LABOR ACTION

JANUARY 28, 1946

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

ONE CENT

Labor Needs General Strategy Board to

UNIFYTHE STRIKE ACTIONS!



LOS ANGELES-Reminiscent of the "Little Steel Massacre," and the recent Hollywood strike is the above scene from the picket line of the United Electrical workers at U. S. Motors. This move on the part of the companies and Mayor Bowron's police who smashed heads, beat old men, threw tear gas and arrested some twenty-five pickets was the most violent post-war struggle thus far in labor's attempt to gain a living wage.



NEW YORK-Speakers at the spirited rally of 250 people called by the Workers Party to give full support to the GI demonstrations all over the world include, from left to right: Emanuel Garrett, acting editor of LABOR ACTION and overseas veteran of the European theater; Saul Berg, who served thirty-four months in the South Pacific; Eugene Victor, a navy veteran and chairman of the meeting; James M. Fenwick, combat veteran of the First Infantry Division, and Jack Wilson (photo not included), an AAF veteran.

Steelworkers Strike Eleven Reading Plants

BULLETIN:

READING, Pa., Jan. 22-During a heavy snowfall that later turned to sleet and then rain, pickets appeared at eleven organized steel plants in this area, employing over 3,000 workers, at 12:01 midnight. The plants

Mass picketing, led by the militant members of Local 2715, shut down Carpenter's Steel Corporation, which employs 1,800 people. The great bulk of workers employed here refused to walk through the picket line and went home, even though some foremen came out and evidently tried to talk them into crossing the line. By Tuesday, only a few diehards tried to go to work.

This plant had not taken a strike vote and the workers at first were uncertain about going on the picket line. On Tuesday, groups of these workers began to appear on the picket line. A mass meeting of these workers was called for Tuesday evening to lay plans for a union local and to keep the plant shut until their demands are met. On Tuesday morning a committee of ten appeared before the vice-president of Carpenter's Steel Corporation to request that the union be recognized as the bargaining agent for its members and that a wage increase of 181/2 cents be granted. This the company flatly refused.

The vice-president of Carpenter's reported on Monday that operations were not affected by the picketing, but by the next morning he had to admit that operations were seriously curtailed. Many old-timers who were locked out and blacklisted during the 1919 steel strike at this plant will rejoice when it is completely organized.

The company claimed that it did negotiate a 151/2 cent wage increase with an Employee Representation Committee. But Andres Kondrath, district representative of the Steel Workers Union, charged that the first news the committee had had of this was last week when they were summoned by automobile. The Employees Representative Committee is a company-union set-up, but at least half of the members of the committee are now union members.

No action is contemplated at the Textile Machine Works, because an NLRB election is anticipated.

As the strike progresses here, the organization of the strike is becoming more thorough, systematic and efficient. The men and women pickets are in high spirits and prepared to carry the struggle to the end.

(Special to LABOR ACTION)

READING, Pa.—One of the main developments in the steel strike in this city, and in Berks County generally, will be the expected shutdown of the two largest pillars of anti-unionism in this area, the Textile Machine Works and the Carpenter Steel Co. The workers in these two plants are itching to enter the fight for a decent wage and against the arrogance of the companies. They have joined the union in huge numbers during the past few weeks. The shutdown of these two plants will be a dramatic culmination of the organization drive that has been under way for some time. It will assure the final victory of unionism in these bulwarks of company domination.

The Textile Machine Works is part of the long unorganized and huge hosiery and hosiery machinery manufacturing industry, known as the Wyomissing Industries. Wyomissing, a small borough (Continued on page 4)

1,650,000

STEEL:

MEAT:

Workers on

ers shut down the overwhelming

bulk of the steel industry on

Monday, January 21, following the

collapse of negotiations in which

President Philip Murray of the

USA-CIO had already compro-

mised the union's demands from

25 cents an hour to 19.5 cents.

President Truman's formula of

18.5 cents an hour was then ac-

cepted by the CIO, and turned

Over 263,000 packinghouse

workers struck on January 16 fol-

lowing breakdown of negotiations

when the big packers rejected the

CIO's wage demand of 17.5 cents

an hour. The meat trust offered a

More than 200,000 electrical in-

dustry workers closed the major

corporations, Westinghouse, Gen-

eral Electric, and the electrical

UAW strike against General

Motors, involving over 350,000

workers, went into its eighth week with the CIO returning to its

original demands of a 30 per cent

wage increase, after General Mo-

tors failed to meet a January 21

deadline in which to accept the recommendation of the Truman

Fact - Finding Board to grant a

19.5 cents an hour wage increase.

division of General Motors, in

fight to get 19.5 cents an hour.

miserable 10 cents an hour.

ELECTRICAL:

AUTO:

down by the steel barons.

The bungling of the strikes by the top leadership of the CIO and the AFL, the resoluteness of the capitalist employers in refusing to grant wage increases, the intervention of the government with its "fact-finding" new Little Steel formula, all these indicate the correctness and urgency of the position of the Workers Party: the labor movement needs a general staff.

The capitalist class, the capitalist employers, have their general staff. The general staff of the capitalist employers—steel. automobile, packing, electrical and all the rest of capitalist industry—is a political general staff. This includes their Chambers of Commerce, the NAM, their Iron and Steel Institute. These

> are political bodies which make it their business to prepare political programs for their government at Washington and insist that the government adopt these political programs.

This is what is going on today **Picket Lines** right under the nose of labor, right now while over a million workers The main strike struggles, inare on strike, on strike with no volving over 1,650,000 workers, are strikes are not unified and coordibriefly summarized below: central democratic direction. The nated. There is no democraticallyelected General Strike Council. La-Nearly 750,000 CIO steel workbor has no general staff.

> The President of the United States, in his message to the Congress, calls for a law giving his "fact-finding" boards more power in the handling of "labor disputes." These so-called fact-finding boards have already demonstrated what their role and function are to be. They will be wage - stabilization committees functioning in peacetime, just like the WLB functioned during the war.

The top men in the labor movement have already accepted these fact-finding boards. The leaders of each international union and the leaders of the CIO have already accepted the recommendations of the Truman fact-finding boards in the present strikes. They have receded from their original demands for wage increases higher than those recommended by the "fact-finders."

The big capitalist corporations like General Motors and the steel companies have rejected the recommendations of their government that they give a very miserly wage increase. Thereupon Murray, Reuther and the others rush to the side of Truman to fight together with him against the capitalist employers.

That's what they think, these bureaucratic and stupid leaders of over a million workers on strike. They become righteous and indignant that U. S. Steel and GM refuse to abide by decisions of the government.

If they know, why don't they tell the million workers on strike and the whole labor movement exactly whose government it is? Furthermore, why don't these fat ten and (Continued on page 2)

Meat Strikers Rally Wide Support

By PAUL NEWMAN

CHICAGO, Jan. 21—The four biggest "hog butchers" in this city called the "hog butcher of the world" - Armour, Swift, Cudahy, and Wilsonwere closed down at 12:01 A.M., January 16, when 25,000 packing house workers left their jobs in the nationwide packing house strike. At every

gate of the gigantic Chicago Stock Yards, pickets were set up-some carrving signs such as "Down With Scabs, Every Worker a Member of UPWA," and "Vets Want a Living Wage." Only those maintenance men and office workers who have a pass from the union are allowed to enter the plants.

Striking for an immediate 17½ send food and coffee to the striking cent an hour wage increase, the pack-workers through the "Back of the ing house workers have the complete what is known in Chicago as the "Back of the Yards." The business men in "Back of the Yards"-a small town in itself grouped around the tremendous meat packing industry-

Yards Neighborhood Council," a comsupport of the entire population of munity welfare organization. In every store is a sign announcing support

of the United Packing House Workers in their strike. Support of the strike has also come from the motormen on the "L" trains which go into the stock yards. The trainmen have demonstrated their sympathy with the packing house workers by refusing to take the trains into the

yards for the duration of the The companies have so far refused to go above a 10 cent an hour wage increase, and the government is threatening to "seize" the industry. While the spirit and militancy of the packing house workers is at a high pitch and they are determined to win their demand, they may be in for a

long drawn-out struggle. But the battle can be won and it can be shortened. With the walk-outs of the steel workers and the Harvester workers this week, there will be over 142,000 workers on strike in the Chicago area. The thing for the packing house workers to do now. as well as the workers in all other internationals, is to raise the demand for an ALL CIO Council to map and direct strike strategy against the big monopolist corporations.

New Jersey Picket Lines Stand Solid for Victory promised or drafted into the armed By ROBERT WEST

HARRISON, N. J .- For the second time in two years, the 3,000 members of Worthington Pump Local 1833, United Steel Workers-CIO, are on the

Worthington Pump has a long record of anti-labor activities going as far back as the campaign to organize the plant. The company is notorious, for its efforts to cheat the workers at every turn.

For example, the company has a policy of chopping off fractions of units from the time sheets wherever possible. These fractions when totaled up make a tidy sum for the corporation, all taken from the earnings of the workers.

The corporation has also tried to

hundred dollar bonus, instead of retroactive pay dating to May, 1944. This little device would mean that many workers would lose several hundred each. The workers in the plant have rejected this proposal.

