congress; if we depend on sending them postcards pleading on bended knee; if we place faith in any of the rotten crew in Washington which has been giving us the knife—then we're defeated.

But why should we depend on them? Haven't we shown the strength of our unions during the recent strike wave? AND CAN'T WE SHOW THAT STRENGTH AGAIN?

Of course we can. But we have to know what to do. There is no one idea that can solve the wage-profit problem for us. But we of LABOR ACTION and the Workers Party believe we have a program with which to meet this crisis.

LABOR ITSELF MUST TAKE THE INITIATIVE

Since the capitalist government has proved unable to, or isn't interested in, controlling prices—LABOR ITSELF MUST CONTROL PRICES.

And here's how:
When the GM workers went out on strike, they put forth a bold program. They said they wanted wage increases, but without any increases in the price of automobiles. Let the wage jumps come from the fantastic profits of the corporations. They

knew that if the price of autos was increased as a result of their wage raise, and if the same thing happened in all other industries, the wage increases would be cancelled out by higher prices. (In part, that has already happened.)

POLICE YOUR OWN INDUSTRY

How stop the vicious circle? By the workers controlling the prices in THEIR OWN industry. Let the meat workers police the price of meat. Let the auto workers police the price of autos. And so forth. That will keep prices down. So we need—

PRICE CONTROL COMMITTEES IN EACH INDUSTRY, WHICH WILL FUNCTION AS PART OF THE UNIONS AND WILL BE ON THE LOOK-OUT IN THEIR OWN INDUSTRY TO KEEP PRICES DOWN!

Together with, and subsidiary to, these price committees of the unions there is needed organization of the housewives on a local, neighborhood scale. Just as the committees of the unions could control prices at the source of production, so could the committees of housewives check on prices at the point of distribution. The housewives can keep an eagle eye on the local profiteers. They can organize neighborhood demonstrations against high prices. Perhaps a buyers' strike of short duration on some specific items would be an effective form of protest.

Another point which is necessary to solve this crisis: the unions have again got to begin thinking about wages—AND THAT MEANS MORE WAGES. If you remember, when Walter Reuther settled the GM strike, he said that if the wage increases were eaten up by price jumps, he'd propose new wage raises. The time for that is at hand. The unions must reopen wage negotiations, and prepare for new struggles, on the ground that the cost of living has gone up.

The packinghouse workers have put forward the sound idea in their recent wage demands of a guaranteed annual wage, with an "escalator clause" for increases whenever prices go up.

WAGES AND PRICES GO TOGETHER

But one word of warning: the attempt by labor to control prices or its attempt to get more wages will be tremendously decreased in effectiveness if the two don't go together. Even if prices are controlled to a considerable extent, we'll still need wage raises. And if we get wage raises while allowing prices to run wild, then the wage raises will be next to worthless. We've got to attack the problem from both ends.

On the front page of this issue of LABOR ACTION there's an editorial discussing some of the political implications of the price crisis. We won't go over the same ground here. But isn't the present crisis food for thought in one respect: where are all the "good" congressmen elected with PAC support? How come that so many of them voted for the Truman forced-labor bill and for the phony "price-control" bill?

Let us learn the lesson. We can depend on no one but ourselves. The two old parties are completely in the service of the corporations. We for our part need a party of our own too: an independent Labor Party which will represent us on the political front.

We of the Workers Party—an organization dedicated to revolutionary socialism—believe that such a party would be a great step forward for the American workers. And we believe that the program we've presented here on prices and wages is a way to smash the profiteers and prevent the ominous catastrophe which the capitalist class and its government are preparing.

There is still time for the labor movement to act—but there's not too much time. Every militant unionist must press these matters now.

One-Tenth of the Nation

Bilbo: Murderer of the FEPC

By J. R. Johnson

Senator Bilbo has called upon the white people of Mississippi to prevent the Negroes from voting, by force if need be. Certain elements of the capitalist press have distinguished themselves by violent attacks upon Bilbo as a disgrace to the nation and to the democratic tradition. This column does not become excessively excited about them. But when the Senate joins in and decides that one of its innumerable committees should investigate Bilbo's statements and activities, then it is time to intervene.

