

Work for a Workers World;  
Join the Workers Party!

# LABOR ACTION

AUGUST 4, 1947

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

5

FIVE CENTS

## Stop All Supplies to Dutch Imperialism!

# DEFEND INDONESIAN PEOPLE!

## 28 Miners Die as Company Ignores Union Safety Plea

By TODD WILKINSON

WEST FRANKFORT, Ill.—On the afternoon of July 24—two months after the safety committee of Local 959, United Mine Workers, had publicly requested of the mine management that it take immediate steps to stop rock-dusting during working shifts—an underground explosion occurred at the Old Ben Coal Company's No. 8 mine here. Result: At least 28 dead, many injured, including five in critical condition, 170 escaped through an emergency air shaft.

The explosion was the second major disaster in the state in the last four months. On March 25, an underground explosion at the Centralia Coal Company's mine near Centralia (55 miles north of here) took the lives of 111 miners and led to a nation-wide closing of coal mines by the United Mine Workers. The July 24 disaster at West Frankfort was the second in 19 years, a similar event having killed 21 miners in another mine on January 9, 1928.

The scene around the mine is the same scene we all know, if not from direct experience, then from news reels—a large crowd pressing around the head of the mine shaft, many women with babies, hoping to catch word of fathers, husbands, sons trapped below. At the UMW hospital at the other end of town a bulletin board on the front lawn lists names and conditions of the victims.

The union notice dated May 23, warning the management that it was imperiling lives of miners by rock dusting during the working shift, was posted on a bulletin board under glass at the door to the miners' wash house. The notice is still there, a mute reminder that the men who dig the coal do not control the conditions which may take their lives. The notice reads, in part:

To the management of the Old Ben Coal Corp. and all concerned, Mine No. 8, West Frankfort, Ill.:

The undersigned safety committee makes the following request:

That the rock dusting be discontinued during the time that mine is in production immediately.

The practice has been started at this time of rock dusting all through the working shift, making it very hazardous, due to the accumulation of rock dust that stays in the air for some time . . . and is injurious to the health of the miners breathing . . . and also makes it very hazardous for the men to see the light on the moving machines.

In the last federal mine inspector's examination, he recommended that dust be eliminated at its source. Our contention is that the company is not making an effort to eliminate the dust at its source, but creating more dust. We further recommend and request that immediate steps be taken to comply with the federal mine inspector's recommendations of wetting or dampening the dust at its source.

It is our contention that the production shift at this mine is nine hours over all, leaving 15 hours of non-production time at this time. Therefore, it is obvious to see that the federal mine inspector's recommendation can be complied with, and we so recommend during the time that the mine is not in production.

JAMES EDWARDS  
Chairman of Safety Committee  
DWAYN SWAIN  
BILL THOMSON

It was the dust complained of by the union safety committee that caused the explosion, in a pit 500 feet underground, about a mile and a half south of the bottom of the main shaft. Injured miners said that the explosion resulted from dust ignited by a spark from the motor. Frank Casper, one of the miners critically injured, said he was blown 40 feet by the force of the blast.

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## Workers Party Call to Action On Indonesia!

The undeclared war on the Indonesian Republic by the Dutch imperialists in what they have called a "police measure," demands the widest protest possible against this wanton attack on a people seeking national freedom. A victory of the Dutch imperialists would be a defeat not only of the Indonesians but of labor and all the "common" people of the entire world.

In declaring its solidarity with the Republic of Indonesia, the Workers Party of the United States calls upon the workers of this country to join it in protesting the Dutch action and the silent acquiescence of the other imperialist powers, and the failure of the UN to do anything to stop the profit-mad Dutch financiers and plantation owners.

The Workers Party has set aside the week of August 2-9 as a week of protest against the Dutch war on the Indonesian Republic.

All branches of the Workers Party are advised to attempt the organization of united front meetings, demonstrations and protests throughout the country. Proposals for such nation-wide action should be made to labor organizations, AVC, tenants' and consumers' bodies, to the Socialist Workers Party, the Socialist Party, the Indonesian League, the Viet-Nam Friendship Association, the India League, etc.

Picket the Dutch Consulates wherever possible. Where no picket lines are possible, public united front meetings should be held. If a united front meeting or action is impossible, the Workers Party branches will hold their own meetings.

The New York Local of the Workers Party will wind up its daily picketing, which is set to begin on August 4, with a larger picket line on August 9.

All branches of the Workers Party are urged to climax their activities in behalf of the Indonesian Republic on August 9 as a national demonstration.

## Stalinists Lay Ground To Back Republican Mayor for Detroit

By WALTER JASON

DETROIT, July 27—One question dominated and overshadowed all others at the three-day Wayne County CIO convention held here last week, under the control, lock, stock and barrel, of the Stalinist clique in the labor movement.

This question was: What kind of policy should the CIO adopt for the coming municipal elections? And although some readers of LABOR ACTION might doubt at first what we are going to report, the facts are unassailable. They speak for themselves.

The answer of the Stalinist-conservative bloc at this convention was to prepare the groundwork for the endorsement by the CIO of Mayor Jeffries, the Republican mayor, whom organized labor bitterly opposed in the last two municipal campaigns!

The answer of a small but determined group of progressives at this convention was to demand a labor mayor and a united labor slate as a policy!

After R. J. Thomas, UAW-CIO vice-president, spoke on the need of labor "supporting liberal candidates in either party," the convention was presented with Mayor Jeffries in person. In introducing him, Tracy Doll, who plays Charlie McCarthy to the Stalinists' Bergen, did everything but actually endorse Jeffries for re-election!

Then Mayor Jeffries had the effrontery to tell the convention he was really "pro-labor," as though anyone could forget his vicious re-

baiting, labor-baiting and anti-union record!

### LABOR SLATE RESOLUTION

Meanwhile, the majority of the Resolutions Committee, which was not controlled completely by the Stalinists, since some of their ex-supporters broke with them, endorsed a resolution introduced by Local 306 of the UAW-CIO. This resolution was similar to one submitted by Chrysler Local 7 delegation.

The resolution called for a labor majority candidate and a labor slate, to be chosen at a special conference of all unions, CIO, AFL and Independents!

Upon hearing this, the Stalinists, through the PAC Committee, which they controlled, demanded the resolution NOT be presented, but rather be turned over to the PAC Committee. After a real behind-the-scenes fight, an agreement was reached that this resolution would be read, along with one which the PAC Committee adopted.

The PAC resolution, "just changed three words in the Resolutions Committee resolution," the convention was told. Instead of labor mayor, the word pro was put in front of the word labor, etc. This was a fundamental change in the intent of the resolution, as Delegate Bauer of Local 306 pointed out in the brief discussion held on this question.

But to make a long story short, in spite of parliamentary tricks and delays, both resolutions finally were read to the convention, and a discussion began. No sooner had four speakers made brief three-minute speeches for the labor mayor and labor slate idea, when Nat Ganley, Stalinist party whip, got the floor and gave the party line. Among other things he said, in speaking against a labor candidate for mayor, was: "This would pit capital against labor!"

One of the chief arguments of the pro-labor party speakers was that the PAC resolution would make pos-

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## U. S. Props Greek Terror; Big Powers Vie on Control

By JIM TANAKOS

Russia's veto of the Balkan frontier commission plan proposed by the United States at the United Nations Security Council was this week's incident in the growing tension between these two imperialist rivals. While the two big giants were jockeying around in their game of power politics, thousands of Greek workers were being imprisoned and murdered by the royalist army in Greece.

Russia vetoed the plan for a frontier commission in the Balkans on the grounds that such a plan would violate the "sovereignty" of such "independent" countries as Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. This statement by Russia's representative is funny only because, as everyone knows, these three Balkan countries have no independence whatsoever and are under the complete control of Russia.

### U. S. OBJECTIVES

Russia is against the frontier plan because she doesn't want the United States edging near or on the territory and people that Russia has under her control and hopes to exploit.

The United States, on the other hand, wants a good firm base in the Mediterranean to guard her ever-growing modern empire and, if possible, she will try to develop situations in the various Balkan countries to bring into power government controlled by her and not by Russia.

The United States, in order to get a firm base in the Mediterranean, has replaced the British in Greece as the backbone of the present reactionary regime. Greece is strategically located militarily to protect American capitalist interests in the Middle East and also as a jumping-off point in case of European developments. The government in Greece, which is composed of quislings and royalist fascists, is kept in power only by the most ruthless extermination of all opposition.

### GOVERNMENT LOSSES

The fact that the Greek army of over 100,000 soldiers and aviators, plus thousands of gendarmes and dozens of royalist bands well equipped by the United States and Great Britain have been defeated continuously in daily battles for more than a year by the guerrilla fighters, shows that a big section of the population

has fled to the mountains and is carrying on the fight against the government.

Lurid headlines in American newspapers about international brigades invading Greece are only an indication that the Greek government is trying to explain its military losses and the U. S. State Department is trying to justify its present policy in Greece.