The average take home pay in the shop is about 40 dollars. In some of the departments such as the Foundry, wages are as low as 75 cents an hour. The original USA-CIO demand for an increase of 25 cents an hour, was countered with a company offer of eight cents

The workers of Local 1833 are determined to remain on strike until the company agrees to decent working conditions and a decent working

get the workers to accept a flat one By ROBERT WEST

HARRISON, N. J., Jan. 21-Crucible Steel Co. workers at the Atha Works here wasted little time this morning in answering the national strike call which became effective at 12:01 this morning. Picket lines were formed immediately and strikers started on their first nationally authorized strike since the heyday of the SWOC organizational campaign during the rise of the CIO in 1937.

The history of the Harrison steel workers is best demonstrated by the long, hard, militant fight carried on by progressive rank and filers at the Atha plant. No record has been kept of the numerous wildcat strikes which took place in the years before the war and during the war itself. Militants were systematically com-

forces, but the struggle against the corporation continued without let-up.

Crucible workers were personally affected by the war. The Atha Works is a munitions plant. Shells for the Japanese government - the main source of revenue for the Atha Works -were used extensively for murdering Chinese workers during the rape of China and later against the sons and brothers of American workers.

This was a period of constant turmoil, eventually exploding in sitdowns and strikes; company provocation was always on the order of the day; the fight against the stagger system still continues; spies, stooges and finks have the run of the plant; grievances became entangled in the

(Continued on page 2)

BLOOMFIELD, N. J., Jan. 19-Striking electrical workers at the Bloomfield plants of Westinghouse and General Electric continued thier fight into the second week, today, grimly determined to see their rightful demands for security and a living wage through to the finish.

Jack Penworthy, a member of Local 410, UERMW, at the Westinghouse Plant where he has been employed for the past seven years, said when he was interviewed this morning: "I just couldn't get along on the salary I was making. How could I on \$31 per week take home pay? I've got a wife and a kid to support-and \$31 doesn't go very far these days-not with the high cost of food and clothing and shod-

dy clothing, at that. For instance," he continued, "today, I've gotta pay \$2.75 for a pair of overalls which I used to pay \$1.25 before the war. The company, however, isn't doing too bad. They made a lot of dough out of the war and now they're getting their tax cutbacks from the government. On top of that, the company has been unloading washing machines and refrigerators at a secret warehouse here in Bloomfield for the past three months in order to grab the tax cut-back and increase their

profits." Jacob Styzkowski, a buddy of Jack's, also works at the Westinghouse plant. He's been employed there for the past three years as a (Continued on page 2)

Strike Situation Demands Democratically Coordinated Strategy!

(Continued from page 1)

twenty thousand dollar a year bureaucrats give the members of their international unions an opportunity to vote on the question of accepting the recommendations of the fact-finding boards of a capitalist government? What do they mean by agreeing that labor shall take a cut in real wages and have a new Little Steel formula hung around its neck?

NOT SO BRAVE

The UAW leaders, including Reuther, evidently feel that they have done a very brave thing. After accepting the "award" of the government "fact-finders," and after it was firmly rejected by GM, they how announce that they will return to their original demand for a thirty per cent

While these labor leaders take their place at the side of Truman and the capitalist government, Murray at the same time sends a letter to this same government praying for a revision of tax exemptions to the steel companies. He says that if the steel companies only break even in 1946; "that is, do not make any profits," they will receive "guaranteed profits that are 29 per cent above the level of pre-war earnings." The U. S. Treasury will "actually pay to the

industry 149 million dollars," says something from Fairless and the a great deal about the free enter- markets. Good business means more friendliness between labor and capi-Murray. This means that if the present steel strike should last a whole year the steel industry would nevertheless receive 149 million dollars from the government.

Murray closes his letter to the government with a call to the government of the steel barons to "terminate this outrageous condition permitted to develop during the war whilst the attention of the American people was fully concentrated upon the defeat of the nation's foreign

BOLDNESS NEEDED

During the war Murray, Thomas, Bill Green, Reuther and the others chained the labor movement with a no-strike pledge, supported "the President's foreign policy," and his domestic policy which included this "outrageous condition" about which Murray now whines to Vinson and the government. Murray is indignant at the "unmatched boldness" with which the "steel magnates" rejected the "determination of the President of the United States." This is really a tragic pronouncement coming from the president of the CIO while a million workers he leads are on strike.

If Murray can't learn from any other source he might at least learn

"unmatched boldness" from you, Phillip Murray, in the interest of the million workers now on strike and the other millions who look to you to lead them to victory?

"steel magnates." How about a little prise economy of our country. It is jobs and better wages... substantial tal, more capitalist competition, more competition that keeps it free. It is wage increases is good business... free enterprise that is really free. competition that keeps it growing and developing. The truth is that we need far more competition in the future than we have had in the imme-While Murray whines and pouts, diate past... Both management and Mr. Truman resurrects the economic labor have identical interests in the philosophy of Alf Landon: "We speak long run. Good wages mean good

capacity production means an active, There would be no strikes if there the benefits of democracy under our and his workers, Fairless and the free enterprise system." (Truman steel workers, Dupont and the automay go down in history as the mobile workers. "friendly" President.)

This is Truman's solution: more

Akron CIO Elects Officers

By GEORGE WHITNEY

AKRON, Ohio-The Akron Industrial officers for 1946 Monday, January 14. Ralph Huston of the United Steel Workers, as President, Paul Fessenden of the United Rubber Workers, as Executive Secretary and M. T. Abel of the United Automobile Workers, Financial Secretary.

Paul Fessenden, well known mili-. tant in the Akron labor movement, was the first Executive Secretary of the CIO Council, having been elected in 1942. In June of 1944 he was railroaded into the Army, as were many other Akron militants, despite the fact that he was almost 40 years old

which was the age limit at that time. Fessenden returned last fall after Union Council of the CIO, elected its combat duty in the Philippines and was immediately reappointed Execu-The three top officers were elected tive Secretary upon the resignation by an unanimous vote: They are of George Bass, President of Goodrich Local 5 of the URWA. Fessenden, along with I. H. Wat-

son, President of Firestone Local 7. URWA, and Bass, has assumed the lead in the Akron CIO in a labor welcome to the fascist Gerald L. K. Smith, when and if he comes to Akron. Smith promised he would speak in Akron "the first of the year" and the CIO began preparing for him last November. Most of the affiliated locals have set up Anti-Smith Committees; and the CIO Council unanimously passed a motion empoweering Fessenden to make all necessary arrangements for picketing of the Smith meeting and for a separate anti-fascist meeting of their own. There is also strong sentiment. for meeting Smith at the edge of the city and turning him away. But to date Smith has made neither an appearance nor, a definite announcement of one.

But whether he comes or not, the Akron CIO will remain alert. Plans are afoot to set up permanent antifascist machinery in all the locals, coordinated by a central committee. Those active in this work have indicated that the CIO will welcome the cooperation of all interested groups and organizations.

healthy, friendly citizenry enjoying were more good will between Ford

Where are the PAC congressmen while this battle of tears goes on? What are they doing about the strikes and the "rights of labor," which they so ardently defended before they were elected by labor? They are silent. They hope that the strikes will be over and forgotten before they enter the lists again as the "champions of the rights of the little people." Instead of whining to Vinson why don't Murray and Hillman call together the PAC congressmen and demand that they take the floor in Congress against the big corporations, IN SUPPORT OF THE STRIKES, and against Truman's attempts to saddle. labor with a new Little Steel for-

The Workers Party says again: the working class needs a GENERAL STAFF, a political general staff, an INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY.

Right now, for the strikes, labor should demand a General Strike

Council. A General Strike Council democratically elected by the locals. A General Strike Council to plan, coordinate and direct the strikes!

Harrison --

(Continued from page 1)

web of the five-step arbitration clause in the contract through which the company successfully delayed sometimes for years - the settlement of such grievances, many of which even-tually became lost in a maze of legal

Today, in the snow and sleet of a January midnight, these workers have again taken to the picket line. The fight is on once more.

In a vicious last-minute attempt to weaken the strike, the Crucible management unsheathed a doubleedged sword against the Atha strikers. Several hundred lead-off Crucible workers were called back to work, effective this morning. However, nothing came of this strikebreaking attempt as the laid - off workers refused to cross the picket line. Now the unemployment compensation status of the laid-off workers is compromised. This issue must be fought without delay.

Readers of Labor Action Take the Gloor

Reading Worker on Strike Delay

The militant workers of Local-2715, USA-CIO (Reading, Pa.) were furious over Murray's arbitrary postpenement of the steel strike last Sunday, January 13. They felt that it would undermine the tremendous upsurge of labor in this area that gave every indication of bringing to its knees the vicious anti-union Carpenter Steel Co. They felt that it was a violation of the mandate that the steel workers of the nation gave to its leadership in the recently conducted strike vote. Members of Local 2715 voted over 12 to 1 in support of the strike (over 750 to 59.) Above all, the workers justly believed that Murray's move was a betrayal of the desire for solidarity and UNITED struggle that all workers feel is

ficials have shown a spinelessness and timidity so early in the struggle, that it bodes ill for the struggle if such a policy is further pursued.

union demands. The union officials have been preaching up and down the country that the demands of ALL the unions are based upon the urgent needs of the working class, and that the future prosperity of the country STRUGGLE! and the workers THE UNIONS ARE

FIGHTING A STRUGGLE BASED ON THE PRINCIPLE OF MAIN-TAINING TOTAL AND PERMA-NENT PROSPERITY. Why have they then shown such timidity, and backed down so early in the fight?

