

STRIKE WAVE IS LABOR'S FIGHT FOR FULL EMPLOYMENT AND SECURITY!

A Matter of Reparations Coming Up!

Nationalize Industry Under Control Of Labor; Build A Labor Party!

By THE EDITORS

A wave of strikes has engulfed the whole nation. Thousands of workers are now on the picket lines. Other hundreds of thousands of workers have taken or are now in the act of taking strike votes as a means of strengthening their collective efforts against the war-rich corporations and monopolies. From coast to coast, in every important industrial center, labor is moving toward a showdown with big business in a fight for its elementary rights and for economic security.

The strike of the Kelsey-Hayes workers was the opening shot in this great campaign of American labor. In that case the workers struck in defense of their fellow unionists who were ousting anti-union foremen from the plant.

In New York, the elevator employees went out on strike against the reduction of their take-home pay when their hours of labor were reduced.

Oil workers over the entire country walked out in an effort to enforce their demand for a thirty per cent increase in wages to overcome the effects of a wage cut caused by the reduction of their work week.

The New York dockers, at the time of this writing, are still out on strike for wage benefits and improvements in their working conditions.

Textile workers in New Jersey and other parts of the nation took strike action in behalf of their wage demands in a notoriously low-paying industry.

The most powerful union in the country, the UAW, is preparing the strike vote of its members at General Motors Corp. and also of workers at Chrysler Motors. The UAW is spearheading the demand for a blanket thirty per cent increase in wages for all auto-workers to make up for the drastic cut in wages suffered by them.

The metal workers on the Pacific Coast are also considering taking a strike vote in the same kind of fight, while many international unions of the AFL and CIO have placed before industry demands for blanket wage increases.

CAUSE OF STRIKES

The explanation for this wave of strikes is simple and has one underlying cause: organized labor everywhere is attempting to achieve security.

In some cases, the union strikes over fired committeemen, in the knowledge that the union's strength, and hence its ability to achieve security, is menaced by such actions. In the majority of cases the issue is more directly one involving security, namely, the demand for a decent living wage.

The most overwhelmingly popular demand, "52-for-40-or-fight," dramatizes labor's case. Fifty-two hours' pay for forty hours is not even a demand for an INCREASE in pay. It is merely a demand to MAINTAIN the take-home pay of the war years. This take-home pay did not furnish any luxuries, either, as every worker knows, and as surprised and misinformed veterans are fast finding out.

The big business press, that is, practically every metropoli-

tan daily newspaper in the country, charges labor with being irresponsible, endangering reconversion and balking full employment. The simple truth is that labor is striking to secure decent wages and security.

Labor has gone through four years of war. It has paid the price for the war in the lives of the working class youth, in the long hours of toil, in worsened conditions of labor, the setting aside of union gains of decades.

It has paid for the war in the form of the wage freeze, which held the wages of the workers at a low point while the cost of living soared to new heights.

It has paid for the war by being bound, by its leaders, to a no-strike pledge which became an instrument for destroying the labor movement.

THE WAR PROMISE

Labor was given a solemn promise by the late President Roosevelt that in exchange for its sacrifices during the war, the Little Steel formula would be abrogated and its wages increased. "Nothing must interfere with the war effort" was the cry of the labor leaders who had given their promise to the government in Washington that they would keep the union movement in line no matter how great were the provocations of big business.

What happened? The workers took the long hours of labor, the wage freeze, the mounting living costs, the absence of effective price control, the black market, excessive war profits for big business. They awaited V-E Day and V-J Day to receive what they regarded as their due.

The war has ended but the game of cheating and robbing labor goes on.

A CONFESSION OF BANKRUPTCY

Big business, already sticking its swinish snout into the \$60 billion trough of tax refunds, has stated flatly that it cannot grant a wage increase.

The big corporations, which have set aside billions of dollars in so-called contingency funds, reserves, etc., cannot afford to pay a living wage!

This is a confession of bankruptcy on the part of big business. When big business says it is unable to pay a living wage or to guarantee jobs to all who are willing to work it means two things:

1. An unwillingness to cut into its enormous profits and accumulated wealth, which came from the sweat, toil and tears of American labor and
2. An inability to operate industry under its vaunted system of "free enterprise" on a basis which would guarantee jobs for all and a living wage to all workers' families.