If the Greek government did not make such statements it would be difficult to explain why it has not been able to wipe out the "few bandits" that it claims oppose the regime. If the Greek government captured even one non-Greek during this entire period of fighting, there would have been photographs of him in seventy different poses appearing in every capitalist newspaper throughout the world. One of these

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## WP Candidate Blasts Pa. Jim Crow

One-Third of Petitions Needed to Place Rader on Ballot Already Gathered; Sympathizers Help

By FRANK HARPER

PHILADELPHIA, July 25—Councilman candidate of the Workers Party, Jack Brad Rader, tonight accused the five Negro representatives in the Pennsylvania State Legislature of betraying their fellow citizens by failing to bring the State Fair Employment Practices Commission bill out of committee at the recent session of the State Legislature.

Rader's accusation highlighted the protest rally on the killing of the FEPC bill, held at Labor Action Hall, 1139 West Girard Avenue, by the Philadelphia branch of the Workers Party.

The candidate was introduced by Joe Davidson, election campaign manager. Comrade Davidson called

on Governor Duff to reconvene the State Legislature to act on FEPC and demanded an interim municipal FEPC. He also stated that the enforcement of any laws which might be passed can be guaranteed only if the people of the communities formed into neighborhood clubs which would actively picket and boycott those establishments and employers who show discrimination in services or employment. As part of this campaign, the Workers Party advocated a March on Harrisburg to demand an FEPC.

Comrade Rader introduced his remarks with a historical survey of Jim Crow, citing the profit made from the slavery of the Negroes in the United States. Jim Crow today is a manifestation of that same profit

JULY 30—Pushed back by the U. S.-armed and partly U. S.-trained Dutch imperialist army, the armed forces of the Indonesian Republic, fighting to attain the freedom of their country from imperialist rule, began to apply a "scorched earth" policy this week. As the colonial war entered its second week, it became apparent that while the Dutch at present have superior military resources, largely acquired with the help of U. S. and British imperialism, the Indonesian masses are determined to fight to the end to rid themselves of the Dutch tyranny from which their country has suffered for 300 years.

In this struggle, socialists and militant workers, everyone who stands for the freedom of peoples and for the independence of nations, stands four-square behind the Indonesians and against the Dutch!

## Ask Meeting To Unite Tenant Work

DETROIT, July 24—Over 400 tenants attending a neighborhood meeting held by the West Side Tenants Council, Wednesday, July 23, voted unanimously to recommend to the Wayne County CIO Council and the Michigan State CIO Council that they organize a city-wide meeting of all Tenants' Councils and all CIO members, to coordinate the work of the Tenants' Councils and the CIO, and offered the assistance of the West Side Tenants Council in organizing such a meeting.

Al Rightly, consumer and co-op director of the UAW-CIO Educational Department, Ivy Strahan, chairman of the West Grand Boulevard Tenants Council, and Ernest Bennett, housing director of the Michigan State CIO Council, spoke at the meeting and informed the tenants on the progress of rent control in the UAW-CIO and other tenants' groups in Detroit. They lauded the work of the West Side Tenants Council.

Ernest Bennett told of the plans of the Joint Committee on Rent Control formed by the Wayne County CIO Council and the Michigan State CIO Council. The committee was formed in accordance with the national policy of the CIO, which is against signing leases carrying the voluntary rent increases of 15 per cent and in favor of CIO organizing tenants in block and building committees to fight rent increases. The two councils support completely the organization of tenants' councils and are discussing further coordination of the tenants' councils and the CIO in this area.

Bennett repeated these statements for the benefit of Paul Silvers, now right-hand man of R. J. Thomas, who was intent on breaking up the tenants' meeting or taking it over. Although Silvers did succeed in preventing a fruitful discussion by the tenants, he never broke up the meeting nor took it over, even with the aid of a dozen of his cohorts.

Despite these disruptive actions, more than 100 tenants took out membership cards in the Tenants Council because they agreed with the four-point program of the West Side Tenants Council: 1—Act to prevent rent increases; 2—Don't sign leases; 3—Oppose evictions; 4—Fight for a real rent control law.

Numerically the Indonesian forces are larger than the Dutch—the opposing armies number approximately 200,000 as against 120,000—but the Dutch are fighting with U. S. lend-lease equipment and with troops trained in the U. S. Were it not for this indirect aid which Dutch imperialism has acquired from the U. S., and were it not for the previous intervention of British troops in Indonesia, which gave the Dutch a breathing spell, the Indonesian people would long ago have driven out the hated Dutch oppressors!

The Indonesian cause, however, is by no means lost! The nationalists control as yet the major part of the island of Sumatra; they have strong positions in inland areas of Java; and above all they have the unyielding support of the Indonesian masses in whom there burns an eternal hatred for the Dutch exploiters.

Indonesia is one of the richest areas in the world—but the riches have been used only to fatten Dutch imperialism. The Indonesian people themselves are sunk in abject poverty. Before World War II Indonesia yielded nine-tenths of the world's natural quinine, one-third of its rubber, one-fourth of the tin and large quantities of oil, sugar and tobacco.

The Dutch imperialist robbers took an annual profit of \$160,000,000 per year, while the average per capita income of the Indonesian was less than \$50! That startling contrast explains why the Indonesians want their freedom; they want to use their resources for themselves, not have them exploited by Dutch imperialists.

A large part of the Dutch holdings are really indirectly controlled by U. S. corporations, which also have tremendous holdings of their own. Among the corporations which have stakes in Indonesia and which fear that an insurgent and free Indonesian people will drive them out together with the Dutch imperialists, are General Motors, Goodyear Tire & Rubber, Shell Oil, General Electric, Standard Oil of New Jersey.

In fact, Standard Oil officials in Sumatra are reported to have joined with the Dutch against the Indonesian Republic. They have helped the Dutch counteract Indonesian scorched earth tactics.

### INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT

One of the heartening aspects of the situation is that at least some sections of the international working class have come out in support of Indonesian colonial freedom. Dock

(Cont. in edit. column on page 3)

## The Boss's Dictionary

Art:



## Don't Pay More Rent!

Next week's LABOR ACTION will carry excerpts of a pamphlet written by Irving Howe, and soon to be published by the Workers Party, on holding the line on rents. The excerpts will embrace a plan of action on fighting rent increases and resisting evictions.

David Coolidge will also contribute an article on the rent situation and how to meet it.

Don't miss next week's LABOR ACTION!

motive under the wage system and is used as a device by the capitalist government to divide the working people into antagonistic camps.

In the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Jim Crow is aided and abetted by the highest government circles; it is practiced in the state agencies and in the state guard. This condition continues even though, as Rader reminded the audience, the Republican machine had an FEPC plank in its platform at the last elections.

The apparatus of Pew and Grundy and others of the Manufacturers Association of Pennsylvania promised the people of the commonwealth, and in particular the Negroes, that there would be a legal bar passed to end discrimination in the Keystone State.

The shameful disgrace of stalling on the bill and of the subsequent sell-out of the five Negro representatives to the machine was recounted. For details of this intra-party deal the audience was referred to recent articles in LABOR ACTION. Rader likened the actions of the Negro representatives to "Judas goats" who lead their followers into the slaughterer's trap. The Negroes who become tools of the Republican and Democratic Parties no longer serve the interests of their people. By aligning themselves with the white ruling class they betray their families and friends.

Rader stressed that the Negroes must develop their own leadership, taking their place with white work-

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NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Stalinists to Back Republican Mayor - -

(Continued from page 1)

sible the open endorsement of Mayor Jeffries. The PAC Committee was asked if Mayor Jeffries would fit into their definition of pro-labor. This question was evaded by Ganley and others.

Instead, after Ganley gave the line, a stooge made a motion to call the question, and discussion closed. A sizable minority voted against the PAC resolution. They were not given a chance to vote directly on the labor mayor and labor slate resolution!

If there was any doubt as to the intent of the Stalinists, it was removed today when the Detroit Free Press had an interview with Yale Stuart, Stalinist floor leader at the recent state CIO convention. He was asked if his union, the City Employees Union, CIO, would support Jeffries. He replied, "Who else is there in the field so far? Jeff has been a good guy for labor!" A footnote to history: A few weeks ago Stuart was denouncing Gus Scholle, CIO state president, as a semi-fascist, because he was an alleged pal of Republican Governor Kim Sigler!

There are two good reasons why the Stalinists will not be able to get away with this disgraceful and cynical deal they have made with Jeffries. One, they will never be able to sell it to the auto workers. The convention itself showed this when Tracy Doll announced mournfully that Mayor Jeffries collapsed the day after his speech at the convention. A spontaneous cheer went through the hall at this announcement! Two, Jeffries apparently is very ill and will not be available.

But this in no way mitigates the crime the Stalinists are perpetrating against the interests of the labor movement. It is unlikely that any of the bureaucrats in the local labor movement would dare act as cynically and openly as the Stalinists.

Of special interest to the auto workers is the reason why the Stalinists are so anxious, and say so in discussions, to support Jeffries. The Stalinists fear that George Edwards, popular president of the City Council, might run as a CIO-backed candidate for mayor. He got a higher vote last time than Jeffries. But Edwards must be opposed at any cost, because he is known as a Reuther supporter in the CIO! Edwards is from Local 174, UAW-CIO.

As a matter of fact, the Stalinists are operating under a new version of the old and disastrous theory of "social fascism," under which socialists were the main danger, not the Nazis in Germany. This theory was responsible for dividing the German working class and aiding Hitler to take power. The present version of the theory is that "social democrats like Reuther and Edwards are a bigger danger than some Republicans!" The Stalinists would rather see a capitalist politician win than a working

class candidate whom they can't control! This fact is already getting around in Detroit. It should be made so well known that the Stalinists lose whatever influence they have left!