As a steel worker, I demand: NO CAPITULATION, and A UNITED STRUGGLE. This is a battle of the WORKING CLASS AGAINST THE OWNERS. The present disorganization of the strike struggle must end. We need a unified plan of struggle. The instinctive desire of all workers is contained in the idea so many workers express, "We should all go out at once and not return until the situation is settled in EVERY indus-

The Top Officers are hurting our cause when they delay and pussyfoot. Every union and union local has been forced into a situation of fighting disconnected skirmishes. This situation must end. We need solidarity and joint struggle.

The program of LABOR ACTION for a National Strategy Board based upon the local units must be taken up by all militant workers. The International Officers must be told what kind of struggle the workers want. FOR A NATIONAL STRATEGY COMMITTEE AND UNIFIED

rank and file caucus and contributed

The third factor in the local elec-

tions, a group that had fought the

Stalinists from that ancient and

rotten reactionary standpoint of

"Americanism against Comm-you-

nism," managed to modulate this ut-

ter reactionary nonsense and began

to oppose the Stalinists from the van-

tage point of program and union de-

mocracy. The two anti-Stalinist

groups did not put out a joint slate.

In cases where more than one candi-

date opposed the candidate of the

"victory" slate, the victory slater

stood a much better chance of get-

ting elected and the election of at

least one of three candidates to the

Official Board can be attributed to.

The defeat of the Stalinist candi-

date, Les Meloy and the re-election

of president Jimmy Dougan, and the

election of others who are opposed

to the totalitarian practices of the

Stalinists, saw an important step in

putting Local 9 back in the hands

of the membership-where it belongs.

To achieve decent and progressive

unionism all red-baiting. Jim-Crow

and other undemocratic practises

must be thrown overboard. The union

must become the organization of

every worker no matter what his

color or creed. And above all, ways

and means must be elaborated for the

realization of vital economic de-

mands: a thirty-hour week at fifty-

two hours pay, and an increase of

thirty percent in the basic wage rate.

Fraternally.

-SHIPYARD WORKER

heavily to the Stalinist defeat.

-LOCAL 2715 WORKER

the price increases on steel which "Democratic Union" is to take the will ultimately cancel any wage ad-

come through the price-fixing, wagefreezing reality and propaganda. They are convinced that they have a right to a living wage determined by the ability to pay rather than by the competition of a big labor pool.

Steel workers clearly understand that the price increases of steel will set in motion an upgrading of prices everywhere, and will leave them

will be expected to work under whatever wage settlement is made at this time, for the duration of their fixed term contract.

Most of the steel contracts with the CIO are fixed term and run until October, 1946.

An opening motion to request no reduction in the \$2:00 a day demand

Murray leadership. operation, will take severa days. As a consequence time has been

call the plant, some asked to wait forces. for a call to report, others told, "Go down and take a chance."

calling for strike, to hell with the soft soap, but somehow the chairman heard a motion to close the meeting Dear Editor: and between the ayes and the boos made a most remarkable calculation favoring closing.

LABOR ACTION distributors were not allowed to distribute papers at the hall entrance. Local leaders were afraid the workers would get out of hand; enough trouble already.

plant gates to prevent any workers' demonstration there.

something definite has been decided in Washington or the steel company week. That is to put the plants in operation and then start to take them off for next Monday.

lieve that a solution to the present economic difficulties can be arranged by giving greater profits to the corporations and propaganda to the

R. NASH, Chicago

Cites a Flaw in Argentine Article

Dear Editor:

While the bulk of Susan Green's article on Argentina in the January 2 LABOR ACTION is excellent, her characterization on the Democratic Union can only leave the impression, erroneous to be sure, that the Workers Party supports this "Peoples Front" type of coalition.

Comrade Green says, "At long last a Democratic Union of anti-Peron forces has been formed to defeat him and his military clique in the elections." This implies that this development is one that she welcomes and has been eagerly awaiting for a long time. But the very fact that an election is taking place at all can be due only to the fact that the masses of workers in Argentina have not been taken in by Peron's demagogy and have been actively opposing his régime. The only function of the new

anti-fascist, anti-Peron sentiments of the masses and channelize them into Somehow the steel workers have support of the Radical Party, the traditional party of industrial capital in Argentina, whose rule in the past proved of no benefit to the masses. The Fourth Internationalists in Ar-

gentina, instead of relying on the discredited Radical party to defend democratic rights, call for a workers' united front of struggle, including all the parties of the working class. The Socialist Party of Argentina, by endorsing the "liberal" capitalist candidate, far from helping to re-establish democracy will succeed only in preparing the masses for a new dis-

Democratic rights in Argentina will be guaranteed only by the strength and independence of the working class movement. It is entirely possible that if the Socialist Party, by far the largest working class party in Argentina, put up its own candidate, the resulting split in the "anti-Peron" vote might result in Peron's election. But if Peron were elected as a minority candidate, confronted by a militant working class movement, he would have to heed those gains which the anti-fascists have made up to now in forcing an election and in forcing partial restoration of democratic rights. On the other hand, a victory for democracy as represented accompanied by a transfer of antifascist struggle from the streets to the sedate halls of parliament, would be cancelled out militarily by Peron's SAUL BERG.

Atomic Series Was "Excellent"

Thanks for your note. The editor-

ial series on "Atomic Energy: For Barbarism or Socialism?" was excellent. As you probably know, the more progressive and perhaps more fearful scientists have formed the American Federation of Scientists, with offices in Washington, D. C. They have a news service and issue periodic bulletins which you should have no difficulty in getting and which should serve as a fresh source of information. One thing is definite: they will not permit themselves to be censored wouldn't re-open the plants for one and will expose any machinations of private groups trying to get control of this hot potato. I am very interested in the reaction of LA readers to the series.

An Indictment of the Chicago School System

Dear Editor:

The question of politics and its the background far too long.

Here in Chicago our filthy political

children to help equip the school by giving a dime. Well? The very same schools have asked

the students to bring their own ink. Also the very same have been asked to bring 80 cents for work books. All these formerly have been sup-

plied by the school funds. INCREASES FOR LUNCHES Now for the worst. Children are

LOS ANGELES LABOR ACTION HALL, 127 South

HEADQUARTERS, 639 Main St.

effects on children have been left in

machine is not only satisfied in having its hands in the school funds, but now has reached into the children's

The gymnasium equipment has been lacking in many of Chicago schools. The school has asked the

> City Office 114 West 14th Street--open until 10:00 P. M.

Telephone: CHEsapeake 5798. asked to pay an increase on milk and lunches which were supposed to come

Tresca Case Failure Flayed by Speakers

A MOTHER, G. F.

from the surplus food production, who will not permit these kind of

permit these foul, disgusting men to our children or us. Appeal to your

continue activities? The election will husbands, unions, demand an end to

not solve this. We must show them corrupt politics interfering in your

we are not the "stupid housewives" child's education!

What kind of mothers are we if we financial irregularities practiced upon

NEW YORK CITY-Friends of Carlo giving out information "that should Tresca, murdered Italian anarchist not have been made public." editor, await the next move in the campaign to obtain tangible action by

they assume, but intelligent women.

More than 1,000 persons at a notable demonstration in Cooper Union auditorium on January 10, eve of the third anniversary of that killing, passed a resolution assailing District Attorney Hogan's office for "either incompetence or indifference" and for refusing to call in the FBI. The or other practical action, that may be necessary to bring about a genuinely exhaustive investigation of this case."

Former Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia spoke. Breaking a long silence on the Tresca slaying, he stamped the failure to solve it as "one of the blackest spots in the history of jurisprudence in this country." He did not explain why he had not pressed the investigation while still Mayor.

Also invited to speak, Eleazar Lipsky, young ex-Assistant District Attorney who handled the Tresca inquiry for a year, made a defense of Hogan's office more vehement than logical. He lashed at "outsiders" for

Norman Thomas, memorial committee head, took sharp issue with the authorities in running down his . Lipsky, declaring that committee had never publicized any data that could possibly have hampered Hogan's staff, and that he did not know any one who had. He cited an intimate friend of Tresca-a prominent labor union official-who had never been questioned, though Tresca when killed had a check for a large sum, signed by that friend, in a pocket.

assemblage requested and authorized Lipsky denied that his predecessor the Tresca Memorial Committee to in this investigation, Louis Pagnucco, "take any steps, in the form of legal was pro-Fascist. Mr. Thomas then gave details of evidence (long in Hogan's hands) of Pagnucco's past association with Fascists.

Tributes to Tresca were paid by State Industrial Commissioner Edward Corsi, Arturo Giovannitti, poet and labor historian, Eduard C. Lindeman of the New York School of Social Work faculty, Girolamo Valenti, editor of the Italian Socialist weekly La Parola, Rose Pesotta, labor organizer and author, and Harry Kelly, veteran libertarian.

Noticeably absent were speakers representing the revolutionary socialist movement, or even the views. of the murdered anarchist.

