

HOW TO GET FULL EMPLOYMENT? SOCIALIST PLANNING, NOT PROFITS!

By MARTIN HARVEY

DETROIT.—Willow Run Local 50 (UAW-CIO) conducted a mass picketing of the War Manpower Commission offices on June 2, in protest against the complete unconcern with which the government is treating the question of jobs for Willow Run workers who are being laid off by the thousands.

This action prevented the attempt of Edward L. Cushman, state WMC director, to hide the true situation of the workers at the Ford bomber plant by issuing false statements and statistics. A series of optimistic reports issued by the War Manpower Commission spread the illusion that about 45% of the Willow Run workers who were laid off had left the Detroit area to return to their homes and that practically all of the remainder had been placed in suitable jobs.

The delegation from Local 50 gave the lie to these figures, pointing out that of every 100 women workers laid off 98 were not even offered jobs while the two out of every hundred that did get jobs had to work at wages that were, on the average, 48% less than the union rates at the Willow Run plant. The situation for male workers was almost as bad. Fifty-nine out of every hundred workers were not offered any jobs at all and the remaining 41 had to take wage cuts of from 25% to 60%.

This attempt of the government to "solve" the problem of unemployment and low wages by hiding the facts instead of providing jobs at decent wages is an indication of what workers all over the country can expect during the period of cut-backs and reconversion. The government is deliberately playing with the lives of the workers in order to help the capitalists restore sweatshop wages. As Local 50 president Brendan Sexton charged, the WMC was running an employment agency for sweatshops.

SHUT-DOWN IMMINENT

While thousands of Willow Run workers are joining the ranks of the unemployed, the Army Air Forces announces a speeding up of the shut-down of the Willow Run plant. Instead of tapering off operations until total shut-down in August, the latest decree, issued without any warning to the workers involved, announces that production will cease by the end of June and that only planes which are now on the production line will be completed. The announcement was followed by the immediate layoff of half the remaining number of workers at the plant plus an estimated 7,000 workers in other Ford plants who produce parts for the B-24s.

Willow Run is only a finished example of what the whole Detroit area is facing. Despite Cushman's contention that "only" 17,000 or 18,000 are now unemployed, Walter Reuther, UAW vice-president, has stated that at least 150,000 workers are unemployed in Detroit at the present time and that this figure will reach 300,000 by August.

Besides falsifying the figures, the WMC attempts to "reduce" the number of unemployed in the Detroit

area by a vicious trick. They tell unemployed workers who apply for unemployment compensation that it would be best for them to return to their former homes in other states and receive their compensation there. (Continued on page 2)



ON HIS KNEES

National Independence Issue in Syria Fight

The French attack on Syria and Lebanon and the subsequent intervention of Great Britain to halt the hostilities reveals the true nature of imperialism.

At the moment the press of the world is concerned largely with the question of the responsibility for the fighting which occurred in the Near East, and why the shooting began. One might as well ask: What is France doing in the Levant? What are the British interests which prompted the swift intervention of Churchill's cabinet? Why did the British dispatch troops to restore order and call a halt to the hostilities which threaten to involve the other powers and the Arab populations of the Mediterranean areas?

NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE
The Levantine countries were once under the domination of Turkey, which ruled these areas with Byzantine cruelty. They were "liberated" after the First World War, but their independence was postponed when the League of Nations gave France a mandate over the area in the same way that the British obtained mandates over other areas in the Near East.

But the desire for independence by these countries never ended and powerful national movements have existed ever since. Periodic struggles broke out between the national movements and the French occupation troops. In the never-ending negotiations which took place the French were always promising independence... later. The defeat of France in 1940 disrupted French rule. As a result, the French promised independence in exchange for her right to keep order in the Levant and the negotiation of treaties defining reciprocal relations.

Now that Germany has been defeated, and the Nazi threat to the Near East and the Anglo-French possessions ended for all time, the promises of national independence made to the Near Eastern people are being gradually withdrawn or so conditioned as to make independence impossible.

But there is more involved than just the struggle between the French and the Arabs. De Gaulle declares that the recent fighting is due to the instigation of the British. The British sent the French a sharp note and then ordered troops into the fighting areas to escort the French forces into barracks. The British have now assumed responsibility for maintaining the peace. The U. S. State Department has announced its support of the British policy, while Russia expressed her sympathies for the French. Thus, in this area of conflict, the imperialist rivalries of the big powers are sharply focussed.



Behind the whole struggle is the "smell of oil." In earlier years only the French and British interests were involved. Today, the United States, with heavy investments in Saudi Arabian oil fields; and Russia, which is vitally interested in Iranian oil and an outlet to the Indian Ocean, regard any event in the Near East within their orbit of interest and intervene by whatever appropriate means are at hand. When Britain says that any conflict in the Levant threatens her lifeline to India and the prosecution of the war in the Far East, she means to say that any conflict in the Near East threatens her control of the oil fields in that part of the world.

In this particular case, the great fear of the British is that any conflict in one of the Arab nations might be a spark to an Arab revolt in the whole Mediterranean area and thus threaten her imperialist interests.

De Gaulle, who understands fully the nature of the imperialist rivalries, asked that the dispute in the Levant be turned over to the Big Five, where he would prove that the British instigated the whole affair with the aim of embarrassing and

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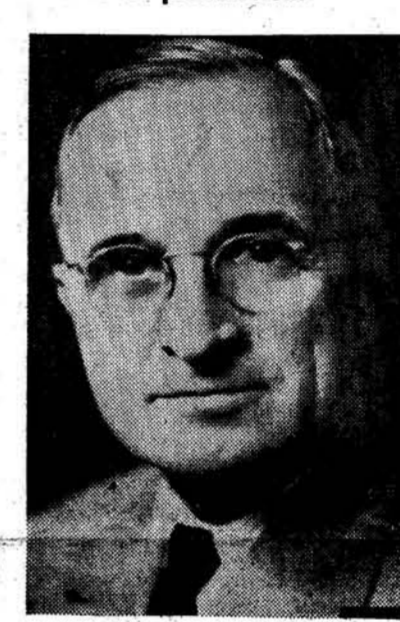
By MARY BELL

It is a rare reactionary who opposes openly and forthrightly the concept of "full employment." Occasionally one pipes up with, "Full employment is incompatible with the system of free enterprise." But he is drowned out in the chorus of manufacturers, liberals, labor leaders, Governor Dewey and even the President, with their "plans" for "full employment." All God's children got plans. Everyone is for the "ideal" of full employment.

Attention is now focussed on the Murray bill, a revised version of one that was backed by President Truman when he was a senator. The essence of the Murray bill is contained in two points:

(1) The President is to estimate "the aggregate volume of prospective investment and expenditure" for the country for the coming fiscal year.

(2) The President is to estimate the "aggregate volume of investment and expenditure required to assure a full employment volume of production."



BACKS PROFIT SYSTEM

The President is then required to fill the gap between guess (1) and guess (2) by "suggestions" to industry and "compensatory" spending on the part of government as a last resort.

Fearful employers are assured that the Murray bill does not envisage planned production or government control of industry. "Free enterprise," that is, capitalist production for private profit, is not to be interfered with.

With the sole exception of the socialist solution to the problem of full employment, all plans, including those of labor officials, do not touch a hair on the head of free enterprise. They are therefore all doomed in advance. Why?

BUSINESS FAILURE

Before the war private enterprise was incapable of insuring full employment. As late as 1940, ten million men and women were on WPA or relief. Government had to fill in the gap between what the Murray bill calls "aggregate volume of prospective investment and expenditure"—labor's needs for jobs and industry's inability to meet them—and aggregate volume... to assure a full employment volume of production." For more than ten years of the Great Depression, all the king's horses and all the king's men couldn't get capitalism to employ everybody able and willing to work. Government had to give the unemployed a dole and "prime the pump" of industry.

But did free enterprise restore full employment by its managerial genius, its proven capacity for leadership? Not on your life. The government again came to its rescue. It furnished business with war orders. About half of all production is now directed to the implements of destruction.

Now, the war market is diminishing and will practically vanish in a (Continued on page 2)

Capitalist Reconversion to Unemployment

By SUSAN GREEN

Before the 1944 national election all kinds of reconversion plans were announced that would give full employment. At labor conventions last fall, CIO President Murray and other leaders gave the rosy details of a reconversion plan that they intimated was on President Roosevelt's desk and all but had his signature.

After election, however, reconversion talk was hushed. Labor leaders were ordered to hold their tongues—and the wage line! The people were told that reconversion plans were premature—that there was a war to be won. The reconversion plans faded by Murray and others were put in the waste basket, since Roosevelt's concern with them was merely to serve for electioneering purposes.

Now labor suddenly finds itself in the midst of partial reconversion without any plan for full employ-

ment adopted in Washington. War orders are being cut down drastically. War plants are being shut down all over the country. WPB Chairman Krug foresees 2,000,000 more unemployed two months from now. Senator O'Mahoney of Wyoming warns that if the war with Japan should end suddenly, the unemployment crisis would be greater than that of the "great depression." Furthermore, his realistic estimate for the post-reconversion period is that only one-third of war production workers will find jobs in the same plants.

This unemployment catastrophe is not, as every worker knows, a sudden visitation from heaven or hell. It was fully foreseen by all thinking people. More than a year ago the Workers Party came out with its reconversion program for giving every worker a job and a guaranteed annual wage. LABOR ACTION has been urging upon the labor move-

ment that it adopt the demands presented by the Workers Party and fight for them under the banner of an Independent Labor Party.