One other event took place at this convention, which otherwise devoted itself to passing the whole lot of Daily Worker resolutions on Wallace, that deserves mention. After this disgraceful and disgusting performance of the Stalinists, some of the progressives who fought for the labor mayor idea turned around and

voted for the Stalinist slate, which won, and thus helped perpetuate their control of the Council, instead of voting for a "token opposition slate," as a matter of protest!

It is also a tragedy that the pro-Reuther locals in the UAW-CIO did not join the Council, come to this convention and take the lead in a powerful drive to run the Stalinists out of control of this Council and make it part of the CIO here! Instead of just a forum for the Stalinists and their machinations in the labor movement here.

Win First Round in Court Battle On Mpls. Jim Crow Bartender

By SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

MINNEAPOLIS, July 23—The first round in a court battle against Jim Crow was won against a bartender who, after insulting and threatening two Negroes asking for service in his tavern, charged them \$5.00 and \$10 per drink and spat into their glasses while two policemen-witnesses looked on unprotestingly. The Negroes happened to be the local secretary of the Urban League and a visiting newspaperman from Milwaukee.

Since there is a Minnesota statute which makes such discrimination punishable as a gross misdemeanor, the local victim of the Jim Crow attempt, in conjunction with members of the Mayor's Council on Human Relations, brought the complaint to the attention of the county attorney, requesting that the law be enforced. This demand, coupled with wide newspaper publicity, plus the fact that the victim of discrimination is a figure active in civic affairs, brought immediate action by the county attorney's office.

In trying to get a dismissal of the case, the bartender sought a preliminary hearing in Municipal Court today. Testimony disclosed that the bartender had violated the civil rights statute which makes discrimination in public places against persons for reasons of race, religion, color or national origin punishable by a fine up to \$500 and/or one year in jail.

TRIAL BACKGROUND

The judge, Paul J. Jaroschak, in refusing to dismiss the case and ordering a district court trial, set a precedent in Minnesota for such court action under the gross misdemeanor clause of the Civil Rights statute.

Events leading up to the trial are as follows: On Saturday, the Executive Board of the local NAACP, meeting in special session, decided to back the case to the fullest extent of its power.

It authorized its Publicity Committee to circulate an immediate appeal for support from dozens of organizations and individuals, requesting them to be present in large numbers at the preliminary hearings.

It authorized the formation of a committee to draw up a resolution asking for the suspension of the two policemen who failed to do their duty in not protecting the civil rights of the Negro complainants when the law was broken.

A sharp resolution was subsequently placed in the hands of the chief of police and Mayor Humphrey of Minneapolis.

This action was immediately press-released to all daily, labor, Negro and Jewish newspapers.

INITIAL PHASE

On the day of the trial all seating space in the court room was filled, with many persons standing for lack of room. The audience consisted of a mixed colored and white group. There were many representatives from labor. The Negro press was present as well as members from the local and St. Paul branch of the NAACP, representatives of the Minnesota Jewish Council, the church, the Mayor's Council on Human Relations, civic groups and the chief of police and the inspector of police.

The verdict that brought the case into district court made front page news today. Although it is the initial phase of a single battle, it constitutes part of a broad and determined struggle the Negro in Minneapolis is making to defeat Jim Crow.

There is another fight being undertaken by Negro militants in Minneapolis on another issue which will soon be reported in LABOR ACTION.

One-Tenth of the Nation

By E. R. McKinney

CAN'T TELL DIFFERENCE

The two daughters of the president of the Textile Workers local in Greenville were married to two of the lynchers. Their father came to Culbertson and asked him to help them out. This man Jess Mitchell said to Culbertson: "... blood is thicker than water. We're lookin' to you to help us like we always have." And so Culbertson took the case. Culbertson and Mitchell considered this case the same as defending the two men against one of the textile companies. There was no difference. To be in court for lynching a Negro was no different from being in court because a company guard had been killed in a strike. In either case they looked to Culbertson to help them, "like we always have."

It was simply not within the grasp of Culbertson's puny intelligence to tell Mitchell that it is one thing for him to fight for the rights of the working class against the employers, and quite another to defend workers who have participated in a lynching, particularly when the person lynched was a working man like themselves.

Culbertson feels now that some of his language was "unfortunate." He used "some unfortunate phrases in making an appeal to the jury that was perhaps unnecessary." If the trial were held again he would still represent the defendants but, "my emotional approach would be different." He didn't say what his emotional approach would be. He probably hasn't the slightest idea. If he hazarded a guess, we would say, it would not be substantially different from what it was. That's the difficulty about making an emotional approach to such questions as lynching and the relations between Negroes and white people. If the approach of a white southerner is emotional, his reactions will be at a rather low level.

el, a somewhat sub-human level. Culbertson could have no other approach because of his upbringing, his environment and his limited intelligence. All of this was clearly revealed in his PM interview.

PART OF SOUTH

Culbertson and Jess Mitchell are important because one of them is a southern pro-labor "liberal" and the other is the president of a local of the Textile Workers Union. I suspect that Mitchell is a staunch defender of the CIO and its principles. He probably believes that "Negroes should have their rights." I don't doubt that he has vague notions about all workers being equal. The same probably holds for Culbertson.

But both of these men are part and parcel of the South, its traditions, customs, thinking and practices. They think they are saying something intelligible when they talk about "blood being thicker than water." They feel closer to the exploiting and oppressive white textile manufacturers than to the Negro workers. Despite the fact that their economic and cultural level is not appreciably above that of the Negroes, they feel superior to the Negroes.

All that Culbertson did in his conduct before that Greenville jury, was to steep these people further in their ignorance and bind their minds fast in stupidity and incompetence. He could do no better because he is not himself superior to them in knowledge, education and understanding of the problems before the working class and how really one must go about fighting against exploitation and insecurity. Neither he nor they get the fact that in South Carolina, for instance, the basic struggle of the white worker and the Negroes is identical and therefore must be carried on by them together on terms of complete equality.

Miners - -

(Continued from page 1)

which rolled through the area where he was working, smashing timbers and cascading rock and coal down to fill the passageways.

MINE "CONFORMED TO LAW"

The federal mine inspector took no steps to see that his recommendations were carried out. The State Mines and Minerals Department said it last inspected the No. 8 mine May 9 and at that time reported it "conformed to all state mine safety regulations." Under the Illinois state government, now headed by Republican Governor Green, it is awfully easy to "conform to all state mine safety regulations."

Following the Centralia blast in March, Governor Green fired the then state director of mines, Robert M. Medill, and promised a complete investigation by a special committee. Green appointed Harold L. Walker, a University of Illinois professor, to Medill's post. The committee recently recommended changes in the state mining laws which were adopted by the legislature and signed into law by Green last week. But laws aren't important, even good laws. It is who puts the laws into effect that is important. The mine operators appointees in the state government supervise the laws. The miners die.

Howard Lewis, brother of John L. Lewis, is underground superintendent at No. 8. For a time it was feared he was among those trapped, but he later turned up safe.

With the Workers Party

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

- AKRON Write to Box 221.
BALTIMORE 21 West Preston St. Socialist Youth League meets every Friday at 8 p. m. Public forums every second Friday of each month.
BUFFALO 639 Main St., 2nd floor. Office hours: 11 a.m.-2 p.m. Monday through Friday. Open meetings Sunday evenings. Discussion group Thursday evenings.
CHICAGO 1501 W. Madison Ave., 2nd floor, Chicago 7. Telephone: CHESAPEAKE 5798. Office hours: 3-5:30 p. m. daily. Tuesday and Wednesday evenings.
CLEVELAND Workers Party meets every Sunday at 8 p. m. Socialist Youth League meets every Friday at 8 p. m. Write to: Bernard Douglas, P. O. Box 1190, Cleveland 3, Ohio.
DETROIT 6341 Gratiot, Room 10. Telephone: Plaza 5559.
LOS ANGELES 3314 So. Grand, Los Angeles 7, Cal. Telephone: Richmond 7-3230 (if no answer, phone AX 2-9067). Office hours: 2 to 5 p. m., daily.
LOUISVILLE Write to: Robert Durant, Box 1181, Louisville, Ky.
NEWARK 248 Market St., Newark 2. Open house Friday evenings.
NEW YORK CITY CITY CENTER: 114 West 14th St., 3rd floor. Open every day from 10 a. m. to 7 p. m. Wednesday and Thurs-

Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor...

Adds Point to Article On Savannah Cops

Dear Editor: E. R. McKinney could have stressed another point in his article on the nine Negro cops for Savannah. Whites do not object to mixing in itself. They merely insist upon the open and pronounced recognition of unequal social status. The Negro cops must remove their uniforms before appearing in white districts because uniforms are entitled to respect while Negroes are not. Recently, near San Francisco, a Negro couple occupied the garden cottage of a white owner. The league that exists for such reasons immediately began an investigation; if the Negro couple were servants, they could stay; if they were tenants they would have to leave. When whites say they like a Negro in his "place," they refer not to his physical whereabouts, but to his social aims. He must not only be Uncle Tom, he must prove it by overt demonstrations. Yours truly, L. Mann, Oakland, Calif.

posed instead various taxes on luxury items and high-rent apartments.