Bloomfield - -

(Continued from page 1)

millwright, is married and has four kids, "How can I get along on my take home pay?" he asks. "When I buy the things I need to keep my home together, there's nothing left, I've been forced to sell the few bonds I bought in order to live. By the time you pay your rent, buy coal and food, you have nothing left and still are in the hole. Material today is cheaper than before the war and you pay more for it. While we are on strike, we have no income at all, Westinghouse is getting a cut-back on taxes. They're getting theirs. We signed petitions demanding unemployment compensation for strikers in order to even the score a little, but nothing has come of that. Perhaps a mass picket line in front of the state capitol will start things cook-Shop-Steward "Ann" has worked

at the same plant for the past three years, too, has one dependent, and had a brother killed in Italy. "I work on the flank squad," she said. "We fill in the line for absentees. I can't get along on my salary. I've got to keep up two jobs in order to live. After work I have a job as a table waitress and I sell dresses from house to house. I have a route. You see that I don't have a lotta time to myself."

"Well, what about the extra money you're supposed to make on incentive work," I inquired. "Incentive pay," she replied, "in plain English, it stinks. I don't benefit from it. The other girls feel the same way it. I'd rather get a decent raise and work on straight time." When asked how she felt about the strike, Ann didn't waste any time in stating, "I'm going to stick this strike out to the end. I'm not going to let them get away with it."

The holiday spirit of the first few days of strike are over. The march and mass meeting on the village green to the tune of a brass band of a week before is now slowly slipping into the background. Now the strikers go through their daily routine of mass picketing in a disciplined manner, fully determined to "stick this strike out to the end. We're not going to let them get away with it."

With the Worker's Party

PHILADELPHIA

HEADQUARTERS, 1105 Walnut St.

BUFFALO

NEW YORK CITY

WORKERS PARTY branches in New York City meet at the following Brooklyn-276 Fulton Street-every

Thursday evening at 8:00 o'clock. Harlem-2143 Seventh Avenue, Room 106-every Thursday evening at

Manhattan-Labor Temple, 14th Street near Second Avenueevery Wednesday evening at 8:00

every Thursday evening at \$:00

open all day until 7:00 P. M. Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday

CHICAGO

LABOR ACTION, 1703 West Madi-Office Hours: 3-5:30 P.M. daily, except Sunday. Tuesday and Wednesday

WORKERS PARTY-Labor Action Hall, 3773 Gratiot, corner Mt. Elliott.

Political Positions of the Workers Party-Tuesday, 7:00 P. M. The Role of the Revolutionary Party

-Wednesday, 7:00 P. M. For afternoon shift workers: Role of the Revolutionary Party—Wednesday morning, 11:00 A. M.

LABOR ACTION and THE NEW IN-TERNATIONAL now available at

the following newsstands: At Michigan and Shelby.

At Cass and Michigan. Family Newsstand in front of Family Theater, Cadillac Square. Carl's Bookstore - Woodward near

NEWARK

Clairmont.

LABOR ACTION headquarters in Newark at 248 Market St.

The New International can be bought at Mosiman's Book Shop, Academy St., in Newark.

Address communications to the Workers Party at that address.

SAN PEDRO

Labor Action Hall, 1039 South Mey-

WHERE YOU CAN BUY LABOR ACTION BROOKLYN Currio Bookshop, 365 Sutter Ave.,

near Stone.
Portnoy, 414 Rockaway Ave., news-

stand, near Pitkin Ave. S. Rubinitz, 1841 Straus St., newsstand, near Pitkin Ave. Palace Bookshop, 1817 St. John Pl.,

corner Saratoga Ave.

A. Wald, Rutland Road, corner E. N. Tumin, 792 Franklin Ave., near

corner St. John Place, Kovinsky, 816 Washington Ave., Eastern Parkway. THE NEW INTERNATIONAL is sold at the following newsstands and

bookstores in New York City: Manhattan: Alperti's-462 Sixth Ave., near 11th

14th St. and Sixth Ave. 14th St. and Fourth Ave. 14th St. and University Place.

Biderman's Book Store-Second Ave. (between 11th and 12th Sts.)
42nd St. and Sixth Ave. Rutkin's-42nd St., near Public Li-

brary. Harlem: 116th St. and Lenox Ave. 116th St. and Eighth Ave.

2107 Seventh Ave.

125th St. and Lenox Ave. 125th St. and St. Nicholas Ave. 125th St. and Eighth Ave. The New International can be obtained at Havemeyer St. on the cor-

ner of South Fourth St. For information of other Workers Party branches and LABOR ACTION offices, write to the National Office,

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

of democracy, Stalinist Russia.

Here in Local 9, a sizable group of workers on the odd swing shift rebelled against the undemocratic practices of the "victory caucus." It became clear to them that the Stalinists did not have the interest of the union at heart. These swing shifters led a considerable group out of the "victory caucus," set up their own

needed in this struggle. Murray and the rest of the top of-

This is not just ANY strike for

Local 9 Stalinists Set Back

emands are needed to maintain

Editor: For the first time in several years the "victory slate," the Stalinist front behind which the latest "party line" is carried out, received a serious setback in the annual election of officers of Local 9, Shipyard Workers Union, CIO, San Pedro, Calif. The "victory" candidates for president, vicepresident, treasurer, dispatcher and one of their candidates for business agent went down to inglorious defeat. They barely managed to secure a majority on the executive board and on the delegation to the national

convention they squeezed through

with a very precarious majority (A

report on this convention was pub-

lished in last week's LABOR AC-TION -Ed) The local now gives promise of returning to healthy rank and file control. The Stalinists had the local under their complete control during the latter years of the late and unlamented holy war of "democracy against fascism." During their reign, every vestige of independent and militant union struggle for better conditions was suthlessly opposed in the sacred name of the no-strike pledge and lend-lease aid to that sacred fount

Now, when they come out and scream about the shackles placed upon labor's night to strike, the rising cost of living and the falling take-home pay (all of which they helped create) some workers refuse to take them too seriously. Currently, the Stalinists are playing power politics for Russia by whooping it up militantly. But there are Local 9 workers who see through this game, see that it is not motivated by labor's interests and are beginning to realize that their interests cannot be served by subordinating themselves to the ruling class of the United States or Russia.

Carnegie-Illinois Meet

Reader Describes

LABOR ACTION Editor: The Saturday steel strike postponement in the face of extensive preparation certainly threw confusion to

Local leaders are faced with real problems in attempting to suppress the miltants who are not willing to

reduce their \$2.00 a day demand. The rank and file criticize severely AGAINST INFLATION

holding a nearly empty bag again. Workers here believe that they

At the 9 o'clock Sunday meeting of Local 65 in South Chicago, nearly 1000 union members were present.

was quickly squelched by local leaders asking continued support of the Most of the members have no work schedule for this week, the plants were shut down and the reopening, because of the difficulties in steel

lost by many workers in steel pro-Some of the workers were told to

WANTED TO STRIKE Workers attempted to get the floor,

Local leaders prepared to watch the

The general feeling here is that

Does any serious person now be-

Lenin, Liebknecht, Luxemburg-



0

0

0

Published Weekly by the Labor Action Publishing Assn.

114 West 14th Street, New York 11, N. Y. (Third Floor)

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

Vol. 10, No. 4

January 28, 1946

ALBERT GATES, Editor MARY BELL, Ass't Editor

Subscription Rate: 60c a Year; 35c for 6 Mos. (75c-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____

Policy Statement on France

The governmental crisis in France, created by the sudden resignation of General Charles de Gaulle and what now appears to be his "retirement" from political life, has given added importance to the following excerpts from a statement adopted by the National Committee of the Works ers Party, U.S.A., several days before de Gaulle's resignation. At this writing the Assembly in Paris is preparing to vote for de Gaulle's successor. He appears to be Felix Gouin, although the Socialist Party has nominated Vincent Auriol. Gouin is at present the president of the Assembly. A complete story of the French political crisis will appear next week.

The main political and economic struggles in France today revolve around the question of the character and course of the Constituent Assembly. The attention of all the classes is focused upon it. The propaganda and agitation of the Fourth Internationalists must therefore be concentrated in the next period upon the question of the Constituent Assembly and the Constitution it is called

upon to draft.... The first big step forward toward restoring the class independence of the French proletariat requires a radical break with the bourgeoisie and its political representatives, de Gaulle and the MRP. This demands first of all at the present time the breaking of the existing coalition and the ousting of the de Gaulle government. Together, the Socialist Party and the Stalinist Party represent a majority not only of the proletariat but of the people as a whole. No other central political slogan is possible for the revolutionary Marxists, and none corresponds better to the needs of the situation, than: a government of the Socialist Party-Stalinist Party-Confédération Générale du Travail.

SLOGAN LINKED WITH PROGRAM

With an agitation centering around this slogan, the Fourth Internationalists are in a position to offer the masses a political direction in which the urgent problems of France may be solved, are in a position to set the masses in motion not only against the bourgeoisie but also against the socialdemocratic and Stalinist leadership, and are in a position to approach positively and effectively the ranks of the social-democratic, Stalinist and tradeunion movements and gain a sympathetic hearing for our party and its program. Without such a central political slogan, all the other transitional slogans are left hanging in mid-air, for there is no political means indicated for their realization....

