

## A Real Program For Minnesota Iron Rangers

HIBBING, Minn. — Many an Iron Range miner is scratching his head today, wondering where next winter's biscuits are coming from. The famous and much glorified "labor-management cooperation" has suddenly evaporated under the harsh reality of the profit system and the Atlantic Charter and Four Freedoms era of empty lunch pails and miserable relief are with us again, hallo-lujah!

Mine after mine is cutting down to a five-day, forty-hour week—without "I-Stake-My-Life-on-a-Pay-Raise" Phil Murray's seventeen-cent boost or forty-eight hours' pay. To cap the climax, to make the cheese more binding, to throw the good angels of Wall Street into gales of laughter, the Minnesota heads of the CIO-PAC meet at Duluth while all this is going on and give solemn assurance to the big business men, the political "friends of labor" and other inspiring characters that they will again, in coming state elections, "deliver" the labor vote to the "proper" old-line party candidates.

The latest mine to be hit by cut-backs is the Hill Annex (Interstate) at Calumet. Still on three shifts, the miners now get the leavings from forty hours' pay and the internal revenue collectors—averaging about \$30 a week take-home pay! A belt system has been installed in this mine, and once the locomotive tracks have been torn up, it is estimated that 160 workers there will be permanently on the prowl for one of the late FDR's sixty million jobs.

One hundred and sixty jobs may be a small item in the heavily populated industrial areas of the East and Midwest, but in towns like Calumet, Nashwauk, Bovey, Chisholm, Buhl

and Keewatin losing 160 paychecks cuts a big gash in local prosperity.

At Hibbing, the big Mahoning Mine, largest open pit in the world, has reportedly cut to five days, one shift; as have the Sargent and the Scranton. Closed like a clam is the Galbraith at Nashwauk, although most of the workers are being temporarily shifted to other Butler Bros. diggings. But this is only the beginning; the real jolts will be felt along about October, when the cold winds begin to howl and the snow flutters down from steel-blue skies.

### BREADLINES AND BULLETS

So the capitalist cycle of breadlines and bullets moves into the breadline phase again. But what are the "labor leaders" doing about all this cutting back and downgrading and outright laying off? In Minnesota, as elsewhere, exactly nothing! While Murray and his henchmen bleat foolishly about getting a guaranteed annual wage and other necessary conditions for the workers without being willing or having the guts to take the strong, independent political and economic action by which they can be won, his PAC friends, state and national, met in Duluth to echo his reactionary stand.

Headlining the meeting at Duluth on June 28 was Jack Kroll, national assistant to Sidney Hillman. Other pall-bearers for the needs of labor were Sander Genis, state PAC president, and Brother Jacobsen, state secretary-treasurer.

In all the meeting, according to the money press and the Minnesota Midwest Labor, not one syllable, not one tiny peep, was uttered about organizing an independent Labor Party that would mobilize the labor vote

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# LABOR ACTION

JULY 16, 1945

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

ONE CENT

## Vinson Report Proves Labor Needs Own Plan

By WALTER WEISS

The government's plans and policies for the reconversion and post-war periods are set forth every three months in a report to the President and Congress by the Director of War Mobilization and Reconversion (often called, because of his importance, the "Assistant President"). The latest of these reports has just been made by "Assistant President" Fred Vinson.

The line taken in earlier reports by Vinson's predecessor, James F. Byrnes (newly appointed Secretary of State), was that the country had nothing to fear but inflation. Vinson himself said the same thing in a special report on May 9, soon after assuming his present office.

Both these gentlemen have argued that there is a tremendous amount of extra purchasing power in the hands of the people and that goods, on the other hand, will remain scarce for some time to come.

What should be done to meet the problem? Here is what they have said: 1) Retain the Little Steel formula, so that workers will not have too much money to spend. 2) Increase the amount of goods produced by encouraging the capitalists. This can be done by keeping wages down, cutting the taxes of corporations, and continuing price control. But price control shouldn't be too stiff (and, as you have seen, it isn't), or the capitalists will not be very anxious to produce.

A very nice program—for big business.

Mr. Vinson has at last been impressed, at least a little, by labor's strong arguments. In his new report he admits that there actually is a danger of deflation as well as of inflation. We quote him:

"V-J Day will bring a sharp contraction in munitions employment. Workers will be discharged... Also overtime will drop and shifts from high to low-wage industries will be speeded up. This will result in a drop in the income and hence in the purchases of these workers. This presents a real danger."

It looks as if the labor leaders had made some progress, doesn't it? But wait! Vinson goes on to say that, whatever the danger is, the answer remains the same: more production. How to get more production? Should the Little Steel formula be ended, as labor has long demanded? Not at all! The way to make the profit system operate is still to satisfy the profit-making capitalists.

Therefore, the most important problem is to frame a good tax program—good for the capitalists. As our readers know, Congress has already made considerable progress along these lines.

As for wages, "adjustments" cannot be granted without considering the effect on the price level. Mr. Vinson believes that increases should be given only where the loss of overtime would put workers below their pre-war level or reduce them to actual hardship.

More definitely, he comes out for the proposal recently made by Economic Stabilizer William H. Davis—for a change in the Wage-Hour Law to provide a 50-cent hourly minimum. When Vinson says hardship, he means hardship.

Apart from this, Vinson has two other ideas on wages:

1) That the employers will co-operate, since American business is coming to realize that a high-wage policy benefits all. (This will really be news to the employers.)

2) That "we must make a determined effort to substitute arbitration and other orderly procedure in the place of strikes and violence, with their inevitable hardship to the workers and the great economic loss to the nation."

Here, of course, Vinson is putting in an obvious plug for the murderous Ball-Burton-Hatch bill, which has been attacked in the strongest terms by the whole labor movement. He indicates—and it has long been obvious in other ways too—that the Administration itself favors such a slave bill and that the idea is not at all peculiar to or original with Senators Ball, Burton, and Hatch.

### UP TO WORKERS

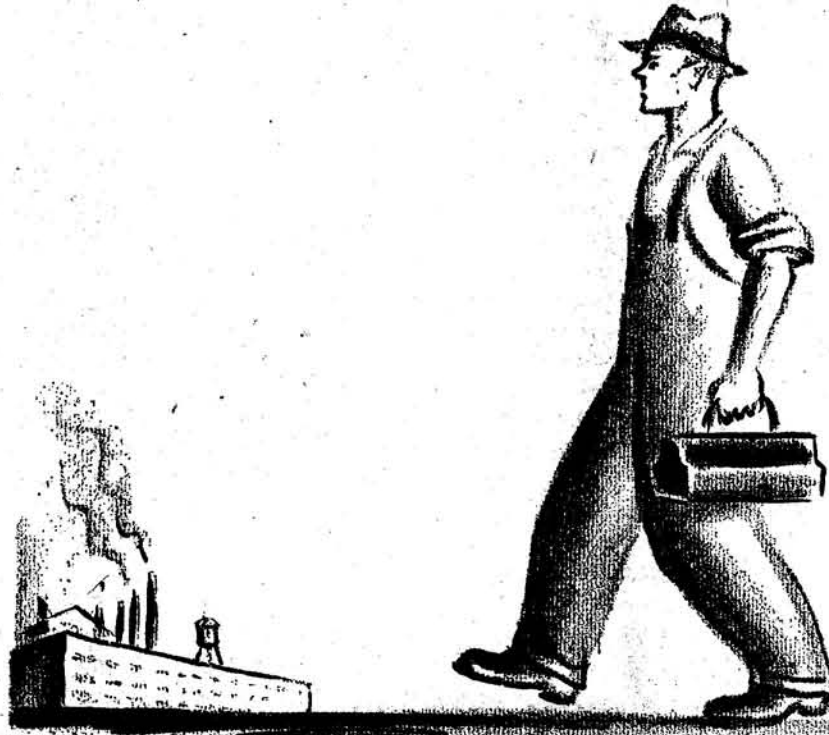
It should be added that Vinson, following Truman, speaks for somewhat higher, but still altogether insufficient, unemployment benefits both for veterans and for workers. He also admits that large-scale public works may be necessary and that the government has not yet planned nearly enough of them. Why not? Just a few months ago Byrnes, Vinson's predecessor, was warning that we must not be "stampeded" by "temporary unemployment" into big public works projects.

Every worker will do well to notice this: Truman and Vinson feel free to recommend some things that Congress has no intention of acting on. But Truman and Vinson—and Roosevelt and Byrnes before them—have had the power all along to end the Little Steel formula. There is no law requiring that formula. This is a nice example of the way that our capitalist "friends" are always passing the buck.

That leaves the problem squarely up to the workers themselves. They will have to take some independent action. Action in their plants, an old kind of action, which before the days of the no-strike pledge proved its usefulness. And action in politics, a new kind of action in politics—not the support of "friends," but the building of an independent Labor Party, divorced from capitalist parties and politicians and programs.

For the program of such a party we recommend for the attention and study of all workers the program of the Workers Party, which LABOR ACTION frequently prints and discusses.