While we favor luxury taxes, we repeat our stand on the real estate taxes as being far more important and far more productive in revenue. It happens that the demand for higher real estate taxes has long been a popular demand in New York City, else how account for the fact that the city administration has itself considered increasing tax rates? Because it does not represent the bank and landlord interests? Hardly! The demand for "wage increases without price increases" at first had the support only of one group of workers in Detroit. It later was adopted by the CIO, which has as yet done nothing to effect it. There is still a big job to be done in getting mass organizations, unions and others, to back up the wage-price demand. And there is no other way of doing that job except to agitate for it constantly.

Our reader's stand would amount to giving up the fight for any kind of demand in any situation, because he would evidently require that a mass organization back it before it is raised. How then will anybody get any mass organization to back the given demand? The people of New York City want the five-cent fare to continue. It is a matter of considerable importance to them. We therefore say, make the rich pay for any subway deficit, the more so because they profit enormously from the subways. In the case of the real estate interests, their properties have increased in value because of the subway in greater proportion than the tax rates. Slum owners profit as well as owners of swank duplex apartments. Overall real estate profits are derived more from low rental properties than from ultra-fancy apartments. These profiteers should be soaked and soaked plenty. If they try to pass it on to the consumer, that is, the tenant, the tenants must

stop it. And are not tenants, even with poor organization, stopping rent increases today?

As we said in answer to the last letter from our reader, his position would amount to relieving one of the most scoundrelly groups of capitalists from any tax burden.

We believe that labor and the consumer can hold prices and rents

down. We believe that labor and the consumer can prevent the profiteers from passing along increased costs in higher prices, whether the increased cost is a wage increase or a tax boost. Soak the rich. That's our position—on general tax needs and specifically on the taxes needed to save the five-cent fare in New York City.—Editor.

NOW OUT! The New INTERNATIONAL AUGUST BY ALBERT GATES: THE TAFT-HARTLEY BILL AND LABOR POLITICS Stalin's Agents in Bolivia By Luis Velasco Social Democratic "Innocent" Abroad By A. Rudzinski Class Nature of the Polish State—II By Ernest Erber SWP Unity Line Changes Again By Albert Goldman Two Speeches on Unity By M. Stein and James P. Cannon ONE YEAR \$2.00 SINGLE COPY 25c

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Again Disputes Our Subway Fare Stand

The above letter came in with a \$2.00 contribution to LABOR ACTION. We wish to thank our friend for both the letter and the donation.—Ed. In your answer to my letter, printed in LA, July 21, you make a series of statements which miss the point I was trying to make. Allow me to make a few additional comments.



# Editorials Indonesia - -

(Continued from page 1)

workers in Australia have refused to load ships for the Dutch. Dock workers in Holland have likewise refused, though the predominant labor federation, controlled by the Social Democrats, has taken a shamefully ambiguous stand on this matter. And the government of India, through Pandit Nehru, has announced that it will not allow Dutch planes or ships bound to help suppress the Indonesians, to land or dock in the country.

Even if Indonesian resistance against the Dutch assault is unable to sustain itself as a regular army, it will continue persistently and patiently. Members of the Indonesian Plantation Workers Union, reports the Indonesian Antara news agency, have resolved to fire 500 quinine, tea and coffee plantations in West Java if the Dutch move against them.

An official of the union, Soeparno, was quoted as saying that if these estates were set afire the Dutch would have to send more than 500,000 laborers from the Netherlands and work more than ten years to restore production. He said:

"Let no Dutchman nurse the illusion that he will ever find his plantations and estates in an undamaged condition."

For months after the war's end, the Dutch stalled in their negotiations with the Indonesian Republic while the British conquered part of Indonesia for them and while they reassembled a fighting force with which to attempt to destroy Indonesian independence. Now that they have 120,000 modernized troops they have undertaken to smash the young republic. They have even muttered something about setting up Quisling governments in the areas they conquer.

### FIGHT TO END

But they are mistaken if they believe they can break the back of colonial resistance. For 300 years the Indonesian people have suffered under the worst kind of colonial rule. Time after time they have rebelled; they remember well the atrocities of Dutch repression after the unsuccessful 1926 revolution in which many of the present Indonesian leaders were jailed and exiled. They will fight to the end in behalf of their freedom.

And every socialist, every worker, every friend of freedom and independence—in whom there still breathes the fire of sympathy for the oppressed, who, wherever they may be, fight for their freedom—will stand shoulder to shoulder with the Indonesian masses and cry out:

LONG LIVE INDONESIAN INDEPENDENCE!

DOWN WITH DUTCH IMPERIALISM AND ITS BRITISH AND U. S. ACCOMPLICES!

WORKERS! REFUSE TO SAIL DUTCH SHIPS! STRIKE AGAINST DUTCH MILITARY CONVOYS! AID YOUR INDONESIAN BROTHERS!

# Lynch Law

The City of New York likes to pretend that it is a city "where seven and a half million people live in peace and enjoy the benefits of democracy." Its mayor and other officials like to boast that race discrimination is unknown in the city. They overlook, of course, such unpleasant details as the infamous housing and schooling conditions in Harlem, the city's ghetto policy, and the million forms of Jim Crow to which the city's Negroes are daily subjected. It must be said, so that no part of the truth may be left unsaid, that New York City is indeed a long way from Birmingham, Ala., or Vicksburg, Miss. There are no lynchings, not the hanging kind, in New York City. And we owe unto the bigot who even dared try to make a Negro go to the back of a subway car.

Nevertheless, New York City, allowing for differences of degree and manner of expression, is as much a part of the national pattern of Jim Crow as any city or state. Though there may be no lynch parties, there is nevertheless Lynch Law. As a case in point we cite the decision of State Supreme Court Felix Benvenega upholding the Jim Crow policies of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company in the tax-exempt Stuyvesant Town housing project being built by the company. Judge Benvenega, he it noted, likes to consider himself a liberal and even makes speeches against discrimination.

Three Negro war veterans, Joseph Dorsey, Monroe Dowling and Calvin Harper, applied for apartments in Stuyvesant Town, the highly touted housing project. They were denied occupancy because of their color. "Suing on behalf of themselves and all others similarly situated," they took the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company to court. And the court ruled for Metropolitan Life according to the highest tenets of Lynch Law.

If this Stuyvesant Town were entirely a private landlord project, the policy of discrimination would be revolting and intolerable. As it happens, Stuyvesant Town will enjoy local tax exemption for 25 years, representing a saving of \$2,000,000 a year for the fabulously wealthy company, or \$50,000,000 for the whole period. In a sense, the people of New York, including its Negroes, will be paying for that \$50,000,000 tax exemption. And they will be paying to preserve the rotten race policies of Metropolitan Life (which does not reject the coins of Negro insurance clients).

Judge Benvenega's ruling comes shortly after a resolution adopted by the New York State Asso-

ciation of Real Estate Boards which said: "The enactment of local laws preventing those who might promote large developments of housing in the lower brackets from exercising proper discrimination in the selection of their tenants to protect their investments, is deterring their activities in this field."

In other words these bandits who are concerned only with mulcting the people through scandalous rents, are saying that a non-discrimination policy stands in the way of low cost housing. The hypocrisy and crookedness and bigotry of that statement defies further comment.

Two things are indicated. The first and most obvious is a city-wide campaign to remove Stuyvesant Towns tax exemption. But that is not enough. With or without tax exemption, Jim Crow is intolerable. The three Negro veterans are appealing Judge Benvenega's decision, but there are important things that can be done in the meantime.

All Negro, labor and community organizations can be united in a planned campaign to break down Metropolitan's policy. The tenants who are already moving into Stuyvesant Town can do something. They could, for example, refuse to pay rent, and solicit the help of every labor and Negro organization in resisting evictions. Metropolitan can also be hit at the core of its business—the insurance. A picket line parading day in and day out in front of Stuyvesant Town, and in front of the Metropolitan Insurance Company offices, would look nice. A big picket line! There is much that can be done. And we think the people of New York City can be united to do it.

P. S. Houses going up in New York City for UN officials and employees will have a race discrimination policy. Various UN delegates, not having been born of white parents, are quoted in the press as being disturbed. This ought to go a long way in winning the peoples of the world over to confidence in UN.

# Party Probe

During the past week, the newspapers, especially the tabloids, have been feasting on the dirt dished out by the Senate sub-committee hearings on war contracts. Its old "army game" all over again. Two years after the war, the "guardians of the treasury," have suddenly discovered that the country was milked by the big corporations who operated through effective lobbies. All of this was known during the war, but the "guardians of the treasury" were looking the other way. If they did nothing about excess war profits during the war, and passed legislation guaranteeing big business profits after the war, they are now furiously and indignantly examining the small fry operators.

Small time operators? Howard Hughes, the engineering "genius" who inherited millions of dollars to let him play with airplanes and Hollywood girls,—is that small stuff? In the hundreds of billions of dollars spent for the war, the Hughes business is small stuff. A little bigger than the May-Garson business, but small stuff nevertheless.

We have no doubt that the senators get a vicarious kick out of recounting the tales of the wooing of government officials who were wined and dined and caressed by pretty girls in exchange for war contracts.