While the slogan of a "SP-CP-CGT Government" is clearly indicated by the situation, it would be worse than useless if it were employed alone-it would be a dangerous trap for the working class as a whole and for the Fourth Internationalists in particular. This slogan can and must be advanced by our party in France, but only if it is inseparably linked with and subordinated to a detailed and clearly explained program of transitional demands. Without such a program, the Fourth International would be taking responsibility in advance for a government for which it cannot take any political responsibility, and furthermore it would be incapable of educating any section of the proletariat and reaping the fruits of its political agitation in the event that such a coalition government did come into office. The Fourth Internationalists therefore call for such a government on the basis of their own program of action. Such a program of action is calculated at one and the same time to represent the real interests and needs of the French proletariat, and to reveal the anti-proletarian political character of the socialdemocratic and Stalinist leadership.

The program, around which the main agitation and propaganda of the Fourth Internationalists must be centered, should therefore prominently include such points as:

The nationalization of all basic industry, finance and transportation under the most democratic workers' control of production.

The adoption of the most democratic constitution by the Consistuent Assembly, with special emphasis upon unrestricted guarantees of the democratic rights of free press, free speech, free assembly, freedom to organize and freedom to strike.

The immediate and complete demobilization of the army and all special police and government

spy services, and their replacement by a democratic people's militia.

The immediate withdrawal of all occupation forces from conquered territories in Europe and the advocacy of an immediate democratic peace on the basis of no national dismemberment, no violation of national sovereignty and independence, no indemnities, reparations or tribute burden upon the conquered peoples and nations.

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

All the other points in the program must be developed and propagated along these lines....

DO NOT CALL FOR STALINIST GOVERNMENT

In the political conditions of France and Europe today, the advocacy of the slogan of a "SP-CP-CGT" Government" undoubtedly carries with it grave risks. The Fourth Internationalists cannot be blind to them and must under no circumstances conceal or gloss over them in their agitation among the proletariat. The slogan IS NOT THE SAME, adapted to French conditions, as that put forward by the Bolsheviks in Russia in 1917 in advocating coalition government of the Menshevik and Social Revolutionary Parties. It is not the same, adapted to French conditions, as that put forward originally by the Communist International and in our time by the Fourth International, in advocating a Labour Party government in England. In those cases, there were involved bourgeois or petty-bourgeois democratic reformist workers' (or workers' and peasants') parties. In France today there is involved, so far as the Stalinist Party is concerned, not a democratic but a totalitarian party operating as an instrument of the Kremlin and the GPU. Hence, we oppose any slogan which means lifting this counter-revolutionary totalitarian instrument into the position of state power in any country, or into the position where there is a clear threat of its use of the state police power for the extermination of the independent workingclass and revolutionary movements, as in Russia, as in Poland, as in Yugoslavia, etc.

However, a concrete and objective examination of the political situation and the relationship of forces in France today, and in Europe and the world in general, indicates that the totalitarian Stalinist Party cannot and will not and does not seek to take state power in France in any way comparable to its seizure of power in Poland and Yugoslavia; and indicates further that in a coalition government with the SP and CGT, the Stalinists could not and would not proceed, either in the field of economic life or of political power, in any way comparable to their procedure in Poland and Yugoslavia, inasmuch as such a course, extended to France, would not only precipitate civil war in the country but would bring infinitely closer the outbreak of the Third World War, both of which it is clearly the Kremlin's policy to avert, at least in the next period

Nevertheless, even under the circumstances indicated by an objective analysis of the actual situation and relationship of forces in France, the presence of the Stalinist Party and its police machinery even in a coalition government with the Social Democracy, would represent a great danger to democratic rights, to the working class, to the revolutionary movement and to the future of socialism. This makes it incumbent upon the Fourth Internationalists, in the very course of advancing the slogan of the "SP-CP-CGT Government," to conduct a systematic and vigorous campaign of enlightenment and alerting of the working class against the anti-democratic and anti-socialist, i.e., the totalitarian character of Stalinism, concretized with examples not only of its record in Russia, but outside of Russia-in Spain, in Poland, in Yugoslavia; in Germany and in France itself. This propaganda and agitation from modern history cannot suffice by itself. It must be supplemented by, and main emphasis placed upon, a political campaign around such democratic demands as appeal to the democratic and socialist sentiments of the French masses, as correspond to their actual economic and political needs, and as would serve to unmask the totalitarian face of Stalinism.

Appeases Capital, Opposes Labor

In the midst of the biggest strike struggles the United States has experienced in a decade, the annual state of the union address by President Truman came with a resounding thud. Too general to be meaningful, too evasive to solve anything concrete, too long to be read, it made little impress on the representatives of either capital, which it appeased, or labor, which it opposed.

The lamentations in the liberal camp for an Olympian utterance in the style of Roosevelt, a feeling shared by some of the spokesmen for labor, do not take into account two things:

(1) Roosevelt was having increasing difficulty as the war progressed maintaining his reputation as a "friend of labor," because the circumstances of the conduct of the war for the enrichment of big business forced him to crack down ever harder on the unions, and

(2) Truman is operating in the post-war period, which would have seen Roosevelt, had he lived, playing the same game of attempting to make capitalism work and make it palatable to labor.

"Regard for pitfalls...foresight and balance ... boldness ... and caution ... nothing is as dan-We must base our policies not on unreasoning op-

timism or pessimism, but on ... a careful analysis of foreseeable trends."

Interspersed among these platitudes was the heart of Truman's program for labor. He called for a law to give the fact-finding boards greater powers in labor disputes. This plan, which empowers the legislative servants of capital, and not labor, to inspect the corporation books, and to which is attached the cooling-off period, already has labor's outspoken disapproval.

He called for a "full employment" bill such as that passed by the Senate, which is as effective against unemployment as a finger in a dike.

He called for extension of the War Powers Act, which would give him the basis to continue government seizure of strike-bound plants and other autocratic acts in the interests of the employers.

He called for universal military training for the strengthening of U.S. imperialism at home and abroad, a measure to which all of organized labor is opposed.

Labor's job remains: class action on the nicket lines, and class action on the political front. Labor must break with Truman, the Democratic Party gerous as overconfidence in war or in peace... and all other capitalist politicians and form its own independent political organization!

with the capitalist monster whose around, it can appreciate the rightplace in the memory and living ness of the instinct and the soundthought of the international working

THREE GIANTS OF SOCIALISM

the monumental revolution in 1917, ness. In January, 1919, the two titans of the German Socialism, Rosa Luxand his father, William Liebknecht, emburg and Karl Liebknecht, were murdered by the German reactionarthe German Social-Democracy, was ies who hoped thereby to decapitate educated at three German universi-

By J. R. JOHNSON

Every generation judges and must judge its ancestors in the light of its own experience. Every judgment of an historical figure is a judgment of contemporary society. The youth of today, looking back at Lenin, Liebknecht and Luxemburg, is in a position to evaluate their contributions to human society and measure their stature towering higher and higher over their contemporaries.

We commemorate with this article

the anniversaries of three giants of

the revolution who, with their con-

tributions to the cause of socialism,

carved for themselves an everlasting

class. Lenin, the great genius of revo-

lution, the man who with Trotsky led

died in January 1924 after a long ill-

the rising revolutionary movement .-

The youth of today does not have a stable society. It has been born and bred and has lived in a society of fascism, of war, national wars, international wars and civil wars. Mass murder, concentration camps, judicial frame-ups of thousands carried out with all the apparatus and paraphernalia of government-power, ""liquidation" of millions who obstructed state policy, unemployment of 20 millions at a time in one country, these are the characteristics of our epoch in time of peace.

In war the youth has been compelled to participate in the organization of all the vast resources of the world for mutual self-desruction, has seen great states wiped off the map, brutality, cruelty, organized lying, organized hunger, organized attempts to destroy or to move whole populations-the youth has seen these become the common practice of the rulers of bourgeois society. Fascists and democratic states alike participate into the descent into barbarism. Stalin liquidates revolutionists: Hitler liquidates millions of Jews; the British government organizes the economy of India for war in such a manner as to liquidate six million Indians in a few months of famine. This is the degradation of modern society.