## Reconversion!



## Workers Party Gains New Youth Affiliate

In line with the action of several young socialist leaders in Chicago, whose announcement of affiliation with the Workers Party was published in LABOR ACTION a few weeks ago, the Young Labor League of Philadelphia, an organization of young socialist workers and students which has been active in that city for some time, has adopted a resolution which announces its acceptance of the program of the Workers Party and fraternal affiliation with the adult organization.

The action of the Young Labor League marks another step forward in the work of winning militant working-class and student youth to the banner of the Workers Party and international socialism.

The Workers Party all over the country is seeking to stimulate the formation of a national organization of the socialist youth to be based on the principles of revolutionary socialism and systematic activity, in close cooperation with the Workers Party, in the fight for working-class freedom.

Interest in the formation of such a national movement has been widespread and inquiries about it are being received at the national headquarters of the Workers Party from many parts of the country.

Plans are now under way to coordinate and centralize the various revolutionary socialist youth groups in the country, and LABOR ACTION will make public the details of all progress made.

The resolution of the Young Labor League of Philadelphia follows in full:

Approximately one year ago, we, a group of young people in Philadelphia, aware of our insecurity, formed a study group to seek out the real causes for the chaos in which we found our generation. The more serious members of our group soon realized the need for some sort of organization, and the group drew up a set of rules and regulations and a statement of purpose in which we crystallized the conclusions we had reached: first, that the only important and consistently progressive force in society today is the working class, above all, its most advanced section, the organized labor movement, and that we would at all times stand in solidarity with labor in its

struggles against capital; second, that we held an undying hatred of fascism and a readiness to cooperate with all consistent anti-fascists in fighting it, and all its manifestations; third, that capitalism was unable to solve the needs of mankind in this era and that we saw the only solution in a new society of socialism.

Now, assuming as our main responsibility that of influencing other youth, of combatting both fascist and pseudo-socialist youth groups and counteracting capitalist society's indoctrination, we sought to change from a mere group of youth discussing socialism to a real socialist youth group, the Young Labor League; and began the publication of our own youth paper, Youth Action.

However, a youth group cannot exist indefinitely of and by itself, but must fight for its goal of socialism together with a political group that has its roots in the economic structure of our society. Already familiar with several revolutionary socialist parties, the Young Labor League chose the Workers Party as that group with whose program we were in closest agreement, and the only party whose program would bring us finally to our goal of socialism.

We, therefore, accepting the program of the Workers Party and at the same time retaining our organizational autonomy, have resolved to affiliate with the Workers Party on the basis of a fraternal affiliation with a friendly exchange of representatives.

Young Labor League,  
July, 1945.

## Navy Ends Rubber Strike

By BILL FORD

AKRON, July 8—By taking over the Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co. plants here on July 5, the Navy abruptly terminated for the moment the nineteen-day-old rubber strike of Local No. 2, United Rubber Workers of America. This strike was the biggest and longest CIO strike since Pearl Harbor, and the first one to be conducted under the terms of the Smith-Connally Act.

Meanwhile the strike of 16,500 Firestone Tire & Rubber Co. workers today entered its second week, with the pattern of events closely paralleling those in the Goodyear strike. Tomorrow, leaders of Firestone URWA Local No. 7 are appearing under subpoena in Washington before the WLB to "show cause" and it is a foregone conclusion that this local union too will defy the WLB's repeated warning to return to work, even though the employer-dominated WLB suspends the local's night shift bonus and liberalized vacation programs.

The labor movement nationally is vitally concerned about the outcome of the great disputes now going on in Akron. This is testified to so far as top national CIO officials are concerned in that they see clearly that the no-strike pledge has been completely broken down under the terrific batterings it received at the hands of the membership and leadership of the striking Goodyear Local in the course of nineteen days. That strike held solidly to the end and was unmoved by the vilest intimidation and threats from all government agencies and international URWA officials, and finally could only be liquidated by the Navy's taking over the Wall Street-controlled Goodyear properties.

In charge of the Navy "take-over

team" of twenty individuals is Capt. H. K. Clark, who comes into the picture fresh from San Francisco, where he has been in charge of 103 Navy-seized AFL-stripped machine shops. Clark is former vice-president and general manager of the Norton Co., one of the largest manufacturers of abrasives in the country. According to the statement of one of his aides in the Akron Beacon Journal, Clark's former "business connections have made him familiar with Akron," an ominous indication in the minds of class-conscious rubber workers. Clark is under the direct supervision of Secretary of the Navy Forrestal, a former Wall Street banker.

The Goodyear Local union membership returned to work on July 6 under the Navy's orders, with the statements of the Goodyear com-

pany's president ringing in their ears: "We'll co-operate 100 per cent with the Navy." Since that time Clark has made it clear that the issues in dispute that led to the nineteen-day-old strike will not be settled by him but by the WLB, against which the strike in large part occurred. Clark states that he will handle only current grievances under the old contract and that he is in complete charge of labor relations at Goodyear. This fact, however, has not prevented him from retaining all the old company management personnel, who are past masters of every known anti-labor trick.

Already Goodyear workers in the first few days of this "new" set-up have seen how imperative it is to keep on the ball as unionists. Good-

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## German Communist Party Against Soviets

By MARY BELL

No more communist than their American counterparts, no wiser after a dozen years of fascism, no less treacherous to the interests of German labor movement than they were in 1933, the Communist Party of Germany has issued a manifesto (June 25) revealing Stalin's aims in Germany.

The main points in the manifesto are:

(1) Repudiation of the soviet system for present-day Germany.

(2) Support of free enterprise and the profit system.

(3) Declaration of the guilt of the German people for fascism, since they "became a weapon of Hitler and his imperialistic masters."

(4) A confession of self-guilt, because "...we also feel ourselves guilty, inasmuch as, despite all sacrifices costing our best fighters, we were not able, as a consequence of a

series of mistakes, to force an anti-fascist unity of workers for the overthrow of Hitler."

The statement that the German Communists are opposed to soviet, i.e., workers' democratic councils, should cause no one to lift an eyebrow. In Russia—and the Communist Parties all over the world merely echo the policies of Stalin—the soviets were long ago dissolved. And in country after country that the Russian armies have over-run, it has been Stalin's policy not merely not to foster soviets, but where they sprang up spontaneously from the ranks of the anti-fascist workers, ruthlessly to exterminate them.

### FOR PRIVATE PROPERTY?

While the communists are the foes of workers' councils, on the other hand, it would be stupid to take their manifesto seriously when it says they uphold private property and the prof-

it system. The manifesto itself gives a clue to their real intentions, when it states that all German property owners and landholders "except the Nazis and rich collaborators" may retain their property and lands. That "except" covers the bulk of all German property owners. The bulk of large industrialists and large landowners are precisely those who supported Hitler. They were the "rich collaborators."

The resolution therefore serves Stalin's professed and already executed purpose: to pilfer, pillage and plunder German property for the benefit of the Russian bureaucracy. It has been unsensationally disclosed in more than one news dispatch that this is exactly what the Russian army has been doing.

Therefore, the manifesto plays up prominently the support it pledges to free enterprise for one reason. That is to soothe the apprehensions

of the Anglo-American allies who, as imperialist rivals of Russia, are wary of the incorporation of German assets in land and property into the Russian sphere of influence.

The accusation of "guilty" in reference to the responsibility of the German workers for fascism also has to be assessed in terms of Stalinist policy. This point, too, serves Stalin admirably. It allows him to vassalize the workers in Germany and to transport others to the Russian slavehold in the same cattle cars that were used by the Germans to transport Russian workers to Hitler's forced labor camps! For if the German workers are guilty and fascist-minded, there attaches no moral guilt to Stalin's actions.

The debasement of the Communists, in "confessing" their own guilt, reveals the role Stalin has assigned them. First, it is a warning to any

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## N. Y. News Strike

By T. R. COBB

The "No Contract, No Work" formula of the United Mine Workers was adopted by the Newspaper and Mail Deliverers Union last week as the independent organization voted to continue its strike against fourteen metropolitan New York newspapers.

Despite the intervention of the War Labor Board which delivered an ultimatum to the union threatening to deprive it of its closed shop, thereby opening the gates to the publishers' strikebreakers, the union stuck fast to its original demands which include:

1. Wage adjustments
2. Reduction of hours for day and night deliverers
3. Time and a half for holidays
4. Two-week paid vacation
5. Severance pay

6. Sick-leave pay

7. Three per cent contribution by publishers to union old-age and survivors fund.

The strike, now in its second week, has drastically curtailed the circulation of the big dailies in addition to depriving them of considerable advertising revenue.

However, the publishers would rather sacrifice huge sums of money than concede to the union the justification of their full demands, especially the one calling for a three per cent contribution to the union fund.

Union charges that the publishers deliberately provoked the strike by holding up the signing of a new contract in order to throw the dispute into the lap of the union-busting War Labor Board seem logical in view of the experiences of the labor movement in the past three years.