Behind this lush exposure is the GOP aim of getting back at the Roosevelt administration, its own eyes cocked at taking over the lucrative job of running a government costing billions of dollars and spreading the booty around to its own party people and the monopoly capitalists who paid for their election campaign.

The spectacle of Senator Brewster calling Hughes a liar, and Hughes in turn calling Brewster a liar and threatening to disclose a "dirty" proposition Brewster made to him, is part of the side-show of capitalist business and politics. We have no doubt that Hughes and Brewster are both right, but it is not most important.

Drew Pearson calls attention to the bigger steals in wartime aviation. He describes the luxurious apartments and headquarters maintained by the big war contractors. These apartments were stocked with all kinds of provisions and with full-time servants to look after the needs of senators, representatives and other government officials for the purpose of obtaining their big war contracts. But Pearson adds that the "chances are 100 to 1" that Brewster will never investigate the lobbies of the big aircraft companies and the other industrial giants that looted the treasury for tens of millions of dollars. Why should Brewster do that? He is a self-seeking capitalist politician, a servant of big business in a capitalist government. He is only doing what he is paid to do.

Then why these hearings? Well, it takes the heat off, directs the attention of the people to the "little excesses" and leads them to believe that the government is an impartial body acting in the interests of all the people. But it is a little more than that. The capitalist government, as the Marxists have often pointed out, is an arena in which the capitalists fight out their own battles.

Note the protests of Henry Kaiser, the "independent monopolist." He denounces the probe as inspired by the bigger monopolists who are out "to get him." He describes the difficulties he had getting war contracts from his more powerful competitors. In his story you get a really important picture of the operations of this profit-mad system with its headquarters in New York and Washington.

A far more interesting and important story lies in that direction, but we doubt very much that the congressional spokesmen for big business will touch that hot potato.

# WORLD POLITICS

## Russia's Economic Crisis—I

By IRVING HOWE

For some time now we have wanted to transmit to our readers some of the highly interesting material on Russia's internal economic situation which appeared in the London Economist in its March 15, 22 and 29 issues. The press of more timely subjects prevented us, but this week we devote the first of two columns to a summary of its materials, together with some comments.

A very considerable and apparently chronic economic crisis is discussed by the anonymous Economist correspondent. Because of the bureaucratic nature of the Russian economy, which makes it especially amenable to state manipulation, and also because of the scarcity of reliable and independently-developed statistics on Russian economy, it is difficult to establish the degree to which this crisis will continue or will be temporarily overcome.

On March 1 of this year, the Stalinist government issued a statement of the progress made in peace-time reconversion of its industry. It announced that "the gross output of the entire civilian production was 20 per cent higher in 1946 than in 1945." Offhand this seems a most impressive figure. But when one recalls that in 1945 a large part of Russian economy was still geared to war purposes and that from 1945 to 1946 plant and labor diverted to civilian production must have increased by much more than 20 per cent, then "the increase in gross output by only 20 per cent" states the Economist—"indicates decline in productivity."

Furthermore, reports the Economist, "the situation is worst in the former occupied areas. Their industrial output increased by 28 per cent, but it did not (says the Stalinist statement) even reach half the pre-war production." This is an euphemism—output is probably well below 50 per cent. In the victorious Soviet Union, the devastation and unsettlement of the war are being overcome at a pace not much quicker—so far—than the rate of economic rehabilitation." When one recalls that in Western Germany, Anglo-American imperialism has deliberately restrained production, then the truly revealing nature of this comparison becomes clear.

### COAL AND CONSUMERS GOODS

The Russian government report goes on to state that "The development of the coal industry, which is experiencing the greatest difficulties as a result of the war, is lagging behind and delaying the progress of the entire national economy." On this lag in coal production the Stalinist regime places major responsibility for the poor economic situation. But the Economist writer disputes this view: He points out that on the whole the Russian coal mines did fulfill their 1946 quotas: the Asiatic coal mines fell a mere three per cent below quotas while the European mines went five per cent over their quotas. Apparently then there was "enough" coal; a contention strengthened, says the Economist, by the fact that Russia was able to forego half the stipulated coal deliveries from Polish Upper Silesia. Apparently, the crisis stems from deeper sources than a lack of coal.

"It is more probable," writes the Economist, "that stagnation in the former occupied lands (some of the major Russian economic areas—L. H.) is caused by a crisis in the morale of the working population, a crisis due to disastrous housing conditions, to shortages of food and consumers' goods and also to general post-war frustration. The housing plan for 1946 was not fulfilled: the housing space made available amounted to 6,000,000 square metres. Housing difficulties are delaying the creation of permanent cadres of workers and the raising of productivity of labor. Under the plan, 72.5 million square metres are to be built in the current five-year period. Thus only one-twelfth of the scheduled housing space has been made available in the first year (of the five-year plan). Incidentally the five-year target for housing is very modest. Even if the planned building by private persons (12 million square metres) is added to it, the

average housing space which the twenty-odd million Soviet citizens made homeless by the war can hope to get by 1950 will at best be not more than four square yards per person; and this does not allow for any increase in population." This is life under "the socialist fatherland" of Stalin.

Another aspect of this situation is described by Keith Hutchison, in The Nation of July 19, when he writes that "... even if the plan is completely fulfilled, living standards will remain extremely low. For instance, boot and shoe output is scheduled to reach 240,000,000 pairs in 1950, or only a little more than one pair per person. In the United States, where people use their feet much less than in Russia, output is about three pairs per person."

### RESULT OF STALINIST POLICY

The situation here described is the direct result of the Russian plan to continue expansion of capital goods industries at the expense of consumer goods production; the Stalinist plan does not offer any real respite to the war-weary, long hungry and overworked masses. But in this way the plan is self-defeating, for it results in decreases in labor productivity. As Vera Michels Dean writes in a recent report of the Foreign Policy Association, there is "the potential danger that persistent disparity between the growing needs of the population and the quantity of available goods may lead to demoralization, resulting by a vicious circle in still lower productivity."

An essential aspect of the Russian economic crisis remains what it has always been: a crisis of labor, of labor organization and productivity. And as usual the Stalinist regime knows only the methods of the knout. To compensate for the low productivity of labor—which is itself a product of the backwardness of Russian society and of what the Economist calls the "anti-consumer outlook" of the Russian state—the Stalinist regime has had recourse to an increase in the total size of the labor force. (It is incidentally characteristic of Stalinist economy that its exploitation is, so to speak, extensive—that is, crude, quick, and wasteful; rather than intensive—that is, skilled and based on a high level of productivity.) The "shortage of manpower" which perpetually afflicts the Stalinist regime has been met in several ways: the recent vast increase in the size of forced labor battalions, especially by the utilization of prisoners of war; the transfer to industry of manpower from the armed forces (another indication that despite its aggressive diplomacy the Stalinist regime is not preparing for immediate war); and, as the Economist puts it, "most of the female and juvenile labor drafted into industry during the war will be staying on." A polite though accurate statement.

In addition, the bureaucracy has been forced to cut off a section of its own social base: some 730,000 personnel in the civil service have been transferred from office jobs to "productive work." The Economist comments that "a few months ago the journal of the Planning Commission had suggested a reduction in the economic civil service by 20 per cent. If the figure of 730,000 corresponded to that percentage one would get some idea of the vastness of the administrative machinery in Soviet economy." That the top bureaucracy felt it necessary to cut off a section of its own underpinning in order to increase the labor forces indicates the extent of its need for a labor force.

But the bureaucracy is unloading on the workers in even more direct ways. The "norms" of production for industrial workers have been increased from 20 to 25 per cent. As Keith Hutchison comments "... in order to maintain his wage, which incidentally has declined sharply in purchasing power in the past nine months (because of the increase in price in turn due to the scarcity of consumers goods—L. H.), a worker must speed up considerably."

Since our space is up we shall have to stop here. Next week we will report more of the information the Economist printed and will comment further on its significance.



### U. S. INVESTMENTS ABROAD

Foreign investments of U. S. Big Business soared to an all-time peak in 1946, attaining a total of \$8.1 billion, a \$1 billion increase since 1937. These investments yielded a return of \$520,000,000 last year, highest in history, according to a recent Department of Commerce survey. Last year's earnings surpassed by 18 per cent the best year of the 1930s, and was well above the preceding peak of \$474,000,000 earned in 1928.

These foreign investments have nothing to do with government loans or with holdings of foreign government bonds. They are direct private business investments, and include principally the foreign branches and subsidiaries of American enterprises and foreign companies in which Americans own more than 25 per cent of the voting stock. It is impossible to calculate the immense importance of these investments on the foreign policy of the government in Washington.

About one-half of the 1946 income, or \$273,000,000, was received from Latin America. One-fourth, \$126,000,000, was received from Canada. The remaining fourth was divided between Europe, Asia, Africa and Australia.

The petroleum industry (chiefly, Standard Oil) investments abroad constituted the largest single income producer in 1946, accounting for \$170,000,000. Manufacturing was second, with \$130,000,000. Mining and smelting produced \$65,000,000; public utilities (chiefly AT&T), \$50,000,000; agriculture (chiefly United Fruit), \$45,000,000; distribution industries, \$40,000,000; and other industries, \$20,000,000.