DEDICATED LIVES TO SOCIALISM

Lenin, Liebknecht and Luxemburg, growing to maturity in a far different age, were able to see the elements of capitalist disintegration and devote their lives to the struggle against it. Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg reached the age of 20 in 1891, Lenin was 20 in 1890. Anyone who is today 20 years of age has seen in any single year since 1933 more of capitalism's waste of human and material re-Lenin and Luxemburg and Liebknecht saw in the whole of their first

Yet at the age of 20 they were all revolutionists, their lives dedicated to the struggle for socialism, determined never to compromise



"Militarism is not only a means of defense against the external enemy; it has a second task, which comes more and more to the fore as class contradictions become more marked and as proletarian class - consciousness keeps growing. Thus the outer form of militarism and its inner character takes a more definite shape: its task is to uphold the prevailing order of society, to prop up capitalism and all reaction against the struggle of the working class for freedom. Militarism manifests itself here as a mere tool in the class struggle, as a tool in the hands of the ruling class. It is destined to retard the development of class consciousness.... The task of militarism is, above all, to secure for a minority, at whatever cost, even against the enlightened will of the majority of the people, domination in the state and freedom to exploit."-Karl Liebknecht.

characteristics they saw so clearly. Today, as the youth looks back at them and then looks at the world ness of the judgment which, in their comparatively civilized enoch. led them to revolutionary social-

Not one of them was proletarian in origin. Karl Liebknecht was a lawyer, the friend of Marx, and a leader of ties. Lenin's mastery of the bar ex-



"I also recall the words of one of the most beloved leaders of the American proletariat, Eugene Debs, who wrote toward the end of 1915, in the article, 'In Whose War I Will Fight"...that he, Debs, would rather be shot than vote loans for the present criminal and reactionary imperialist war; that he, Debs, knows of only one holy and from the standpoint of the proletariat legal war, namely: the war against the capitalists, the war for the liberation of mankind from wage slavery. I am not at all surprised that Wilson, the head of the American billionaires and servant of the capitalist sharks, has thrown Debs into prison. Let the bourgeoisie be brutal to the true internationalists, the true representatives of the revolutionary proletariat! The more obduracy and bestiality it displays, the nearer comes the day of the victorious proletarian revolution."-From "A Letter to the American Workers," written by Lenin and dated August 20, 1918.

aminations in Russia, passing at the head of the list in an incredibly short space of time, testifies early, even in the routine of bourgois society, to the intellectual power which he commends. Rosa Luxemburg was a brillian student at the Polish university which she attended. But they brought their natural gifts and their education to the working class, scorning to use them in the service of bourgeois society for material reward and bourgeois recognition. Those today (far less gifted than they) who hanker after the fleshpots of bourgeois society in all its contemporary barbarism and hopeless pers sources and capitalism's misery than can measure the pettiness of their aspirations against the actions of Lenin, Liebknecht and Luxemburg when they grew to maturity and made their

But did they, in embracing the proletarian cause, condemn themselves to narrow lives of pure misery, privation, obscurity and suffering? How ridiculous! In finding the proletariat and the struggle for socialism they found themselves. Marxism today stands higher than ever as the climax of all the intellectual discoveries and methods of mankind. And in Marxism and the proletarian struggle of which Marxism is the ideological reflection, they made imperishable conributions to human development and lived full, rich rounded lives in which creative thought and vigorous action were both indivisible, component

THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS

UNSHAKEN

Today the whole world recognizes that a crisis in human society has been reached. Through all the clamor for a world organization and for the Four Freedoms, for the "century of the common man," for economic democracy, through all the lies, hypocrisy, confusion and stupidity, the contributions of Lenin stand unshaken.

Capitalism has reached the stage where the only alternatives it offers are imperialist war or a revolutionary overturn by the working class to institute socialism. The future of human society rests with the victory of the working class, the only consistently revolutionary class in modern society.

Labor Action Book Service Has

Reform or Revolution By Rosa Luxemburg All the Little Lenin **Pamphlets**

By V. I. Lenin

OFF LIMITS

To lead the revolution this class

needs a political party based on

Marxism and composed of the best,

the most enlightened, the most self-

sacrificing members of the working

class or intellectual adherents of so-

And these doctrines Lenin ex-

pounded and concretized in a combi-

nation of writing and organization

which together form one of the most

comprehensive, and the most inspir-

ing, and most remarkable contribu-

tions to society ever made by any sin-

Luxemburg for nearly thirty years

was one of the leading figures of that

gifted body of men and women who

led the German Social Democracy

and made it the greatest civilizing

force of its time. Despite errors, "her

luminous mind" illuminated all as-

pects of European socialism. In Polish

organization, the Russian revolution,

the Bolshevik conflict with Menshe-

vism, political economy, the crises

of French reform socialism, in the

struggle against revision of Marxism,

she was in the forefront. For years

she fought an unrecognized fight

against those who, like Kautsky,

wanted to remove the revolutionary

socialist content from Marxism. At

the moment of the uprising of the

German workers, she showed in revo-

lutionary action the same great abili-

ties of heart and mind which had dis-

tinguished her theoretical and organ-

Liebknecht is forever associated

with the struggle against militarism.

But it is characteristic of that great

generation that, being opposed to dia-

lectical materialism, i.e., the philo-

sophic method of Marxism, in the

midst of his revolutionary activities.

he prepared a study of that subject

for the discussion and clarification of

Today the Germany of Lieb-

knecht, lies in ruins; the Poland

of Luxemburg and the Russia of

Lenin groan under a monstrous

tyranny. The socialist society for

which they struggled is nowhere

realized. On this theme the Phil-

istines preach their sermons. But

the Hitlers and the Pilsudskis and

the Becks who flourished over the

defeat of socialism have disap-

peared. The house they built has

fallen in irreparable ruin. Stalin-

ism still stands but has shown not

the slightest capacity to do any-

thing but increase the general;

crisis of mankind. The ideas and

ideals of Lenin, Liebknecht and

Luxemburg today assume a gigan-

tic stature owing to the very depths

into which capitalist society drags

mankind. Humanity will not perish.

And as it fights its way to a sane

social order, it must and will dis-

cover the principles, aims and

methods which were so enriched by

The New York Times of January

14, 1945, tells us that in Germany on

January 13, 10,000 Berliners filed

through shattered streets and snow-

knecht and Luxemburg. They went

to the Friedrichsfelde Cemetery, the

site of the monument to these great

revolutionaries. It was destroyed by

Hitler, Where is he today? But Lux-

emburg and Liebknecht are begin-

ning to regain their positions in the

hearts and lives of the German peo-

"Capitalist politicians, in whose

eyes the rulers of the people and

the ruling class are the nation,

cannot honestly speak of the 'right

of national self-determination' in

connection with such colonial em-

pires. To the socialist, no nation

is free whose national existence

is based upon the enslavement of

another people, for to him colonial

peoples, too, are human beings,

and, as such, parts of the national

state. International socialism rec-

ognized the right of free, inde-

pendent nations, with equal rights.

But socialism alone can create

such nations, can bring self-deter-

mination of their peoples. This slo-

gan of socialism is like all its oth-

ers, not an apology for existing

conditions, but a guide-post, a spur

for the revolutionary, regenera-

tive, active policy of the proletar-

iat. So long as capitalist states

exist, i.e., so long as imperialistic

world policies determine and reg-

ulate the inner and outer life of

a nation, there can be no 'national

self-determination,' either in war

or in peace,"-Rosa Luxemburg.

these great figures.

fall to honor the m

the revolutionary movement.

izational contributions.

gle human being.

By James M. Fenwick

PART VI THE BRUTALIZATION OF

THE AMERICAN SOLDIER

Through normal capitalist nurturing, military training and the experience of combat, unhealthy attitudes were developed in an unpleasantly large number of soldiers in Europe. There is already considerable data available to indicate that conditions may well be even worse in the Pacific. where the soldier comes in contact with people

who are, after all, "only" natives. Nevertheless, there were also not an inconsiderable number of men who for various reasons did not succumb to these unhealthy pressures. They were the ones who behaved with a decent respect for human dignity, gave clothing, food and blankets to the French, made toys for German children and treated German prisoners as human beings. They were a minority, however.

In battle, prodigies of valor and self-sacrifice were performed, actuated by no other motive than loyalty to one's buddies. Such loyalty was the closest approximation to a genuine morale which was achieved in the United States Army.

THE BLACK MAN'S BURDEN

There was one large entire section of the American Army, moreover, which must be exempted from the criticisms directed against the American. forces in Europe. That section was the Negroes.

Negro troops were unquestionably more popular with continental Europeans than the whites were. Let the rabid Negro-haters in the South. who consider the Negro as a sort of semi-human. ponder that for a while....

The reason is not far to seek: In France and Belgium THERE WAS NO SIGNIFICANT DIS-CRIMINATION OF ANY TYPE AGAINST THE NEGRO. Naturally enough, the Negro responded with dignity and consideration, tempered by a sympathetic understanding of the European, who was likewise being victimized by the white American soldier. Any feeling against the Negro as a race was generated by white Americans.

Will the anti-social attitudes created in the Army persist?

Unquestionably a residue, great or small, will always remain. Fortunately, however, the institution makes the man. The soldier who complained about the unions and strikers when he was in the Army becomes the loudest protester in his local union against the boss. A similar change takes place in other attitudes in the new environment. Whether that residue increases or decreases depends upon whether capitalism continues to decline, pulling down all moral standards with it, or whether a path can be broken to socialism.

THE SOCIALIST ARMY

Had the American soldier fought in a revolutionary, a socialist army, even that basic residue of undesirable attitudes would almost cease to exist. Naturally, we do not refer here to the Stalinist Red Army, which passed over Eastern Europe like a plague of locusts, laying waste the country and bringing hatred upon the very sound of the word "socialism." We refer to a Red Army such as existed in Russian under Lenin and Trotsky.