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NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Ship Union Victory--After Four Years

The War Labor Board finally approved on June 22 a wage increase of 11.6% for Southern California workers engaged in ship repair work.

The struggle of the ship repair workers for 11.6% wage differential has a long history--four years. In April, 1941, a Master Agreement for the Pacific Coast contained the 11.6% wage differential for ship repair workers as well as double time for all overtime.

The star performer in this run-around was the War Labor Board. After the usual long delays, it held hearings and called witnesses. Reasons which had convinced it in Maine, New York, the Great Lakes, and Texas just didn't impress it in Southern California.

the case in every other section of the country--just another one of those Californian exceptions.

And there the case rested, in the grave of the War Labor Board along with thousands of other cases, until a few weeks ago. And why did the War Labor Board agree to reconsider its decision of a year back? There were two major reasons for this reversal. In the first place, the reconsideration was instigated by the Pacific Coast Senators from California, Washington, and Oregon, notably Senator Wayne Morse (Republican) from Oregon, formerly a member of the War Labor Board himself.

WHY ACTION NOW?

What motivated the worthy Senators? Concern for the Southern California workers? Did they speak as representatives of labor in Congress? NO--their concern was to represent the interests of the Northern California ship repair yard owners and they responded with admirable alacrity.

Because of the lower wages paid in Southern California, "Yards in Southern California were clogged with emergency repair jobs while only a trickle of such jobs were allocated to the San Francisco Bay area and Northwest Pacific plants." (AFL) Naturally the Northern Pacific shipyard owners were indignant at losing all this lucrative business to the Southern ports and began raising a howl at all the profits that the Southern yards were making.

The representatives of business and

management in Congress promptly got their cues, and led by Senator Morse they demanded that the War Labor Board reconsider the question. Speakers for the CIO and the AFL gave the same arguments of several years' standing now. They pleaded the case of the workers and the Board would have turned the same deaf ear to such pleadings and beggings. The Board knew that the no-strike pledge binds the CIO hand and foot, and that the shipyard unions had taken their refusals of 11.6% in the past quietly and meekly. Despite the arrogant denial by the Board, the CIO Shipyard Workers Union had weakly submitted and limited their dissatisfaction to grumblings.

But the Board responded to the pressure of the big shipyard owners. Senator Morse was their mouthpiece. He charged that the procurement agencies were feeding ships in to the Los Angeles repair yards "out of pro-

Associated Press dispatch from Kansas City on June 11: "Wartime wage increases have more than met the rising cost of living, Dr. George W. Taylor, national chairman of the War Labor Board, asserted today."

Reading Steel Walkout Wins Demands

The 1200 members of Local 2715, United Steelworkers of America, CIO, employed by the Reading plant of the American Chain and Cable Company, won the immediate objective of their six-day walkout which began at noon, Thursday, June 21, when an arbitrator ruled that the ACCO should reinstate the local's grievance committee chairman.

for the many beefs that the workers want settled, it is necessary to make an analysis of the internal politics of the whole walk-out and related problems.

OFFICERS' HYPOCRISY

First, this walk-out was given the backhanded support of the District Officers. These officials have made clear that they are willing to violate the no-strike pledge when it suits their needs. Let us note that rarely, in fact at no time, do they sanction strike action when it is used on behalf of the economic needs of the workers. Then why did they give their behind-the-scenes support to the walk-out just concluded? Because the Chairman of the Grievance Committee, Robert Troilo, who is the committeeman who was fired, is a stooge of the District office.

This same Robert Troilo was President of Local 2715 for one year. During his term of office he established an unenviable record of ineptitude in handling the administration of the local and as a bungler in dealing with grievance questions. Troilo was used by the District office for two purposes. First, to try to

break the grip of the old administration, which was in many respects progressive, and which opposed, at least verbally, the policy of the national officials of the USA-CIO. Secondly, to transform the local into a football for the local Democratic Party machine. For his labors, Troilo was unceremoniously voted out of the presidency of the local in the recent elections held several weeks ago.

By a fluke he was elected to the grievance committee. As a gesture of good fellowship he was elected chairman of this committee. When the members of Local 2714 walked out in protest against the company's firing of Troilo, they made it clear that they were not endorsing Troilo, personally, but were fighting against the attempt of the company to take arbitrary action against an elected officer of the local. The district office naturally supported him because he is their main figurehead in the local, to be kept in reserve for future use.

The workers at the ACCO can very well ask themselves, "What kind of action will our officials take now to satisfy our other needs, to settle the other grievances? We do not refer to the newly elected officers of the local.

The ranks have shown that they will stand firmly against any company attempt to lop off the elected officials of the union. They are now eager for a call to action for the decisive settlement of their other needs, particularly the complete negotiation of the new contract that has been stalled for about a year.

To come to some understanding as to the kind of pressure that the members of Local 2715 must bear upon their officials, particularly the District Representatives and the International Representatives, so that an aggressive fight will be undertaken

What Could Be Better--for Bosses?

On May 17 the New York Times asked members of Congress who voted for the Smith-Connally anti-strike law whether they would now favor its repeal.

Said Senator Burton of Ohio: "I am not for repeal unless we can get something better, and I don't know what that would be."

On June 20, Senator Burton, along with Senators Ball and Hatch, introduced a bigger and better anti-strike law.

The senators claimed that they and their friends had been working on this bill for months and even years.

A Program for Iron Range Miners --

behind a fighting program of workers' needs. These misleaders of labor evidently intend to disregard the growing clamor of rank and file workers for an independent Labor Party--in fact, they go out of their way in the fashion of the late Joint Labor Council at Hibbing) to promise the bosses and their money-politician stooges no independent labor action.

Midwest Labor. Do you find anything but fine words? Do you discern any hint of a solution to our needs for jobs and full pay checks? The labor "leaders" are going to get us a guaranteed annual wage, forty-eight hours' pay for forty hours' work, a twenty per cent wage boost immediately.

But do they tell you HOW? By wiggling up to President Truman's back door on hands and knees and begging the "Chief" for a hand-out?

HOW are they going to get these

minimum conditions for labor when they handcuff, shackle, bind and gag the workers with no-strike pledges, promises of no independent political action, labor-management committees and the rest of their rigmarole?

You saw what happened after we voted in one President, some twelve senators and eighty-eight representatives in the '44 elections! The President demanded a totalitarian labor draft, a large majority of the eighty-eight representatives voted in favor of it and most of the twelve senators said that \$1,700 a year is enough for any worker's family to live on.

The miners and all workers of Minnesota must face the facts. We must take a new course. All the old formulas have failed. Support to the old parties of capitalism holds nothing for us but breadlines and bullets, war and depression, unemployment and death. "Free enterprise" today means the freedom of the big business monopolies to sweat us when they need us and to boot us out the minute their profits are threatened. Free enterprise to us means just one thing: We are free to sell our labor power to one company or another, to vote for one representative of big business or another, to choose the soup kitchen in Minneapolis or the bread line in St. Paul. You miners say over and over

New York Newspaper Strike--

War-time has been a boom-time to newspapers and the New York publishers have cashed in on the public's demand for news of the course of the war. What's more, with few exceptions, New York papers have raised their prices in the last five years. Usually anti-labor and pro-corporation, the struck newspapers have really gone to town against their own workers, printing column after column of defamation and distorting the union's case so as to marshal public opinion to their own side.

The union, which is not affiliated to either the CIO or AFL, has not helped its cause any by refraining from any attempt to obtain the support of the labor movement in New York. Outside of skeleton picket lines in front of the newspaper plants, no effort has been made to develop a city-wide and labor-wide boycott of the struck newspapers. The union has even condoned the purchase of single copies of the daily editions at individual newspaper offices.

WHAT THEY SAY--

By WALTER WEISS

Man-Made Scarcity

A serious bottleneck in reconversion to civilian goods is said to be a shortage of sheet and strip steel.

Reports the Journal of Commerce on July 7:

"A major cause of the scarcity... is the inclination of the metal industry to cut down on 'high-cost' operations as government operations are reduced, several War Production Board officials, who refused to be quoted, said...."

"They contended that mill operations are concentrated more on production of shapes and forms which can be produced cheaply pending price and labor competition, which would make the 'high-cost' operations profitable."

In other words, they are waiting for:

1) More cutbacks to increase unemployment, so they can drive wages down, and

2) A pile-up of orders, so that prices can be pushed up.

Naturally, WPB officials don't want to be quoted. It's not nice to accuse fellow capitalists of going on strike. It would be bad for the morale of the boys in the fox-holes.

"Butch" Butchers Facts

In a recent Sunday broadcast to the citizens of New York, Mayor Fiorello (Butch) LaGuardia

"proved" that meat packers lose money under present ceiling prices.

Comments

Time magazine of July 9: "But what Butch forgot was that most big meat packers do not make profits from meat sales alone, but from the sale of by-

products (fertilizers, soap, glue)."

