

Hitler Is Gone; Fight For Freedom Begins!

By ALBERT GATES



The collapsed fascist régime of Germany has announced that its Fuehrer, the mass murderer, Adolf Hitler, is dead. He has been succeeded by Admiral Doenitz, commander of the U-boat fleet and of the German Navy. The report is that Hitler died in the Chancellery.

So many theories have been advanced about Nazi post-war plans, the establishment of a vast underground movement, the disguise of their leaders so that they may once again lead their movement of human scum, the secretion of millions of dollars in various

countries of the world, that doubt is cast about the truth of the Nazi announcement.

Whether the report of Hitler's death is true or not cannot be of too much importance. Dead or alive, Hitler's power is ended for all time. If his own party of murderers does not take his life, if the Allied powers plan any protracted trial of this butcher, he cannot escape the vengeance of the people, in the first place, the German workers. They will take his life.

The Nazi Party is finished, too. The overwhelming defeat it has suffered in the war cannot be overcome. It stands before the world and the German people as a party of defeat, as a harbinger of war, death, destruction and mass misery.

The interesting aspect of the whole war is that fascism in Germany and Italy, agents of their respective capitalist classes, the

political system of the monopolists which existed for the sole purpose of destroying the labor movement and guaranteeing the profits of the same monopolists, is destroyed by rival capitalist powers. The urge for profit which drove the German, Italian and Japanese ruling classes to war against the ruling classes of the Allied powers, led to the destruction of the political system to which all capitalist classes aspire when faced with rebellious working people.

Before the war broke out, before the imperialist rivalries had reached a bursting point, the capitalist classes of the United States, Great Britain, France and the other nations looked with great admiration on the régimes of Germany, Italy and Japan. That's the way to do things, they said. No trouble with labor. Why? You just destroy the labor movement. You establish a régime of the concentration camp, the police jail, the pistol, the whip and the hang-

man's knout. That is why the capitalists the world over admired Hitler and Mussolini.

Their admiration ceased when the rulers of those countries sought to advance their economic interests against the Allies. Then it became a war to the death as to who shall survive and keep the riches of the world. In this war, one set of imperialist powers set out to destroy another. And in this war, the fascist systems of Germany and Italy were crushed.

The job of destroying fascism, however, is not ended. Fascism remains a threat to the people, the working class above all, as long as capitalism exists. The way to get rid of this threat, the way to get rid of war, the way to get peace, freedom and plenty for all, is to abolish the capitalist system and the power of the capitalist rulers. The way to get real peace, freedom and security is to establish the free society of socialism.

Il Duce Is Dead! Bravo! Italian Partisans

By SAM ADAMS

Benito Mussolini, the man who headed the fascist state in Italy for more than twenty years, is dead.

Mussolini, the agent of the Italian financiers and industrialists, received justice that was long overdue.

Mussolini, the man who murdered and tortured the Italian workers and peasants in order to guarantee the profits of Italian big business, died at the hands of the people.

Mussolini, the man admired by capitalist business men and capitalist statesmen the world over, was caught in flight, tried and sentenced.

Mussolini, the man who dragged the Italian people into two wars which they did not want, who ruled with the assassin's pistol and knife, whose weak régime was constantly bolstered through the financial assistance given him by American and British bankers as long as he promised to destroy the Italian labor movement and keep its working people in bondage, was shot and hanged by the workers!

HE WAS NOT ALONE

Thus ended the life of the "Sawdust Caesar," the blowhard of fascism, the man who taught Hitler, who is also reported to be dead.

The man who ordered the assassination of the socialist, Matteotti, did not go alone. The Partisans shot his mistress, Claritta Petacci. They arrested, tried and shot Achille Starace, former secretary of the Fascist Party; Roberto Farinacci, another former party secretary; Carlo Scorza, party secretary; Nicola Bombacci, renegade communist, who made his peace with Mussolini, and a score of other fascist dignitaries.

They took these enemies of labor, these petty thieves who acted as the agents of the corrupt House of Savoy and the Italian capitalists who brought them into power, and hung them head downward for all of Milan to see.

When the workers of proletarian Milan heard the news they rushed to the city square to see the bodies. They wanted to be sure that the man who ruled over them for so many years was really dead. They stomped on his dead body.

TOO BAD, MR. CHURCHILL, TOO BAD—

On January 21, 1927, after completing a tour of poor, wretched and exploited Italy, Winston Churchill, His Britannic Majesty's Prime Minister, said:

"I could not help being charmed, as so many other people have been, by Signor Mussolini's gentle and simple bearing and by his calm, detached poise, despite so many burdens and dangers.... If I had been an Italian, I am sure that I would have been wholeheartedly with you fascists from start to finish."

All we can say is, too bad, Mr. Churchill, you could not "have been wholeheartedly with you fascists from start to finish."

They spat on him and his dead cronies. All their pent-up hatred was released, for they remembered their terrible slavery, their years of starvation and misery under Mussolini's police régime.

And so the "inventor" of fascism went to his doom, in a climax befitting a scoundrel. And no one mourned his passing, that is, no one among the broad masses of the people.

UPPER CLASSES TREMBLE A LITTLE

No, it is only among the "upper classes" that they whisper about the swift justice of the people. It is only among the monopolistic ruling classes that a little fear is expressed about the unruliness of the masses.

It is only in the banking houses, especially those which helped to finance Mussolini's régime, that the action of the Partisans was regarded with little favor.

It was in the high circles of diplomacy where gentlemen whispered softly that justice in this case was a little too swift! And why not? Their class brothers were done away with.

It was only the Vatican, for so many years living in peace with Mussolini and fascism, which deployed the "hasty procedure."

The action of the Italian workers is embarrassing to the statesmen of the United Nations, who have been resisting the wishes of the people in purging the fascists and fascist collaborators in the "liberated" countries.

THE PEOPLE VERSUS THE STATESMEN

The Milan event only brings more sharply to mind the British policy in Greece and Belgium, where they prevented a purge of the big business men and politicians who were Nazi agents and collaborators.

The Milan event only focuses more sharply the British-American policy in the rest of Italy of preventing a purge of other fascists like the King and his marshal, Badoglio. It calls to mind the long-drawn-out trial of Roatta, who mysteriously escaped from a prison hospital to vanish completely.

What are the rulers of the Allied nations to do now? Condemn the trial and shooting of Mussolini and his henchmen? Then the whole game about a war against fascism and for democracy will be unmasked a little more.

What is de Gaulle to do in France, where he has resisted the demands of the French people in the underground movement for swift justice of the French industrialists, bankers and politicians who assisted the German fascists in their occupation of the country and in the slaughter of thousands of anti-fascist Frenchmen? What shall he do with Pétain, that reactionary servant of the French 400 families, who headed the Vichy régime? Can he do less than the Italian Partisans?

The Italian Partisans showed the way to mete out justice to fascists. It did not matter whether these fascists were of high station or low. They gave them the justice of the people, a true justice.

Bravo! fellow workers of the Italian Partisans!

NEXT WEEK'S FEATURES:

COMPLETE STORIES ON THE RISE AND FALL OF THE FASCIST

REGIMES IN GERMANY AND ITALY—A STUDY

IN CAPITALIST REACTION

LABOR ACTION

MAY 7, 1945

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

ONE CENT

CUTBACKS HAVE BEGUN; UNEMPLOYMENT RISES

By WALTER WEISS

The V-E (Victory-in-Europe) Day rumors of last Saturday were false alarms. The real V-E Day had already come and gone. Business papers generally gave the date as Wednesday, April 25—the day on which the War Department decided to cut back existing armament orders by "substantial amounts." Many aircraft and shipyard workers would place the date even earlier than that.

The Army, Navy, Maritime Commission and War Production Board have followed their usual policy of deceiving the workers about "cutbacks." First, there was the story that V-E Day might not come for months. The cuts, said WPB Chairman Krug, about a month ago, would be relatively small—12 per cent in the first three months after V-E Day, 20 per cent at the end of six months, months, 35 per cent in a year. Army officers cried out that Krug's figures were too high.

NOW the news leaks out that a 15 per cent cutback in the first three months has already been decided on, and "high WPB quarters" indicate that more is to come, so that the total will probably reach 25 per cent in three months (*Journal of Commerce*, April 30, and *Iron Age*, April 26).

Early in April Krug was confiding to the automobile magnates that cutbacks by a year after V-E Day might be 45 to 50 per cent instead of his publicly announced 35 per cent. Questioned about this by business reporters, Krug denied the 50 per cent statement but admitted having told the auto executives that the figure would be higher than 35 per cent. Asked how much higher, he told them 15 per cent higher. (*Iron Age*, April 19.)