First of all, the soldier would be imbued with a flaming conviction in proletarian internationalism. The enemy enlisted man would be regarded not as a mortal enemy but as a victim of the capitalist system and its war juggernaut. Instead of the terrible shelling and bombing of enemy soldiers and civilians alike, which was a l capitalist civilization of the past, but against socialist civilization of the future" as well, the socialist army would use, as a supplement to arms, the most dangerous weapon of all: the socialist

The effectiveness of this approach was demonstrated by our French comrades in a small way during the occupation. Trotskyist circles were formed within the German army who furnished our comrades with arms, official rubber stamps, etc., to pursue the struggle against the common enemy, capitalism. German soldiers on the streets of Paris, who were held up for their weapons, were always told for what purpose their weapons were being taken. Many German soldiers, despite the fact that they knew they would be harshly disciplined for losing their weapons, wished our comrades good luck on parting! Nationalist hatreds crumble under that attack!

DEMOCRATIZING THE ARMY

Couple with that a democratic régime in the army, one in which there is no discrepancy between the professed aims of the war and conditions within the army-a condition, of course, which is possible only in the army of a workers state. Concretely, this would mean abolition of present privileges of the officers: separate messes, distinctive uniforms, exclusive clubs, pay differentials, the courts-martial system, orderlies, separate toilets, the use of the appellation "Sir," the salute, etc.

The result would be a revolutionary élan, a standard of behavior, which was totally absent in the American Army but whose presence in the Red Army of Lenin and Trotsky's time permitted it, despite a terrible war-weariness created during the imperialist war and a bad lack of arms and matériel, to achieve brilliant military successes. The Red Army men of those days, armed with a socialist program, came as liberators. They were hailed by the masses of the people, not reviled.

But even when a revolutionary army is waging it, war is, by its essence, a brutalizing process.

Marx's great collaborator, Engels, with that serene, olympian understanding of the evolution of society which he possessed, once spoke of all life prior to socialism as pre-history. From the point of view of the individual, the human personality in our time develops largely unplanned. at the caprice of economic, political and social forces. Capitalist war, which accentuates all the debased aspects of modern life, cannot but contaminate the average human type.

With the advent of socialism, which means, in turn, the abolition of war, the human personality will develop in planned, unending harmonies such as are almost impossible even to conceive of now.

Only then, as Trotsky once magnificently put it, will we be able, without experiencing a certain embarrassment, to feel free to speak such words as truth, kindness, disinterested friendship, self-sacrifice and love.

No More Alibis! Bring Welcome Home! The Boys Home Now!

The political crisis that arose with the world-wide demonstrations of American soldiers continued this week, in spite of the alibis and explanations of the War Department on the demobilization slowdown.

Although the blunt threat of courtsmartial to demonstrating soldiers had their effect-demonstrations ceasedthe GIs advertised in large American newspapers, protesting the War Department's orders canceling the promises that former chief of staff General Marshall had made last Septem-

With the automatic end of selective service in May threatening to cut the army's supply of enlisted men, the army manifestly unpopular with the soldiers now in uniform, the Brass Hats are up against the problem of a large army for the purpose of American imperialism.

General Eisenhower argued that the demobilization slowdown was not a blackmail threat for compulsory military training. But few people took that seriously, because every thinking person knows that the War Department means to have a big army and that they'll never get it by voluntary enlistment.

In addition, General Marshall's promise that all men with two years' service would be eligible for release by March 20 could not be satisfactorily explained away by General Eisenhower in his speech.

Thus, the New York Times pointed out what is perfectly obvious. ". . . it is generally felt that the War Department had emerged from the situation-if it is not premature to use the word emerged-in not too good

ALIBIS FAIL TO WORK

The popular dissatisfaction with the army's demobilization slowdown is a kink in the administration's imperialist policies. At the same time, it has exposed the real attitude of congressmen, "the friends of the GIs," on this entire problem. Describing congressional reaction to General Eisenhower's speech defending the slowdown, the N. Y. Times wrote: "Most congressmen were prepared to accept General Eisenhower's explanation if the soldiers and the public turned the heat off." They fervently hope that Eisenhower's alibis would be accepted by the people.

The popular demand, "Bring the boys home now," continues unabated. Letters-to-editors, protests to congressmen, demonstrations by veterans in the states, have not ended. This is the answer to Congress' hope.

The blunt fact is that the Brass Hats have alibied, and changed their public views and the demobilization schedules at every single turn of world events. Men with 85 points and over were not demobilized as promised after V-E day. It took mass pressure to get them out. After V-J day, the army was forced by soldier and public opinion to expand separation centers-a bottle-neck created by the Brass Hats who knew their public plan for demobilization could not be carried out with the handful of separation centers existing.

OPPORTUNITIES FOR LABOR

The attempt to put the stamp of militarism on American life has received a serious rebuff by the soldiers' violent denunciation of the demobilization slowdown.

Other indications of the growing opposition to the Brass Hats was the Italy in the demand of the veterans of the Rapido river crossing to obtain a full investigation of the terrible losses that occurred there. Such a demand by the widely-heralded 34th Infantry division is a damaging one to the prestige the Brass Hats carefully tried to built up in the war, partly by their suppression of the full facts of the battles.

The War Department's public admission this week that the GI demonstrations were of a mass character, and not the work of a "handful of reds," answered the Hearst press, and proved again what most of the American people believe: the GIs as a whole are bitter against the army and its policies.

These developments give further opportunity for the labor movement, especially the CIO which has taken up the cause of the GIs, to press its fight against conscription, against the Brass Hats' plans, and in general the interest of uniting the ex-soldier, the veteran, with the labor movement.

Union Vets Parade for **Jobless Pay**

PHILADELPHIA, Jan. 20 - Over 100 war veterans paraded through the downtown shopping districts and City Hall Plaza last Saturday in a demonstration of support for the strikers in the electrical industry and for unemployment compensation to striking veterans. The demonstration was sponsored by the veterans' committees of two striking locals, Westinghouse Local 107 and GE Local 119.

The marchers protested against the ruling of General Bradley, VA head, that veterans are denied unemployment compensation "because our unions are forced to strike for living wage demands against powerful, arrogant corporations." Veterans are not entitled to regular state unemployment compensation but, under the GI Bill, are supposed to receive \$20 a week servicemen's readjustment allowance. In Pennsylvania strikers receive unemployment benefits after five weeks, that is, after they are on their last financial

Veterans on strike are denied even these crumbs, making them "second class citizens." Ifs and buts in the GI Bill are turning it into a joke by which the corporations are trying to starve veterans into scabbing roles. The veterans of these locals have replied to this policy with militant solidarity on the picket line. In one local, vets asked that they be used as flying squads by the union wherever it was considered necessary.

The leaflet distributed by the marchers said: "Today, as veterans, we are on the picket line, fighting for decent living standards against greedy corporations. We need a living wage - and compensation! We need a \$2 per day wage increase."

Further rallies of veterans in support of the UE strikers have been planned for this Wednesday.

Hyatt on the Line, Steel Out

HARRISON, N. J., Jan. 21-William Casper, president of Hyatt (General Motors) Local 511, UAW, today expressed solidarity with the striking steel workers of Worthington Pump, Crucible Steel and Driver-Harris, the three steel locals in Harrison which went on strike at 12:01 this morning. The Hyatt strike is part of the GM walkout throughout the country. President Casper expressed the indignation of union members at the company's refusal to accept the compromise offer of 171/2% and stated that after midnight, January 21, the union would go all out for the original 30% increase and a fight to the finish.

The Hyatt workers are particularly angered by the company's production methods, which are designed, under speeding up production. Casper point- abolition of these schemes.

Press Action

ed out that under the "Incentive System" a speed up of work means less money for the same amount of work while the company profits from increased production.

The "Merit Spread System" keeps a worker at a minimum wage for as long as 18 or 20 years while he is told he isn't good enough to get into a higher wage bracket. The "7 Day Continuous Operation" system discriminates against the heat treaters who lose their time and one-half and double time for weekends, with the company's excuse that the department must be kept going all the time. This is just another example of the stagger system.

However, if the company believes that this divide and rule policy can fool the workers, they must be chewing a bitter pill now that the union average pay per unit produced, while is 100% behind the demand for the cents was being quietly extracted

In addition, the company has been attempting a war of nerves with their "Job Description" system, which means nothing more than the indiscriminate changing of jobs at the whim of a supervisor. The union is demanding a stop to this practice, as well as renegotiation of the notoriously low wage rates in certain categories such as packers, inspectors and time keep-

The opening of the books and the maintenance of present prices for autos continue to be major demands of the union. Recognizing the evil effects of continued government aid to the bosses by allowing price rises while offering compromises on wages, Brother Casper compared this situation to the worker being given 30 cents to put in one pocket while 35

Protest Letter on Ban of La Verite

January 11, 1945.

Charles de Gaulle, President of France, André Malraux, Minister of Information, Henri Bonnet, French Ambassador to the U.S.

It has been brought to our attention that La Vérité, the central organ of the Parti Communiste Internationaliste of France, is still refused authorization to appear as a fully legal newspaper. It is refused the purchase of paper, and all of the rights of a newspaper, including circulation and distribution

We understand that La Vérité was among the first labor papers to be published in the underground in resistance to the Nazi invaders. It has an outstanding record of struggle against fascism.

In view of the declaration of your government that it observes the principles of democracy, we cannot understand why this working-class newspaper is being deprived of its right of expression and circulation.

The attitude of your government seems all the more inexplicable since the Parti Communiste Internationaliste participated as a legal party in the recent French elections.