But the labor leaders held fast to FDR's misleading hand. Then hurriedly and nervously they transferred their grasp to Truman. Now labor is holding the reconversion bag. And it is labor alone that is, as always, holding the bag.

CAPITAL TAKEN CARE OF

For, while the worshipful labor leaders shut up like clams on the subject of reconversion when FDR ordered them to do so, capital got busy looking after itself. Quietly and efficiently, with government help, re-planning and retooling of plants began, and priorities were obtained.

Another point won by capitalists was to get a government prime policy high enough to provide profits even though plants operate at less

than capacity and workers are unemployed. And the pressure for still higher prices continues.

Next, President Truman gave his sanction to Congress to present big business with \$5,700,000,000 in the next two years in the shape of refunds and reduced taxes—just a tidbit to induce capital over the reconversion road, with the promise of more substantial fare to come.

Finally, the other day WPB Chairman Krug reported on government reconversion policy, which the New York Times found "admirable." In essence, the WPB policy is to keep hands off business and let it reconvert as its own profit-seeking fancy will. While controls on labor, such as the Little Steel freeze and the no-strike pledge, are still in force, Mr. Krug revealed that many wartime controls on industry have already been dropped and that the government intends to let go entirely as

soon as war production needs permit. Thus freedom is assured to "free enterprise."

TRUMAN'S PROPOSAL

Against this background, President Truman has seen a "loophole." "Dear me. We've forgotten all about the workers, haven't we?" So he made his request to Congress to increase unemployment benefits to \$25 a week and to lengthen the period for benefit payments to twenty-six weeks. However, even the slight and wholly inadequate improvement implied in the President's request seems fated not to be realized—judging by the reception the recommendation received.

While the jobless multiply daily, such headlines as the following meet the eye: "Truman's \$25 a Week Jobless Pay Proposal Provides Material for Debate"—NOT for food, clothing (Continued on page 3)

LABOR! BEWARE THE LATEST COMMUNIST "TURN"

By ALBERT GATES

The American Communist Political Association, under directives from the Kremlin, has adopted a new line calling for greater militancy in the labor movement and prosecution of the class struggle against "reactionary monopoly capitalism."

Last week we pointed out that this was inevitable since the criticism of its policies by Jacques Duclos, leader of the French Communist Party, emanated from Moscow and that the leaders of the CPA would interpret it correctly as an instruction to alter the program of the Association.

The leadership of the American Communist Party responded like trained seals. The fact that the New York Telegram disclosed the whole affair brought it into the open. But the change had been taking place "gradually," a course already decided by the National Board of the CPA.

The National Board accepted the substance of Duclos' (Stalin's) criticism that the party under Browder's leadership was following a false policy and that a revision of its program must take place.

The National Board of the CPA met on June 2, and adopted a resolution entitled: "The Present Situation and Next Tasks." The interesting feature of the report on the meeting is the disclosure that Browder, the party's secretary, voted against the

resolution. In addition to him, Roy Hudson, the party's commissar, who enforced the Browder "line" in the union movement, abstained from voting. These two were mainly responsible for the execution of the policies of the organization. Subsequently, Hudson announced that he favored the resolution, his hesitation arising from his desire for clarification on some of its points.

The fact that they were mainly responsible does not mean that the other members of the committee were in opposition to the policies. With the exception of Foster, who disagreed but decided not to fight the line or to bring it to the attention of the party, and Sam Darcy, who was subsequently expelled from the Central Committee and the party, the National Board supported Browder and carried out "his" line with enthusiasm and great energy.

Several things must be kept in mind in order to understand this switch in the American Stalinist-Communist policy.

1. The "Browder line," as we explained last week, was not Browder's personal policy. It was the Russian line applied to the United States and in its essential features was applied by all other Communist organizations in the world. When Browder advocated labor-capital peace, support to Roosevelt in the election, national unity, full prosecution of the imperialist war, support to the

struggle for socialism had to be postponed because it was an unreal perspective, or when he declared that labor must support "free enterprise" and capitalism in general, he did what every other Communist leader in the rest of the world did.

2. But when Browder advocated class peace and declared that the

The one difference between the conduct of the other parties and the American CP is that the American organization formally dissolved its party, transferring it into a political association in order to deflect criticism and suspicion that it did not really mean its new policy of denying the class struggle in favor of class unity.

RUSSIAN DIPLOMACY RULES

So long as relations among the Big Three were fairly amicable and their differences seemed to be resolving themselves at Teheran and Yalta, no criticism was made of Browder. But the moment these relations became sharpened by the end of the European war and the necessity to decide the division of the spoils practically, Stalin ordered his foreign battalions to change their policies to conform to the new international situation.

The Stalinist rulers in Russia keep their fingers on the pulse of the affairs of the Communist organizations and make certain that they do not step out of line. Browder's previous policies conformed to Rus-

ZIG:

(Three weeks before the Communist Political Association changed its line and on the occasion of Earl Browder's 54th birthday he was eulogized in the following way):

"Your bold, mature Marxist leadership has enabled our movement to make a lasting contribution to our nation...."

"When the history of the turbulent and convulsive past decade is finally written, the work of the American Communists will constitute a proud and significant part of the record, thanks in large degree to your profound Marxist leadership...."

"Because of the policy your leadership inspires, the Communist movement has strengthened its role in the life of the nation and has helped the American labor movement as a whole to make itself a powerful force for the victory...."

"On this occasion we recall your constant injunction that we raise ever higher our standards of work, thought and study and never cease to strive for the mastery of Marxism. Felicitations and warmest wishes for many long years of health and leadership."

—By John Williamson, secretary of the CPA, on behalf of the National Board of the CPA, May 20, Daily Worker.

ZAG:

(From the resolution of the National Board of the CPA, adopted on June 2, sharply criticizing Browder's leadership and policies)

"...Today we Communists must not only learn from our achievements in the struggle against fascism, but also from our weaknesses and errors. In the recent period, especially since January, 1944 (during the triumph of Browder's "Marxist" policies—Ed.) these mistakes consisted in drawing a number of erroneous conclusions from the historic significance of the Teheran accord...."

"This revision of Marxist-Leninist theory (by Browder's "profound Marxist leadership"—Ed.) regarding the role of monopoly capital... led to other erroneous conclusions, such as utopian economic perspectives... it also led to tendencies to obscure the class nature of bourgeois democracy...."

"The opportunist errors which we were committing... adversely influenced our work.... We were, however, readjusting ourselves too slowly to new world developments (Anglo-American-Russian conflicts—Ed.), because we failed to understand the basic opportunist errors that had crept into our policies."

(Continued on page 4)

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Vets Need More Than Bill of Rights

By MIKE STEVENS

Returning war veterans are already discovering that things are quite different than they had been led to believe by the newspapers they read while in the service.

They are finding out that the GI Bill of Rights is nowhere near what it is cracked up to be, and in searching for jobs they realize that the silk-shirt wages they had read about just don't exist, and never did exist during the war.

If they have to get hospitalized, veterans find themselves in crowded rooms under scandalous conditions of sanitation and medical care, while the politicians in Washington who are responsible for these conditions do nothing about it except try to suppress the news about the conditions.

The veteran smells something fishy in the "super-seniority" and other "veterans rights" proposals being put forth by big business and the veterans' organizations.

The veterans were told that under the GI Bill they would receive \$20 a week for a maximum of two years; they could borrow money to go into business for themselves, and they could return to school.

The veteran is now finding out that he can collect the \$20 a week only under certain conditions: that it is an unemployment benefit, not a bonus from an appreciative govern-

ment. In order to collect the \$20 a week the veteran must register with the United States Employment Service and report regularly. If he refuses any job the USES offers him within certain classifications the \$20 a week is immediately cut off. Many of the veterans had no skills before they went into the armed forces, so they can't insist on classifications. If the veteran accepts the job, only to find that it is not as described to him or it has other objectionable features and he quits it, he can NOT collect the unemployment benefit of \$20 a week. A veteran fired from a job cannot collect this unemployment benefit if the boss says he fired the veteran for misconduct.

If there is a strike at the factory where a veteran is employed, he cannot collect his GI compensation UNLESS he can prove that he is NOT A MEMBER OF THE UNION conducting the strike and that he is NOT participating in it on the side of his fellow workers. The reactionary politicians who had this clause inserted in the bill felt that they could weaken the union movement in this way by keeping the veterans and the other workers divided.

LOANS UNDER THE GI BILL

This section of the bill is the biggest hoax ever pulled on any veteran in any war. More nonsense was written on this section of the bill than on any other. Long and detailed articles have appeared in the press dur-

ing the last two years on how the veterans of this war were going into business for themselves, and a new era of small businesses was on its way. The biggest piece of fakery was of course in the articles that described how the veterans with their GI loan money were going to bid and take over the government-owned plants—keeping them out of the clutches of America's Sixty Families.

In the first place, the veterans were given the impression that these were to be gifts and not loans. Now he is discovering that in order to get one of these loans he has a million miles of red tape to go through—and in order to get it he must have the same guarantees that he would need to borrow it from any bank. Proof that this section of the bill is a hoax is the fact that out of OVER ONE MILLION AND A HALF MEN discharged from the armed services and eligible for these loans, only SIX had been granted by the middle of last February for any kind of business.

To put it simply, if a veteran wants to borrow 10,000 from a bank or an individual, then the Veterans Administration, the Reconstruction Finance Corp., the Smaller Plants Corp., the National Housing Agency review the veteran's credit record, previous business experience and a million other things to see if the veteran and the business he is going into are the best risk in the world.