Is it any wonder that, as *Business Week* of April 29 states, "industry (not labor—Ed.) had prepared itself for the cutbacks even before... the War Department announcement"? How well will the people of the nation get along after these cutbacks? That depends on what class of the nation you happen to belong to. Let's examine the situation.

I. The Working Class

For labor in the reconversion period, there is no "economic cushion" provided by law except state unemployment insurance laws. Weekly benefits in various states have been ranging, on the average, from nine to nineteen dollars. In some states, the minimums are much lower than this.

Past experience indicates that at any one time no more than one-third of the unemployed will be covered and also "qualified" to get this insurance. (Continued on page 2)

How the 'Father of Fascism' Died



Employment in Detroit Area Decreased by 107,000 Workers

By MARTIN HARVEY

DETROIT — Accompanying an announcement by the Army that the huge Willow Run Bomber plant is to be shut down by mid-summer upon completion of current contracts, a report was issued by the Michigan War Manpower Commission that in the year ending March 31 employment in war plants in the Detroit area decreased 107,000.

This report has a double significance—for the past and for the future. It points out the deliberate falsehood of the attacks on militant unionists by government officials, corporation executives and the UAW-

CIO top leadership. In their campaign to weaken the unions and keep the no-strike pledge they shouted constantly about production needs at the same time that workers were being laid off in every auto plant.

But the lesson for the future is even more serious. The crucial problem of reconversion and post-war unemployment can be put off no longer. It is here now. The State WMC director, Edward L. Cushman, tried to pretty up the picture of 107,000 fewer jobs by insisting that only 35,000 were unemployed. 35,000 unemployed, of course, is a fact which only a WMC director can brush aside

with a casual remark. To those who are out of work in a time of fantastically high prices, the problem demands an immediate solution.

LABOR OFFICIALS "FIGHT"

But what of the rest whose jobs have disappeared? Have they retired on their "fabulous earnings"? Have they vanished into thin air? Not at all. They are all here, big as life, and working—BUT, they are working on worked-out farms which they left a couple of years ago to make a more decent living at union wages or they are working in the low-paid non-war industries such as restaurants, laundries and the like. Those few who

are not working at all have given up the search for a decent job and are forced to make a go of it on the wages of another member of the family.

In other words, 35,000 Detroit workers have lost their income altogether and 72,000 workers have had their living standards reduced.

For Detroit, this is only the beginning. In the next few months these figures will be doubled, tripled and quadrupled.

With this immediate threat against the welfare of the auto and aircraft workers the leadership of the UAW-CIO was galvanized into action. To (Continued on page 3)

Frisco Parley Opens Big Three Power Fight

SAN FRANCISCO—It is difficult to write much about the San Francisco Conference at this time. The meeting is still in its organizing stage. The Big Three are still fighting out the issues which separate them, but it is clear to everyone here that what dominates the conference is pure and simple power politics, the struggle of the strongest powers to dominate the world and which of them separately will make the best bargain.

It was apparent even before the conference began that the United States and Great Britain were determined not to yield on the subject of Poland. They insisted that the Yalta decision be carried out first, namely, that Stalin's hand-picked Lublin government be broadened so as to make the bargain they struck in Yalta of selling out the country look more palatable.

The Big Three had hoped to settle the issue without having the matter brought out into the assembly. They thought that agreement to grant Russia three votes and to seat the Ukrainian and White Russian delegates would be sufficient to placate the Russians on the Polish issue.

But Stalin's policy is obviously a little more subtle. He has not objected to Britain's six votes, but merely mentioned it to show that the Empire already has a formidable bloc at the conference. He cites American votes in the form of the Pan American bloc, which is dominated by the State Department. Stalin wants his bloc strengthened and to be in a better position to advance Russia's imperialist interests as against those of the United States and Great Britain. So Churchill, Stalin, and Truman are still trying to settle the



agreement reached at Yalta.

Under Anglo-American insistence, however, the Russians were defeated on the Polish issue. Molotov contin-

ued the fight over the seating of Argentina and here, too, he was defeated.

SHADOW BOXING

Hypocrisy drips all over the conference. Molotov made grand gestures about democracy and condemned the fascist régime of Argentina, even quoting statements from Hull and Roosevelt which severely attacked that régime. Some people wanted to remind Molotov of the Hitler-Stalin bloc and his own statement that fascism was "a matter of personal taste."

The Anglo-American bloc, in turn, reminded the Russian delegation that it did not interfere with the governments elected or selected in other countries, forgetting all about Greece, Italy and Belgium. And Molotov talked about independence for India,

making it very uncomfortable for Mr. Eden, head of the British delegation.

As a matter of fact the conference, which still has to decide the matter of the world organization based on the Dumbarton Oaks Plan, is in a bad way. Few have any faith in the proceedings. The small nations know they have no power whatever to decide anything. They are fully aware that this is a Big Three show. They know that their task is to ally themselves with one or another of the Big Three powers in preparation for another conflict which must surely come.

The Dumbarton Plan which comes before the conference is already based upon giving the Big Three complete power over all other members.

(Continued on page 2)

Labor Notes From Buffalo

By JOHN BARNES

BUFFALO—The Labor-Management Committees at Bell Aircraft and Curtiss-Wright have finally and officially disbanded. The story carried in the morning paper mourned this development as a blow to continued "unity" and explained that the crack-up was due to the bringing up of grievances in the meetings (which heretofore were calm, cozy and completely ineffective).

The Committee at Bell has not met in almost a year and its passing there comes as no surprise. At Curtiss, however, where the Company-tinted IAM and Stalinist UOPWA hold control, the move is of some significance. It is evident that the Union hacks are being forced, no doubt reluctantly, into a pretense of genuine Union action, for two reasons. First, because of the monthly layoffs which are running in the thousands and secondly because of the high-handed tactics and attitude of the Company, which is resulting in the accumulation of grievances.

Unfortunately since there is no active, organized opposition to either the shop or office leadership in the plant, the sell-out Union policies at Curtiss are bound to continue Labor-Management Committees or no.

Transport Workers

The AFL Transport Workers, which recently defeated the Stalinist TWU (CIO) in an NLRB election at the IRC barns, has started punching. Unlike the TWU, which on bended knee gave a No-Strike Pledge during the campaign, it has already used the strike weapon as a club with which to rid the IRC workers of a notoriously anti-Union Industrial Relations Manager.

The Union threatened a complete shutdown of transport service unless

this Company official was deposed and added that Union representatives would never sit down to bargain, as they are scheduled to do, with him present. The Company, fearful of a shutdown at this time when an investigation is being launched concerning the city's transport service, reacted promptly and announced the manager's "resignation."

The AFL has in this action won to its side many of the IRC workers who formerly held CIO sympathies and promises to win much needed benefits for the IRC workers if it continues on this militant vein.

Novel Strike

The brewery workers (Independent Union affiliated with the CIO Trade Union Council) seem on their way to winning their novel strike.

Two weeks ago these workers took a five-day "holiday" en masse and met daily to discuss their demands for higher wages, extended vacations and a straight five-day week. They announced no strike, gave absolutely no information to the companies or to the daily press (reporters were excluded from the daily meetings) and went about their business. The companies of course wailed and moaned about all this and kept asking for the opportunity of meeting with the strike leaders. They kept calling for the U. S. Conciliation Service and every other Government agency that might force a meeting. They even inserted huge ads in the daily press to the effect that the strike was sabotaging the war effort since beer was being shipped to the armed forces! The workers continued their meeting, however, until they were ready to present their demands.

At this writing the Union and companies (formed into a Brewer's Association) are in the process of bargaining.

gaining. It is safe to assume that the Union will win a goodly number of its points since the companies have had their fill of "mass holidays" and realize they are dealing with a united Union that knows the tactic that hurts the company pocketbook.

An "Investigation"

The investigating committee assigned to affirm or refute the charges that Curtiss-Wright forced defective planes on the Army has arrived on the scene and has begun calling for pro and con testimony from those who wish to give it.

It is extremely doubtful that the committee will eventually come up with anything but a complete whitewash of the company. Aside from the testimony of one ex-Curtiss inspector whose revelations forced the investigation (and he was fired for poking his nose into delicate matters) few workers are going to put their head in a double noose by admitting that "irregularities" were tolerated or encouraged by high Curtiss officials. They are fearful of their jobs and of becoming implicated in a breach of law that could conceivably lead to jail sentences and the like.

When, after sifting tons of testimony and evidence, the committee gives its report it will probably be discovered that Curtiss-Wright is as pure as the driven snow and that all and any testimony to the contrary is the work of agitators and malcontents. It is simply not in the cards for a cost-plus mint like the Curtiss-Wright Corporation to be convicted of such serious charges.