No activities of the Senate can excuse them from direct responsibility for Bilbo.

Bilbo is one of the leaders of that group of southern Senators who have flustered away the anti-lynching bill and the permanent FEPC bill. The Senate allowed Bilbo to do this.

What is Bilbo's chief political appeal to his constituents today? It is that he, by his efforts in the Senate, was chiefly instrumental in preventing the extension of FEPC. The South, and particularly Mississippi, is very hostile to FEPC. We repeat, the Senate is responsible for Bilbo.

LONG SPEECHES IN SENATE

Bilbo does not make offensive remarks only in Mississippi. He does it consistently in the Senate itself. Senators frequently make long speeches in the Senate, not for the benefit of other Senators, but in order that these remarks, printed in the Congressional Record at government expense, may be distributed to their constituents at their home. Nobody abuses this practice more than Senator Bilbo. What is the attitude of the other Senators? They yawn and say: "Don't mind him. He is just 'Bilboing'."

This is a new political term in Washington, to "bilbo"—that is to say, to use the Senate as a forum to preach race hatred, to denounce Negroes, Italians, Jews and labor leaders. To sit and yawn over these things, and "not to mind" them, is to encourage Bilbo.

Senator Robert Taft says as follows to complaints about Bilbo's conduct. "We have considered filing a petition to oust him by a two-thirds

vote, but he would revel in the publicity of a trial. Of course, as a general thing, Senators cannot begin denouncing other Senators because they disagree with them, but certainly Bilbo is not in the same basic as any other Senator that I know of."

What a hypocritical letter! Nobody is asking Senator Taft to take action against Bilbo in the Senate because he disagrees with Bilbo's political views. Many right-minded citizens believe that Bilbo's violent preaching of race hatred and his remarks, stinking with insults to many millions of American citizens, are offensive to all persons. To the extent that in his letter and his political conduct he avoids the issue, he is also responsible for Bilbo.

MAYOR OF WASHINGTON

Bilbo today is chairman of the Senate's District of Columbia committee, and is virtually the mayor of the city of Washington. He is one of the main elements who help keep

Washington a center of Jim Crow. But how come that this reactionary southern Senator can hold such a responsible post?

It is because Congress and thousands of capitalists in the United States do not want the large Negro population in Washington to exercise the vote. In this respect, also, they prefer Senator Bilbo to the exercise of democratic rights by the citizens of the nation's capital. Here again, they are responsible for and encourage the Senator.

All mass campaigns against the Senator, all expressions of popular resentment, are valuable. But the labor movement has to ask itself: How comes it that organized labor is in the same political yard with its enemy of progress? Bilbo is only a symbol. Labor has to get its own party. This party will not only exclude Bilbo from its ranks. One of its main tasks will be to wipe away him and all such from participation in American political life.

Will Stalin Open His Doors?

The New York State Committee of the Communist Party (Stalinists) has issued a leaflet on the problem of the Jews in Europe and in Palestine. This leaflet ends up with the slogan: "Open the Gates of All Countries to the Victims of Hitlerism."

Observe the wording of that leaflet: "ALL Countries." We of LABOR ACTION believe that this idea is correct. We believe that the homeless Jews of Europe should be admitted to whichever country they wish to go: the United States, England, Palestine, Russia, etc.

However, we wish to address a question to the New York State Committee of the Communist Party. When you say that you want Jews admitted to all countries, does that include Russia, too?

If it does—and what else can the word "all" mean?—then are you going to agitate and try to put pressure on the Stalin government to open its doors to refugees in the same way you put pressure on other governments?

The reason we ask this question is because, as our readers may remember, when, about ten years ago, there was a great deal of public interest and agitation about the question of refugees, the Stalinist government refused to admit Jewish victims of Hitlerism—in the same way that the U. S. government refused to admit any sizable numbers.