Then the government will GUARANTEE to the bank that is willing to lend the veteran \$10,000 that the government will be responsible for \$2,000 maximum if the veteran defaults his loan to the bank. The bank, of course, would not be willing to make the loan in the first place if the veteran didn't have more than enough collateral. In other words, the GI loan guarantee section is a phony.

SCHOOL

This section of the GI Bill is also a far cry from what it is cracked up to be; nevertheless it has some good points. A veteran can have twelve months of education if he wants it. He can have more than that if he is under 25 and can prove that his education was interrupted by being drafted into the armed forces. But there are many drawbacks to the bill, which account for the fact that only 10,000 out of the million and a half discharged veterans are taking courses under the GI Bill. The biggest hitch in this section of the bill is that it doesn't make any real allowance so that the veteran can live or take care of his family while going to school. If he is single he receives \$50 a month and if he has dependents, \$90 a month. The veteran cannot increase this amount by holding a part-time job while he is going to school, because if he takes such a job his allowance by the government is cut down.

MASS ACTION



By DAVID COOLIDGE

The CIO Union News Service announces jubilantly that the United States Chamber of Commerce, through its board of directors, has unanimously approved the labor-management charter which was signed by Murray, Green and Eric Johnston. The News Service says that "this decision will stimulate local chambers to meet with labor leaders on local levels to promote such charters in their communities."

Thus does the open betrayal of labor by the top labor bureaucracy go its class-collaborationist way. Phillip Murray evidently believes that he has proposed something new. Bill Green certainly knows better, since he is an offspring of Sam Gompers, who, along with Mark Hanna, headed the National Civic Federation many decades ago. The National Civic Federation was only a more honest edition of the ever-recurring scheme for labor-capitalist cooperation than is this latest brew of Green, Murray and Johnston.

Old Sam Gompers came right out with it. "He mouthed none of Murray's pious vapor and none of Green's blockhead whimpering. He said frankly that strikes were out of style and that the time had come for labor and capital to draw together around the council table and arrive at decisions in the mutual interests of both classes."

Murray talks about "labor" and "management" just as though he believed that foremen and the little executives in industry could settle

the disputes between the workers and the corporations. One would never guess that there were bondholders, big stockholders, bankers and other loafers and non-producers who are the real culprits the working people have to deal with. That is, the working class has to deal with the capitalist ruling class as a class.

A SAGE SAYING

Years ago Frederick Engels, the collaborator and friend of Karl Marx, wrote that people had been advocating the unity of capital and labor for many years but the working class was right where it was before visionaries, labor traitors and muddle-heads received their harmony revelations.

What Engels said over fifty years ago is just as true today. There can be no such thing as a charter between capitalist and worker unless the worker agrees to give the capitalist full right to starve him and his family.

In every local where this capitalist-labor charter fakery appears it should be promptly and rudely assigned to the garbage pail.

Murray has something more up his sleeve than his CIO-Chamber of Commerce scheme for benefitting the working class. He has given his steel workers some advice on how to keep employed. When cutbacks come and "reconversion" begins, the steel workers are to hold "plant-wide meetings; discussion on employment possibilities; consultation with management for reconversion to civilian production; rousing of

community sentiment for the use of plants heretofore only with a war production history for civilian production; meeting with municipal and civil authorities, Chambers of Commerce and associations of manufacturers for full production and full employment in the industries located there."

We are for some of these things mentioned above, but taken together they sound like recommendations to the Boy Scouts or to the Federation of Women's Clubs. Altogether they add up to zero. We wonder why Murray did not say just one sentence: "take it up in the labor-management committee."

The working class has all that we need to handle this matter of "reconversion" save one thing: a working class program and a leadership with the guts to fight with the ranks of labor for the program. The workers would follow if they only had somebody to follow that was going somewhere except to Truman and the U. S. Chamber of Commerce.

The way to keep a job is to keep it. Workers can't keep their jobs if they allow themselves to be put out of plants. They won't get their jobs by holding long conferences with "municipal and civic authorities" and "associations of manufacturers." It's all right to negotiate with employers or the employers' government while the masses of workers are sitting in the plants, but to hold conferences in the manner suggested by Murray will get labor nowhere but into the soup lines.

Labor Notes From Buffalo

By JOHN BARNES

Three weeks ago we predicted that approximately twenty thousand workers in this city would be laid off in the next three-month period. No doubt many readers placed the prediction in the "scare-rumor" classification. However, with the Army Air Force announcement that seventeen thousand aircraft are to be cut back, the layoff figures we stated take real life.

The announcement really and finally (or at least semi-finally) cracked the local employment picture wide open. The bottom of the War Manpower Commission bag of tricks and lies has dropped out with a loud crash, although as we shall mention later, this hapless body continues to rant about purely imaginary labor shortages. The companies affected, Bell Aircraft and Curtiss-Wright, can no longer deny layoffs, refer loosely to the number of workers involved or speak assuringly of future contracts and orders. This is it!

It is interesting to note the figures now given, when the shock of actuality is too severe to alleviate. One month ago the boss press said that between the two companies a total of "less than fifty-five thousand" were employed. We said that the true figure, was considerably "less" and much closer to forty-five thousand. Now, in discussing layoffs

in percentages and so on, the boss press admits that the true total is forty-five thousand. Such careless capitalist arithmetic!

COMING LAYOFFS

Here briefly, according to company spokesmen, is how Buffalo workers will be hit: Bell, which employs about fourteen thousand at present in shop and office, will lay off at least eight thousand workers—four thousand of these within the next two weeks. By September less than six thousand workers will be left. Starting very soon, Curtiss, which employs around thirty thousand in shop and office, will lay off between eight and ten thousand. By September a maximum total of twenty thousand will be left.

Keep in mind that these figures are official only in the sense that they are released by company spokesmen. Knowing these spokesmen and their arithmetical manipulations for what they are, we feel free to make another prediction. We believe (and our basis comes from the Chamber of Commerce, no less) that before 1946 arrives both plants combined will employ LESS than ten thousand workers. This will mean a lay-off of thirty-five thousand, in a six-month period, in these two plants alone.

But the landslide does not stop here. Dozens of other smaller feeder shops in the city will feel the cut-

back. Subcontracted orders by the score will be recalled or cancelled outright. This development in turn will have effect on the heavier industries who supply such shops with base material.

DANGER AHEAD

Where and when this "normal" capitalist cycle will finally stop remains to be seen. Despite the foolish yammerings of the War Manpower Commission, which hopefully continues to erect smokecreens to the contrary, this much is certain: Buffalo will suffer acute unemployment in the near future. That which can forestall it, immediate reconversion, is still only in the cheap and unproductive talking stage—and even the talking sounds a discouraging note.

The boss press may fill column after column about "women who don't want work" and so on; the War Manpower Commission may jabber about "lagging schedules," and every government agency on the scene may scream about the necessity for "staying on the job"—but the truth is evident for all those who wish to see it. Soon there will be no jobs for thousands and the "prosperity" of the past few years will be recognized for the illusory war-bubble it was.

Truly, for the working class, aside from the casualties and heartbreaks of the work, the payoff is the layoff.

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The workers who fall for this find that by moving they become ineligible to receive compensation. To put it simply, they are being deliberately robbed of their compensation.

BUREAUCRATS FRANTIC

The top bureaucrats of the UAW are frantic at this development but haven't the faintest idea of what to do. R. J. Thomas comes crawling to Henry Kaiser begging him to buy Willow Run, no doubt promising him that the workers will accept low wages and the speedup in return for this favor. Perhaps Thomas doesn't remember that when Kaiser opened his shipyards on the west coast he signed back door closed shop agreements with the AFL BEFORE any workers were hired in his yards in order to prevent their organization by the CIO and any militant struggle for decent wage rates and working conditions.

Another proposal for the Willow Run plant was initiated by the reactionary Detroit News and taken up by government officials. This was that UAW buy the plant and operate it itself. The proposal, of course, was accompanied by many sneers at the inability of the union to run indus-

try. Aside from the fact that the union doesn't have the money to buy the plant, and these reactionaries know it, the question might well be asked, why should the workers pay for something which they built themselves? When the Ford Motor Company operated the plant it was given the machinery, raw materials, labor and a guaranteed market. Not to mention a guaranteed profit. No one asked Ford to buy the plant.

When the product will have to be sold on the open market, when the plant will have to compete with three giant trusts—Ford, Chrysler, General Motors—when machines and raw materials will not be guaranteed by the government but will be monopolized by the trusts, then these wisecracks propose that the union buy the plant. This is an obvious attempt to discredit the ability of the organized workers to manage production under the most unfavorable circumstances.

WORKERS' MANAGEMENT

The workers are able to manage production. That can easily be tested. If the News or the government were sincere in their desire to see workers' control of the plant, if they were interested in jobs and security more than private profits, they could adopt

a very simple program, a program long ago proposed by LABOR ACTION and the Workers Party. That is, government ownership and working control of production. This is a very modest program. It asks for little more than has already been granted to private industry. How would it apply to Willow Run?

The government would retain ownership of Willow Run as it did under Ford management. The workers would replace Ford as the "management." Through their organizations they would control production. The government would supply the machines and raw materials—as it did for the Ford Motor Company. The government would guarantee the market for the products—as it did for the Ford Motor Company. Since the products are no longer means of destruction but peace-time products, the government itself would not buy them. But that is no problem to a government which is supposed to be interested in the welfare of the people. It could sell them at cost or distribute them to those in need (the unemployed, for example). One of the suggested uses for Willow Run was the production of pre-fabricated housing, to which it is admirably suited. A government genuinely con-

cerned with the welfare of the people could accomplish two ends in one: guaranteed full production at Willow Run and provide decent housing to the millions of families who are in need of it.