Workers who smuggle a handful of rivets out of the plant wind up behind bars. Corporations that steal, cheat, and corrupt in a grandiose manner wind up as saviors of the nation with fantastic post-war funds.

plans to sell or lease its war plants (ten billion dollars' worth) at bargain prices. It will also guarantee business loans. It will also make such loans itself through the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. It will, through the OPA, allow price increases to take care of "increased" costs of production. It will, through the War Manpower Commission, try to force workers who lose their jobs into low-paying fields like textiles.

For the workers, as Business Week says, no "cushion" except below-subistence unemployment insurance.

For the capitalists, enough cushions to make a harem look underfurnished.

Whose government is it? Labor cannot attain a decent living and security without a government of its own.

The first step toward this goal is to form a Labor Party of our own, free from all capitalist entanglements.

1) They have adequate reserves for anything that may happen. Government statistics already published in LABOR ACTION prove that "adequate" is a very mild word to describe the financial fat which the corporations have accumulated.

2) When contracts are terminated, there are regulations under which wartime inventories will "promptly shift...to the government rather than...remain with the individual company." (This is what the Conference Board says.)

You might think that this would be enough. No, you have forgotten the poor small business man. For his benefit a new tax bill is being prepared by Congress. Naturally all businesses, big and small, will profit by it.

1) Corporation tax rates will NOT be reduced yet. That might lead workers to demand lower rates—to fit their lower earnings. However, it so "happens" that about ten per cent of corporate excess profits taxes have not been taxes at all but enforced savings. The corporations have been given government bonds, supposedly not payable until a period ranging from two to five years after the war, for these very considerable "savings."

Under the new tax bill, they will no longer have to "save" ten per cent, and they will also be able to get those nice big refunds almost immediately.

2) According to the present law, companies which do not earn "normal" (1936-39) profits in any year may in their tax return claim a refund of excess profits taxes which they paid in the two preceding years. (How would you like a string of that kind tied to YOUR taxes?)

The new plan is even more generous. Companies will be allowed to ESTIMATE their refunds before the end of a tax year, so that their immediate cash position during reconversion will be "improved," as the big boys express it.

3) And so on. Yes, there really is more, but we lack space to tell you about it.

Nor is this all. The government

Unemployment Rises--

(Continued from page 1)

ance. The above summary is not ours, but that of the conservative business magazine, Business Week.

You will remember that last summer the moderate Kilgore-Murray bill for liberalizing unemployment insurance was ruthlessly killed by Congress and that Roosevelt and his Administration made no effort at all to save it. Even the miserable George bill, backed by the Administration, was stripped of its few trifling concessions to labor.

What other "cushion" do unemployed workers have? A few union contracts provide severance pay—for a week or two—and only for workers of long standing. The War Labor Board looks with disfavor on any but the meagrest severance pay. A guaranteed annual wage? The War Labor Board passed that hot potato to Roosevelt, and he passed it to a committee for "study" (that is, for years of cooling off). The study, reports Iron Age (April 19), magazine of the steel industry, is moving slowly. After several weeks the committee had not found a research director and hadn't even started its studies.

Public works? That master planner, War Mobilizer Byrnes, warned in his last report before retiring that temporary and local unemployment (his description) must not lead to a "panic" which would express itself in large public works programs. That, said he, would interfere with reconversion by business.

So, if you are unemployed, you may supplement your unemployment insurance (if any) by:

1) Cashing your bonds or drawing your savings (if any);

2) Borrowing, if you can.

Since you have probably had previous experience along these lines, we won't go into the matter any further.

II. The Capitalist Class

They are no longer suffering from reconversion "jitters," the National Industrial Conference Board, research organization of big business, informs us (New York Times, April 17). Why not?

Reva Craine, organizer for the Workers Party of New York, acted as chairman of the dinner, which was highlighted by the presence and speech of James T. Farrell, noted revolutionary novelist, friend of the party and of the paper. Farrell spoke about the state of the intellectuals during the war and the struggle for freedom, emphasizing that socialism alone can guarantee true freedom of thought and expression and that the struggle for freedom means a struggle for socialism and a defense of Marxism against its faulty critics.

Branch organizers of the Workers Party brought greetings to the celebration. Worker friends of LABOR

ACTION also spoke in praise of the work of the paper among their men on the job. They were followed by Ernest Lund, author of the socialist pamphlet, Plenty For All, and David Coolidge, national labor secretary of the Workers Party, who brought greetings from friends met during his recent coast-to-coast tour.

Albert Gates, editor of LABOR ACTION, spoke about the origin of the paper, the policies it pursued, its aims and the co-operative work that went into producing LABOR ACTION. He was followed by Max Shachtman, national secretary of the Workers Party, who spoke at length on the organization and its role in the struggle of the workers during the war. His speech was acclaimed by all present.

A collection in behalf of LABOR ACTION netted the sum of \$495, for which the editors now take the opportunity to thank all comrades and friends who were present and contributed.

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Why Should Foremen Be Unionized?

By JOHN BERNE

The reading public has been regaled with huge advertisements by General Motors, in which it is predicted that if foremen are permitted to organize, blackest doom will descend upon the foremen, labor, industry and America as a whole. This prediction of fire and brimstone, spread at great cost on the pages of the capitalist press, is the direct result of the recent decision of the War Labor Relations Board favoring the Packard Motor Company foremen.

The two-to-one decision of the board rules that supervisory employees are entitled to organize and to exercise full bargaining rights under the Wagner Act. Specifically, board chairman Harry A. Mills and board member John M. Houston—with Gerald Reilly opposing—extended to 1100 supervisory employees of Packard the right to hold an election and determine whether they want the Foremen's Association of America to represent them as collective bargaining agent.

The history of the Foremen's demand for the right to organize and to be recognized, has run a zigzag course. First in the Union Collieries case, the NLRB held that the Foremen's Union did have the same fundamental rights under the Wagner Act as other labor organizations. Thereupon the capitalists and their direct spokesmen in Congress raised such a howl about this ruling that in the Maryland Drydock case the board hastened to reverse itself. It held that while foremen might organize if they wished, they were not entitled to collective bargaining rights.

At this point the industrialists saw their opportunity to try to crush the embryonic movement of foremen towards unionization. Tactics to smash the union were openly employed. Individual foremen were discharged for union affiliation. When such cases were brought before the NLRB, even Gerald Reilly had to admit that discharging employees for union activ-

ity was in violation of the tenets of the Wagner Act. This apparent contradiction in the position of the NLRB put them on a hot spot.

At the same time the union-conscious foremen were not intimidated. There was considerable activity among them, and a series of more or less serious strikes. Between July 1943 and November 1944 strikes of supervisory employees involved some 131,000 of them. Nor were the strikes confined to the auto industry, as is commonly supposed. Foremen struck in shipyards, in steel mills, in aluminum, brass, auto and airplane plants; in public utilities; in coal mines, and elsewhere. Finally came the strike in the Packard plant and the latest reversal of the NLRB, this time in favor of the foremen.

In the coal mining industry, bringing foremen into the United Mine Workers has long been a moot question. Apparently Lewis used it as a bargaining point with the mine owners. In the soft coal industry the contract recently expired contained

the clause: "The term mine worker as used in this agreement shall not include mine foremen, fire bosses, or bosses in charge of any classes of labor inside or outside of the mine, or coal inspectors or weigh bosses, watchmen, clerks, or members of the executive, supervisory, sales or technical forces of the operators." However, the same clause appears in the new contract just signed by Lewis and the operators.

There is no doubt that the decision of the NLRB in the Packard case will give encouragement to all foremen, including mine foremen, in this very progressive step they have taken. It is doubtful that at this stage of the game they will fall for the usual blandishments of the capitalists, playing up the point about foremen being on a higher level than other workers and so on. This is the traditional trick to keep supervisory employees from using their united strength in dealing with industry.

Very important is the position of the CIO. It has always held that

groups of foremen without power of hire and fire, are acceptable into the ranks of CIO unions. At the hearing on the Packard case before the NLRB, CIO spokesmen quite naturally argued the case of the foremen. They went a step further and presented the point of view that the board should make no ruling to prevent the Foremen's Association of America, which is now an unaffiliated body, from affiliating with the CIO.

It need hardly be said that the companies, next to wanting to smash the foremen's union, would prefer to compel autonomy and isolation from the rest of the labor movement. The advertising campaign started by the General Motors Corporation, for the automobile industry, is merely the opening gun in their fight against unionizing foremen. Industry by no means takes the decision of the NLRB as a fait accompli. The extensive advertising is to get "public opinion" on its side. General Motors tries to frighten the public with the forecast that the unionization of foremen will interfere with war production, will raise the cost of war materials, will slow up post-war reconversion, will delay civilian output, will increase production costs and consumer prices.