The country which brought the highest returns to U. S. Big Business was Canada. Many U. S. manufacturers have built plants in Canada to get inside the British Empire trading circle. Countries next in importance in providing income on U. S. direct investments were Venezuela, Chile, the United Kingdom, Cuba, Argentina, Brazil and Mexico.

### OFFERS CLUE TO FOREIGN POLICY

Commenting on these investments, this immense stake of U. S. Big Business abroad, the Chicago Journal of Commerce editorially pointed to them as a reason why "we" cannot turn "our" back on the rest of the world. "The significance of these investments cannot well be exaggerated," stated the Journal. "The oil of the Middle East gives a clue to our firm attitude toward Russia, which also eyes those oil fields, as well as to the placating attitude of the British toward the Arabs. And our good neighbor policy in Latin America turns out to be a profitable neighbor policy in the bargain. Foreign policy is often couched in highflown terms, laden with idealistic phrases and noble expressions. But underneath the fancy sauce and the sprigs of parsley is the meat itself: economic interest in dollars and cents."

Each U. S. company with holdings in a foreign country is ever alert to see that the government of that country act to protect the investment—that it oppose socialization, put down working-class agitators, break strikes of native workers. If the foreign government dare oppose U. S. Big Business, then the company arranges with the State Department at Washington to "take steps"—to put on the pressure, to intimidate, to threaten the business interests of the smaller country in all sorts of ways. Sometimes, as happened in the two last wars and in the period between the wars, U. S. troops and ships are sent to the foreign country, the resisting government is ousted and a new government more amenable to U. S. Big Business is placed in power. Always, such actions are clothed in high-flown language. But, as the Journal of Commerce says, "underneath the fancy sauce is the meat itself: economic interest in dollars and cents."

You may be sure that there is now going on in the dickering with Europe over the Marshall plan, secret talks aimed to insure and to extend U. S. investments and control and power in Europe. Among the questions under discussion are the following: What is to be done with the \$8 billions which European capitalists (chiefly English) have invested in the U. S.? What types of consumer goods and what types of capital goods will be permitted Europe, so as to protect the interests of U. S. capital? What tariff concessions is Europe prepared to yield to U. S. Big Business? These are the realities underneath the Marshall "plan."

Big Business is not at all united behind Marshall's program, anymore than it was united behind the government's intervention in Europe in the recent war. Those U. S. companies having investments in Latin America or the Far East don't care a hang for Europe. In the last war they masqueraded as an "America First" committee. One of their leaders was General Wood, head of Sears Roebuck. Sears has no investments in Europe. It has investments in Latin America, and is planning to open up a great many more stores and plants there. So General Wood has recently come out against the Marshall program. "Europe is finished," he said. "The government should spend the money instead in Latin America." The more money that Washington pumps into Latin America, the more customers Sears will have. That is the way business thinks and acts.

# Admit Capitalist Bankruptcy As Army Recruiting Lags

The U. S. Army has finally admitted that the American Way of Life is pretty sad. In fact, the Army is broadcasting this idea, which is exactly the opposite of all they told GIs throughout the war.

Your see these confessions every day. They read like this: "The U. S. Army has a good job for you."

"Forty thousand good jobs a month in the U. S. Army."

"Why take a chance with your future? Enlist today."

Of course, the Army isn't trying to put you wise to the "free enterprise" system. It's trying—desperately—to get cannon fodder. But think what these recruiting slogans mean. And remember, when the Army says these things, it is the government itself, the Democratic President and Republican Congress saying them.

### DAMNING ADMISSION

If a man joins the army for a "good job"—and the army hopes many will—it is because capitalism doesn't give him a good job. If a man joins the army to avoid taking a chance with his future, it must be that civilian life in this "land of opportunity" is a pretty risky business.

Today's recruiting slogans are all the more revealing when one recalls the old "come-ons." Before the war, the appeal was to Travel and Adventure and Patriotism. That was good enough for then, but not much help now when the Truman doctrine needs more than a million bayonets to back up its grab at foreign markets. And most young men today know something about the army variety of travel and adventure and the Fourth of July variety of patriotism.

quote and expensive colleges already overcrowded and a job market already shrinking, are faced with the lowest paying and worst jobs of all—if they can land even one of these.

### NO, THANK YOU!

But what about that "good job" in the army? A good clue to how good a job the new, peace-time, "democratized," better-paid army and navy offers can be found in AWOL statistics. In the first five months of 1947, of men in service from the city of Cleveland alone, 449 soldiers, sailors and marines have gone "over the hill" from their "good jobs." Remember that these 449 AWOLs are only from men in service from one city, and only such men as are in the states. If the ratio all over the country is the same as Cleveland, 63,000 GIs left their good jobs in the first five months of this year—until they were caught and brought back.

Most of the AWOLs are in the 17

to 19 year age group. This indicates how that group likes the army.

The veterans have given a more eloquent answer. They are the ones the generals had counted on to really fill up divisions. The monthly recruiting quota of the army is now 30,000 or more a month. It is signing up only 12,000 a month—40 per cent. The vets just aren't taking any.

Is a good job really out of the question, then? The union movement doesn't think so. Millions of organized workers and worker veterans are banded together to fight for good jobs and real security. LABOR ACTION and the Workers Party goes one better. We advocate a guaranteed annual minimum wage of \$5,000 a year for every worker. The brass hats and politicians don't believe there is opportunity in America. We believe—in a socialist America—that there is.

G. M.

# Progressive Book Club Selects Books by Farrell, Sternberg

The two latest selections on the Progressive Book Club list are "The Coming Crisis" by Fritz Sternberg, and "Bernard Clare" by James T. Farrell. The Sternberg book, reviewed in LABOR ACTION Apr. 28, predicts an economic collapse of wide scope. Though LABOR ACTION'S reviewer found the author's program for meeting the crisis inadequate, it is a book worth reading.

In "Bernard Clare," James T. Farrell, whose Studs Lonigan and Danny O'Neil trilogies are among the most important works of contemporary fiction, begins a new series which revolve around Bernard Clare, a young writer who in this first volume leaves Chicago, the scene of Farrell's major work, for New York. "Bernard Clare" is among the finest products of Farrell's pen, and LA-

BOR ACTION strongly recommends its reading.

Both books can be obtained for \$2 each under the Progressive Book Club membership plan which offers unusually good buys for a minimum purchase of books a year, without special obligations or membership fees. For further information on the Progressive Book Club write to 4250 Broadway, New York City, N. Y.

### BOOKS RECEIVED:

HUMAN BREEDING AND SURVIVAL, by Irving Burch and Elmer Pendell, 144 pp., Penguin, 25 cents. A study of population roads to war or peace in which the authors hold that uncontrolled reproduction menaces humahity.

# REFUSE JIM CROW SERVICE IN LOS ANGELES STORE

LOS ANGELES, July 27—For the second successive Saturday, members of the Workers Party cooperated today with the Committee of Racial Equality in its efforts to pressure Bullock's downtown department store to serve Negroes in its tea room. An estimated seventy-five people occupied tables in the 300-seat restaurant, the whites among them refusing offered service so long as the Negroes were ignored.

The store management, after loosing a rumor that force would be used to oust the demonstrators, adopted the childish device of sending a sheepish photographer, who identified himself variously as a representative of "the United Press, the Globe Syndicate and the Robe Syndicate," to take pictures of the table-holders in a vain attempt to frighten them away with the implied threat of unfavorable publicity.

Considerable sympathetic interest was shown in the purpose of the action by the middle class, women shoppers who frequent the place. The strategic maneuver of filling up the buffet counter, line with demonstrators was the most effective measure used against this Jim Crow company and

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**WORKERS PARTY INFORMATION BLANK**

I am interested in joining the Workers Party of the United States. Will you please send me all information as to your Program and how I can become a member.

Name.....  
Address.....  
City..... State.....



# Labor Veterans Group in AVC Sets Forth Its Program in First Issue of Monthly Bulletin

We have received the first issue of "Labor Vets Bulletin," issued by the Labor Veterans Group in the American Veterans Committee. This group was organized at the recent convention of the AVC, and represents, in the opinion of LABOR ACTION, a highly interesting development which commands the support of progressives in the AVC. (LABOR ACTION in its issue of June 30 commented on the organization of the Labor Vets Group in its report on the AVC convention, and on July 7 published the text of a leaflet issued to the delegates at Milwaukee by this group.) Space limitations do not permit us to reprint the bulletin in its entirety, however, we publish below substantial excerpts. We have omitted the first large paragraph, and indicated other deletions of various size by multiple periods.

There are over 5,000,000 veterans of World War II who were members of labor unions immediately after V-J Day. This number must have swelled by several millions since that time. It is these who, as veterans and citizens, suffer most and need to be represented in the fight for housing, against rent increases, high prices, etc. The AVC is the only veterans organization on the scene which by its progressive program and purposes can serve them and champion their fight. An AVC oriented toward labor can win these followers by hundreds of thousands and assure its status as the only veterans organization fighting for the real interests of the veteran. By linking its struggles with labor along a broad social front, and fighting jointly with labor for the betterment of the lot of the working and poor farming populations, AVC will give real meaning to its slogan "Citizen First; Veteran Second." As members of AVC we advocated this orientation for AVC. As members of the Independent Progressive Caucus at Milwaukee, we advocated the adoption of this orientation by that caucus.