NATIONAL PLANNING

What could be done at Willow Run with workers' control of production is, of course, only a tiny fraction of what could be done on a national scale with national planning for full production under workers control. It is only on a national scale that genuine planning is possible. And it is only on a national scale that any serious attempt can be made to prevent unemployment.

But Willow Run provides an excellent starting point. Let's see whether the capitalists and their government place the lives and welfare of the people above the demands of private profit. They've had their "private enterprise" for years—and with it depressions, unemployment, poverty, misery. It's time the workers took a hand at this. Let the working class operate industry.

And let's start with Willow Run.

Bosses Reconvert at Willow Run--

The Way to Full Employment--

(Continued from page 1)

few months or a year when Japan is defeated.

But the problem is greater than it was before the war. We have more plants, more workers, more skills, more efficiency, more productivity and more machinery due to wartime expansion. We have, in short, more of all the means necessary to a high standard of living, shorter hours and certainly full employment for every able-bodied person. But the problem is greater than it was before the war—under the system of free, private, capitalist enterprise.

Depressions and low employment are caused under capitalism because TOO MUCH is produced, not TOO LITTLE. The crises of capitalism are crises of OVERPRODUCTION, not lack of production. It is not overproduction in the sense of the needs

of the people, but overproduction for the market. Capitalism does not produce for needs, consequently underconsumption accompanies overproduction. Capitalist enterprise over-produces precisely because it is not a system of over-all planning, but a system of competition for private profit. All businesses, small and large, compete with each other. All rival automobile corporations compete with each other. Where competition has been eliminated in a single branch, like aluminum, the aluminum trust competes with other trusts, like steel, plastic, wood, etc.

All private enterprise is out to produce as much as it can, to grab as much of the market as it can, for it is in sales that it realizes its profits. Hence it over-produces, the people cannot buy what has been produced because "free enterprise" robs them of a part of their pay envelope in the form of profits. Then come layoffs and the inevitable depression.

GOVT AID NECESSARY

That is why government must come to the aid of business. It must subsidize business through loans or through providing purchasing power to the jobless through government expenditure. This is what Roosevelt did during the last depression. The Murray plan proposes no more than this: The bill does not move one fleahop in the direction of full employment. It will, at best, provide the old WPA in a new form.

Big business is afraid of even this limited intervention into economic life by government. It is afraid that when it is so apparent that business is dependent on the government, reasonable people will demand that government take over all of business and industry and eliminate the competitive drive for profits and plan production totally for full employment and full satisfaction of the needs of the people.

Therefore, a conservative Southern Democrat like Vinson (who held down wages to the Little Steel formula when he was Economic Stabilizer) supports the Murray bill, but with a note of warning: "National

economic policies must not be allowed to develop into regimentation of business, or labor, or agriculture, or of the people. Direction of private output by public authority in peacetime is repugnant to American ways of thought."

The only thing repugnant to the ways of thought of the American worker is an insane profit system of production for private profit which can no more guarantee full employment than water can run uphill.

The Workers Party proposes as the only solution to full employment that the government take over every branch of every plant of every industry which cannot guarantee jobs at adequate wages for its workers.

Management which cannot provide jobs for its employees has forfeited the right to manage. The organized workers can set up their own management committees which alone can plan for use and not for profit.

This is the only road to full employment.

West Coast Labor Round-Up

By AL MARKS

Not content with lowering wages to the lowest proportions in U. S. history and making a substandard living universal, California's Industrial Fruit Growers have now reverted to their old trick, that of importation of cheap foreign labor. 2,000 Jamaicans are to come to California this harvest, and they are now working on a proposal to import Filipinos. With the importation of this help, and with 1,900,000 reported to be made jobless within three months, possibly permanently, it is easy to see where the American's patriotism and blind obedience is to lead him—to a lower standard of living than ever before. All unions should demand that such practices be stopped, under any guise necessary.

Living costs in Los Angeles are

now 130% of the 1935-1939 average, the highest point yet reached. An 0.6% increase in living costs occurred here between March 15 and April 15, due to furnishings and miscellaneous. Food rose 1.2%. The average family spends 40% of their income for food. Fresh fruit and vegetables are up 4%. Haircuts at \$1.00 accounted for 0.3% of miscellaneous increase. Where are the price controls, specifically OPA, that the government is always blubbering about? Their hypocrisy is obvious.

Differential pay of 11.6% was refused Southern Shipyards, as was expected. Why don't the men demand a strike first, and talk with the phony government agencies later? The men should learn from the miners. A week's vacation would no doubt bring the shipyard owners and government agencies to realize they mean busi-

ness. As long as the unions are willing to negotiate, but not strike, no wage increase will be forthcoming. This lesson must be learned. Maybe wages are the reason that the shipyards are crying for more men. 25,000 are wanted at cheap wages.

The WMC has now taken the film strike in hand, and will attempt to settle their disputes. The appeal was heard in a closed session, and the Panel returned to San Francisco to see what conclusions could be reached.

The food strike was turned down by the National WLB until the Regional Labor Board has "exhausted all means of conciliation." This means that they must hold up their share of the delay, which was not sufficient to be sent to NWLB.

NEW YORK READERS:

Campaign Picnic
Clove Lake Park, Staten Isl.
At the Ball Field
Sunday, June 17th
From 11 A. M.
Auspices: Workers Party Election Campaign Comm.
Directions: Staten Island Ferry at South Ferry. Then Bus 106 to Clove Lake Park
BOATING, BASEBALL AND OTHER GAMES
Bring Your Own Lunch

REMINDER

This is to remind all Workers Party members and friends of the invitation meeting on Friday, June 15, at 8:00 p. m.

Three Meetings on the New York Mayoralty Election

The Real Issue: Jobs!

A Socialist Program for Full Employment

HEAR

The Program of Action of the Workers Party
How to Achieve Jobs for All at a Living Wage

QUEENS

Friday, June 22nd, 8:00 P. M.
Cracker Workers Hall
24-20 Jackson Avenue

Speaker
Ernest Lund

BROOKLYN

Friday, June 29th, 8:00 P. M.
Labor Action Hall
276 Fulton Street

Speaker
Steve Parker

HARLEM

Friday, June 29th, 8:00 P. M.
Labor Action Hall
2143 Seventh Ave., Room 106

Speaker
David Coolidge

AUSPICES: WORKERS PARTY CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE

UAW Local 630 Protests Layoffs

Local 630 of the UAW (CIO) held a demonstration Saturday, June 2, at the plant of the Hudson-American Co. in New York City, where these workers are employed. The demonstration was held by the local to protest against the layoff of more than 100 workers. These workers were being laid off because of cutbacks and the cancellation of contracts.

The demonstration followed an emergency meeting of the local on Friday night called by the executive board of the local. The meeting was

attended by a large number of workers who enthusiastically supported the proposal for the demonstration the next day.

A part of the situation which caused unrest in the local aside from the layoffs was the announcement of the company that the plant would go on the forty-hour week. Another difficulty which the local faced was seeing to it that the lay-offs took place on a strict seniority basis and that the contract was adhered to in every respect. The executive committee and the shop committee suc-

ceeded in getting this done.

A motion at the membership meeting to demand that the forty hours be worked at the rate of forty-eight hours' pay was passed with loud cheering. The motion to have the demonstration was agreed to unanimously by the meeting. Saturday morning a picket line was established around the plant with banners. Among the slogans were: "We Want Jobs"; "A Guaranteed Annual Wage, Not Relief"; "48 Hours Pay for 40 Hours Work"; "Break the Little Steel Formula."

A PAPER IN THE INTEREST OF LABOR

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ALBERT GATES, Editor
MARY BELL, Ass't Editor

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Editorials

Daniel J. Tobin, Labor Faker

"It takes a real man to go through a picket line when he is ordered to do so by his international union." And "most of those who refused to go through picket lines are yellow."

This statement was announced as a general principle, but it related to the recent truckmen's strike in Chicago.

Who do you think uttered this strike-breaking sentiment, this incitement of workers to scab on their fellow workers? Tom Girdler, reactionary head of Republic Steel? Sewell Avery? Rene du Pont? Or the head of the Trucking Association of Chicago? No, it was Daniel J. Tobin, president of the International Teamsters, AFL, a union official!

How is it possible for a labor leader to speak like the head of an industrial firm, like the worst labor-hating capitalists? It is possible because Daniel J. Tobin is a labor faker. A labor faker is a union official of high or low station who serves the interests of the bosses rather than the rank and file workers who are the flesh and blood of the union movement.

NOT IN LABOR'S INTEREST

Labor fakers are usually officials who are entrenched in office year after year on the basis of well organized machines. They rick the unions through high salaries and heavy expense accounts. They hobnob with the bosses, engage in capitalist politics and, in general, betray the best interests of labor. Daniel J. Tobin, dictator of the Teamsters' International Union, is one of the outstanding labor fakers in this country. He has held office for many years at a salary (\$25,000) befitting a capitalist business man but certainly not a representative of labor. He is noted for being a reactionary labor leader and a Democratic Party machine politician who uses his office in the Teamsters Union and the AFL General Council to further the interests of the Democratic Party.

Tobin is the man who was behind the frame-up case which sent the militant Minneapolis teamsters and members of the Socialist Workers Party to jail. Throughout the war he has subordinated the interests of labor to the needs of the Roosevelt machine in the Democratic Party, actively supporting the War Stabilization Program which resulted in the wage freeze and the Little Steel formula.