One final point must be scored against the employers. It is this. They consider the supervisory employees the managing staff of industry. General Motors' advertising propaganda bears the heading: "Should Management Be Unionized? What does that prove? Why, the contention that socialists have been making for years and years, namely, that all the productive and useful labor in industry is performed by employees—workers by hand or by brain; the questionable usefulness of the capitalists being to manœuvre for and collect profits.

In conclusion, LABOR ACTION and the Workers Party wish to extend its support to the union-conscious foremen. These foremen have seen how collective action has raised the bargaining strength of the mass of workers. They have made up their minds to go and do likewise.

Listen to a Union-Wrecker!

Upon being informed that the management of the B. F. Goodrich Co. had capitulated to the main demands of the 16,000 workers who had been unanimously on strike for three days last week, International President S. H. Dalrymple of the United Rubber Workers blew up! According to the story making the rounds of the Akron labor movement, this was Union-Wrecker Dalrymple's reaction to the workers' victory:

"Why, that goddam dirty double-crossing Tim Graham (company vice-president—Ed.) PROMISED ME he wouldn't negotiate while the strike was on!"

Such is the fury of a tin-horn dictator when neither he nor the company nor the WLB can cheat a solid mass strike of its victory. Remember it well.

Goodrich Local No. 5 won a significant moral victory, as well as a material one in forcing the company to tear up many hundreds of outstanding reprimands against good unionists. Only a handful are left to be negotiated. The whole action showed, particularly because no pickets were needed, that Goodrich rubber workers can fully handle themselves in a defensive action against a particularly raw company policy.

The big immediate question that remains is: When are the rubber workers going to resume the offensive nationally to rescind the URW's no-strike pledge, from which Dalrymple "derives" his loathsome strike-breaking habit?

Union Forces Company to Arbitrate

DETROIT—A new blow has been struck at the War Labor Board. Defying all demands that they return to work, the workers of Kelsey Hayes Wheel Co. in Detroit walked out on April 9 and stubbornly refused to return until six of their union leaders fired by the company had been ordered reinstated by the Regional War Labor Board. Ten days after the beginning of the strike the Regional Board, breaking all its precedents against passing on grievances while a strike is in progress, ordered the company to reinstate the men. The company appealed to the National War Labor Board but its appeal was denied. This great victory resulted from the exemplary demonstration of

unity by the Kelsey workers who did not permit themselves to be intimidated from any source.

In its appeal, the company complained, "Instead of following the established grievance procedure, the employees struck and stopped the production of critical and vital war material. All the company asks is that the established grievance procedure be followed without interruption of work."

Kelsey Hayes, like the other big corporations, like nothing better than to retain their own arbitrary right to fire as they will and then to insist that the WORKERS go through miles and miles of red tape, shunted from bureau to bureau and board to board before their cases, if ever, are settled.

But how the company howls when it is compelled "to follow a proce-

sure." The WLB has ordered the company to notify the union, hold a hearing before a full union committee with management, and to notify the Regional War Labor Board before any discharges take place. This order, the company contends, is arbitrary and unreasonable and an attack on their God-given right to fire as they will.

The company has refused to reinstate the six men. But they are back at work nevertheless. The day the strike came to an end, the workers massed outside the factory gate and compelled the plant guards to permit the six discharged union officials to return to work. Thus far the company refuses to assign them work inside the plant and has announced that it will not pay them for their time.

During the strikes at Dodge and Briggs last month, Richard T. Frankenstein, UAW vice-president, said: "The present situation in Detroit was deliberately provoked by management and implemented by indiscriminate firings of workers. MANAGEMENT SHOULD BE REQUIRED TO REFER ALL DISCIPLINARY DISCHARGES TO GRIEVANCE PROCEDURE BEFORE ANY SUCH DISCHARGES ARE MADE EFFECTIVE."

Certainly this would be a step forward. Let us back up the fight of the Kelsey workers and demand for ourselves:

"No arbitrary firing. MAKE THE COMPANIES FOLLOW THE GRIEVANCE PROCEDURE."

San Francisco Conference--

(Continued from page 1)

No wonder Edgar Ansel Mowrer writes:

"The fact is, once you discard the 'sovereign equality' principle, which means one state, one vote, with no 'categories,' privileges or stooge members, there remains for an international political organization no criterion for classification save naked

political power. . . . This is a system of 'sovereign confusion.'"

Having correctly characterized what will come out of San Francisco, the same Mowrer adds: "It happens at the same time to be the hope of mankind."

But actually, as the conference proceeds it happens to be no such hope. Nobody in "San Francisco believes

that any organization which arises from its deliberations will bring any peace, freedom or security to the world.

They know that the seeds of the Third World War have already been planted. These old hacks at imperialist politics and diplomacy know that the division of the world into spheres of influence has been generally de-

vised by the Big Three. They also know that the struggle over trusteeships for colonies is merely an expression of the American aim to break up the old colonial system in order to erect a new one which will pave the way for American penetration of the vast markets offered by the colonial world.

Another week and we shall see how clearly all of this will unfold.

New York May Day Meeting

NEW YORK—Over two hundred people attended the May Day-Fifth Anniversary celebration of the Workers Party and LABOR ACTION, held at Caravan Hall on April 29th. Members of the Workers Party, sympathizers and readers of LABOR ACTION from the shops in New York were present to greet the party and the paper on this grand occasion.

Reva Craine, organizer for the Workers Party of New York, acted as chairman of the dinner, which was highlighted by the presence and speech of James T. Farrell, noted revolutionary novelist, friend of the party and of the paper. Farrell spoke about the state of the intellectuals during the war and the struggle for freedom, emphasizing that socialism alone can guarantee true freedom of thought and expression and that the struggle for freedom means a struggle for socialism and a defense of Marxism against its faulty critics.

Branch organizers of the Workers Party brought greetings to the celebration. Worker friends of LABOR

ACTION also spoke in praise of the work of the paper among their men on the job. They were followed by Ernest Lund, author of the socialist pamphlet, Plenty For All, and David Coolidge, national labor secretary of the Workers Party, who brought greetings from friends met during his recent coast-to-coast tour.

Albert Gates, editor of LABOR ACTION, spoke about the origin of the paper, the policies it pursued, its aims and the co-operative work that went into producing LABOR ACTION. He was followed by Max Shachtman, national secretary of the Workers Party, who spoke at length on the organization and its role in the struggle of the workers during the war. His speech was acclaimed by all present.

A collection in behalf of LABOR ACTION netted the sum of \$495, for which the editors now take the opportunity to thank all comrades and friends who were present and contributed.

LABOR ACTION BOOK SERVICE
114 West 14th Street
New York 11, N. Y.

SPECIAL OFFERS:

- THE AMERICAN EMPIRE
Scott Nearing 50c
- THE LABOR SPY RACKET
Leo Huberman 25c
- MEN WHO LEAD LABOR
Minton & Stuart 25c

Value \$1.00
Our Price for Three, 75c

- PLENTY FOR ALL
Ernest Lund 10c
- INCENTIVE PAY
Albert Gates 5c
- FOR A COST-PLUS WAGE
Max Shachtman 5c
- CHINA IN WORLD WAR II
Max Shachtman 10c
- INDIA IN REVOLT
Henry Judd 25c

Value 55c
Our Price for Five, 40c

AVAILABLE:

A few copies of
FONTAMARA
by Ignazio Silone
\$1.00
(Send for free complete list of books and pamphlets.)

SUBSCRIBE NOW TO LABOR ACTION
114 WEST 14th STREET
New York 11, N. Y.

One Year Subscription Rate: Sixty Cents
New York City and Bronx, Seventy-Five Cents

Name _____
Address _____
City _____

MAY DAY GREETINGS TO LABOR ACTION
FROM
WORKERS PARTY OF PHILADELPHIA

GREETINGS TO LABOR ACTION
FROM
A GROUP OF ELECTRICAL WORKERS

DETROIT MAY FORUMS:

MAX SHACHTMAN
Nat'l Secretary, Workers Party

WILL SPEAK

On May 13: Truman and Labor

On May 20: What To Do About Germany

On May 27: The Negro in the Post-War Period

All Meetings Will Be Held on Sunday Evenings at

LABOR ACTION HALL
2650 ARNDT (Above Post Office)

A PAPER IN THE INTEREST OF LABOR

Published Weekly by the Labor Action Publishing Ass'n 114 West 14th Street, New York 11, N. Y. CH. 2-9681 (Third Floor)

Vol. 9, No. 19

May 7, 1945

ALBERT GATES, Editor MARY BELL, Ass't Editor

Subscription Rate: 60c a Year; 35c for 6 Mos. (71 40c for Canada, Foreign, New York City, Bronx) Re-entered as Second-Class Matter, May 24, 1940, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. Under the Act of March 3, 1879



Editorials

Mussolini's Death and Fascism

Mussolini's death is a triumph for the Italian masses, the workers and peasants. It is a triumph for the oppressed people of the whole world.