And what profits! CIO's Cost-of-Living Committee has shown that the eight biggest packers "earned" before taxes almost seven times as much in 1944 as they averaged during the 1936-39 period. After all taxes, profits were a little less than THREE times as high. To meet this crisis in the profit system, subsidies to the packers have been increased several times this year.

Rubber Workers, Attention!

Business Week, a magazine for corporation executives, reports in its July 7 issue that the Office of Defense Transportation has come to understand labor affairs very well.

Proof? The request of the United Rubber Workers for a convention has been turned down, while the National Maritime Union was given a go-ahead signal.

Business Week says that the rubber workers would surely end their no-strike pledge and might even call an industry-wide strike. On the other hand, "it is completely safe to assume that the National Maritime Union convention will do nothing that the officers themselves would not do anyway."

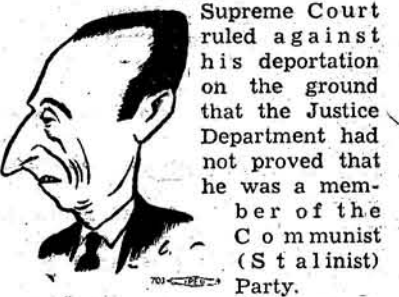
The NMU, as you probably know, is dominated by Stalin's boys of the "Communist" Political Association.

Of course, the ODT, having a great respect for democracy, could not give the true explanation for allowing the NMU convention but stated instead that about one-half the members claim New York, the convention place, as their home port.

It would be very interesting to see what would happen if the rubber workers should locate a "home port," where great numbers of the members live.

Browder and Bridges

Time magazine of July 2 reports that Harry Bridges received many messages of congratulations (some from employers) after the Supreme Court ruled against his deportation on the ground that he was a member of the Communist Party.



To show his gratitude, Harry joined Earl Browder to form a minority of two in the current Communist Party "discussion" on the shift of line recently ordered by Stalin. Said Harry: "The capitalist system is going to be around for a long time, and we have to shape a labor program to fit the system."

Not that the new Communist Party line is to date very much different from Browder's and Bridges' ideas, except in some of its language.

It Depends on Your Point of View

Describing prospects for the reconversion and post-war periods, the United States News of July 6 says:

"Wage and salary earners, wage earners in particular, are as a group to take a big cut in income under the most favorable circumstances...."

"Altogether, except in the field of wage payments, the income picture for post-war seems bright." (If not the editors of the United States News.)

In other words, if the wage earners continue to tolerate the capitalist system, the picture seems bright--except for most of the people.

Army Breaks Truck Strike

By ROY GOULD

CHICAGO--This city has taken on the aspect of an armed camp. Over 16,000 soldiers are stationed here. By a gigantic effort the Army has finally succeeded in breaking the second truck drivers strike--an epic strike for decent wages and hours, a stubborn battle against the government and its armed forces.

It took 11,000 MPs and 5,000 Army drivers to break this strike of 10,000 truckers.

These troops were brought in from distant places, such as Massachusetts. Soldiers with overseas experience were deliberately selected for the task. Some formations were lectured by their officers, who told them that they were being sent here to break the strike and that anyone not cooperating fully would be docked thirty discharge points.

GOVERNMENT BREAKS STRIKE

Soon the city was overrun--knots of soldiers here and there at trucking establishments, soldiers escorting trucks and convoys everywhere, and soldiers going to and from work on the street cars. Every vacant park was turned into a camping ground.

A common sight was a big trailer truck stuck somewhere because some green soldier driver could not back it out. The population was friendly to these soldier boys, knowing that it was not their fault, but the sympathy of every working man was with the exploited strikers who persisted in their uphill battle.

The AFL teamsters, striking against the orders of their own seab union, trickled back to work first, but the 6,000 members of the independent union still stayed out. After ten days their executive board accepted a motion to call off the strike in face of the overwhelming odds. This move was opposed by Steve Slahor, president, on the ground that the board could not call off a strike voted by the membership. He was defeated and the board tried to call off the strike, but immediately fifty or seventy-five stewards from the leading barns seized the union halls and telephones, announcing that the strike was continuing until the membership meeting. At this meeting the workers finally bowed to the inevitable.

The ODT had already announced that the strike was collapsing. The Army had caught up with the backlog of military supplies and was moving in on accumulated civilian stocks. The press was waging a vicious back-to-work campaign, as was the AFL union. Under these circumstances the independent union could scarcely hope to beat down the WLB.

Their magnificent battle was not in vain, however. The Harvester workers, the Donnelley workers and others took courage and also struck against the WLB at the same time. This strike is a dramatic example of rank and file labor solidarity and a milestone on the road of Chicago labor toward understanding the friendship of big business and government AGAINST organized labor. It is a lesson in the necessity of independent labor politics--an independent Labor Party.

Gen. Motors' Demerit Plan

By D. B.

ST. LOUIS--Those North American Aviation slaves don't know how lucky they are. They at least have a chance to redeem themselves by being very, very good boys over a period of time. They have the advantage of knowing the number of demerits they have earned--and the additional numbers required to separate them from their pay checks. (LABOR ACTION carried a story on North American's demerit system on July 2--Ed.)

But here at General Motors in St. Louis we have a list of forty regulations laid down by the company, under twenty-eight of which the company can exercise its right to discharge any employee, regardless of his past record. "And don't you come around here with any squawks," says the union. "You've got a copy of the book of rules and you signed for it. So you can't say you didn't know."

Cutbacks are the order of the day in the St. Louis area. And as LABOR ACTION predicted, the bosses have done nothing to take up the slack.

The USES office is crowded daily with victims of the war WPA. They are sent to all kinds of places by the bureaucrats, whether the job you are sent to has any relationship to your past experience or not.

The workers are told they will be allowed only four weeks' unemployment insurance instead of the usual sixteen weeks unless they make themselves "available for employment."

USES RUN-AROUND

What do they mean by "available"? They mean that if you are offered a job at fifty cents an hour and don't take it, four weeks is all you get, regardless of your previous experience or rate of pay.

Union officers are so helpless it is

pitiful. All they can do is coach the members how to lie successfully. By telling them to act dumb and report back to the USES that the outfit you were sent to wouldn't consider hiring you.

If the Ball-Burton-Hatch bill goes through Congress, a good many union bureaucrats will be in the ranks of the unemployed themselves. When the government sets up machinery to regulate relations between employer and employee, it is taking away the rights of the unions.

Their membership will dwindle away because union bosses with their program of collaboration with the employers have led the workers up a blind alley. Unless organized labor gets rid of its present top leadership and steps into the arena with a Labor Party and a progressive workers' and farmers' program, as advocated by LABOR ACTION, the future looks dark for the workers of America.

CLEVELANDERS: Reserve-- Wednesday Evening August 1 See Next Week's Issue of LABOR ACTION

Los Angeles Readers: LABOR ACTION FORUM At St. Paul's Church 21st St. and Naomi, Los Angeles July 30-- Jim Crow in the Army and Navy FREE ADMISSION Questions, Discussion Welcome

Akron Labor Action Forum: "Is Strike Action Alone Enough?" SPEAKER ERNEST LUND Well Known Socialist Educator 772 RAYMOND ST. (rear) AKRON TUESDAY, JULY 31, 8:00 P. M. Admission Free



A PAPER IN THE INTEREST OF LABOR

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Workers Party Program for Organized Labor In the Reconversion and Post-War Period

FOR THE UNEMPLOYED AND VETERANS:

- 1. Full unemployment insurance beginning with \$30 a week for single men and women and graduated upward for dependents to all workers for whom government and industry do not find jobs. 2. Absorption of all workers thrown into unemployment during reconversion by reduction of the work-week with no reduction in weekly take-home pay. 3. Two years' base pay grant to all demobilized veterans, with the option of trade school and higher educational facilities at government expense, guarantee of adequate family maintenance and guarantee of decent jobs.

FOR THE POST-WAR:

- 4. A job for every worker with a guaranteed minimum annual wage of \$2,500 per year. A rising standard of living, by means of government planning to insure the highest national production and income. 5. A guaranteed \$5,000 annual income to all workers' families by means of a planned rise in

the national income and a thirty-hour maximum work week.

THESE AIMS TO BE ACHIEVED THROUGH:

- 6. A \$250 billion five-year program to provide decent housing for all, extensive public works, rural electrification and modernization. 7. Conscription of all war industries; nationalization of the banks, big industrial monopolies and transportation systems, and no handing over of government-built and owned plants and facilities to private ownership. 8. A 100 per cent tax on all war profits above a five per cent maximum on invested capital; a \$25,000 ceiling on total individual income, and a graduated capital levy on all accumulated wealth over \$50,000 to cover war costs and provide post-war security for labor.

THIS PROGRAM TO BE CARRIED OUT BY:

- 9. Control of production by democratically-elected workers' committees. 10. An independent Labor Party and a workers' government.