MAINTAINING UNION CONTROL

And to top off all of this, Tobin now advocates a scab policy for labor by calling on union men to walk through picket lines of brother unionists. And he does this in the typical dictator style when he says:

"The man who observes the laws and the rulings and the decisions of his super-

rior officers in the union is the real union man. The other fellow is, in most instances, a bunko artist who is looking for a chance to prove how good he is."

No, adminishes Tobin, the ranks must not question the policy of the officials; they must obey. Tobin provides the reason why the great rank and file should not blindly obey the dictates of the labor bureaucrats. If they accept Tobin's latest advice, they would be helping to destroy unionism in this country.

The best interests of unionism would be served if labor got rid of the Dan Tobins. They stand in the way of the progress of the American labor movement. They are truly the labor lieutenants of capital.

Cutbacks and Capitalist Chaos

Cutbacks are coming a great deal faster than the organizers of chaos in Washington had forecast. The Army has just announced the cancellation of aircraft contracts for 17,000 bombers. Other cancellations will mean the release of 450,000 aircraft workers in the next six months. Last week, Bell Aircraft in Buffalo announced that it was laying off 8,000 of its workers.

What is happening in aircraft is occurring in other industries, too, most notably in the shipbuilding yards of the country. Unemployment continues to mount daily. No aid, however, is prepared for these jobless workers. No, not yet. The situation isn't really serious, say the Administration planners.

This is one side of the reconversion situation. The other side of the picture shows the same government, which is doing nothing for the jobless workers, making all kinds of provisions for industries bloated with profits, contingency funds, reconversion funds and reserves which run into billions of dollars. The benevolent government—and who can deny that it is benevolent to its class?—has already decided on a decrease in excess profits taxes and greater refunds to industry.

A DANGER TO LABOR

The whole situation is fraught with danger to the workers of this country. The labor leaders are marking time, developing programs, some of which are good on paper, but doing nothing to mobilize the great power of labor for struggle in its own interests. No, they are too busy upholding the no-strike pledge and the WLB. They are too busy conferring with Washington politicians, who will continue to do what they have always done—give labor the run-around—unless the millions of workers throw a scare into their capitalist hides.

The only idea that R. J. Thomas, presi-

dent of the UAW, can offer upon the closing of the Willow Run plant is a plea to Henry Kaiser; that "noble" industrialist, to come to Detroit and become an auto magnate. It never occurs to Thomas to advocate a demand for government ownership of these plants under the control and operation of the workers. No, that's too radical. That would guarantee jobs to these workers and guarantee their wages. After all, didn't labor just sign a pact with industry which recognized the right of business to operate only if there is profit to be made in the operation of "their" industries?

Workers Pay for Social Security

Senators Wagner, Murray and Dingell have introduced a new social security and health bill to Congress. It is not really new but a revised bill which was introduced by the same legislators two years ago. At that time it was competely ignored by congressional committees and never received a committee hearing in either the House or Senate. At that time there was no immediate threat of a reconversion crisis, no threat of mass labor action. Congress was not interested in social security programs.

Today, however, labor grows restless as it faces the grim reality of a long period of unemployment. The congressmen know that concessions must be granted lest the workers decide to take matters into their own hands.

The Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill is all-embracing, covering almost every phase of social security. But the amount of security it offers the workers is trifling indeed. Among other things, the bill calls for a federal unemployment system, an improvement over the present state systems. It also calls for a slightly increased, though still below subsistence, unemployment and old age benefits. One of its main points is a provision for guaranteed medical care for 135,000,000 people and a \$950,000,000 grant-in-aid hospital construction program.

But who is to pay for all of this? Yes, Congress has great plans for maintaining the health of the workers. The only thing that the workers have to do is to pay for it. The most significant section of the whole bill states that there will be raises to four per cent on payrolls. The congressmen and the newspaper columnists who are supporting the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill are playing up the fact that the percentage of the tax has been lowered from the original bill, the one that never even reached a congressional committee. This can only add to the confusion of the workers. The fact is that the bill provides for an INCREASE in the present social security tax, which the workers will be forced to pay.

What a far cry this is from the guarantees and security that the capitalist class is able to obtain from its government. Already there is a proposal before the House that the excess profits tax be repealed on the day the war with Japan ends. This is one tidy sum that could be used for giving the workers much needed medical care.

But we cannot expect too much from Democratic Party senators, who, when pressured, will only toss us crumbs. If we want the whole loaf we must organize our own political organization to combat theirs. We must form an independent Labor Party and fight for our own security.

an enlightened and realizable program for full employment such as the Workers Party has, the workers can go places and do things.

WORKERS PARTY PROGRAM

To face the issues squarely, organized labor must come out for a progressively shorter work week with the same pay, to provide more jobs. Likewise every worker must be guaranteed a wage of \$2,500 a year. To make jobs for war workers there must be a housing and public works program of at least \$250,000,000 for a five-year period. The money for public expenditures should come by paring down the swollen war profits of the merchants of death—a paring down to five per cent on invested capital and no more—and by taxing accumulated wealth.

Other absolutely essential demands to help full employment involve keeping government-owned war plants as national property to produce civilian goods. The big monopolists must be ousted, and finance, big industry and transportation have to be nationalized. To assure that industry is run for the benefit of the common people, labor must insist on workers' control of production.

The Workers Party and LABOR ACTION say to the organized labor movement: Only by such measures as outlined above can jobs be provided for all workers and can the consumption needs of all the people be produced. We urge organized labor to cut loose from capitalist parties and politicians, to launch its own independent Labor Party with this program for full employment.

The Capitalist Master's Voice

An employers' representative speaking before the Ohio State Legislature:

"Benefits (for unemployment compensation) should not be so high as to provide an acceptable standard of living for the unemployed."

One-Tenth of the Nation

Balance Sheet of the War

By J. R. Johnson

(Continued from last issue)

At present a bill for a permanent FEPC is being considered by Congress. Whether it will be passed or not and what form it will take depends to a substantial degree upon the mass agitation which is carried out by the Negro people. Not only will this have its effect on congressmen and the government, who are in deadly fear of race riots, but the Negro agitation will stimulate the labor movement to do what it did in New York—add its social weight and political prestige to this forward movement of the Negro people.

This agitation for legislation against discrimination is of the greatest political significance, whatever may be the actual results achieved. The Negro people, in harmony with the general social movement of our time, have instinctively recognized that the road to their emancipation leads them not only to the labor movement but also against the capitalist state. They are calling upon the government to redress their wrongs.

But the government is not an abstraction. It is a government of the Democratic Party or, possible, a government of the Republican Party. There have been many signs during the past year that the Negro people are profoundly skeptical of the intention of both these parties in relation to the Negro question. Yet for seventy-five years one or the other party has been the governing body of the country.

Negroes should ask themselves: if labor so far has proved itself our greatest ally, and if we are looking to government to redress our wrongs, why shouldn't we draw these ideas to their logical conclusion and call

upon labor to form a labor government—more precisely, a government of the workers?

NEGROES AND GOVERNMENT

The Negroes are seeking government legislation to prohibit racial discrimination. What better government to do this than a workers' government?

Within the last few months the Negro struggle against discrimination in the Army has seen the Negro Seabees and four Negro WACS fight and win magnificent victories. They showed the determination to resist and focussed the attention of the whole of the United States and of the U. S. Army all over the world upon the Negro struggle. But here we are now facing again a struggle over the hundred Negro officers in Indiana who have refused to submit to Jim Crow in the Army.

How long is this to go on? Instead of the continuous, exhausting, piece-by-piece protests to the capitalist government, isn't it time to consider another solution—changing the type of government altogether?

A LABOR GOVERNMENT

The only government which could change the present Jim Crow status of the Negro in the Army and in every other sphere is a government representative of the working class, a government which will carry over into public administration and public legislation the racial solidarity established and learned in the production process itself.

If the Negroes think over their past history, during the last ten years in particular, they will see this as the perspective of the future which offers them a road out of the

tortures, trials and disappointments of centuries.

From the purely Negro point of view, this is so. But in social life there can be no purely Negro point of view. The Negro question is a subordinate part of American society. It is what happens to American society that is decisive for the Negro people and not vice versa. The Negro people know that upon the employment question hangs their future.

If there is a great depression after the war they will not only lose their gains in industry. The racial conflicts will in all probability be intensified because union solidarity will be endangered.

For the Negroes, therefore, the question of a program for "full employment" is a matter of vital necessity.

FULL EMPLOYMENT

Now here again what prospect of full employment does the Truman government offer? It has no plan. It can have none. What Roosevelt could not do, Truman cannot do. Even the New Deal was acknowledged to be dead by the man who organized it.

There is only one way to full employment. The way is a drastic reorganization of the entire economic structure, planning for peace as systematically and energetically as the capitalists planned for their war. But who will do this? The Truman government? The mere thought is ridiculous. A government of Dewey? Equally ridiculous. Only one type of government can do it—a government of the workers' own representatives, leading the working class and the great majority of the people along the road to a new society—socialism.

Power Politics in Trieste

By M. HOWARD

In the last few weeks the port city of Trieste on the Adriatic and parts of the surrounding provinces of Venezia Giulia, Carinthia and Styria have flared up as one of the most explosive "sphere of influence" disputes of this war. It is one of the points where independent imperialist aims have strained Allied unity almost to the breaking point. And the present calm that seems to issue from the Trieste section is by no means an indication that all is well there.