Now, what will the American Stalinists say? Will Russia open its doors to those who might want to enter it? And what will the American Stalinists say if Russia refuses to do so?

Race Track Mogul "Sings" - - Reveals Tieup Between Underworld and Two Boss Parties

By JERRY TODD

CHICAGO—A few days ago in this city an important underworld character, James M. Ragen, race news czar, was the victim of an attempted assassination. The event brought to light a 25,000-word statement by Ragen, made to State's Attorney Tuohy six weeks ago, which lifts a corner of the veil that usually hides from the public the realities of American politics. The unbreakable bond between the gangster underworld and the boss political parties, the judges, the boss newspapers, is clearly revealed by Ragen's statement, part but not all of which has been given to the newspapers by Tuohy.

The revelations made by Ragen furnish material that you cannot get in civics books. The boss parties don't talk about it in their election campaigns. The daily newspapers play it up for a few days to give a fillip to circulation, glossing over those facts exposing their own political friends, then forget it. But there is no reason why we should overlook the many valuable lessons that a Ragen can teach the people about the realities of American politics.

Ragen, publisher of the Midwest News, purveyor of race-track information to bookies in many cities, and successor to the late Moe Annenberg, millionaire racing information boss, is a character out of Damon Runyon. The reason he talked to the police was, he said, because the Capone syndicate was out to kill him. June 24, as Ragen was being driven through town by his chauffeur, a truck, disguised to hide its murderous crew, drew up alongside Ragen's car at State Street and Pershing Road, and opened fire with shotguns, catching Ragen in the right shoulder and arm, and then speeding away. Following the attempt on his life, Ragen's statement was made public.

PAID POLITICIANS \$600,000

- Among the many juicy revelations were the following:
 1. Ragen's racing news organization, he said, paid \$600,000 to "most of the leading politicians of the United States."
 2. Ragen worked closely with the Republican committee man from the first ward in Chicago, the former state senator, Dan Serritella, himself an old scratch-sheet operator. Serritella has been picked up as a suspect in the attempt on Ragen's life, but has been promptly released. The revelations about his gangster connections have temporarily embarrassed the Republican governor, Green, and his machine, but Serritella retains his position in that machine.
 3. When Ragen was in trouble with the Treasury Department, one of his attorneys was John McInerney, who was also attorney for the Democratic mayor of Chicago, Kelly.
 4. The Capone mob, supposedly wiped out by the F.B.I. years ago, today controls about half of the 400 handbooks operating in Chicago, and is seeking complete domination of the field, says Ragen.
 5. As a result of the heat generated by Ragen's statement,

Mayor Kelly has issued his customary statement in situations of this kind, that "the lid will be clamped on gambling in Chicago." But the very day he made the statement, six police captains and one acting captain, removed two years ago for failure to suppress gambling, were reinstated to their posts.

6. When Ragen, years ago, was circulation manager of the old Chicago Examiner, he worked with the publisher, Merrill Meigs, and with Municipal Judge Bernard P. Barasa, to get Serritella the job of city sealer under then Mayor Thompson. Serritella was elected to the state senate on the Republican ticket in 1931, Ragen kicking in \$3,000 to his campaign. The last time Serritella ran, in 1942, Ragen contributed \$3,500.

7. Ragen's connections went all the way to the White House, right into Roosevelt's cabinet. When Ragen learned that the F.B.I. had "pinched" his Washington office of the General News Bureau in 1934, Ragen said he sent Roy D. Keehn, a Chicago attorney, to see Homer Cummings, then U. S. attorney general. "We went back to Washington and arranged with Homer Cummings and there was nothing to it, and they voted a no bill, and nothing ever happened."

(Keehn, former lawyer for Hearst, admits he went to Washington in the interests of newspapers publishing race track news, but says he went as adviser of the Hearst newspapers, and that it was Roosevelt's secretary, Louis McHenry Howe, he saw, and not Cummings.)