Mussolini was a symbol of the times. He came to power not as an individual with some strange ideas about democracy, dictatorship, or a corporate state.

Mussolini's job, as an agent of the Italian ruling class, was to destroy the power of labor by destroying its organization, its press, its right to free speech and assembly.

His regime was marked by a bloody purge of the most heroic elements of the workers and peasants. Murder stalked the country while he ruled.

WHAT HE ACHIEVED

Mussolini achieved a restoration of the profits of the Italian bankers, industrialists and landlords. For this he received the acclaim of the capitalists the world over.

An 'Authority' on Conscription

The Des Moines Tribune recently reprinted some remarks of a certain man on compulsory military training which we deem important to reprint.

"Therefore we... stand for compulsory military service for every man (he said). If a state is not worth that, then away with it! Then you must not complain if you are enslaved.

"It is nonsense to believe that with the end of school time the state's right for supervision of its young citizens could suddenly stop. This right is a duty. The state that has no interest in healthy people has neglected this duty in a criminal manner.

strengthen his regime. The Hearst press could not find words enough to glorify this windbag who was fully conscious of his role. Yet, for all of that, the best they could say about him was that "he made the trains run on time," as if this were a justification for the mass murders he engaged in.

Fascist rule is a means by which the capitalist classes keep themselves in power and resist the drive of the people for a social change which would improve their lives. It means dictatorial rule, a police regime, which destroys the labor movement and makes the worker an easy prey of big business.

FASCIST DANGER REMAINS

That was the meaning of Hitler and his fascist regime in Germany. Hitler was the agent of the big bankers, the monopolistic Ruhr industrialists and chemical companies.

And that is why big business supports reaction and fascism all over the world. The fact that the "fascist countries" have been defeated in Europe and their dictators destroyed does not mean the end of fascism.

It is clear to anyone who even stops to think that in case of a coming war the entire nation would have to take up arms, that therefore millions would be driven toward the enemy with bad, insufficient or half-finished training.

Workers Party School

DETROIT, MICHIGAN

FROM MAY 7 TO MAY 30, 1945

Table with columns: Time, Class, Instructor. Rows include Growth of American Capitalism, Labor and Socialism, Trade Union Economics, World Politics Today.

Write for the School Bulletin for detailed information

An English Diplomatic Shenanigan—

WHY PLASTIRAS WAS OUSTED

By JIM TANAKOS

While Churchill's troops were still shooting down Greek workers and peasants last January, the heads of the British government chose for the post of Premier of Greece, General Nicholas Plastiras.

Plastiras was picked for the spot of Premier, last January, because he had the qualifications Churchill and Company desperately needed at that time. British trade unions were condemning Churchill's actions in Greece with mass meetings and threatened strikes.

PLASTIRAS' ROLE

Plastiras did his job and did it well—for the British government. He smashed the militant workers' organizations and aided every reactionary element in the country.

On the other hand, thousands of ELAS members and supporters are in jail; many of them have been given long prison terms and some of them condemned to death.

weeks ago, Plastiras arrested 13 women for "meeting illegally," and on the day he was deposed he signed a decree abolishing the seamen's union.

Plastiras was reactionary—reactionary enough for even Churchill to like him. No man could have done more for British imperialism at this time in Greece than Plastiras did.

Churchill will watch very closely the reactions of the Greek people to the appointment of Voulgaris. If the people show any signs of rebelling against Voulgaris because of his treacherous past, Churchill will use other maneuvers and a change in tempo, and may even withdraw Voulgaris and put in someone who is a little more of a "democrat".

The method employed to get rid of Plastiras shows how cagily British imperialists work. A letter written by Plastiras in 1941 was printed two weeks ago in the royalist press in Greece.

But there is more here than meets the naked eye. The letter had been written to King George's minister at Vichy. In other words, the King and Churchill knew about this letter for the past four years, and they certainly knew about it when they made Plastiras the Premier.

The people of Greece may be quite confused about certain political issues, at the moment, after having been betrayed by their Stalinist leaders and after having been pawned by those whom they considered their "allies"—but this confusion and disorientation will not last.

One-Tenth of the Nation

Roosevelt and Negro Question

By J. R. Johnson

Like every question which is deeply rooted in the economic and historical life of the nation, the Negro question appears in the most unexpected places. Writers who are not dealing with it specifically and therefore are off guard, so to speak, for that very reason will give quite startling indications of the place that it holds in their conception of the development and future course of American society.

A most instructive example is the recent article in Life (April 30) on Roosevelt by Eliot Janeway. The article is, from its capitalist basis, a profound study of Roosevelt as a politician. As every good article should, it treats Roosevelt's political skill in relation to the fundamental economic and social problems he had to resolve.

But because the writer is mainly concerned with Roosevelt's tactics he refers to the more fundamental problems only in passing—and by so doing, far more than he is aware, shows what he considers the main problems of the day.

ROOSEVELT'S BALANCES

Quite early in the article he says that by 1941 Roosevelt had outgrown the New Deal, which had won three elections for him.

"In return he had led his fights, even its most fundamental fight against the conservative, predominantly Southern wing of the Democratic Party."

Janeway states that by last spring "the two principal partners in the Roosevelt coalition were ready for a showdown with each other." By 1944 Roosevelt, he says, was working over a "volcano." I shall go no further than to point this out.

The issue which the Southerners chose as their fighting point was the Negro question. On it Roosevelt had to capitulate. No Negro plank appeared in the Democratic Party platform. Janeway makes no secret of his opinion that the South was near to revolt. He then accurately defines Truman's task. It is to keep the balance between left and right in the Democratic Party.

Here we can see how even a very intelligent, well-informed capitalist writer is apt to mistake the form for the content. The decisive forces in the country are the capitalist class and the working class. On their struggle depends the future. But undoubtedly the specific political form in which this struggle presents itself to the President today is the need to hold together the Democratic Party.

A DOMINATING PROBLEM

How powerfully this problem dominates his mind is abundantly proved in other sections of the article. Thus, in talking about the great conflicts which Roosevelt sought to moderate he says:

"A Detroit riot, a Republic Steel massacre, a wave of sitdown strikes—the very shock that the news of them brought is a measure of their rarity."

How rare they were, how far Roosevelt succeeded in keeping them "almost within bounds" is one question. In this writer's opinion, what Roosevelt did was to hold them within certain limitations, thereby insuring that they would burst out with terrific force later. But that Janeway places the Detroit riot where he does, shows that he considers it among the fundamental problems. Obviously he over-estimates it. It is not to be placed on the same level as the great wave of sit-down strikes. What is important is that he certainly does not underestimate it.

PERSISTENT NEGRO QUESTION

The final proof of Janeway's cast of thought is seen in his appraisal of Roosevelt's work in the last years. Janeway sees Roosevelt as being mainly concerned with avoiding issues. This is a very sound political judgment. Roosevelt could not solve the great issues facing the country and he knew it. When the war came he devoted all his attention to that, still more eager to avoid facing the problems he had failed to solve between 1932 and 1939. Janeway is

anxious to make this clear and this is how he does it.

"He wanted to win the war. He did not want to win the war in order to establish racial equality, or win the war to establish white supremacy. He wanted to win the war on the basis of the status quo..."

It is clear that the whole complex of economic, social and political contradictions which we call the Negro Question haunts Janeway. Whenever he mentions fundamental problems the Negro question comes popping into his mind.

A LESSON FOR ALL

There is a very profound lesson here both for organized labor and the great body of the Negro people. Organized labor has to address itself to the Negro question as a question which it must study and attack as a part of its plans for the future of American society. Part of this education, of this understanding, is to be gained by an analysis of the roots of race prejudice. The immediate field of action is the field of production and the union movement. The perspective must be the rooting-out of this cancer which affects the whole political life of the country.

The Negroes too have to make a step forward. Their immediate field of action is the struggle for equality, as far as that is possible in bourgeois society. Jobs for Negroes, abolition of discrimination, these occupy the thoughts and strength of millions of Negroes. But something more is required. Exactly what is to be the future of American society. What role will Negroes play in it? How can they assist in the formation of the type of society which will give them their just and equal rights?