Underlying factors in the dispute over Trieste are many, but they all boil down to one—imperialist domination of a strategic area. Obscuring the real issue is the fact that the province of Venezia Giulia and the surrounding territory has a mixed population. Its cities are predominantly Italian (Trieste is 85 per cent so) and its hinterlands are predominantly Slav.

More important to the real dispute, however, is the fact that the province contains a large part of Italy's meager mineral resources—notably mercury and coal. Moreover, Trieste is the chief port for a large section of Central Europe, including Bohemia, Moravia, Austria, Hungary, northern Italy and western Yugoslavia.

LONG DISPUTED CITY

This is not the first time Trieste has been a disputed city. Historically the port has been more closely tied to central European than to Italian economy. A part of the pre-Napoleonic Austria, it was made a city of the kingdom of Italy briefly during Napoleon's time and later was returned to the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

The peace settlements of 1919 returned it to Italy after a stormy dispute over the revelation that Britain had bought Italy's help in the war by promising her Trieste and other territories in the secret Treaty of London in 1915. Before the final settlement, though, fervor was whipped up all over the Italian peninsula over the Italian nationalist interests in the Trieste Italian population, and an infamously nationalist poet named D'Annunzio led a band of super-patriots to seize the Istrian peninsula and Fiume for Italy.

Italy's obtaining Trieste was a pill that stuck in the throats of the Yugoslavs, for it denied them their only real access to a Mediterranean port. But it was also a pill swallowed none too easily by Italy. Both before and under Mussolini a method had to be found of shipping more and more Italians into the region and of Italianizing as many Slavs as possible.

Unbelievably terrorist methods were instituted which belied in their cruelty previous Italian claims concerning the welfare of Trieste's citizens. The Slovenian and Croatian languages were eliminated from local government offices, courts, schools and even churches. Forced to adopt Italian names, people were punished if they gave Slavic names to their children.

As a result of this terrorism, Italy can now claim Trieste as predominantly Italian and therefore obviously part of Italy—not because she needs another port or particularly loves Trieste's Italians, but because she would hate to lose control of Central European commerce.

In the last few weeks Trieste has been an armed city, with an unestimated number of New Zealand troops and units of the British Eighth Army concentrated there against 60,000 of Tito's guerrillas. An also unestimated number of American reinforcements moved into the area north of Trieste.

Tito has laid down ultimatum to the Allies, while emphasizing his position as an ally, and British Marshal Alexander demanded immediate removal of Tito's troops from the city in return. Phrases have been banded back and forth about nationality claims, the ethnic composition of the



MARSHAL TITO

population, the good of the people, et cetera, and a general pretense made that both parties are extremely interested in the welfare of the citizens of Trieste and the surrounding territory.

The actual fact of the matter is that neither Russian interests as represented by Tito, nor British interests as represented by Italy and Allied military troops are one whit interested in the welfare of Trieste's citizens. Much-needed food supplies are held up from delivery to the population by the presence of military troops, and Trieste's citizens are experiencing some of their leanest

days since the start of the war. The daily bread ration remains small and meat, butter and eggs are impossible to obtain. Besides the hunger problem is the fact that both armies have withdrawn to positions from which they could successfully attack each other in the event neither gives in. Both would be quite willing to wipe out the city and its people, militarily, before giving it up to the other.

An interesting sidelight on the situation is the quandary in which the Italian Communist Party finds itself. Tito's men, and the Italian Stalinists in Trieste who fought under him, stand quite firmly with their boss and their boss' boss, Stalin, that Trieste should be part of Yugoslavia. But the Italian Stalinists find themselves in the peculiar situation of wanting to follow the Stalin-Tito line, and yet being agitated by the Italian people over Italy's age-old claim on Trieste.

When Italian crowds demonstrated and demanded Trieste the Stalinists had to demonstrate with them or lose the popularity they are enjoying just now and show themselves up as mere dupes of Stalin.

Finally they, as well as the American Daily Worker, retreated to the ambiguous position of affirming Trieste as ITALIAN and at the same time insisting that the situation should be settled in a way favorable to YUGOSLAVIA!

Here, quite simply, are the reasons for the most recent ticklish situation existing between the so-called Allies. It proves a point we have been making for quite some time—this is a war in which economic and imperialist factors are the foremost considerations of ALL the participants, whether they call themselves allies or enemies. Like Greece and Poland, Trieste is a contest between Russian and British imperialist interests.

Domination by any big imperialist power will prove no solution to the oppressed minorities of Trieste and the Istrian peninsula. This is only one of the explosive points in Central European politics which can be successfully ironed out, not by foreign domination, but by a free and unified Europe, organized as a Socialist European United States.

Syria, Big 4--

(Continued from page 1)

threatening French sovereignty. But, of course, the imperialist powers do not dare to openly air their differences and aims in the Near East. The whole imperialist game over the struggle for oil would be exposed and the true nature of the present war would be made doubly clear to the peoples of the world.

SAN FRANCISCO

An interesting aspect of the fight is that it occurs shortly after the war ended in Europe and in the midst of the San Francisco Conference of the United Nations to establish a new world organization to secure the peace. The shenanigans in San Francisco, however, reveal that no peace is being planned, but rather the domination of the big powers over the rest of the world.

At this moment the Big Four are engaged in deciding how effectively

they can bar the small nations from any interference with their conduct in world affairs. Originally, they had decided on the right of veto where the question of military action against another power is involved. From that point they went on to veto discussions by small nations in any international confict. Now, under the demand of the Russians, they are considering vetoing the right of inquiry by small nations.

In the case of Syria and Lebanon, the actions of the Big Three or Four have created a situation where, if the issue came before the Security Council, France could not only veto any action taken against her, but also any discussion or inquiry.

This situation merely demonstrates what a hoax is being prepared in San Francisco and how impossible it is for imperialists to maintain the peace of the world.

Reconversion to Unemployment--

(Continued from page 1)

and shelter that the unemployed workers need. One reads such comments as: "Congressional circles apparently viewed the President's plan coldly." But the most outstanding crack on the President's proposal came from Chairman Doughton of the House Ways and Means Committee: "I don't know when we will take it up. We have got a good many other things to do." For contemptuous disregard of the vital needs of the workers, this statement by a "representative of the people" takes the cake.

The only other attempt in Washington to meet the unemployment crisis is in the Murray bill. This contains the provision that the government should be responsible for jobs that private industry cannot provide. Commentators say about this bill that its prospects are not bright. They predict that it will be "under discussion for months." They recall that the Murray-Truman-Killgore bill, a much milder one, was lost in the last Congress.

So, while the army of unemployed grows day by day, what have the jobless workers and their families to rely upon?

Is it on the unemployment insurance that the states now provide? We know that these average payments are from \$15 to \$18 a week for an average sixteen-week period. These insulting pittance are not always that high when you realize that in some states payments are \$10 and less per week.

The CIO, realizing that in a depression, a year of unemployment is not unusual, translated the state unemployment payments into terms of yearly allowances. It found that thirty-one states provide maximum payments which average less than \$6.00 a week if the worker stretched them out over a year. For a family of four, that would mean \$1.50 per person per week. Comments the CIO: "Today \$1.50 would just about buy in most cities, one quart of milk per day and one loaf of bread per day for a week."

But the "representatives of the people" are too busy doing other things to bother with the problem of unemployment!

However, the workers have something else to rely upon than insulting unemployment doles and capitalist politicians. They have their own economic and political strength. With

San Francisco And Freedom Of Colonies

By Shirley Lawrence

THE entire dispute over trusteeships at the San Francisco Conference is definitely only another part of the game of power politics. The recent maneuverings among the Big Five, about whether to use "independence" or "self-determination" as an objective for the dependent colonial peoples, to be stated in the preamble to the trusteeship section of the global charter, is only so much surface covering to deflect attention from the intense rivalries for markets, territories, bases, and profits among the Five.

What is the controversy concerning whether or not "independence" for colonial peoples shall be written into the new trusteeship chapter of the UNCTO's (United Nations Conference on International Organization) charter? The matter of eventual independence for now-dependent peoples has been characterized by the failure of the United States and English delegations to back it up thus far at sessions of the United Nations Conference Committee on Trusteeships.

"SELF-GOVERNMENT" MYTH

The independence issue has been sidetracked by substituting the idea of "self-government in forms appropriate to the varying circumstances of each territory." What was originally merely a draft of a "working paper," drawn up by Commander Stassen and others of the American delegation, and accepted by the Committee only as a basis for discussion, has now been high-handedly adopted as the future policy, through American pressure.

It becomes brutally clear that this poorly camouflaged scheme is an outright bid for control of colonies, on the part of the Allies. Dr. Wellington Koo of China protested feebly at this action and originally urged at one of the meetings, that, in line with the progressive ideas on political advancement set forth in China's own proposals as to trusteeships, the word "independence" be added to, or substituted for "self-government." A. A. Rostchen, representing Russia, defended Koo's position. Lord Cranborne, British Dominions Secretary, argued against use of the word "independence," saying that a lot of dependent peoples didn't aspire to independence, even if they could achieve it. Stassen gave this display of concern for the colonies the crowning, final touch when he cynically explained that his view is not independence, but inter-dependence among nations, and that "all nations must learn to live together"—a very pretty sentiment indeed, and meaning absolutely nothing, except that, what the U. S. says, goes.

As if it mattered which word to use, when the motives of all are alike. Now it appears that the Chinese delegation has been forced to agree, for they have withdrawn their proposal to insert the word "independence" for "self-determination." And the Russians who originally sided with them now too accept the Anglo-American plan on instructions from Moscow.