Left Parties Spurn United Action Against G. L. K. Smith

By JACK BRENT

LOS ANGELES.—After having held a successful picketing demonstration on June 25 against the American fascist, Gerald L. K. Smith, which rallied over 150 active pickets and 500 sympathetic spectators, the Los Angeles branch of the Workers Party held a repeat demonstration at his meeting of June 28. The second time, the picket line was maintained until the meeting ended. A brief outdoor meeting was held at which participants in the demonstration were thanked for their cooperation and told of the necessity to form an Anti-Fascist Committee to combat Smith and all other budding fascists at every point.

The leading newspapers maintained a conspiracy of silence on the demonstration as well as on the Smith meeting. However, the Los Angeles Sentinel, a leading Negro weekly, carried a spread which included pictures of the picket line in front of the Philharmonic Auditorium. The Citizens-News, a Hollywood daily, which is the only local newspaper that has been exposing Smith consistently did mention the demonstration led by the Workers Party in its release on the Smith meeting.

Carey McWilliams paid tribute to the first demonstration in PM of July 9, but failed to recognize the sponsors.

His success therefore depends on well organized meetings which are open only to select audience, favorable publicity and the passivity of the trade unions, socialists and liberal anti-fascists. He is being sponsored by a "Committee of 600 Pastors," a non-existent organization, and one city Councilman, Meade McClanahan.

UNITED FRONT CALL

Friends of LABOR ACTION and the Workers Party responded immediately to the announcement of the Smith meeting with an invitation to the Socialist Party, the Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Workers Party to join in a protest demonstration against the fascists. Although no one can fail to see the real menace to the workers that this American Hitler represents, yet not one of the above organizations agreed to join the Workers Party in a united front against the first open drive of the fascists to entrench themselves in Los Angeles.

With the customary nonchalance of sky-dwellers, the Socialist Labor Party representative hinted that nothing would be done, although "the committee will consider it." That is really consistent with the policy of an organization whose main struggle against capitalism consists of writing furious manifestoes.

The Socialist Party organizer informed us that it was unlikely that the party would join hands with "Bawlsheviks." His intense emotional disagreement with bolshevism blinds this respectable gentleman to the necessity of waging an effective struggle against fascism. Presumably the Smith meeting wasn't important enough to be bothered with.

SWP DISDAIN

Our next visit, to the Socialist Workers Party, proved equally futile. Yes, we were told, the local committee would discuss the matter. The two members we spoke to, however,

indicated that our efforts were wasted. "Yes, you can quote me," one said sneeringly. "We are not interested in a united front with a two-by-four organization which is anti-revolutionary." If the Workers Party were a mass organization like the Communist Political Association, then it would be worth their while. "As it is, you of the Workers Party can have all the glory," he added.

This local leader is evidently under the impression that the struggle against fascism is a game of marbles—no thanks, we're not playing right now. The Workers Party is a small organization, you see, while they represent a real mass organization (at least two-by-six, not two-by-four). These local leaders are not only infecting their young members with the arrogance that in all fairness belongs only to the "bureaucrats," but are also miseducating anyone they reach with their distortions as to the nature of the united front.

The only criteria for joint action in this instance are (1) Smith is a fascist, (2) the working class should be aroused to the necessity for an open stand against him and (3) the fight against Smith would be more effective if the two organizations joined on this specific issue.

The basis for the shameful doing-nothing policy of the SWP is (1) now is not the time and (2) their party can do it better alone.

"The only moral people" will have to explain to their membership why they refused to participate in the protest demonstration. It seems incredible that the SWP will simply continue its abstentionist policy toward the fascists. That is the surest road to political suicide.

Despite the official "stay-away" line, four members of the Socialist Party and three members of the Socialist Workers Party saw the necessity of fighting fascism now, and joined the picket line.

NEW YORK ELECTION

- Profits • Government • Unemployment

(The following is a second excerpt from the pamphlet, "Jobs for All," written by Walter Weiss, staff writer for LABOR ACTION.)

Then the plants—over \$55 billion sin plant—were turned over to the great monopolies to run on leases or as "managers" on a fee basis. This was done by Roosevelt, not by Hoover.

The government guaranteed profits—huge profits, two and a half times as big AFTER ALL TAXES as before the war.

The government provided raw materials from all over the world.

The government froze workers in their jobs and tied wages to the Little Steel formula.

And so now—

The monopolies complained about their taxes, abused the workers, boasted of what Ford, du Pont and the rest were doing for the war effort (in advertising paid for by the government), and raked in the profits.

It was GOVERNMENT ACTION that planned the huge war production, not private business and its famous system of free enterprise.

What has the coming election in New York to do with all this?

The election gives us the opportunity, if we know how to use it, to say: "If we could have government action in wartime to plan full production and full employment, we must have equally strong government action in peacetime—not in the interests of profits and imperialist grabs, but for the benefit of all the people."

That is what New York workers can say to workers in all over the United States. The great problems of production and employment can't possibly be solved in this city alone, but New York workers can begin to solve these problems for themselves by launching a movement for workers everywhere to follow.

At the time this is being written, "cutbacks" and layoffs are getting into full swing. Hours are being cut, while wage rates are frozen and prices keep rising. Workers are being downgraded. Entire plants are being closed. The great planners in government and business simply have "no plans" for these plants.

For every 100 workers in New York City's factories in February of last year, there were fewer than 92 in February of this year. In the machine and metal plants, where weekly earnings have been much higher than anywhere else, the drop was from 100 to 84.

We read that veterans in large numbers are collecting unemployment benefits—of \$20 or less—under the famous GI Bill of Rights. They could get jobs, says a New York City representative of the War Manpower Commission, but they "have a fantastic idea of what jobs are paying... The veterans want to stay at home. They feel that New York can supply them with whatever jobs they want. But it can't... In the long run they generally come down a lot when they see they can't get the salaries they want... Many men earned more in the service than they could get in private industry."

What happened to that story we used to hear that the no-strike pledge and the Little Steel formula were designed for the benefit of the boys in the foxholes and the dear ones they left behind? Another WMC representative, on May 28 of this year, described full employment in the future as only "a hope and a prayer."

On the same date, a CIO member of the regional War Labor Board stated that the picture was blacker than had been painted.

On the same date, the City Welfare Commissioner said that, unless the government takes "extraordinary" means to prevent it, the post-war years would see a "substantial" drop in employment. City officials take such a serious view of the situation, he added, that plans are already being made for a larger relief load with the return of peace.

The time to act and act boldly is NOW! The pre-war past is already becoming the post-war future.

What must be done? This is contained in the program proposed by the Workers Party on this page.



The pamphlet from which the above is taken can be obtained by sending this coupon to the Election Campaign Committee, 114 West 14th Street, New York 11, N. Y. Five cents a copy; special bundle rate of three cents a copy for ten or more.

Name \_\_\_\_\_ Address \_\_\_\_\_ No. Copies \_\_\_\_\_ Enclosed Find \_\_\_\_\_ EXTRA CONTRIBUTIONS WELCOME!

Editorials

Who's Behind the Bilbos?

For the past two weeks the Senate of the United States has had the Fair Employment Practices Committee under consideration. Concretely the Senate had before it the consideration of the question of making an appropriation for the continuation of this body for another year.

There are those who are opposed to the FEPC and its activities. There are others who have no particular concern over the FEPC and do not express any interest either in its continuation or its elimination. There is a third group who favor the FEPC and would like to see it made a permanent governmental body. While the Workers Party is in substantial agreement with the third group on the question of the FEPC, it is not this which we want to discuss.

A DISGUSTING SPECTACLE

Right now we are concerned with the spectacle which is taking place in the Senate around the matter of the FEPC. Our concern is not primarily with Senators Bilbo and Eastland. We know what they are. Every even semi-intelligent man and woman knows pretty much what kind of people these two men are. All one has to do is read the things they said in the debate on the FEPC or any of the speeches these two have been making constantly on the floor of the United States Senate. They are known variously as "Negro haters," "anti-Semites," "kluxers," "reactionaries," etc.

Bilbo, Eastland, Rankin and their like are all these things but they are more. The first two are U. S. Senators, the latter a Representative. They are the representatives of the cotton barons, of the southern money-lenders, manufacturers and landlords. They are anti-labor and the political representatives of all those interests which want to keep the South an open shop. They are the tools of the commercial, industrial and agricultural interests of the South, which in one way or another organize the pogroms against labor organizers; which organize the lynching and mob murder against Negroes and which keep the South the most backward area in the civilized world.

How can Bilbo, Eastland and their kind do the things they do and say the things they do and keep going? How do they get elected year after year and remain in the U. S. Senate? It is because the masses in the South particularly have been deluded with the poison of race hate and racial superiority. It is because the masses in that backward section do not vote. It is because the working class in the land of Bilbo is not organized. It is because the South, in its relations with the masses of the people, exalts ignorance, bestiality and stupidity.

Bilbo and his kind are in the Senate because the masses of the South have not yet lifted up their heads. These masses, black and white, are not wholly unlike the serfs of medieval Europe: they are shackled in body and mind. They do not know who their real enemies are, nor why. The result of this enslavement, of this degradation, oppression and exploitation is Bilbo: champion of "white supremacy," defender of "white womanhood."