If Janeway's article proves anything, it shows that for Roosevelt, as far as he saw it, this problem was one of the insoluble ones. But equally Janeway's article shows that the capitalist politicians are aware of it and relate it constantly to the future of their politics and their regime.

We, organized labor and the masses of the Negroes should never for a moment lose sight of this, despite the claims of the day-to-day struggle.

WORLD POLITICS

By REVA CRAINE

As the military defeat of their common foe, Germany, approaches, the conflicts among the so-called United Nations, primarily among the Big Three, unfold. The two seem to go almost hand in hand. These conflicts are not created by German propaganda or ill wishers, as the Communist press would like to have us believe. They are the result of conflicting interests and ambitions, which were pushed into second place only while German might threatened them all.

The disputes which have arisen among the Big Three on Poland, on Greece and other situations were not caused by "misunderstandings" but rather by the attempts on the part of the big powers to jockey for more advantageous military and political positions in Europe. What is being decided is which of the Big Three shall dominate that continent.

Tito in Trieste

The entry of Tito's armies into the Adriatic seaport of Trieste has given rise to a new dispute. When he was visiting with his boss, Stalin, in Moscow recently, Tito declared that he would lay claim to Trieste and the entire Istrian peninsula. This area was granted to Italy after the First World War and for years has been a bone of contention between Italy and Yugoslavia, each claiming that it is inhabited mainly by their respective nationals.

It would seem that such a dispute could be settled easily enough by the simple expedient of having the people who live in that territory decide the matter for themselves. But such a solution demands a number of pre-conditions.

In order that the people of Trieste, as well as the people of all other disputed or occupied territories, may decide their own fate, that is, exercise the right of national self-determination, it is necessary that they have the means of expressing their wishes. This means that they must have the right of free speech, free press, free organization, free assembly, free elections—none of which exist in Tito's totalitarian regime. In Italy, these freedoms exist only in a very limited way.

That is why neither of the disputants can make the simple proposal of having the people choose for themselves. Tito demands annexation and Italy begs for the Allied military authorities to govern Trieste.

Behind Tito's Demand

Tito's demand has nothing whatsoever to do with satisfying the national feelings of the people of the Istrian peninsula. He is merely carrying out the instructions of Stalin, who sees in this an opportunity of bringing the Adriatic seaport under his control. Stalin does not have to act directly in this matter. He is well supplied with agents throughout the world and they carry out his policy.

That Tito is acting on behalf of Russia in this matter is borne out by the fact that the Italian Stalinists are now demanding that Italy yield Trieste. Since Stalin does not have the exclusive power in Italy, as he does in Yugoslavia, he much prefers to see Trieste held by Tito. The Italian communists, by their agitation, carry out their assigned part in this set-up.

Stalin in Austria

The new provisional government set up by the Russians in Austria should be recognized for what it is. It is the Austrian counterpart of the Lublin government established by Stalin to rule over the Polish people.

The fact that this government is headed by an old social-democrat, Dr. Karl Renner, should not deceive anyone into believing that it is in any way representative of the Austrian people, let alone of the Austrian working class.

Most of the old social-democrats of Austria have been "won over" to Stalin's successes. Their own inability to lead the Austrian workers in the struggle for socialism, an inability which springs from their political concepts, has led them in turn to surrender to Stalin. They were the leaders who tried to hold back the Austrian workers from the struggle against fascism on the theory of the "lesser evil." Their half-heartedness brought about the victory of fascism. Now they choose Stalin as the lesser evil to what for them is impossible, namely, independent struggle.

Thus far the United States and Britain have refused to recognize this regime, which they claim was formed in violation of that Yalta provision which called for joint action on the part of the Big Three in the solution of problems which arise in the "liberated" countries. Stalin will of course reply that the Austrian people formed this government and that he did not violate any such agreement. In the meantime, he proceeds as in Poland—acting first and negotiating afterward.

In one sense Stalin has the edge on his two partners. He has an international organization, with a branch in every country, which, while carrying out his orders, gives the appearance of acting independently and in the interests of the people of their respective countries. When Churchill wanted to install a puppet regime in Greece, he had to use British arms. But when Stalin installs his puppets in any country he has at his service the national section of his international organization, the GPU. This, of course, does not make the Moscow-created regimes any more representative than the Quisling regimes of Hitler or the puppet regimes of Churchill. They are only more difficult to detect and hence more dangerous.

Bound in One Volume:

LABOR ACTION, 1944

THESE ARE FUTURE COLLECTORS' ITEMS AND PRICELESS REFERENCES FOR WELL-INFORMED UNIONISTS AND SOCIALISTS

All 52 Issues Price: \$2.50

Send Orders to LABOR ACTION

114 W. 14th St. New York 11, N. Y.

Cutback Unemployment in Detroit--

(Continued from page 1) be specific, two kinds of "action." First they poured their hearts out—in words, which are cheap—about the sad plight of the auto worker during reconversion and how the government, the wonderful New Deal government (the same government which ordered Willow Run shut down) ought to do something about it. When they used up their words, they acted again—this time with results.

They figured out that fewer jobs means fewer union members and less dues. So they slapped an extra assessment on the membership so that,

no matter what happened to the auto workers, the payrolls of the union could still be padded with porkchoppers whose main function is to keep in power the two cliques which run the union.

It remains to be seen whether they can get away with this. The rank and file of the union, through its spokesmen, the Rank and File Committee, should demand a realistic, fighting program for reconversion. And they must demand that this program be fought for—not begged for at the servant's entrance to the White House.

The barest minimum to take care

of the needs of the workers is the following:

A guaranteed annual wage of \$2500 for each worker. Let the corporations pay for any idleness which they force upon the workers.

Any plant which private industry cannot operate at full production for peace time goods must be taken over by the government and operated under trade union control.

The government-owned plants must not be parcelled out to private industry to do with as they please. They must remain government owned and operated at full production under trade union control.

Two Aspects of Anti-Negro Discrimination

By Jessie Kaaren

A white person who is ill has fourteen times a better chance of recovering than the Negro, according to recent statistics given before the Senate Education and Labor Committee by Dr. Louis T. Wright. The infant mortality rate is 69 per cent higher among Negroes than whites and a Negro child has an average life expectancy which is ten years less than that of a white child.

This is due, says Dr. Wright, not only to discrimination in economic life but to the scarcity of medical facilities available to the Negro. In the South, the indifference borders on criminal neglect. Because of the inequitable manner in which most states allocate funds for clinical and hospital care, medical aid is practically non-existent for Negroes. A Negro physician is denied staff and in-patient privileges in practically every non-Negro hospital in the United States. In 1944, there were only 3,500 Negro physicians in the United States and only 7,500 nurses for a population of thirteen million Negroes, nine million of whom live on farms. There are only nine Negro certified general surgeons in the United States and the problem of medical care in the rural areas is critical, Dr. Wright testified.

These figures make a mockery of the Negro Health Week set aside each year by the Public Health Service of the Federal Security Agency to emphasize "a year-around plan of health education and service." Of course public health propaganda is an excellent thing in itself but the device of Negro Health Week certainly exposes the hypocrisy of a government which has a slogan on the one hand of "equality of sacrifice" and on the other fails to provide the most elementary hospital and clinical care for the Negro people.

SOME SERVICE INCIDENTS

Every day brings to light new examples of Jim Crowism in the armed forces. Very little mention of them is made in the daily press despite the fact that many of these discriminatory incidents have had very serious consequences.

At Fort Devens, Mass., four Negro WACs were court-martialed and sentenced to a year in prison at hard labor because they refused to do more menial work than the other WACs. One WAC testified at the court-martial that the colonel had said: "I don't want any black WACs as medical technicians around this hospital. I want them to scrub and do the dirty work."

In the Hawaiian Islands, seventy-three Negro soldiers were given prison terms ranging from eight to thirty years each at hard labor because they wanted to fight as soldiers instead of digging ditches as laborers on an airfield.

A battalion of Negro Seabees staged a hunger strike recently in California because they were under the command of Commander J. P. McBean of the 34th Seabee Battalion, a man who bragged that "You boys from the South should know better and you boys from the North—I am going to teach you better. There is going to be segregation in this battalion and you are going to like it, too." This statement was made after an argument over the use of the toilet between a white and a Negro sailor. A discharged Negro Seabee of this battalion also stated that Negro seamen were thrown in the brig for anything that the whites said about them and that officers fostered racial prejudices among the men.