We most emphatically do not think the trusteeship system will offer "real opportunity for progress to dependent peoples." The professed peace and post-war sentiments of the San Francisco Delegations cannot be realized in the arena of imperialist power politics.

Nobody seems to think that the colonial peoples themselves have anything to say about the achievement of their national independence. Instead, the Security Council is going to see that these objectives are to be carried out so they should not interfere with the retention and development, on the part of the great powers, of strategic areas and bases.

IMPERIALIST RECORD

Let us examine the fine records of these "friends" of the colonials and their inter-imperialist rivalries. The British, for example, have promised the Indian people independence many times, have made speeches about it in Parliament, have sent special committees to India, and busied themselves with other ineffectual measures, but at the same time, have continued to imprison the leaders of the colonial peoples of India and elsewhere fighting for independence.

Britain, and to a still greater degree France, have been weakened by the war. Keeping and exploiting the colonies is a life and death concern to them. They oppose anyone else moving in on their territory, and are frightened, for there are others who eye their rich colonies in Africa, the Near East, and Asia enviously, especially the U. S.

The U. S. has been using the trusteeship formula from the beginning as a means of broadening the degree of its economic penetration of the world. That means penetrating the colonial empires of Great Britain, France, Holland, Portugal and Belgium.

Russia, too, is added to the many friends of the colonials. Why should Russia be so concerned about colonial self-determination and national independence? It has not even offered the people of Poland, Bulgaria, Romania, and the Baltic countries the right to determine their own forms of government and to free them from the control of the Stalinist bureaucracy, but instead continues to repress ruthlessly all socialist or radical expression.

The problem of the colonies is a crucial one for the Allies, for the war has developed strong movements for national independence and freedom.

After all, why should the Allies emancipate these colonies that have been deprived freedom for so long by their masters? None of the powers can really be interested in the freedom of the colonies, for the colonies are an intrinsic part of the capitalist structure of exploitation and imperialism. From the colonies are derived cheap labor and cheap raw materials.

The struggle of the exploited peoples in the colonies is only part of the greater struggle of all humanity to achieve freedom and equality. The peoples in the colonies will develop the powerful forces existing in their own countries and realize that their interests are identical with the workers of all countries. But, in turn, the workers of other countries must recognize this affinity of need and interest. No alliances among any of the powers can serve as a substitute.

Imperialist Double Standard

... They respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them.—From the Atlantic Charter.

Response of British Parliament when Anthony Eden reported that the French were firing on the Syrians in Damascus who were also trying to effect their national sovereignty and independence:

"Shame! Shame!" This is the same British Parliament that applauded the shooting of the Indian nationalists fighting for independence.

This is the same Parliament which approves the imprisonment of the Indian fighters for national sovereignty.

This is the same Parliament which gave Churchill a vote of confidence after he had sent Spitfires and General Sherman lend-lease tanks against the Greek people.

Whatever Big Business Plans—

German Workers Will Pay for Defeat

By STEPHEN PARKER

The policy to be pursued by the American occupation forces in Germany has created differences of opinion in the higher brackets of the American ruling class.

Bernard Baruch, Wall Street financier, has published a plan on what should be done with Germany. His plan calls for the complete elimination of German industry and later for the complete annihilation of Japanese industry. He says plainly and clearly that Germany's industry should be destroyed so that it can no longer be a competitor of America for world trade.

This policy is believed to be the one that was adopted by the late President Roosevelt. It is also believed to be the one that President Truman would like to carry out.

The deterioration of relations with Russia has given rise to opposition to this policy. It is becoming evident that relations with Russia will determine how "hard" or how "soft" American capitalism will be with German capitalism. The "soft peace" group feels that it may be necessary to rebuild German industry as a bulwark against Russia. Both policies are imperialist policies. Both are reactionary to the core.

WHAT IT MEANS TO EUROPE

What would Baruch do? Baruch would destroy German industry, or at least the steel, chemical and other large, basic industries of Germany. He would like to reduce Germany to the status of a backward, agricultural nation. This could be effected, not only at the expense of the welfare of the German people, but also at

the expense of the welfare of all the people of Europe.

Germany is the greatest European industrial power. Its might and power were amply demonstrated in this war, when it almost won a world empire for German imperialism. To reduce this tremendous industrial machine to naught is only more evidence of the futility of capitalism. Yet this is all that Baruch can propose because he fears the emergence of a rival for the United States in the fight for control of the world market.

But what of the opposition to this policy? What of those who want to rebuild German industry?

They also are not concerned with the welfare of the peoples of Europe, or with raising their standards of living.

Their only concern is to rebuild German industry, with the economic power and wealth still in the hands of the German capitalists. Then they would be utilized in a future war against Russia, should need for such a war arise. This would only mean another war, just as destructive if not more so as the one that has not yet ended.

CARTELS GO ON

War torn Europe must be rebuilt. But it must not be rebuilt by the monopolists and cartels. It must be rebuilt by the working class of Germany and on a socialist basis. Otherwise Europe faces poverty and recurrent wars for years to come.

It is interesting to observe that the power of the German industrialists was never destroyed. The large trusts still continue to exist, and

they harvested enormous profits during the entire duration of national socialism. This is in reply to those who spoke of nazism as a revolutionary and anti-capitalist movement. If the German trusts were ever hindered in their operations by Hitler, there is not the slightest evidence to prove it. On the contrary, they continued their international machinations, as always. Throughout the war they continued to deal with their fellow cartels in the Allied countries.

A suit is now being fought in a New York court which reveals that I. G. Farben, the German chemical trust, turned over 2,000 patents to the Standard Oil Co. for safe keeping during the war. This was going on while the soldiers of both countries were slaughtering each other. Evidently cartels are not moved by considerations of patriotism.

NON-FRATERNIZATION

The censorship screen is still very strong in Germany. Not much is really being told about what the Americans and the British are trying to accomplish. Even less is being told about what the Russians are doing in their zones of influence. American correspondents have been refused permission to visit the Russian occupied areas.

The Americans have adopted a policy of non-fraternization with Germans. This policy is not, of course, for the representatives of Standard Oil, who are free to make deals with I. G. Farben. That isn't fraternization, that's just business. But GIs who have any personal relations at all with any Germans are subject to

heavy fine and court-martial. They are liable to find out that Germans are also human.

Those who formulate policy on a higher level evidently have not let non-fraternization get in the way of fridling out what kind of government the German industrialists and Junkers would desire should it be necessary to establish such a government. One of the latest proposals for the type of government it should be has been made by James W. Gerard, former Ambassador to Germany.

REACTIONARY PROPOSAL

In an article in the American magazine, Gerard proposes that the Hohenzollern monarchy be reconstituted in power. This reactionary aristocracy is the favorite family of the large industrialists. They would have been glad to put it in power many years ago were it not that they were completely discredited and hated by the German people. This is all that Gerard has to offer after the great crusade against fascism.

As for the Russians, they have been complaining about the American attitude toward the defeated general staff and industrialists. They recognize that it may eventually be directed against them. They are also playing the same game. Despite their shoutings about the general staff and about the treatment of war criminals, they have done nothing to the highly ranked generals that they captured. Von Paulus, the German marshal that they called the "butcher of Stalingrad," still is alive and now being saved so that in the future he may serve Russian interests.

Portrait: A "Friend of the Negroes"

By W. F. Carlton

THOMAS A. MORGAN of Sperry Corporation has now joined the ranks of capitalist "Friends of the Negro." He has worked his way into the position of Chairman of the United Negro College Fund. This is a fund for aiding the treasuries of Negro colleges and is subscribed to by such friends of the Negroes as the Rockefellers.

But Morgan of Sperry's is not only a declared friend of the Negro colleges. He is now a friend of the Negro worker.

"FRIEND" OF NEGROES

In the Amsterdam News of May 26 Morgan gave an interview on Negroes in labor. Morgan announced that he was against drawing the color line anywhere. Let us repeat that for future reference. Morgan, Thomas A. Morgan, president of the Sperry Corporation, chairman of the board of Sperry Gyroscope Company, tells a Negro reporter that he is against drawing the color line anywhere.

He held forth on economic prospects after the war and foretold prosperity. Morgan's economics do not interest us much, particularly because they seemed based on his conception of himself as "an optimist." What he had to say about Negroes, however, was worth noting. "The future of the Negro in American industry and labor," he said, "is the future of the nation."

Very correct. Then he added, "We face a very different situation now in relation to the Negro than at any time in the past. As a result of the war, the Negro entered industry on a wide scale and in large numbers, and the long period of training and apprenticeship which was necessary before the war is no longer required, because methods and techniques of production had to be improved and stepped-up to meet the ever-increasing demands of the war."

"The old ways have broken down. The most hopeful aspect of the future of the Negro in industry is the elimination of the long training period. This was and could be used as an excuse not to hire Negro workers in that they lacked training and experience. The Negro of today has more confidence in himself and his fellow workers than at any time in the history of his integration into the industrial life of the country."

Also very correct. Morgan then praised Negroes. They had shown themselves the equal of any other race or nationality on the performance level with the most intricate of precision instruments. Good. Negroes don't need such recommendations, but at any rate it is to Morgan's credit that he expresses these opinions instead of the opinions of Senator Rankin. Morgan is a large employer of Negro labor. About ten per cent of his employees, 1,000, are Negroes.

A "FRIEND IN NEED"

All this sounds fine. But Morgan himself gives the whole show away in the interview. This benefactor of Negro colleges and admirer of the Negro employed no Negro labor before May, 1941.