But when all this is said there are other things that must be said, and other questions that must be asked. Why does the Senate of the United States listen to Bilbo? Why don't these civilized ladies

and gentlemen attack Bilbo or leave the Senate chamber in disgust? Why is there no real anger in Congress against Bilbo? In place of real anger we find that even the supporters of the FEPC are willing to compromise and bow to the demands of a Bilbo and an Eastland. Not only this, but the Republican Party ("remember Abraham Lincoln"), the saints of "freedom road," go so far as to make a block with Bilbo and Eastland.

SENATE TOLERATES BILBO

The members of the Senate of the United States tolerate Bilbo because they agree with him. The vast majority of them do not express themselves in the filthy language of Bilbo, they are more subtle, more refined, but they themselves carry on substantially as does Bilbo. Bilbo is anti-labor and so are the rest of them. Bilbo represents the exploiters in his small way, while the senators from the North represent the exploiters of the masses in a big way. Bilbo's field is the South, while Taft and his kind represents those industrial and financial interests whose field of operation is the whole country and the whole world. They are all one and there is an indissoluble bond between them.

Bilbo and his kind stand for Jim Crow. So do Taft and his kind. They both stand for the present and age-old policy of Jim Crow of the federal government and the whole ruling class in the United States. The Congress of the U. S., even those members who support the FEPC bill, have not taken a single step to wipe out Jim Crow as a national policy. They do not even clean out the Jim Crow disgrace from the national government. That's one reason why they don't and cannot deal with Bilbo. They don't want to. They are in step with Bilbo on the fundamental question of Jim Crow of Negroes and the exploitation of the whole working class.

The answer to Bilbo, Taft and all the Negro haters, labor haters, and exploiters can only be given by the working class, the whole working class, black and white.

LABOR'S JOB

Let the labor movement first cleanse itself: eliminate Jim Crow within the ranks of labor. Organize the South. Organize and educate the workers of the South; black and white. Bind them together into working class brotherhood and comradeship.

Organize the working class in the whole country to fight against every injustice to every worker, no matter what his race, creed, sex or nationality.

Organize the entire working class independently to give battle on the economic and the political field.

Prepare the working class to take political power.

This is the reply we should make to Bilbo, to Taft, to Republicans and Democrats alike. Then there will be no need for a stop-gap FEPC. Then we will not have to listen to a Bilbo. Unless it is to hear his voice coming up from the chain gang, to which he has been consigned by the proper justice of an enlightened and wrathful working class.

NEXT WEEK:

Slums, Congestion and Blight—Fifth of the Housing Series, by Marian Gould

A Post Mortem on the 'Frisco World Security Conference, by Ernest Lund

'Errors' of the Greek Communist Party, by Jim Tanakos

The fascists are now organizing openly. Gerald L. K. Smith, fuhrer of America's nationalists (fascists), has decided to establish a beachhead in Los Angeles. Smith is planning to make his headquarters here in Los Angeles, if the response is good and atmosphere favorable. He is now bidding for the support of elements aside from the "Ham 'n' Eggers" and Townsendites. He is addressing the industrialists in the city, "I'm your man for the post-war period. I can attract a real following for the tasks ahead—smashing the trades unions and the radical parties."

Akron Goodyear Strike - -

(Continued from page 1)

year foremen are trying to crowd the workers as usual, now acting as though they are under direct Navy orders and in general thinking they have the workers over the barrel.

On directing the membership to return to work in compliance with the Navy orders, President Wheeler of Local No. 2 stated: "We intend to have all grievances settled. You will get the justice you deserve. We will demand that we get back our night shift bonus and vacation pay. And we will also ask for a union shop."

Some few members of the local at the last membership meeting took the position that nothing had been gained as a result of their nineteen-day walkout. Many unionists took strong exception to this—pointing out that they had fought all their enemies unitedly for a long period on behalf of union principles and that the struggle was going to continue now under new conditions and methods. They pointed out return to work was essential because the Navy has threatened use of "all official sanctions and measures" against those not returning, as well as invoking the notorious Smith-Connally Act penalties against future strikes while the Navy has control.

There is every indication that the War Labor Board intends to let the Goodyear workers "stew in their own juices" while the Navy is at hand. The WLB and the capitalist politicians behind it hope that the workers don't look on the Navy-seizure as a "victory" (which they don't, since the union told President Truman it wasn't necessary), and will bend their utmost effort to try to swindle the workers out of the tremendous moral, psychological and organizational victory they won in their 19 days on strike.

The Navy is reported to be trying

to get Selective Service to rescind its order calling for the reexamination or induction of all the workers. If this is a true report, it comes only as a result of the intense opposition this tyrannical order, invoked by W. H. Davis, economic stabilization director, produced in all of Akron. County draft board officials came early to open rebellion on this draconic edict.

The chairman of local draft board No. 1 wrote in part as follows to the state draft officials:



MURRAY: TO INTERVENE

"It is easy to issue an order when the issuing authority has no active part in carrying same into effect... Our community is torn asunder with the possibility of neighbor being arming arranged against neighbor... We should not be forced to become a strike-breaking agency..."

German Communist Party - -

(Continued from page 1)

Communist who still has illusions that his party has any revolutionary or socialist goal, that this is decidedly not the case. Stalin has his NKVD (secret police) to deal with any member who has gotten "out of touch" with the party line during the years of fascist repression and still tries to act as a leader of the working class towards its emancipation

COMMUNISTS ARE GUILTY

This is not to say that the Communists are not guilty for the victory of Hitler and the present barbaric plight of the German workers. Acting on the theory of "social fascism" at the period of Hitler's coming to power, they considered the socialist and trade union leaders as the main danger. They considered Hitlerism only a passing evil, after which their day would come. This theory made it possible for them to repudiate any united front action with other workers' organizations and even to hold

united fronts with fascists. When Hitler's armed bands were terrorizing the workers, the socialists forbade their workers' militia, the Reich-



GENERALISSIMO STALIN

banner, to fight back, while "The League of Red Front Fighters," Communist militia, had abandoned its former policy of strike the fascists wherever you find them.

Wilhelm Pieck, one of the Communist leaders who signed the present manifesto, uttered this policy of capitulation on the eve of Hitler's assumption to power, on February 26, 1933. "Let the workers beware of giving the government any pretext for new measures against the Communist Party."

The more the Stalinists excuse themselves, the more they accuse themselves of their betrayal of the workers. The German workers were ready, willing and able to strike down fascism. It was their false leadership that frustrated them and paved the way for the forced labor camps. Stalinism has long been, and still remains, the main danger in the working class movement, to German labor and all labor.

Italy Still To Be Liberated

The New York Times of July 6 carried a story on the parade staged by thousands of Milan's working men and women—demanding lower prices and higher wages. American tanks, which have been used to uphold collaborationist rulers in Belgium and Italy and by the British against the Greek anti-fascists, lined the demonstration to maintain "order."

These workers suffered in the factory-prisons under Mussolini; they formed the backbone of the militias that drove the German Nazis out of the northern part of Italy. Now, in Milan, for instance, only twenty per cent of them are employed. General strikes are breaking out in Turin and other towns.

A spokesman for the workers in the Milan presented a set of demands to the American Military Government's Colonel Charles Poletti, including emergency pay and better distribution of goods.

The workers won some of their demands, including emergency unemployment pay of three-quarters of what they would get if they were working. Although the demonstration was called

"non-partisan," individual signs carried the slogan "Down with capitalism." Certainly these workers have gained nothing from either the Italian or Allied variety of capitalism.

The plight of the Italian anti-fascists demonstrates that American and Italian workers should call on the government to withdraw its repressive AMG apparatus, which continues to rest on some local fascists, and the Italian working people should rid themselves of the remainder of their oppressors and set up their own democratic government.



# Post War Draft: Labor's Case Against It

By Stephen Parker

Labor's opposition to the current bill for the post-war conscription of American youth has been forcefully presented by a veteran of World War II to the House Post-war Military Policy Committee.

The wounded veteran, Loren Grey, appeared before the committee as the official spokesman of the UAW-CIO. He spoke as the representative of over 400,000 members of the UAW who are or have been in the armed forces during World War II.

Grey presented the following labor objections to peacetime conscription:

"It would be contrary to democracy because it would deprive a substantial number of our citizens of much of their freedom and impose upon them for one year, and periodically thereafter, dictatorial, authoritarian, military discipline, which has no place in a free society.

"It would extend the undemocratic caste system inherent in military organizations.

"Its cost has been estimated at between three and four billion dollars annually, more than we ordinarily spend on public education.

"It would gear us to an armament economy, reduce our productivity and reduce our national income.

"And to us in labor, it would be a threat to the free and democratic functioning of trade unions."

Despite the opposition of the Auto Workers and many other labor unions, the House committee went ahead and recommended adoption of a peacetime conscription program before the end of this year. All of the military bigwigs, Marshall, King, Stimson, etc., appeared before the committee and urged passage.