The convention is now over. We have succeeded in our efforts to defeat the totalitarian Stalinists (the Communist Party-Borden caucus) in

AVC. But, as we stated at the convention, it is not only necessary to defeat the Stalinists by defeating their slate for the NPC and their candidates for regional representatives on the NPC. It is imperative that this singular victory be secured by a militant pro-labor program which will rally hundreds of thousands of new members to AVC, which will make the chapters live, active units fighting for the program of AVC and intervening on chapter, area, regional and national levels in behalf of the interests of the veteran. This is the only road to mass growth. This is the only road to the defeat of the reactionary Stalinists without AVC itself becoming a red-baiting and reactionary organization of the "Right." We reiterate again and again that a victory by the red-baiters and reactionaries of the Right would be as suicidal for AVC as a victory of the Stalinist totalitarians....

We want to prevent any misunderstanding from spreading as a result of our name. We do not claim to be authorized spokesmen in any sense for all unionists in AVC. We are a group of active AVC members spread throughout the country who have pooled their efforts in pushing the kind of program and orientation that they want to see accepted by AVC. Our name represents the emphasis that we want to see in all AVC's activity....

### OUR PROGRAM

Our program may be divided into two parts—(1) The fundamental principles on which the group's existence is based, and (2) The stand taken by majority vote of the group on various individual planks. Only adherence to the fundamental principles is necessary for membership in the group....

1. We want an AVC based on the working veteran, with all its activities geared to his needs, with close cooperation with the labor movement. We want AVC recruiting drives to concentrate on working class neighborhoods, Negro and white. We want these drives based on those demands that correspond most to the workers' interests. It will

be our job here to try to explain in detail what we must try to do along these lines. We want AVC to give 100 per cent endorsement to the stand taken by the labor movement against anti-labor legislation. We want AVC to actively seek the cooperation of the unions in each city for the organization of joint campaigns against such legislation and of joint campaigns for housing and against discrimination. We believe that AVC can become a mass movement of progressive veterans only if it follows such a course.

2. We oppose the Communist Party and its stooges in the labor movement in the AVC. We recognize that Communist Party policy is geared to the interests of the Kremlin dictators and their needs in the field of foreign affairs. It is this that causes somersaults in the domestic program of the American CP. When Russia actively seeks cooperation with the U. S., the CP goes to any length to paralyze the militancy of the American workers. Witness the war period, when the CP went all out to spread the piecemeal system in unions that it influenced, and when it enforced the no-strike pledge far more thoroughly than any ordinary conservative unionist would have dared, demoralizing the active union men in many plants as a result. While fighting against the Stalinists and exposing them and their "clever" maneuvers at every turn, we declare our adamant opposition to all who seek to use the communist issue for red-baiting purposes and as a front for underlying con-

servative and reactionary politics of their own.

At the present time, the strained relations between the U. S. and Russia have necessitated a half-turn to the "Left" on the part of the CP. Thus, in organizations like AVC, they now advocate a seemingly more progressive platform on domestic affairs than many of the non-CP elements in AVC. But support to the CP and reliance on them for a consistently progressive program means basing oneself on quicksand. Only a clear recognition of the motive forces behind CP policy and a categorical rejection of any organizational support to the CP-controlled Borden caucus can lay the basis for progressive activity in AVC.

The above represent the basic points of departure of our group. At Milwaukee we adopted three main points on which to concentrate our programmatic activity. One, the organization of mass action against evictions was adopted by the AVC convention. It remains for us to plug away in the chapters so that this plank does not remain a dead letter. Our second point was the call for the formation of an independent labor party—a call made even more urgent by the passage of the Taft-Hartley bill. Our third point was advocacy of a federal bonus....

### WHAT ABOUT CAUCUSES?

At Milwaukee, we arrived at the conclusion that it was necessary to give organizational support to the Independent Progressive Caucus, although we retained our separate ex-

istence. We advocate continued organizational support to the Independent Progressive Caucus as against the Stalinists, though this should not be considered to apply locally as an iron rule. We are sure that in some localities the local IPC leaders will prove to be conservative and by their very conservatism be a block to the growth of AVC. In such cases it will be possible to push our program and to build AVC only by opposing the IPC. In the overwhelming majority of cases 100 per cent organizational cooperation with IPC will be possible. Membership in IPC therefore must be determined by local conditions. Such membership does not exclude you from the Labor Vets Group.

### STEERING COMMITTEE

At Milwaukee a temporary steering committee of three was elected. Let's introduce ourselves:

Herbert Levine (Buffalo Chapter)—Joined AVC in Manila. Member of the five-man committee that organized the GI demobilization demonstrations.

Saul Mendelson—Member, Executive Committee, Newark Chapter No. 1. Waiters Union, Local 1, AFL.

Ephraim Friend—Executive Committee, Brownsville Chapter, Brooklyn. Public Workers Union, CIO.

Until we are well enough organized to hold a conference, the provisional steering committee will carry on. Address all correspondence and material for the Bulletin to the secretary, Saul Mendelson, 172 William St., Newark, N. J....

# UAW Report Examines Monopoly Effects On Agricultural Implement Industry

CHICAGO—All workers in the agricultural implement industry of the United States are indebted to the UAW-CIO Research Department for the excellent 59-page "Report on the Agricultural Implement Industry" prepared for presentation to the first UAW-CIO agricultural implement conference held May 23-25 in Milwaukee. Preparation of the report was arranged for by Joseph Mattson, director of the union's Agricultural Implement Department, because, he says: "In order to operate effectively against the industrial giants which dominate this industry, we must have full knowledge of the facts which affect our position and theirs."

One of the many advantages of the CIO over the AFL is the extent to which the former has made full-length studies of the industries in which the unions function, and has made such studies available to the members.

The report analyzing the agricultural implement industry shows what happens to a segment of U. S. economy when monopoly takes over and how the fact of monopoly affects both workers and farmers. Extend the implement monopoly into fifty other industries and you begin to understand what has happened to the American economy and why a complete change in that economy, in the direction of workers' political and economic control, is necessary and overdue.

### HIGHLIGHTS OF THE REPORT

Only the highlights of the report can be mentioned in this view. Here are some of the more important findings:

In 1949, the industry employed 7,000 workers and turned out products valued at \$6,840,000. By January, 1947, the industry employed over 100,000 wage earners, who produced implements and tractors at the rate of more than one billion dollars yearly. As the industry grew, the number of plants and companies decreased sharply. The 1,333 plants of 1949 had become only 347 by 1939. Actually the concentration was much greater, because six companies in 1940 accounted for over 80 per cent of total agricultural implement sales.

The 1939 Census of Manufacturers shows that the average-sized plant in the tractor industry employed over 1,000 workers; the average-sized agricultural implement plant employed less than 90 workers. Production is heavily concentrated in the Midwest states of Illinois, Wisconsin, Indiana, Michigan and Minnesota.

As of January, 1947, the agricultural industry employed over 100,000 wage earners, of which 54,800 were employed in the manufacture of tractors, and 45,600 in making other agricultural implements. An additional 200,000 workers are employed in "feeder plants" making parts and components for the industry.

### REAL WAGES HAVE DECLINED

The earnings of the average worker in the industry, figured in dollars per week, have increased very substantially since 1940, the first year when unionism may be said to have established itself firmly throughout the bulk of the industry. But in real wages (what the worker can buy with his wages), the worker is actually worse off than he was in 1940. This is just one of the many effects of monopoly, which has an adverse

result not only for the workers but the farmers and the public.

Average earnings during 1940 were \$34.41 in tractors and \$28.66 in other implements. By January, 1947, the average tractor worker was earning \$51.96 a week, and the average implement worker, \$48.66. However, the 57.5 per cent increase in prices has cut the real wages of these men to \$28.22 and \$27.23 in 1940 money. Since January, the cost of living has continued to increase, slicing these wages still more.

Under the present economic and political set-up, the agricultural implement workers, like workers throughout the country, are thus fighting a LOSING BATTLE.

### OUTPUT PER WORKER TRIPLED

At the same time, productivity of the worker in the industry almost tripled between 1920 and 1940. Taking 1929 output per man-hour as 100, the figure for 1920 was computed at 57 and that for 1940 at 161. A recent Bureau of Labor Statistics study estimates that by 1950, output per man-hour in the industry will be 28 per cent higher than in 1939, due to improved machinery and methods.

Because wages account for only about 20 per cent of the wholesale price of tractors and implements, and because profits are so enormous, it has been estimated that a FIFTY PER CENT WAGE INCREASE could be put into effect by merely cutting the manufacturers' profits 11 per cent. If passed on completely to the farmers, a 50 per cent wage increase would mean a price increase of less than 5 per cent.

### INDUSTRY UNIONIZATION

Whereas the companies in the industry are tightly organized in the Farm Equipment Institute, the industry's trade association, which controls prices and labor policies, the workers, unfortunately, are far from united. As of 1943, about 70 per cent of the workers in the industry were covered by union agreements, with more than three-fourths of these employed in Illinois and Wisconsin. In that year, 55 per cent of the workers covered by union agreements were represented by the United Farm Equipment and Metal Workers; 20 per cent by the UAW; 15 per cent by AFL federal unions; and five per cent by the CIO United Electrical Radio & Machine Workers. (Since then the UAW has increased its representation to 25 per cent.) With the workers being separated and split up into many armies, it has naturally been easy for the companies to play one union off against another, to the disadvantage of all workers. The harmful consequences of multi-unionism will become even more clear when a depression arrives.