8. Ragen's partner in the Central Illinois Printing Co., part of his race sheet empire, is Charlie Bidwell, vice-president of Sportsman's Park in Cicero and owner of the Chicago Cardinals, professional football team. Ragen's partner in the Continental Press is Edward McBride, of Cleveland, owner of the American League professional football team in Cleveland.

9. Ragen took a man out of the state attorney's office and set him up in business in a detective agency, paying him \$20,000 "plus a lot of bills to keep carrying on." Two other men from the state attorney's office later also joined the agency.

10. Joseph Finnerty, mayor of Gary, Ind., together with James Regan, former Chicago policeman and later chief of police in East Chicago, sought to get Ragen to arrange that Finnerty's brother become distributor of racing information in Lake County, in opposition to the Capone syndicate. "So it looked like Finnerty was going to score and about that time he and his wife attended some wake there; he pulled his car into the garage, and as he came out a gunman came from behind the garage and shot him to death, and Finnerty did not go into business."

"ONLY SEVEN JUDGES"

11. The underworld has its connections with the politicians and judges all over the country. Says Ragen: "We have funny things nappen in this business. In Miami, Florida, they had a deputy sheriff named Coleman who wanted

to reform the community and he pinched the racing news distributor and had his deputies chop up the place pretty good. That fellow refused to roll over and play dead, and he took it to the Supreme Court of Florida, and that Supreme Court ruled seven to nothing—there being only seven judges on the bench—they ruled seven to nothing that the sheriff was 100 per cent illegal and they made the sheriff go back and sweat like hell screwing them telephones back."

12. Brien McMahon, now U. S. Senator from Connecticut, a former special assistant U. S. attorney in Chicago, and in charge of the criminal division under former Attorney General Cummings, was Ragen's lawyer four years ago.

13. At the time the Capone gang was opposing Finnerty in Gary, Harry Hynes, northern Indiana gambler, told Ragen that Finnerty might have the mayor of Gary but he (Hynes) had the state's attorney, John E. Rosckowski.

14. When Ragen tried to enter Cicero with his racing service, the Cicero chief of police told Ragen's friend: "You are not going to operate here this year. Cicero belongs to Capone and you are not going to operate and if I have to, I will put police at the place and see that you don't operate."

This makes Ragen very indignant because his own partner is vice-president of Sportsman's Park in Cicero.

And so on and so on. There's more to Ragen's statement but it's too hot for the state's attorney to release, and he has deleted some names.

THEY'RE ALL EMBARRASSED

Ragen, fearful of his life, has told enough to embarrass all the solid citizens of this and a good many other cities, who don't like the public to be told of the fraternal relations between their political machines and the underworld. The coppers are pulling sober faces in public and making a great bustle about enforcing the law, stamping out gambling and such. The boss editorial writers are righteously talking about Ragen's "sordid and depressing picture of what happens to a community when politicians consort with thieves and criminals; when a political machine allies itself with racketeers, when the racketeers, in fact, become the real power behind local government."

What the hell! The Ragen case will blow over in a few days. The curtain will fall again, and hide the mechanics of the boss political machines. Big Business will again don the mask of self-righteousness, and insist that its tools are irreproachable. The agitation against militant unionists as "labor racketeers" will be resumed. But the racketeers in top hats, and the petty racketeers of the Ragen and Capone type, will continue to hold hands, the former to maintain the masses of the American people in insecurity, the latter to prey on that insecurity.

Until a national labor party, based upon and controlled by the unions, blows the whole rotten racket out of the water.

Famine in India



Reproduced from the British Socialist Appeal.

India Deal Fails to Bring Real Freedom

Negotiations between the British government and various Indian political parties have now been completed to the general satisfaction of all concerned, but every real problem of India, as shown by the above picture, still remains. Real freedom for the masses of people; an end to the constant threat and reality of starvation; a democratic government elected by the 385,000,000 people of the country—not one of these goals was reached after three long months of talk.

The British made a proposal for the gradual organization of an Indian government of the Hindu and Moslem ruling classes, which would share administrative and political power with it, the British imperialist class. The Moslem League—that organization allegedly speaking for the Moslem people of India and committed to fighting for an independent Moslem state within India—has accepted the British proposal in every respect. It is willing to participate in the British-appointed interim government and will go along on everything else.