## STRIKE-BREAKING WEAPON

Labor has much to fear from a program for peacetime conscription. Conscription has a twofold purpose. On the one hand it is held as a threat over the head of labor unions. An example of the uses that can be made of militarism appeared recently in Chicago, where the Army was called in to smash a strike of truck drivers. The other purpose is to prepare a recalcitrant youth for World War III through the blessings of militarism.

Grey, the spokesman for the Auto Workers, pointed out this aspect of the bill when he told the House committee:

"We do not see how such a system could have any military effectiveness at all, if it can have any, unless those who have completed their training are subject to periodic recalls to active duty for refresher duty and use in EMERGENCIES, real or imagined."

Emergencies, in the language and opinions of the sponsors or the bill, are strikes.

## WHO'S FOR CONSCRIPTION?

The greatest proponents of conscription are at the same time the most reactionary members of Congress. The spearhead of the drive for conscription are the Southern reactionaries, the initiators of the anti-strike and anti-union measures in Congress. They are well aware that militarism and a free, democratic labor movement have nothing in common.

During the entire war they have been trying to indoctrinate the soldiers with their anti-union propaganda. They have all of the powerful organs of public opinion on their side. When workers have gone out on strike because they found the conditions under which they have to live intolerable, they have presented these workers and their unions to the soldiers as no less than instruments of Hitler and the Mikado.

They have done everything to try and drive a wedge between the soldiers and the labor unions. It would be foolish to deny that some of these efforts have been successful. Militarism is a good breeding ground for the spread of anti-labor sentiments, and all reactionaries know it. But that much of this anti-union talk has also been unsuccessful is also a fact. The Greys and the thousands of veterans who have appeared on the picket lines are eloquent testimony to that.

When the war ends there will be a new scramble for jobs. Unless the labor movement begins to participate in political action and adopts an effective program for jobs for all, there will be millions of unemployed. There will not be enough jobs for all, and an attempt will be made to blame the labor unions instead of the rotten capitalist system.

There will be a new generation growing up that will have no jobs, no future. They will be reminiscent of the locked-out generation of the depression of the thirties. What is to be done with them? The sponsors of conscription say: "Put them in the army, militarize them, educate them against labor and use them to break strikes."

Yes, the labor movement must be on guard against conscription. Instead of uniforms for our youth, they must insist on jobs, education and freedom for them.

## Morris Kent

We note with great sorrow the untimely death of an old comrade of ours, Morris Kent, who was killed in Germany on May 9 while serving in the armed forces.

Though in his early thirties at the time of his death, Morris was a real old-timer in the socialist movement. His career began over twenty years ago in the youth organization of the old Communist Party, which at that time was still an honest workingman's organization.

In 1930 he broke from the already corrupted Stalinist movement, to join the earliest Trotskyist organization in America. In those days the "going was really tough" and it was the arduous effort of comrades like Kent that kept the movement alive.

During the last year or two before entering the Army, Morris became inactive due to personal misfortunes. Never once, however, did he abandon the ideas and principles for which he had fought the major part of his life.

To his dying day he retained his belief in the fight for socialism as the only way to rid the world of these ghastly imperialist wars, in which he himself was to fall as a victim.

Morris died a socialist—his socialist comrades mourn his loss.



# SOCIALISM AND POST-WAR HOUSING

Part IV—Our Cities:

By MARIAN GOULD

This week, L.A. readers, I want to take you a little further back into the causes of the chronic housing shortage.

I want to point out to you some deep-rooted evils that must be abolished before the much-heralded arrival of the Post-War Home for every housewife can become a reality.

Today we live in a city-culture. Both the 56.6% of our population in cities, and the 20.6% in non-farm rural areas, are dominated by city ways of life.

This would seem to be a broadening, beneficial fact.

The very words we use show the importance of cities: civic, civilization, citizen and city all derive from the same Latin word, civis, or citizen.

Cities, as centers of social intercourse among humans, first made possible that meeting of minds, that exchange and stimulation of cultural, technical and scientific achievement that has steadily enriched our social heritage throughout the centuries.

In old times these benefits of civilization were restricted to the inhabitants of the few scattered cities that dominated the four continents. The slaves and serfs whose agriculture supported the cities lived in abject poverty and ignorance.

Is it any different today?

We socialists say that the spread of capitalist cities has failed miserably to widen the cultural horizons of the masses of people, or provide them with greater opportunities for individual development.

Capitalism has made a lie of the promise of civilizing city life. Today's cities are huge factories for the production of PROFITS, and for the realization of these profits through commerce and trade.

And that's all they are. Any other benefits they confer on their inhabitants are accidental.

"The American Way of Life" does not mean that ideal little bungalow with the white picket fence, just inside which papa is tossing the baby up into the air, the way the beer-ads show it.

The REAL American way of life passes through the dreary crowded stone, brick and asphalt canyons within which the majority of Americans spend their days, denied the most elementary of human needs—sunshine, fresh air, green grass and trees.

Today's ugly, chaotic cities are an unplanned by-product of the monopoly and exploitation of our country's natural wealth and resources by Free Capitalist Enterprise.

The fact that LIVING and RECREATION CONDITIONS in these sprawling cities were to dominate AND RUIN thousands of irreplaceable human lives has always been secondary and incidental to the pursuit of the Almighty Dollar. What happened was this:

With the invention of machinery and the discovery of steam as a motive force (in the 1700's and 1800's) the owners of accumulations of money saw the opportunity to make fabulous profits: they invested their money and became capitalists.

Hundreds of thousands of "Hands" were forced out of agriculture into the factories to create value and surplus value on the new machines.

Huge concentrations of population followed industry to sources of raw material and power along the main arteries of water and rail transportation. Old cities doubled and tripled in size. New cities sprang up overnight: Manchester, England, Pittsburgh, the Ruhr.

The new machinery was housed in the best buildings that could be made. The Human Machines were housed in shacks on the cheapest land available—often unhealthy lowlands near rivers or harbors, or areas so located as to get little sunlight, into which prevailing winds carried tons of industrial smoke and soot. This cheap land still houses the majority of low-income receivers in all cities. (On this point see Can Our Cities Survive, by Jose Sert and the International Congress for Modern Architecture.)

In that early period of city formation, CAPITALISM sought out those fields where the greatest profits were to be made. That meant industries where machinery had been introduced and human labor power applied to these machines created much surplus value.

Mass production in the construction field was out of the question at that time because of the low level of technological development. It must await the coming of steel and reinforced concrete construction, pre-fabricated parts, and large-scale site assembly.

Banking and finance capital, then, ignored housing for more profitable spheres. The task of housing the masses fell by default to speculative capital—to the land speculators, the building contractors, and the medieval construction crafts.

The RESULTS of these original circumstances (as embodied today in our present-day city buildings, city property values, and the financial superstructure built on them) all stand as insuperable obstacles to rehousing America. That is, as long as we continue to go by the rules and regulations of the capitalist system.

The only path to take for overcoming these obstacles is the road to SOCIALISM. Next week, we'll examine the reasons why this is true.

Next Week: American Way of Life—Part IV: Slums, Congestion and Blight.

# COMMUNIST NEW TURN--IV

By DAVID COOLIDGE

In previous articles we have dealt with the question of the various positions which Foster and his group assumed in line with the demands of the Kremlin bureaucrats and murderers.

We have demonstrated, right out of the writings of Foster, that he had no fundamental differences with Browder; that he did not have any political line different from Browder; that Browder and the whole crew received the line for their politics and their trade union activities from Stalin.

All of them together cried "Me, too" when Stalin signed a pact with fascism; when Stalin said "this is an imperialist war"; or when he changed the line and said "this is a sacred war"; when he ordered the American Stalinists one year to organize strikes and the following year to support the no-strike pledge.

All of them fell into line without a murmur of dissent when Stalin was against Roosevelt. They were just as fervent in support of Roosevelt when Stalin, for his own reasons, decided to go all-out for Roosevelt.

The Workers Party has explained again and again in LABOR ACTION why this is so: that the antics of the Stalinist parties is decided by Stalin in line with the foreign policy of the Russian bureaucracy. This foreign policy is always decided by the needs of these bureaucrats in their frantic efforts to hold on to power in Russia and to keep the Russian workers suppressed and enslaved. Stalin is never concerned with the welfare of the working class or the trade union movement anywhere.

Now Foster and Browder have a falling out. The sparks are flying in the Daily Worker. They are having a "discussion," a period of "self-criticism." Browder is a "revisionist" and Minor is filled with "prattle." What we must not forget is that what we have here is the hand of Foster but the voice of Stalin. It is an Edgar Bergen-Charlie McCarthy act.

The Foster "majority" has published a new program: "The Present Situation and the Next Tasks." We are going to examine this "new program" in detail. We are going to find out what, if anything, is new. We are going to discuss this new trap the Stalinists have prepared for the working class in the United States.