Though the UAW is as yet only the second strongest union operating in the industry, it occupies the key strategic position because it also embraces the auto workers, whose skills are almost identical with those of implement workers, and it controls the plants which manufacture many vital tractor parts.

By shutting off the flow of parts from such plants, the UAW would be able to furnish substantial aid to farm machinery workers engaged in a "strike. A sincere drive for unity among the several unions now represented in the industry is clearly indicated.

### DEVELOPMENT OF MONOPOLY

Since the turn of the century, monopoly has conquered almost every important segment of American industry, and the agricultural implement industry has not been exempt. As of 1940, the six biggest companies accounted for more than four-fifths of the total sales of farm machinery. International Harvester alone accounted for 37.3 per cent, Deere & Co. 18.8 per cent, Allis-Chalmers 11.1 per cent, J. I. Case 5.4 per cent, Oliver Farm Equipment, 4.3 per cent, and Minneapolis-Moline 3.5 per cent.

The monopolistic tendency made great strides during the war, as always happens in such periods. From 1940 to 1945, the four largest companies alone increased their gross capital assets by \$329,831,000, about four-fifths of which was paid for by the public. Since the end of the war, Allis-Chalmers has bought one government plant, and leased another, at bargain prices; International Harvester has bought five surplus plants from the government, paying \$28 million for property that cost the government \$42 million to construct.

A number of governmental investigations have established the fact that prices of farm machinery are among the most rigid in American industry. Because the industry is monopoly-controlled, its prices do not respond to the old demand-supply factors. Prices are fixed by two companies, International Harvester and Deere. All other companies fall in line because they know if they start a price war, the two giants can always undersell and ruin them. Price changes for farm machinery have no apparent relationship either to wage rates, labor costs or farm prices. For instance: Between 1929 and 1937, labor cost on the Farmall tractor declined by 2.23 per cent, yet prices increased by 4 per cent.

Monopoly control means super-profits for big business. During the period 1927-38, profits of the long-line farm implement companies were almost ten times as large as for the smaller short-line companies. From 1925-29, the long-line companies averaged over 15 per cent. Even in the depths of the depression, these companies showed enormous profits—10.54 per cent in 1935, 13.56 per cent in 1936, 15.10 per cent in 1937. During the years 1941 through 1945, wartime excess profits taxes reduced the average rate of return after taxes to a little less than 9 per cent. However, a large proportion of the taxes paid during those years were rebated to the companies during 1946 to cover reconversion costs and to pay for the companies' struggle against the unions. In 1946 alone, Case and Allis-Chalmers received \$27,300,000 in tax rebates from the government, which, in effect, financed the strike-breaking efforts of these firms.

The report contains an excellent section relating to the growth of each of the large companies, through absorption of smaller competitors.

### IMPACT ON FARMERS

Just as monopoly is proving progressively harmful to the workers in the industry, so is it harming the nation's farmers. Monopoly control of the farm implement field has given the companies power to charge all that the traffic will bear for their produce, and to overcharge the farmer shamelessly for the machinery which he needs. For instance,

prices of farm implements and machinery rose 58.8 per cent from 1913 to 1929 while prices of farm products rose only 44.5 per cent. Implement prices declined only slightly during the early years of the depression, while farm prices fell by 50 per cent and more.

The prices of the great majority of farm implements and machines were higher in 1937 and 1938 than they were in 1929, which was not true of the prices of principal farm products. While suffering from the monopolistic policies of the implement companies (and the fertilizer trust and the Wall Street-controlled railroads, too), the farmer is bombarded with propaganda designed to direct his resentment, not against big business, but against the workers, who like himself are victimized by the monopolies.

### WHAT TO DO?

What are the people to do with all these monopolies, which are slowly but surely strangling our lives? The report gives no clear answer, but does provide all the necessary data for a complete answer. One cannot turn back the clock of history to the days of the youth of capitalism, one cannot restore true competition to the implement industry. Concentration has gone too far. But what can be done is to take this fact of concentration, preserve its good points (its efficiency in production) and operate these companies, not solely for the selfish interests of a handful of grasping millionaires but for the interests of both workers and farmers. A labor party, at the head of a workers' government, is an important and necessary step toward turning the trick.

Such a government could so run the farm implement industry as to pay the workers decent wages, grant shorter hours and still produce an abundance of machinery to offer the farmers at much lower prices than the monopoly is now offering.

Monopoly control has made for efficiency when the factories are running, but it has been unable to control the inevitable depressions which accompany capitalism. With each depression the industry closes down, lays off workers and refuses to produce machinery. Not having to fear competition, the big companies are free to resist the just demands of their workers for decent wages and the just demands of the farmers for low-priced equipment.

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# Open WP Campaign To Place Rader On Philly Ballot

PHILADELPHIA—The Workers Party Branch of this city has opened a petition campaign to place its candidate, Jack Brad Rader, on the ballot for the municipal elections. Rader is the Workers Party candidate for councilman in the Fifth Councilmanic District. Joseph Davidson is the campaign manager. Both comrades have been members of the Workers Party since its founding.

The campaign got off to a good start with an enthusiastic campaign rally and dance. The candidate spoke on the program of the Workers Party with particular reference to Philadelphia problems. Many in the audience promised to come out on the petition campaign.

More than 2,000 leaflets have been printed stating the program of the Workers Party. The party is calling for drastic action along several lines. The mayor has just announced a voluntary committee on rents. This means that the tenants are going to be at the tender mercies of the Philadelphia landlords. The Workers Party is demanding a municipal rent control law and no evictions, this law to be enforced by tenants' committees.

In Philadelphia the housing program has collapsed completely. The city is becoming one vast overcrowded slum. More than 20 per cent of the homes are obsolete and a menace to the workers living in them. As an answer to this, the Workers

Party demands the immediate construction of 100 new housing projects. Slum clearance with the occupants of obsolete homes being given first chance at the new homes.

Philadelphia has a proportionately larger Negro population than any other large city. The party proposes to drive Jim Crow out of Philadelphia. It is calling for a municipal FEPC to be enforced by ward FEPC clubs. These clubs, like the tenants' anti-eviction leagues called for by the Workers Party, will be the best guarantee that discrimination will be driven out of the city.

Abolition of the wage tax—workers' salaries are taxed 1 per cent in Philadelphia—is another point in the Workers Party program. Other points include: Municipally controlled utilities, operating under trade union control; a free city college; a new and better water supply system; a defense against the attacks on labor's rights, such as against state and municipal Taft-Hartley bills.

Finally the program calls upon labor to form an independent Labor Party to work for a workers' government.

The Philadelphia branch of the Workers Party is going to bring the message of socialism to the Fifth District. It is going to go from door to door during the entire month and acquaint thousands of workers with its program. That seed once planted will grow. The election campaign will be a forum for the day-to-day dissemination of the party's ideas.

# Candidate - -

(Continued from page 1)  
ers in socialist and labor organizations

Many in the audience had been participating actively in the petitioning campaign in the Fifth District, particularly in the predominantly Negro 20th Ward. They were encouraged by the campaign manager's report that approximately one-third of the petitioning goal had been obtained in the first three days of the drive.

Continued success means that the people in this district will have in November the opportunity of voting for a candidate representing the white and Negro working people instead of the Republican and Democratic candidates of the realty interests, of the big banks and trusts, and of the industrial empires of U. S. Steel and the Pennsylvania Railroad.

# Greece - -

(Continued from page 1)  
days they will produce such photographs, but they will fool nobody.

The Truman Administration is not too happy about this Greek government it inherited from the British. It realizes that too many people in the United States know the composition of the Greek government and its actions. The fact that Russia can point to the pitiful situation in Greece as a horrible example of what Anglo-American policy does in a country, and thus keep her satellites in line, is also not to the liking of the Truman Administration.

But Truman and his policy makers fear a democratic regime in Greece. A democratic government might refuse to permit the United States to use the country for military bases. Such a government might refuse to work into the scheme of American imperialism. So the Truman Administration approves the present regime of cut-throats and murderers.

Although Russia uses the present situation in Greece to her advantage, she is no more interested in the liberty and basic freedoms of the Greek people than she is interested in the liberties of the peoples in the countries which she oppresses. The underground movement developed a government in Greece (PEEA) that governed many sections of Greece during the German occupation and would have taken power in all of Greece when the German army left. But Russia, through its Stalinist agents in Greece, forced it to dissolve because Russia had come to agreement on a division of the spoils with Roosevelt and Churchill, and Greece was to go into the British sphere of influence.

With the end of the war, the "partners" could not clearly define and divide some of the more important spheres of influence. (Chicago gangsters were at least more honest in their language. They didn't go in for this "spheres of influence" diplomatic talk. They merely said, "This is my side of the town, and that's yours. Now you know where the line is, so keep out of my rackets.") Hence the present situation.

The Greek workers and peasants are being shot down by a corrupt, reactionary regime which is backed by American imperialism. The working class of the United States can and should militantly fight the Truman Doctrine and the administration which brought it about.