The Congress Party of Gandhi and Nehru have rejected the British-conceived interim government because the plan does not give them a majority of the posts, but only an equal number with the Moslems.

More important than this secondary rejection is the fact that the Congress Party has accepted the long-range proposals in the plan—that is, it is willing to go along with the gradual, inching methods by which British imperialism proposes to share power with the top layers of Indian society. This acceptance, still to be approved by the Central Committee of the Congress Party, marks the triumph of the most conservative, Gandhist elements in the party and is a clear betrayal of the Congress' program of struggle for a completely independent India, unconditionally released from any British hold.

The British are set to renegotiate terms for an interim government, while they are already actually launching their plans for the new administration of the country and the convening of a so-called Constituent Assembly. In the elections to this Assembly, less than five per cent of



MAHATMA GANDHI

the population will have had any voice or vote!

Meanwhile the grave danger of mass starvation hangs over the entire country. In the lengthy diplomatic "deals" and maneuvers that have been going on, not one word has been said on the food and famine problem. British imperialists, Moslem League rulers and Congress Party politicians and industrialists have all ignored the masses of workers and peasants. Their concern has been exclusively with preparing a "deal" satisfactory to all parties, behind the backs of the people. This is the meaning of three months of negotiations. Their efforts have been largely, although not entirely, successful. But India's struggle for real freedom is far from over—today the British still own that unhappy land and exploit all its wealth.

Both Parties Responsible for Price Rises - -

(Continued from page 1)
and real estate monopolists whose profit greed has created this crisis. Now what shall the working masses do? Once more write postal cards to fill Congressional waste paper baskets, as Mr. Truman suggests? Or is it time to by-pass the capitalist politicians? Yes, it is more than time. There are three major actions the situation calls for, actions to be initiated and to be carried out by labor, veterans, housewives, white collar workers and all the "little" people. First, the creation of people's organs of price control. There is no way out of this responsibility. The capitalist government has failed. Factory and industry committees of workers are indispensable to determine the quantity of production and

prices for distribution. They must be organized at once. Second, fundamental political action has to be taken by labor, veterans, housewives, white collar workers and all of us little people—action that will permanently repudiate the capitalist system and the capitalist government, and dedicate the people to a new goal for society. The responsibility to form an independent Labor Party against the capitalist parties can be shirked only at the risk of the triumph of the worst kind of reaction. Third, a buyers' and tenants' strike, widespread and all-inclusive, limited only by the absolute necessities to keep going. Such a mass demonstration is a must, against the monopolists who have produced and deep-

ened the woes of the whole consuming population. And who can lead the masses to take these necessary steps? Who else but labor? TRUMAN'S VETO Let not Mr. Truman's veto of the booby-trap bill fool labor into extending confidence in him and the Democratic Party. Why didn't he come out sooner with a warning that he would veto the bill? Wasn't it because he was playing with the idea of signing the "sure formula for inflation"? He was measuring whether he would gain more political capital by going along with the National Association of Manufacturers and their brethren or by listening to Economic Stabilizer Chester Bowles' political

philosophy of serving the capitalists by reducing the dangers to them of run-away inflation—and at the same time appeasing labor! Certainly one didn't have to be too bright, listening to Truman's radio speech, to snicker at his attempts to call the Republican kettle blacker than the Democratic pot. Everything he said about the amendments of Senator Taft and Representatives Wherry and Crawford, all Republicans, was deserved. These men, who sought to legalize in peacetime superwar-time profiteering, should get the support only of the class they serve. But what about the Democratic Party? Let's turn that pot bottomsides up. Did not Senator Barkley, Democratic majority leader, urge passage

of this same bill as "the best bill under the circumstances"? He did. And who hasn't heard of the anti-price-control efforts of Senator Elmer Thomas, Democrat of Oklahoma? Nor can Truman exactly hide under a barrel the blustering, filibustering W. Lee O'Daniel, Democrat from Texas. The Republican kettle and the Democratic pot are both of the same color. Both capitalist parties have amply earned the contempt of the people. Organized labor is in the position, with its forces and know-how in action, to take the lead in the creation of worker-consumer price control committees, in the launching of an independent Labor Party to represent the economic and political interests of all the workers of this nation.