## THE "NEW" LINE

The draft resolution which contains the program starts off with a lie and goes on to another and still others. "The military defeat of Nazi Germany...has already brought forth a new anti-fascist unity of the peoples in Europe marked by the formation

in a number of countries of democratic governments representative of the will of the people."

Where has this taken place? In Italy? Poland? Greece? Rumania? Czechoslovakia? Hungary? France? In no country in Europe, France included, is there a government "representative of the will of the people." Greece is under the domination of Churchill's tanks dripping with the blood of the Greek workers in order to guarantee the payment of the interest on the 100 million pounds owed by Greece to the British imperialist Hambro Bank. Where is there any government in Italy "representative of the will of the Italian people? Do the British and American imperialist armies represent the will of the Italian people?

The bloody sword of Stalin hangs over the Polish, Rumanian and Yugo-Slav peoples. These puppet régimes are undoubtedly what the CPA resolution has in mind when it speaks of "democratic governments." Was the reactionary monarchist, De

Gaulle, doing the will of the French people when the resistance movements were disbanded, scattered and pushed into the background as though it was they who had collaborated with the French and German fascists? Do the broken down kings, queens and other royalty who have returned or will return to Belgium, The Netherlands, Norway and Denmark, represent the "will of the people" of these countries? These are scoundrels and cowards, who deserted "my people" ran off to London and New York, and left the people to be trampled under by the fascist barbarians.

There are no governments in Europe "representative of the will of the people." The government of Europe are régimes imposed on the people by the Anglo-American-Russian imperialist conquerors. These régimes are supported and maintained by the armed might and the espionage systems of these conquerors. The statement of the Foster (Stalin) resolution is a lie. It is a lie told to delude,

mislead and drug the working class in the United States so that the workers may continue to support American imperialism.

The resolution states that a "sustained struggle" must be carried on toward the "complete destruction of fascism in Europe and throughout the world..." Why? "...because the extremely powerful reactionary forces in the United States and England, which are centered in the trusts and cartels, are striving to reconstruct Europe on a reactionary basis... the most aggressive circles of American imperialism are endeavoring to secure for themselves political and economic domination in the world."

This is the new Foster-Stalin program. The reactionary forces in the United States are not centered in capitalism and imperialism as such, but only in the biggest capitalists. It is only the "most aggressive circles of American imperialism" which want to dominate the world. What is capitalism today but the trusts and cartels? What are the aggressive circles of imperialism? Is there such a thing as a non-aggressive imperialism? Passive imperialists? Good imperialists?

## FOSTER'S "OLD" LINE

Does any worker think that it is the little grocer or the five-acre farmer who is out to "dominate the world"? Did Foster believe in September 1941 that the "most aggressive circles of American imperialism" were not after "domination in the world" when he wrote: "What before was an imperialist war has now become a war for the freedom and independence of all nations and peoples." Then the imperialists, even "the most aggressive circles" were fighting not for world domination but for national independence. That is, the U. S. did not have its national independence in 1941 and had to fight for it.

The Foster line in 1942 was for saving the cartels and trusts. If Hitler should win "the capitalists would have their power clipped, their profits slashed..." It was thus that Foster moaned for the poor cartels and trusts. But as for the workers, they too must protect themselves "by the avoidance of strikes." Foster urged the workers "to do their share... not to strike while the war emergency lasts... this decision should be adhered to strictly throughout the ranks of labor."

(Continued next week.)

## What We've Always Said About the CP

"The fact that my letter at the time protesting to the National Committee against Browder's revisionism never reached the membership was due to the lack of democracy in the party. If I had attempted to take my letter to the party after it was rejected at the enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau on February 8, 1944, it would have resulted in my immediate expulsion and probably a split in the party. (L. A. emphasis.) Comrade Browder made this perfectly clear at the meeting in question. Hence, for the sake of party unity, I had to confine my opposition to Browder's revisionism to the National Committee."—William Z. Foster, Daily Worker, July 8, 1945.



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# ALP: Lacks Real Plan for Reconversion

By V. J. Jensen

The American Labor Party, which not only in name but in protestations declares itself to be a "labor party," has just issued a handsome illustrated pamphlet called "The People's Plan for Reconversion." This pamphlet contains the ALP program for reconversion and the post-war period and tells what the party thinks labor must do to achieve it.

Basically, the ALP supports the seven-point CIO program for reconversion:

1. Increase basic wage rates by at least twenty per cent up to seventeen cents an hour.
2. Establish sixty-five cent minimum hourly wage.
3. Continue OPA.
4. Unemployment insurance: a maximum of \$25 a week for a minimum of twenty-six weeks in the unemployment year.
5. Pass the Murray-Wagner-Dingell bill.
6. Pass the Murray-Patman full employment bill.
7. Keep our purchasing power high.

Compare this with the plank in the Workers Party program: A job for every worker with a guaranteed minimum annual wage of \$2,500 a year (\$5,000 to all workers' families) by means of a planned rise in the national income and a thirty-hour maximum work week.

Fearful of the process of reduction in take-home pay, which has already begun with cutbacks in government contracts, the ALP proposes as a remedy an increase of basic wage rates by at least twenty per cent up to seventeen cents an hour. Certainly basic wage rates should be upped and upped to the point where a worker can maintain a decent standard of living, but what of those workers thrown into unemployment by reconversion? The Workers Party says: Absorb all workers thrown into unemployment during reconversion by reduction of the work week with no reduction in take-home pay.

## INADEQUACY OF ALP DEMANDS

The unemployment insurance plank of the ALP calls for a MAXIMUM of \$25 a week for a minimum of twenty-six weeks. On what is the worker's family supposed to live for the rest of the year? Current tax laws provide for refunds of excess profits taxes to capitalists and guarantee pre-war profits for a period of two years. There are no such laws for workers. The ALP plank is a concession to the grim capitalist dodge which fails to provide a job, the only means of living, to the workers and then penalizes THEM for it.

On the other hand, the Workers Party platform says that so long as government and industry do not find a job for workers, full unemployment insurance should be given, beginning with thirty dollars a week for single men and women and graduated upward for dependents until such time as they shall be reabsorbed into industries.

Pitiful and inadequate as are these demands of the ALP, even more pitiful and inadequate are the means by which this party recommends that labor get them. It urges labor to place its faith in the Wagner-Murray-Dingell social security bill (which congressional reactionaries have kept pigeonholed in committee for over two years), in the Murray-Patman so-called full employment bill.

It urges labor to political action. What is the nature of this "political action"? "Next to voting the right way," says the ALP pamphlet, "the best political action is writing to your congressman, your governor, your local newspaper." Then it gives, on its last page, a list of five things that the workers should do: ASK their congressman what he is going to do to protect the wage-earners in his district against unemployment; ASK governors and mayors what they are planning in local public works to provide for employment; ASK local union leaders how to help awaken the community to the problem of reconversion; WRITE or WIRE senators and congressmen to support bills favorable to labor.

Impressive, is it not? This party which pretends to speak for the workers of New York State, wants workers to vote the "right way." That is, it wants them to continue to vote for the candidates of the capitalist parties who have shown only contempt for labor's causes; who have shown that their vaunted "free enterprise" can organize only depression and want in peacetime and their government can organize for destruction and fabulous profits for capitalists in wartime. It urges the workers to go meekly to city halls and state capitals and ask the capitalist rulers what they are planning to do about reconversion, when it is already clear that they have no solution to the pressing problems of post-war economy.

The Workers Party says that the post-war period must see full employment at a guaranteed annual wage that will provide a decent standard of living for every worker and his family. This program can only be achieved through an extensive housing and public works program; through conscription of all war industries and nationalization of the banks, industrial monopolies and transportation; No government-owned plants must be turned over to private industry to be shut down and stand idle while workers need jobs. This program must be financed by taxing war profits, the individual incomes of capitalists, by capital levies—not by increased taxes on low incomes.

The American Labor Party is unworthy of its name. It has a capitalist program. It supports and depends on capitalist candidates. In New York City it does not hesitate to support as candidate for mayor corrupt Tammany's henchman, O'Dwyer.

Support a real program for reconversion and the post-war period.

Support Max Shachtman, the Workers Party candidate for Mayor, who stands for this program.

Break with the capitalist parties and their political satellites, like the ALP, and build now for an independent Labor Party.

## Robert Amsbaugh

Another loss must be recorded in the ranks of the revolutionary socialists. Robert C. Amsbaugh, for more than five years a member of the Workers Party, was killed in Europe early this year. He was drafted into the Army about three years ago, serving in a tank battalion, and was sent overseas last Christmas. During that time of isolation and army life he remained a valued and devoted adherent to our movement.

Prior to induction Bob attended Ohio State University in Columbus, participating in party work in that city. He was a member of the Cleveland Branch of the Workers Party.

Bob, in his middle twenties, was a tall, energetic fellow, with an active, inquisitive mind. His lovable personality and fine character made him instantly liked by strangers and loved by his friends. Bob's mind and talent, his warm-hearted earnestness, will be sorely missed in the days to come.

L. Campbell, Cleveland.