On behalf of the rights of free speech and free press, we urgently request your government to correct this injustice and grant immediate freedom of publication and circulation to La Vérité.

Signed:

Roger Baldwin, Director, American Civil Liberties Union. Morris Milgram, Secretary, Workers Defense League. Liston Oak, Managing Editor, New Leader. Herman Singer, Editor, The Call. Dwight MacDonald, Editor, Politics. George Novack, Secretary, Civil Rights Defense Committee.

Max Shachtman, Editor, The New International Farrell Dobbs, Editor, The Militant.

Reading Steel --

(Continued from page 1)

near Reading, in which these industries are located, has long been a haven for anti-labor elements. Many of the management personnel are believed to have had Nazi sympathies. The founders and owners presumably sympathized with the efforts of the German industrial magnates in enslaving the German working class. In any case, they fought unionism here with the same relentlessness and ferocity.

This industry has been the scene of several bitterly fought strikes. The most recent one occurred during the latter part of 1936 when the Berkshire Full Fashioned Hosiery Mills, the hosiery producing part of the industries, was struck in an attempt to organize the plant. This strike was broken by the terrorism of the state police and the poor leadership given by the Hosiery Workers' offi-

FOUNDRY SPEARHEADS DRIVE

The workers at the Textile Machine Works will have made the first decisive breach in the organization of this immense corporation.

The Textile Foundry Division spearheaded this drive. It has been almost completely organized for a considerable time and maintains an established USA-CIO local. The company, however, refuses to recognize the local and negotiate a contract. The union has sought an NLRB election to decide this question. Until now the company has sought an election which would include the Textile Machine Works and the Foundry Division in the same bargaining unit. The company felt that the unorganized Machine Shop would more than outweigh the organized Foundry Division under such an arrangement.

With the union now spreading rapidly to the Machine Shop, it is a sure thing that the whole unit will be solidly for the union. The Textile Machine Works will be brought to its knees. Next comes the organization of the Berkshire Knitting Mills.

The Carpenter Steel Co. has long resisted unionism by a policy of paternalism. It is the only steel company in Reading that can be described as basic steel. About one year ago, the union lost an NLRB election by about 900 to 500. Since the following addresses: then the union has steadily made progress, and with the tremendous spurt of the past several weeks has a decisive majority signed up. The workers here have had a number of occasions to learn that whatever standard the union sets in basic steel will be the standard at the Carpenter Steel Co.

Some time ago the company sent a letter to all the employees, promising them the same gains that would be gotten as a result of the outcome of the negotiations at U.S. Steel. What better thing could the workers do than really get behind this struggle Action, 3773 Gratiot, Detroit.)

and assure a really worthwhile gain? Today, Sunday, January 20, the company has given the employees a raise of fifteen cents an hour, starting January 21. Any worker with half an eye can see through this ruse. We can well expect that instead of reducing the effectiveness of the shutdown, this move will increase it.

"FARMERS" FOR UNION. An interesting aspect of the local

situation is that these industries were considered unorganizable because, as most workers put it, "too many farmers work there." All industries in this area hire many workers from the rural districts. These two industries had a deliberate policy of hiring these workers. The general idea was that since many of the workers from the rural areas owned small farms, they would be willing to accept less pay without complaint, Also. most people in the rural districts (who are mainly Pennsylvania Dutch folk) had had little experience with unions and tended to be wary of activities and organizations about which they had had little real knowledge. Generally, the company assumed that these "farmers" would be hostile to unionism.

But the "farmers" soon learned the value of organization. Once the "farmer" accepted the new idea of unionism he became and remains the staunchest and the BEST unionist!

The existence of a growing and stable Farmers Union in the country areas contributed heavily to this deelopment during the course of its educational work,

With the organization of the Textile Machine Works and the Carpenter Steel Co., the backbone of the anti-union forces will have been broken. Reading and Berks County are on the way to becoming 100 per cent organized.

Shirley Waller, secretary of the National Provisional Committee for a Socialist Youth League, began an organizational tour on January 11 which will take her to various eastern and midwestern cities. Comrade Waller can be used for speaking engagements and may be contacted at

January 28-February 4, Baltimore, Md. (Write to Youth Action, 114 West 14th Street, New York 11, N. Y.)

February 6-20, Detroit, Mich. (Labor Action, 3773 Gratiot, Detroit.)

February 22-March 7, Chicago, Ill, (Youth Action, 1703 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill.)

March 8-12, Madison, Wis. (Write to Chicago address.) March 13-20, Chicago, Ill. (Same

March 22-25, Detroit, Mich. (Labor

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

Special Offer:

JEAN MALAQUAIS' WAR DIARY

REGULAR PRICE ... \$2.75 The Book Service has a limited number of copies priced at \$1.50

New Titles Added:

LEON TROTSKY-THE REVOLUTION BETRAYED (Reprint)

308 pages, cloth cover ... \$2,00

LEON TROTSKY-THE FIRST FIVE YEARS OF THE COM-MUNIST INTERNATIONAL Cloth . . . \$2.50

Paper ... \$1.50

SEND FOR FREE LIST OF ALL BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS SOLD BY THE BOOK SERVICE

LOS ANGELES MONTHLY FORUM "EUROPE - Liberation or Starvation"

- · Allied Policy in Germany
- The Fate of the European Peoples
- · Prospect for the European Revolution Speakers: ANNE RUSSELL LAWRENCE WHITE

February 1 8:00 P. M.

Contribution: 25¢

STUDIO HALL **EMBASSY AUDITORIUM** 843 South Grand (at 9th St.) Los Angeles

Auspices: Workers Party, Los Angeles Section

The January issue of The New International, just off the press, contains a number of articles on events of current interest-THE STRIKE WAVE-Its Roots in the Economics of Recon-

LESSONS OF THE DETROIT ELECTION-Martin Harvey POST-LIBERATION STRUGGLE IN THE PHILIPPINES

Also articles on the situation in Germany and France by A. Jeffers and James M. Fenwick.

The current issue reprints two documents dealing with the unity negotiations between the Workers Party and the Socialist Workers Party, as well as a letter addressed to the Fourth International by Felix

Discussion articles and book reviews round out this issue.

Because of increased printing costs, the price of The New International has been raised to twenty-five cents for a single issue and \$2.00 for a yearly subscription.

Order your January issue or a yearly sub from

THE NEW INTERNATIONAL

114 West 14th Street New York 11, N. Y.

Name Your Own Sub Quota By Reva Craine, Press Manager Three days after the appearance of this issue of LA-

BOR ACTION, the drive for 5,000 new subscriptions will officially open. The response to last week's announcement of the drive gives every indication that we are certain to go over the top.

Minnesota has subscribed to a quota of 100, over and above the steady stream of subs which have been coming from that region. In a letter we learn:

"Last night received your letter of January 10 regarding the LABOR ACTION subscription drive. Hibbing should be able to meet its quota of 100 subs. The workers almost unanimously like and seem to understand LABOR ACTION.

"... I feel that we can exceed our quota of 5,000 new subs. It is also good news that we may have a larger

On a previous occasion, Hibbing wrote about LABOR

"It might also be pointed out that LABOR ACTION is now reaching hundreds of Range workers weekly, that they are coming to recognize it for a great champion of organized labor and the working class, that it begins where other papers (labor papers) leave off, that it prints the facts that the kept press never prints, that it defends the workers at all times as the organ of a fighting socialist workers' party, as in the case of the GM strike, etc."

Several of the Workers Party branches have already sent in the quotas which they are undertaking in this

Detroit, which did so magnificently in the last drive, is going to get 1,000 new subs in this one. Local New York of the Workers Party has undertaken to get a minimum of 2,000 new subs during this drive. The Chicago branch has accepted a quota of 350. The newlyorganized Newark Branch is out for 150 new subscribers. A friend in Boston writes that he will get at least ten new subs on his own.

Thus far, the subscribed quota is as follows:

110mg 0	
etroit	1000
ewark	150
w York	2000
innesota	100
oston	10
The state of the s	-
tal	3610

We are now awaiting word from the Los Angeles branches, Philadelphia, Buffalo, San Francisco, Akron, Reading, Seattle, Streator, Louisville, Cleveland, St. Louis and others. If these branches do as well as those listed above, we know that 5,000 new subs will be an easy goal for LABOR ACTION. By the next issue, we will print the complete list of branches and quotas.

For the week ending Friday, January 18, LABOR ACTION records the following new subscriptions:

San Francisco

Los Angeles

Chicago

Minnesota

New York

Missouri

Newark

	Reading	•					2
5	Philadel	phia .		6			2
196	Seattle						
	Texas						5
	Total	9 9			, in	<u> </u>	61
					37.5		
	1980	H	1-24		100		
			T	8	The state of the s	2.0	
					1	NAME OF	1 900
	□ I wa	ent to	subscr	ipe to	LAB	OR A	CTION
Е			Dec.		- 64	175.1	
	nclosed is		Dec.		- 64	175.1	
			Dec.		- 64	175.1	
	nclosed is cription.		for	a	76 T	_mor	nth sub
s	nclosed is cription.	nt to	for	a	R ACT	_mor	nth sub
80	nclosed is cription.	nt to	for	a	R ACT	_mor	nth sub
80	nclosed is cription.	nt to	for	a	R ACT	_mor	nth sub