He said that there were no labor shortages in the areas where he employed workers. So that it was the labor shortage which brought Morgan to see the light where Negroes were concerned. He could not get anybody else. As long as there was no shortage he employed no Negroes. He employed Negroes because he had to.

See the process. A capitalist employs no Negroes. As far as he is concerned, they can starve. Then he cannot get labor. He is compelled to hire Negroes. Whereupon he comes forward and presents himself as benefactor of the Negro workers.

Morgan says that when cutbacks began in 1943, whereas twenty per cent of white were cut back, the corresponding figures for Negroes were only six per cent. "Therefore," he says, Negroes "are more than holding their own with us."

Who is this "us"? Morgan hasn't got one single thing to do with this. It is the union which sees after these things, Morgan or no Morgan.

Morgan is a Southerner—from North Carolina. He said that the caste system in the South is a matter of "economics." It will disappear as "economic opportunity becomes more equalized." And how will this be done? "Education is the solution."

This is downright nonsense. It isn't the lack of education that makes the Southern plantation owner rob and cheat the sharecropper. It isn't lack of education on anybody's part that makes Jim Crow prevalent throughout the South. It is a rotten economic system, which imposes the type of education which suits its reactionary practices.

And here Morgan's role as chairman of the United Negro College Fund comes in. We know nothing about Morgan in particular as far as Negro colleges are concerned. But this we know. Those big capitalists who give money for Negro colleges in nineteen cases out of twenty gain the opportunity, directly or indirectly, of controlling and influencing Negro education. And the Negro education they pay for is the kind of education designed to breed a caste of docile Negroes, Negroes who will perpetuate the system of capitalism and not break it.

And, finally, when Morgan says that he is against drawing the color line anywhere, he is laying it on too thick. When he has ten per cent or something like that of his office staff as Negroes, then he can make some of these wild statements. Not before.

No, Morgan employs Negroes because he has to. He gives money to Negro colleges because he wants to ingratiate himself with Negroes so that he may appear as a "friend" and thus influence the thinking of Negroes to suit his interests and aims. But the labor movement and Negroes in the labor movement should not thereby see Morgan either as friend or benefactor of Negroes. He is a capitalist employer doing what so many other "philanthropists" who profit from labor and hand out a few dollars do to aid the people they rob and cheat.

Bell Aircraft Sit-In

Special to Labor Action
BUFFALO—Several thousand members of Bell Aircraft Local 501, UAW-CIO, participated in a stay-in demonstration on May 28 as a protest against the company plan to lay off 8,000 workers without regard to seniority and to use the lay off as a cover to smash the union.

The stay-in originated as a result of a company announcement the previous day that the whole plant would be shut down for a week and that the company would call back those whom it chose to call back.

The demonstration began on Monday at 4:30 in the Elmwood and Niagara Falls plants of the company, when more than 3,000 workers stayed in the plant after hours to demand the following: that layoffs be strictly according to seniority; that preferential seniority for union officials be maintained; that a 40-hour week with 48 hours pay be negotiated immediately; that no reprisals be taken against anyone for the stay-in.

(Full report by our Buffalo correspondent next week)

New "Turn" of the Communists--

(Continued from page 1)

sian needs and that is why for a period of two years nothing whatever was said in the way of criticism of the "line." Only now, when the San Francisco Conference discloses the sharp and sometimes irreconcilable differences between Russian and Anglo-American aims, does it become necessary to instruct the American Stalinists to change their line. This is a form of blackmail that Stalin uses to force his policies on his opponents or to obtain a favorable compromise.

WHAT RESOLUTION SAYS

In Part One of its resolution, the National Board calls for the prosecution of the war against Japan to the end. But even here they lay the basis for a further "radicalization" in

and in changing the American foreign policy from the one advocated by Roosevelt to the position of the "reactionary State Department." Therefore:

"It is imperative that the American people resolutely support every effort of the Truman Administration to carry forward Roosevelt's program for victory, peace, democracy and sixty million jobs."

The Communists are taking upon themselves the defense of Roosevelt and his policies against the "reactionaries." This is really preparation for the full application of the change in line toward greater militancy in the labor movement and the prosecution of the class struggle in the interests of Russia. But if Big Three relations are improved and no such change is needed, the Stalinist representatives in America can always point to their resolution to show that Roosevelt's policies are being carried out and the Allied-Russian coalition has been strengthened.

Since everything they do and say is measured by the degree of unity between the Big Three, it is easy to see how their policies are dependent upon the international situation.

Part Two of the resolution develops a program for America in building the peace and meeting the problems of the reconversion period. Here too the program is provisional. The section on the peace is a re-statement of Russian foreign policy which in many aspects parallels Roosevelt's policies. The section on the home front borrows from Roosevelt's program and the CIO dealing with full production and jobs.

This program can be used in two ways: a peaceful, persuasive discussion and appeal for its adoption, depending upon Russia's good relations with the United States and Great Britain; or a militant class struggle policy, punctuated by strikes, demonstrations and general militancy in the labor movement. The latter method will be used if Russian relations with the United States and Great Britain deteriorate.

The latter part of the resolution takes the previous Communist policy apart, because the dissolution of the party makes it difficult for the American Stalinists to carry out any change in line with the same effectiveness as when they had an active

party functioning. All signs therefore point to the resurrection of the party to meet the needs of this changing policy.

LABOR! ON GUARD!

Labor must be on guard against the Stalinist-Communist menace. Whatever the degree of change that follows in their policies, it must never be forgotten that these changes arise not out of any interest in the well-being of the working class, its progress or defense of its interests and the struggle for its emancipation from exploitation by capitalist imperialism. The sole aim of the Communists is to serve the interests of Russian foreign policy!

When Stalin finds it expedient to make a pact with Hitler, the Communists all over the world support that alliance.

When the requirement of that pact calls for hindering the Allied war effort and agitating against them as imperialists and war mongers, the Communists carry out that policy by calling strikes, impeding production, denouncing Roosevelt and Churchill and defending Hitler and Germany as victims of imperialism.

When Hitler attacks Russia and Stalin joins the Allied coalition, the Communists all over the world become jingoists, fight against the interests of labor, support capitalism in the prosecution of the war and in general do everything to advance the imperialist interests of the Allies against the imperialism of the Axis.

And now that difficulties have arisen among the Big Three and the war in Europe is over, the Communists respond to Russian interests by preparing a switch in policy that will assist Stalin. If that means great militancy in the labor movement, his American representatives will faithfully carry out that line regardless of its consequences.

That is why labor must be on guard. Stalinism remains the worst enemy of the working class. Labor must continue its independent struggle for the advancement of its interests. But this can be done only by the most vigorous and vigilant struggle against Stalinism.

Remember how they fought for a permanent no-strike pledge!

Remember how they fought to keep intact the wage stabilization

union offensive of big business, broke the no-strike pledge.

Remember how they advocated incentive pay plans and speed up systems which the unions had fought for so long.

Remember how they turned the unions under their control into company unions aiding the bosses against the workers.

Remember how they constantly admonished the workers who bore the main burdens of the war through long hours, speed-up systems and frozen wages, to work harder, longer and to maintain the wage freeze.

Remember how they acted as strike-breakers whenever and wherever the workers, driven by the anti-



WILLIAM Z. FOSTER
MOSCOW BACKS HIM

union offensive of big business, broke the no-strike pledge.

These are only some of the things to be remembered. But they all reveal that the Communists in the labor movement act against the best interests of labor. The present change of line may confuse many workers. The task of progressive and conscious workers is to explain to the mass of labor why Stalinism remains the gravest danger to the working class.

NEW YORK ELECTION NOTES

The New York election campaign of the Workers Party had its official opening on Friday, June 1st, when the membership of Local New York mobilized for special distributions of last week's LABOR ACTION, which contained the announcement of our election platform. In the first week of the campaign, Local New York has reached 10,000 families with the program advocated by the Workers Party for jobs for all at a living wage.

SHIP LEAFLET

During this week, too, a special message was addressed by the Workers Party to the shipyard workers of this area who are being laid off without any prospect for other jobs. In a four-page leaflet entitled: "Shipyards Workers, You Face a Permanent Shape Up," the Workers Party urged that shipyard workers, the first to face mass layoffs, be the first to take up the struggle for a guaranteed annual wage, the 35-hour work week with no reduction in present take-home pay, and the formation of an independent Labor Party to carry on the struggle for jobs for all on the political field.

The enthusiastic response of the members of the Workers Party in the first week gives prom-

ise of a very lively and successful campaign. In the coming weeks, the Workers Party will continue the widest distribution of its campaign literature in order to acquaint the workers of New York City with the only effective program for getting jobs for all at a living wage.

SIGNATURES

Three public meetings are scheduled for the month of June at which a fuller presentation of the Workers Party election platform will be made. Early in July the second phase of the campaign will get under way—the collection of 7,500 signatures on an independent nominating petition to place the name of Max Shachtman on the ballot.

All readers and supporters of LABOR ACTION are urged to join in the campaign of the Workers Party. You will want to participate in placing the name of the candidate of our party on the ballot. You can help us distribute our literature and program and thus do your part in organizing an effective fight for jobs in the reconversion and post-war period.

Start by filling out the blank below, indicating what you can do to help the campaign.

Workers Party Campaign Committee

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

- Enclosed find \$_____ contribution to the campaign fund.
- Please send me campaign literature for distribution.
- I want to participate in the petition campaign.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ Zone _____