The workers, however, are not interested in whether or not industry wants to part with some of its enormous profits or to provide jobs for all. The workers of this country know that the war has enriched the rich, given excessive war profits to industry and finance, created new war millionaires and increased the accumulated wealth of the capitalists in this country.

(Continued on page 4)



Housing Crisis: Even Park Benches Denied New York Vets

By WALTER WEISS

"One Hundred Veterans Ask to Sleep in Park"
"Temporary Housing Units Proposed to Relieve Crisis"
"Housing Authority Accused of Laxity"
"Housing Shortage Till 1947 Is Seen"

The above are recent headlines from New York papers about the housing situation in the world's greatest and richest city.

The most sensational story, the one about the veterans, was released recently by Mrs. Herbert L. Carlebach, chairman of a committee to find apartments for returning New York officers.

Mrs. Carlebach actually ordered twenty-five tents, on learning that the families of several officers were desperate enough to live in Central Park. However, Robert Moses, Park Commissioner, decided that Central Park was not "available." The disgrace to the city would be too obvious out in the open there.

Mrs. Carlebach laid the blame squarely on the doorstep of government officials, the same gentlemen who always express such tender concern for "our boys."

"I begged the Mayor in January to do something. Now it is September," she said. "It was his responsibility and he has let us down. While temporary housing is not at all ideal, I cannot see, until real building gets under way, where else people can possibly live." (New York Times, September 28.)

The U. S. government has been as thoughtful of the veterans' needs as has the Mayor. The National Housing Agency, supposed to take care of veterans' housing, has the power to build new homes for them—but no money. Congress has been so busy taking care of the big corporations and abusing labor that it forgot to provide a mere \$18,000,000 requested by the Housing Agency.

Mrs. Carlebach's committee has 5,000 families waiting for apartments and only three apartments to offer; one furnished for \$300 a month, two unfurnished for about \$700 a month.

Even officers can't afford that. How about privates? How about ordinary workers?

One officer hit the nail right on the head, when he said: "I thought the housing shortage was a wartime measure, but I guess it will go on until there is a depression."

"Good Neighbors" In Labor Camps

NEW YORK (WDL)—The miserable living conditions in camps of Mexican railroad workers brought to this country during the war, has prompted the Workers Defense League to demand an immediate investigation.

Reports of social service and community agencies agree that these Mexican workers have been poorly housed and fed, and have received deficient medical care for which they were steeply overcharged. In addition they have been the victims of social and economic exploitation.

"We suggest that the whole subject of the living conditions of these migratory workers from Mexico be investigated by the Committee on Education and Labor of the U. S. Senate," wrote WDL Natl. Sec. Morris Milgram in a letter to Sen. James E. Murray, committee chairman. "We were interested in trying to obtain a change in conditions so that these men will no longer be herded together like cattle and treated with less consideration than animals when they are injured or ill."

The letter also requested amendment of the railroad retirement act to enable the workers to get refunds within the next few months. Without such a provision most of the Mexicans would never benefit from the heavy deductions made from their low wages under the act.

True enough. Then some families will be forced to double up, and others who now have half-way decent flats will move into cold-water apartments or, as the Mayor's Commissioner of Housing stated, into "buildings that have been closed."

The system of capitalist private enterprise solves its food shortages (as U. S. Secretary of Agriculture Anderson recently admitted) by reducing incomes so that large sections of the population can't afford to eat much. It solves housing crises by driving the working people into dangerously overcrowded conditions—or into ratholes.

LA G'S PROGRAM

What solution does La Guardia offer—La Guardia, who boasts of the cleanest, best, and most liberal administration in the city's history?

He persuaded the last session of the state legislature to do "something"—but not, as you might think, to appropriate millions of surplus funds for a greatly expanded public housing program, which would furnish jobs for the unemployed and homes for the homeless. No, he persuaded them to grant some tax exemption to the realty interests for patching up thousands of old apartments that are so bad that even the city government has been afraid to permit them to be occupied!

Did the owners jump at this opportunity? Not at all—not enough profit in it. Under the law they could charge only \$8.00 a month per room—\$32 for a four-room apartment. So what does our "liberal" Mayor now propose as one step to ease the crisis? Why, simply to pass a law that will allow higher rents to the real estate interests in order to "encourage" them to renovate!