Bulgarian Terror Hits Trotskyists

A reign of terror in Bulgaria has recently led to sweeping "mass arrests" of Trotskyists. Dr. Gatchev of Ploudiv is among those arrested. Dr. Gatchev, a member of the Fourth International, is a well known revolutionary leader in Bulgaria. This information is reported via the Paris correspondent of The Militant. Reuters dispatches reported June 28 the arrest and imprisonment of the Bulgarian Social Democratic leader, Krstiu Pastuhov. Early in June the Agrarian leader, Trifon Kunev, was beaten by "thugs." R. H. Markham, veteran Balkan correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor, declared in an interview in Athens June 27 that people are being "killed by the thousands" in Bulgaria. He repeated his previous report about "concentration camps" in Bulgaria and "executions in the form of legal massacres, the victims of which are placed in unmarked graves." This ruthless purge of all political opposition in Bulgaria resembles in many respects the blood baths which accompanied the Moscow frame-up trials.

Why Are You So Quiet About the Lichfield Trial, General Eisenhower?

AN OPEN LETTER TO GENERAL EISENHOWER

Those of us who served under your command in the ETO knew that the much-publicized idea of "our democratic army" was merely for publicity releases, but had no connection with the facts. The talk about a "democratic army" certainly didn't describe the military organization which ruled our daily lives with an iron hand. Now that the war is over, the army—beginning to respond retroactively to GI criticism of military dictatorship—has released the Doolittle report, which makes a few innocuous gestures in the direction of democracy, though it leaves untouched the basic feudal pattern of army life.

But there is one word which makes all your talk about "democracy" in the army a mere farce—though a farce with tragic overtones. And that word is: Lichfield.

The barbaric and inhuman existence of the GI prisoners at the 10th Reinforcement Depot Guardhouse in Lichfield has received some publicity in the press, but its significance has hardly been emphasized. Acting under official instructions, guards went about behaving as if they were training to become SS guards at Buchenwald.

WHY THE PRISONERS WERE AT LICHFIELD

The men had been imprisoned for a variety of reasons. Most common cause was their overstaying a London leave, sometimes by a mere five minutes. A six-month sentence was an automatic minimum. A larger number were combat veterans who had recently been hospitalized. Giving them a going over were such men as the sergeant who admitted striking prisoners wherever they were most seriously wounded. Together with their commanding officers, who never got any closer to the front lines than Piccadilly Square, such were the guys who educated "yellow" infantrymen who may have missed a return bus from London.

The Lichfield Depot was a scandal throughout the ETO, but it was not until the end of the war that the full story became public enough to demand some action. The reason for silence was simple and direct censorship.

As a result of a long stream of letters to "Stars and Stripes" after the war, the scandal could no longer be suppressed. Investigation and trial have been going on for almost a year. This story is as sorry as the events that brought it about. It makes all reference to a "democratic" army, existent or expected, a pitiful joke.

Up to now, there has been only one serious conviction. Provost Sergeant Judson Smith was sentenced for three years at the initial trial. Other small fry have been given minor sentences. But, after all these months, only one officer, Prison Officer Lieut. Cubage, has been convicted. His penalty was a \$250 fine (about a month's pay). Action against the real higher-ups, particularly Depot Commander Colonel Killian, has been meaningless up to now. The Colonel has frequently boasted of his "influence." Apparently, he wasn't kidding. Witnesses have been intimidated. Others have been driven to a disgusted withdrawal from the entire affair because of the mockery of justice in the staged trials. The original prosecutor, Captain Carroll, resigned because he found himself so hamstrung.