"When we would like to have a little time for recreation, there were some white outfits on the island that liked to play us softball, and they were swell fellows too. Our chaplain, a chief by the name of Powell, and our commander tried to stop us from playing. We ran into the same thing on Guadalcanal. We had a swell baseball club, and they gave us orders that we couldn't play anything but colored. Imagine that on Guadalcanal!

"The men of the 34th Battalion feel the very way I do, but they are afraid to speak, because they would be punished."

In Reply to a Labor Action Reader—

The German Workers Are Not Guilty

By SUSAN GREEN

We want to explain to our Detroit reader, W. P., that the rapid pace of world news is responsible for the delay in taking up his letter of March 10th in which he goes to bat against LABOR ACTION writer Joe Leonard.

In the issue of March 5th, Joe Leonard wrote an article on the German people, the gist of which is that the brutal Nazi rulers are not the whole German people and that the American workers must make this distinction between oppressor and oppressed. Otherwise, the imperialist schemes of the Big Three will be assisted.

W. P., our Detroit reader contends that this distinction should not be made. He says that all the Germans—with the exception of children under ten—are alike. And W. P. tries to prove this fallacious point of view.

In the first place, he makes the statement that before September 1939, only five to ten per cent of the German people could be called innocent, the rest supporting the Hitler program. One who knows the history of Nazism has a right to question such an assertion. It is well established that the Nazi movement was based on a section of the impoverished German middle class, supported, instigated and brutalized by the German industrial rulers and their Hitlerite henchmen. The rest of the population was actually set upon by the Hitler hordes. The working class was terrorized, their organizations and press destroyed, their leaders and militant rank-and-file killed and jailed. The Jews were killed, tortured, put in concentration camps. Christians who were too persistent in proclaiming the doctrines of Christianity, soon wound up in concentration camps. Honest intellectuals, scientists and professional people received the same treatment. Can it be that mass layers of the German people constituted only five or ten per cent of the population? Surely they were not exterminated, imprisoned and intimidated into silence by Hitler as a mark of appreciation for supporting him!

WHO WERE THE ENTHUSIASTS? And if ninety to ninety-five per cent of the population supported him, why was it necessary for Hitler to station his Gestapo in every hamlet and on every city street, to plant his spies in every apartment house, to build machine gun placements at strategic street corners? Are these the actions of a leader who has popular support?

Again, our Detroit reader is impressed by the demonstrations staged at Hitler's public appearances in his heyday; the applause and the yelling, he considers signs of popular acclaim. But these demonstrations were made to order. Workers were taken out of their factories, conducted to the demonstrations and commanded to show enthusiasm. The crowd was peppered with Gestapo spies to see that the people did not maintain their normal sullen silence. Nazi claque and yelling squads were planted to raise a racket. These demonstrations were as spontaneous as the lifting of the arms by a person ordered to do so at the point of a gun.

Our reader indulges in other fallacies. He believes that Hitler's successful military blitz was possible only because the majority in the army and on the home front "were with Hitler." A discussion of the German army is, however, a subject for another discussion. There is involved the whole question of Allied preparation for war when the conflict broke out. That Hitler's mass army—with the exception of an SS minority and youthful fanatics—was a slave army, is partly proven by the way in which it has fallen apart, sustained neither by exhortations, threats nor a belief in Hitler. In Munich, the birthplace and citadel of Nazism, German soldiers are, at this writing, fighting like revolting slaves against Hitler's Gestapo and Elite Guard.

As to the home front during the blitz, even then—when there was no

with Hitler." A discussion of the German army is, however, a subject for another discussion. There is involved the whole question of Allied preparation for war when the conflict broke out. That Hitler's mass army—with the exception of an SS minority and youthful fanatics—was a slave army, is partly proven by the way in which it has fallen apart, sustained neither by exhortations, threats nor a belief in Hitler. In Munich, the birthplace and citadel of Nazism, German soldiers are, at this writing, fighting like revolting slaves against Hitler's Gestapo and Elite Guard.

As to the home front during the blitz, even then—when there was no

BERLIN WORKERS DID STRIKE!

The best news which has come out of Germany for a long time is of the strike of between fifteen and twenty thousand workers in over 100 war factories in Berlin.

They stayed away from work in protest against the reduced rations which Goebbels had announced.

The fact that the strike involved so many workers from so many factories simultaneously shows a high degree of underground organization, despite the terrorism of the Gestapo.

When Goebbels heard of the strike he sent lorry loads of armed Storm Troopers to round up the workers from their homes, but many were in hiding elsewhere. Those who were caught were driven back to their work-benches at revolver point; but what kind of work will be got from men in such conditions?

Here is the beginning of the movement which will end Nazism in Germany. The cause of the strike was hunger-rations, but it could not have taken place under the ruthless régime without a deep-seated opposition to the Hitler domination.

If we had a socialist government in this country which would encourage revolt by promising the German workers a free and equal place in a co-operative Europe, there would be reason to hope for the real destruction of Nazism. As it is, the strongest force which is keeping the despairing people of Germany behind Hitler is their fear of the peace which will be imposed—Reprinted from the British New Leader.

crack in the bright armor of Hitler's successes—there was plenty of mass hostility. Writing of those days, Curt Riess and other writers reported many instances of clever sabotage by factory workers; of fraternization between German workers and the foreign workers they were ordered to shun; of giving succor to the persecuted Jews; of trying to keep alive, in an unorganized way, the remnants of union solidarity.

As Hitler's successes melted like winter's snow, naturally the home front became bolder in its resentment, and Nazi punishment was meted out to fit the "crime." Nazi prisons accommodate thousands upon thousands of "offenders." American reporters speaking with German

WHAT DO YOU SAY, PROJECT DWELLERS?

In opposing, before the Senate of the state of Ohio, a very modest bill to aid in developing low-cost housing, a spokesman for real estate interests orated the following:

"People living in such projects should be denied the right to vote, denied free schools and should be treated like Indians on a military reservation."

This capitalist's statement won't turn many project-dwellers into Indians, but it certainly will help a lot of them to become "Reds," that is, militant workers.

A SOLDIER SPEAKS OUT ON THE POST-WAR WORLD

By GEORGE TABER

"Will my kids have to fight another war in twenty years?"

"Am I going to find a job when I'm discharged?"

Questions like these are asked repeatedly by American soldiers in letters to Yank, the Army magazine, according to the New York Times of January 7. William Walton, a reporter who has spent two years with U. S. troops in Europe, states in Time, February 5, that American soldiers do plenty of thinking and discussing during waiting periods between battles. And he reports that when these discussions get serious the question always arises: Just what are we fighting for?

Readers of LABOR ACTION are aware that anti-labor, potentially fascist sentiments are being encouraged among the troops by high officers and the capitalist press, with some success. This represents a serious danger to American workers, especially in the days after the end of the war. However, with millions of union members in a huge conscripted army it is unavoidable that pro-labor sentiments of various kinds should also find expression. An indication of what some soldiers are thinking is the article "What I Am Fighting For" by Lieut. Byron B. Buckeridge, in the November, 1944, issue of Free World. This article has evoked many enthusiastic letters from men in the armed forces expressing agreement. American workers will surely want to know what some of their brothers in uniform are thinking.

THE SOLDIER SPEAKS

Mr. Buckeridge, a young second lieutenant who has seen plenty of action, states concisely the contrast between the potential abundance of America and the actual suffering caused by the present system of running things (all emphasis by LABOR ACTION):

"I am aware that the United States is better off than the rest of the world, with our modern machines and mass-production methods. I am aware that we have more bathtubs and automobiles and gadgets than other peoples, but...

"I also am aware that the United States faces a huge unemployment problem on Demobilization Day; that few families in America actually have incomes which allow them to live at a comfortable machine-age living standard; that few families own

the vast savings in the banks; that insecurity is still one of our big problems; that monopolies have grown richer and more powerful while soldiers have given their lives in this war; that life in the United States is basically a continuous struggle from the cradle to the grave to make money; and that relatively few people have the opportunity to do other than dream about a full, useful and cultural life.

"I am aware that Eric Johnston has risen in the grand American style from a poor newsboy to become president of the United States Chamber of Commerce. I am also aware that millions of other Eric and Jims and Joes have not been able to rise in this grand American style although they are just as capable.

"Walter Lippmann says that the United States economy began the war the size of a dog and will end it the size of a horse. I believe this war proves beyond a doubt that an economy of material abundance is here. I thus believe that every worker in the United States in the new era of peace should receive a wage which will enable his family to live comfortably, perhaps a minimum of \$2,500 a year."

What steps should be taken toward a solution of this problem? The author continues: "When war ends the government will own fifteen billion dollars' worth of war plants. I believe that many of these plants should become government owned and operated, converted to peace-goods production, and used to employ demobilized soldiers and war workers..."