Meanwhile, this same Mayor has seen fit to abuse elevator operators and other employees of these same greedy interests for fighting to maintain their wages at about \$30 a week. La Guardia said that these workers were endangering "public health and safety" by not running the elevators.

Even the blind can see that it is the Mayor and his real estate and

(Continued on page 2)

Oil Plants Seized to Protect Profits

By M. HOWARD

Last week the government showed itself once again firmly on the boss' side. It ended the strike of 43,500 oil workers by taking over the oil companies, just when a quarter of a million more members of the Oil Workers International Union, CIO, had voted to walk out if their demands weren't met immediately.

The Oil Workers' demands are very simple. They are being made by militant workers all over the country whose weekly take-home pay has been drastically lowered by cutbacks in hours. They want A THIRTY PER CENT WAGE INCREASE. They want FIFTY-TWO HOURS' PAY FOR FORTY HOURS' WORK. They want NO REDUCTION IN TAKE-HOME PAY. Like everyone else, they need their wartime weekly wage to cover a cost of living that has had no cutbacks.

HOW THE GOVERNMENT ACTED

The fourteen major oil companies against which the union is striking don't see it that way. The oil companies, whose wartime profits soared to 100 per cent more in 1944 than they had been in 1939, after all taxes, claimed that a wage raise representing LESS THAN THREE PER CENT of the total value of their products

was an unreasonable demand! Instead they offered a measly fifteen per cent raise—only half of the original demand.

About 43,500 oil workers walked off their jobs in protest. Some 250,000

more voted to follow if the companies didn't meet the union's demands immediately. They were using the only weapon at their disposal to force the companies to give them a fair and necessary wage raise.

But here the government stepped in. Secretary of Labor Schwelienbach looked the situation over and proposed that the strikers go back to work on the basis of the fifteen per cent wage rise offered by the companies—pending further negotiation and arbitration of the remaining fifteen per cent.

The union accepted—even though it meant backing down on its original demands and probably meant they would never see the other fifteen per cent—but the companies balked. It seems they had made the fifteen per cent offer only as a maneuver and had no intention of giving even that much of a raise.

Schwelienbach, his compromise having failed to break the strike—not because the strikers wouldn't cooperate, but because the companies wouldn't play ball—broke the strike anyway. He recommended government seizure of the oil refineries to President Truman.

The Navy took over the oil companies the next day. The Navy took over for the government, but it did not take over to protect the union, or the strikers who had offered to cooperate with it. Instead, it forced the striking militants back to work

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Workers Party Election Radio Broadcasts

SUNDAY, October 21, 9:00-10:00 P. M.

STATION WMCA—570 ON YOUR DIAL
Max Shachtman speaks in symposium on the Platform of the Workers Party

FRIDAY, October 26, 8:30-9:00 P. M.

STATION WHN—1050 ON YOUR DIAL
Max Shachtman speaks on the Workers Party Program of Jobs For All

SUNDAY, October 28, 12:45-1:00 P. M.

STATION WQXR—1550 ON YOUR DIAL
Max Shachtman speaks on the Issues in the Elections

MONDAYS, October 15, 22, 29, November 5

Between 10:00 and 11:30 P. M.
STATION WNEW—1130 ON YOUR DIAL
Four-Minute Speeches by the Workers Party

SATURDAYS, October 20, 27, November 3

Between 9:00 and 9:30 P. M.
STATION WNEW—1130 ON YOUR DIAL
Four-Minute Speeches by the Workers Party

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Iron Range PAC: Form Labor Party

HIBBING—Thursday evening, September 27, over 400 Iron Range district CIO delegates jammed the Memorial Building's Little Theater. The occasion was for the setting up of a permanent Political Action Committee on the Mesabi Iron Range. Principal speakers were John Jacobsen, regional director for the CIO-PAC; Rodney Jacobson, state secretary-treasurer for the CIO; Henry Burkhammer, district steel representative for the CIO, and Earl Bester, chairman of the Eighth District PAC.

From labor leaders of such standing you would expect a constructive, fighting program, wouldn't you? The least we workers would expect to hear from Jacobsen, Jacobson, Burkhammer and Bester is two or three syllables about an independent Labor Party in view of the fatal PAC course in the 1944 presidential election. But here is what Jacobsen, Jacobson, Burkhammer and Bester had to say:

John M. Jacobsen: "The present Congress has not passed one constructive piece of legislation. Please write to your senators and congressmen in behalf of the program of legislation endorsed by our CIO. This program is necessary to prevent wage cutbacks and mass unemployment. Blast the \$25 weekly unemployment bill out of the House Ways and Means Committee; urge your congressmen to support the Murray Full Employment Act; get Senator Ball to change his mind about his (Ball-Burton-Hatch) bill," etc., etc.