We know how lightly Lieut. Cubage got off for his criminal behavior toward average American soldiers. What hope is there to expect that the others, led by the Colonel, who like to show his "importance" by demanding General McNarney and Secretary of War Patterson as defense witnesses will be

more seriously bothered? The Colonel has threatened underlings with personal violence and official action if they "sing." A prosecution witness, an enlisted man, was given a six-month sentence for "showing disrespect to an officer and breaking restriction to quarters." Will Killian get as much? We venture to predict that our "democratic" army will treat him much more kindly.

For Lichfield was no accident. Though the most brutal of the detention camps, it was not, as every GI knew, the only one. The Colonel, vicious sadist though he was, was not acting without the knowledge of his superiors. He was told to be "tough"—that is, to allow guards to beat American soldiers with rubber hose—and he followed instructions faithfully.

Where did those instructions come from, General Eisenhower? Could they have come from anywhere but your own headquarters? Could members of your own staff have been unaware of the conditions at Lichfield? Once in a while a few words would slip into Stars and Stripes about Lichfield, so that even the GIs knew about that place, knew enough to shudder when the name was mentioned.

We repeat: whether or not you personally knew about it, your general staff MUST HAVE KNOWN ABOUT IT. And they condoned it, they did nothing to stop it.

In view of that fact, how seriously do you expect veterans to take the present talk in Washington about democratizing the army?

WHY ARE YOU SO QUIET, GENERAL?

And one more question: Now that Lichfield has been exposed, why have you remained so quiet about it? Why haven't you, as chief of staff, had one word to say about it? You must have more information now than anyone else. Is it because you are embarrassed at what happened in your own command? If so, you have good reason to be!

So long as the vicious Killians remain top dog in the army—and so long as they have commanders above them who tolerate their practices—all talk about "democracy" in the army is a farce. For the army is not an isolated phenomenon. It is the reflection of a social system, capitalism, which is as brutal as it is. The army, serving as the arm of imperialism and reflecting within itself the class hierarchy of capitalist society, serves as the organ of reaction everywhere.

Lichfield only underlines that fact with blood and agony. Lichfield is the shame, General Eisenhower, of an imperialist army; and it is your shame too. You cannot evade the responsibility any more than the social system which breeds war, armies and Lichfields can evade it.

WILLIAM BARTON.

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Indian Trotskyists Report New Strength

Special to Labor Action
By V. KARALASINGHAM

Emerging from the underground only a few weeks ago to semi-legality, the Indian Trotskyists have already begun to influence wide strata of workers. In Calcutta and Madras they are in actual leadership of two important unions. In Calcutta the Bolshevik-Leninists took the initiative in the unionizing of the Fire Service Workers and soon succeeded in building a stable union. One thousand of the 2,200 Fire Service Workers were threatened with dismissal and the young union was faced with its first test. Led by the militant Trotskyist leadership, these 2,200 firemen held out for eleven days in April and finally succeeded in making substantial gains from the government, including the withdrawal of notices of termination of services. Comrade S. C. C. Antonipillai, contesting as a member of the Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India, was elected president of the Madras Labor Union, the trade union of the Buckingham and Carnatic textile mill workers. This happened on June 2. On June 10 the 14,000 workers employed in this

mill went on strike and they are up to the time of writing engaged in a bitter struggle with the management.

The Congress government in Madras has hastened to the aid of the British capitalists who own this mill. In an attempt to demoralize the strikers, the government has arrested a number of strike leaders. This has further strengthened the determination of the workers. In their strike action in March, 1942, the Buckingham and Carnatic mill workers were subject to the heaviest repression and nine workers were killed by police firing. Cowed down by the police régime and betrayed by their own "leaders," they suffered a heavy defeat. Today, under the militant leadership of the Trotskyists, they are out to avenge that defeat.

Stalinist Logic

"The Italians of Trieste, who are in a majority there, can remain Italian only if their territory is turned over to the people of Yugoslavia, to whom they are attached by their love for the advanced democracy instituted by Tito."—Daily Worker article, May, 23.

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