"I believe specifically that the government should own and operate plants in every field of industry now dominated by private monopolies—such as aluminum and steel. I propose that the government set up yardsticks similar to TVA in these industries to keep a close check on private monopolies and cartels.

"I have not fought this war against fascism in order to defend Wall Street, corporation owners, rich property owners, war profiteers, snipers who would destroy TVA, monopoly and cartel manipulators and business men who cry for government to keep its hands off—that is, until they have muddled and exploited the economy into another depression when they will come crying again for government help.

The author fears that if the big capitalists continue to manage the country, they will bungle things

the way they did during the last depression. He therefore wants the government, as the representative of the people, to control the big industries and plan production for the use of all the people, and not for the profit of a tiny minority.

What should be the aims of such planning?

"I think there must be an annual crop plan so that the American people can have maximum health diets... I think the government will have to set prices for the farm products and compensate the farmers who through no fault of their own fail to make a comfortable machine-age income... I think the rural electrification program should be expanded to every corner of rural America. I think more TVA should be built along America's rivers, to prevent floods, to develop cheap power, to create fertile valleys, and to conserve the soil. I think the government should promote agricultural research on a vast scale. I think the farm co-operative program should be given every help and encouragement by the government. I believe the farmer should receive at least the same for his work as a laborer in industry—in other words, the farmer should have the full benefit of the machine-age economy of abundance..."

"The elimination of slum conditions in America must have first priority when peace comes, and only government planning can do the job of rebuilding vast blocks of American cities. There will be plenty of manpower and materials to do the job, and this war has proved that a combination of man's work and machines has supplanted the old conception that the money consideration is of prime importance."

Readers of LABOR ACTION will recognize that most of the above ideas and proposals have been and are being advocated by the more progressive forces in the labor movement. Progressive workers will welcome the returning soldiers who have these ideas and join with them in the fight to achieve our common objective: to realize plenty for all, regardless of its effect on the profits of a few monopolists. At the same time we point out that in the worldwide struggle of the common people, led by labor, against reaction, we must have a clear idea of how to go about it.

Most workers distrust the capitalists. They look to the government to plan for plenty for all. But who is the government? The government is the peo-

ple who control it. Who controls the government today? Isn't it a fact that the sixty richest families, the big shots of big business, control every important governmental agency, the War Production Board, the OPA, and Congress? These big boys are running the war and profiting from it. And they intend to reap the fruits of the military victory.

Big business is aiming to return to the conditions prevailing before the war. And the Administration, including Henry Wallace, has stated that "free private capitalist enterprise" will be given every assistance by the government, as the way to provide jobs, with a little government regulation thrown in. This is essentially the same program tried by the New Deal in 1933-1940—and there were still millions without jobs in 1940.

ON THE QUESTION OF STRIKES

The workers look to the government to plan for peace and plenty. But this can only be done by a government controlled by the men and women who work for a living.

Mr. Buckeridge senses the important role of the working class in realizing this program:

"I have taken the strike news back home with a grain of salt. In my opinion the American workers have three jobs to handle for the soldiers. First, to produce war materials. Second, to protect the Wagner Law and collective bargaining; enlarge the labor unions, improve wages, hours and working conditions. Third, to use their political influence in electing leaders who are not bought off by the fat corporations.

"I personally want to return to an America where workers have a voice and a vote in industry through their unions.

"My older friend back home is concerned about labor becoming too powerful and taking over industry and government. I am more concerned about fat war monopolies buying off the government. There has not been equal sacrifice in lives and property in this war. Indeed profits are higher than ever before in United States history, and the owners of America have defeated all taxation plans based on "ability to pay." These owners are now trying to grab the fifteen billion dollars' worth of government war factories under the cry of "free enterprise." So you can see why I fear the power of a few mono-

Casting Light on the Supply Shortage Story

By Shirley Lawrence

Last autumn a great hue and cry was suddenly raised over a reputed shortage of shells and other supplies at the front, for which labor got the blame.

It was the opinion of LABOR ACTION that the story of the shell shortage was a vicious and strategic thrust at the workers to still their restlessness with their economic conditions at home, to forestall their struggle over wages, the cost of living, the Little Steel formula, the WLB, and the rescinding of the no-strike pledge which was up for a vote in the UAW referendum at the time.

The story of the shell shortage also helped to obtain a favorable sentiment for the creation of a labor draft. We also wrote that any difficulties which arose in the supply set-up were probably due to lengthened supply lines or faulty organization of supplies.

Our belief seems to have been borne out in the sensational disclosures by Drew Pearson in his column, "Washington Merry-Go-Round," wherein he reveals that the bottleneck last year was not in civilian production of the U. S., but with the entire distribution system in France, which has been the subject of drastic investigation.

At the very time that the Army propaganda drive raged concerning failures on the home front, even going so far as to say that men in the front lines were dying because of lack of supplies, General Marshall ordered a personal probe and even General B. B. Somervell, in command of Services of Supply, wrote a critical report and sent Major-General Leroy Lutes to France to report on the situation. Lutes took with him a staff of colonels, made a thorough survey and submitted a blistering report urging that the entire supply set-up in France be revamped, including the command.

WHAT MOTIVATED BRASS HATS

Why, then, did General Somervell declare himself in favor of a labor draft to insure continuous production, charging that serious shortages of vital war goods were involved, at the same time he was investigating the supply situation?

Why, if a shortage existed, did Washington wait until last fall to announce it? There had been until then no charge that production in the field of ammunition was below requirements. On the contrary, production reports and statements repeatedly indicated there was a vast supply of all kinds of ammunition.

The following are excerpts from LABOR ACTION interpreting the situation:

"It is a fact that the directing military staffs, in planning their campaign, consider above all the length of such actions, the possibilities of victory, stalemate, or defeat, and the time element involved. In estimating their material requirements, military staffs seldom err in underestimation, but usually call for material of all kinds for in excess of what is actually required."

Obviously the calculations of Eisenhower had to be revised somewhat—on the favorable side. That could also mean that the supplies counted on for a protracted struggle are still there, but difficulties arise now because of lengthened supply lines or faulty organization of supplies. Baldwin makes that point repeatedly in his daily articles for the Times."

Here are some more ponderable questions:

Why did Somervell change his tune shortly after his previous accusation? On Dec. 7, he told the NAM, "To date we've had 500,000 casualties. Thank God, not one has been because of short production." Evidently the Army high command has seen that they would be severely criticized for opening a big offensive without enough ammunition, so presto! there is enough ammunition.

Why was the production of several items that are now "critical," cut back not so long ago? Workers thrown out of their jobs in small ammunition plants as recently as last June have not forgotten this.

Obviously, there is a method to all this madness, or, more properly speaking, to this self-imposed and convenient blind-spot concerning the real reason for the supply shortage.

This entire situation leads to the self-evident conclusions, that labor has in this instance been utilized again merely as a scapegoat, in a particularly vicious manner, as in so many other times in the past when there was danger of its ascendance.

lies more than I fear the voice and vote of millions of workers."

The author has touched on an important point here. When properly understood and carried to its logical conclusion, it means that the working class should take control of the government.

The captains of industry, the presidents, vice-presidents and chairmen of boards, the diplomats, the statesmen, the prime ministers and fuhrers, the lords and ladies, counts and dukes, the marshals, generals, major-generals, brigadier-generals, and lieutenant-generals, the admirals, rear-admirals and vice-admirals, the minister of this and the secretary of that—all these have so successfully managed this planet, with the results that we see: oceans of blood, sweat and tears, famine, epidemic and devastation, the killing, crippling, blinding and disfigurement of millions of the youth. These great brains should be retired.

Let the working people form a party of their own, a Labor Party, and take over control. Such action, carried out by a truly democratic organization controlled by the workers and poor farmers, would mean a workers' government which would proceed to plan a vast improvement in the living standards, health and education of the people.

Mr. Buckeridge ends his article with an expression of determination to fight for his ideas:

"I want to help create a new world in which the common man's capacity for co-operation, mutual help, unselfish service and energy discovered during this war will be applied to the domestic and world problems. I cannot go back to life where money making is the one basic aim from the cradle to the grave. I intend to work for an economy where machines will produce for the needs of the people. I intend to fight the rest of my life in a democratic way for what I believe democracy to be, and I hope many others of this generation are ready to join me."

Mr. Buckeridge thinks that a democratic soldiers' organization should be set up, to speak for the men who have actually been in battle, in shaping the post-war world. From what has been said above, such an organization, representing the common people, the workers in uniform, can best achieve its aims by joining hands with labor and backing an independent Labor Party.

(Part II will appear next week)