Rodney Jacobson: "Labor's right to collective bargaining is under strong attack in Washington. The PAC is labor's second front. The Ball-Burton-Hatch bill is an attempt by big employers to stifle labor during the reconversion period. The PAC is not a party-line organization, but rather its purpose is to educate the voting public by providing the facts, figures and voting records of legislators. What could be more democratic?"

Henry Burkhammer: "The miners were able to get as much as any labor group (during the war) by peaceful arbitration."

Earl Bester: "Call on your mayors and other officials and ask them to support the CIO legislative program." The words of these labor "leaders" have a fair appearance, but oh, how they do smell! Let's go over them to see what they mean.

John Jacobsen's Words: You are right, John. The present Congress,

like the one before it and the one before that, has not passed one constructive piece of legislation from the viewpoint of the trade unions and the workers. You will remember how the House of Representatives voted down the Kilgore-Bill in 1944. The Kilgore-Bill, after being watered down considerably, would have guaranteed us workers up to \$25 a week during two years of reconversion. Yet, less than two weeks later, if memory serves correctly, this same House that voted down the modified Kilgore Bill, 188 to 54, jammed through a measure by which big business gets in refunds no less than twenty-eight BILLION dollars paid to the federal government out of their fantastic war profits!

But what do you say now, Mr. Ja-

One more thing, Rodney. You say the PAC is not a party-line organization but that its purpose is "to educate the public by providing the facts, figures and voting records of legislators." That's not even a new idea—all it boils down to is Sam Gompers' old slogan: "Reward labor's friends and punish its enemies." What in hell good does it do us workers to vote Shipstead and Ball out and then to vote Benson and Humphreys in? We get the same deal from all these characters ("friends of labor" or not) once they have plumped themselves down in their congressional easy chairs.

Henry Burkhammer's Words: "The miners were able to get as much as any labor group (during the war) by peaceful arbitration." You, too,

sit with Phil Murray on the CIO Executive Board.

Earl Bester's Words: "Call on your mayors, etc." It's funny how Jacobson, Jacobson, Burkhammer and Bester talk the same nonsense! That's what happens when you follow the official PAC-line laid down by Hillman, Murray, Benson & Co.

A Socialist Worker's Words: Miners! Steelworkers! All workers! We workers are fighting cutbacks, wage slashes, layoffs. How can we fight effectively without a labor party? How can we fight the companies when these so-called labor "leaders" follow such a fatal policy against our interests? How can we win the 30-hour work week, the guaranteed annual wage, a 30 percent wage increase, fixed price levels, without holding political power, without being the government itself?

Suppose you lose your job altogether this winter and have to go on relief—can you exist on such low compensation and high prices? What happens to the vets who are beginning to stream back to the Range? What are you going to live on next year and the year after and the year after? Are you going to continue to vote for the "friends of labor" in the two money parties after the betrayal of the labor vote in the last election? Are you going to take the old Hoover days lying down, go on WPA without a protest, live from hand to mouth until the bankers drag us into another war when all around is Plenty for All, a \$5000 annual income and a 30-hour work week possible for all workers today in this country?

Independent political action, and an independent labor party, alone can start us on the right road to peace and plenty. The government is a political instrument used to club us into line; how can we fight it without a political instrument of our own? President Truman "seizes" the struck oil refineries. He pleads that "reconversion and troop redeployment" are being hindered by the strike. That is the same stuff we heard from Roosevelt and the federal agencies when they broke strikes all through the war.

Wake up, Iron Range workers! The long sleep is over, the war is over! But the class war of capital against labor is going into high gear. This is one war that we can't fight without a labor party.

Land of Opportunity, or You, Too, Can be President

"I hereby resign the office of president... May I recommend the appointment of my grandson, Henry Ford II, as my successor."—From letter of Henry Ford to Board of Directors of Ford Motor Co.

cobson—now that the labor vote, so ably corralled by the PAC in the '44 elections, has been so cynically and persistently betrayed by the President, by the eighty-eight representatives and the twelve senators that it put into office? Do you say: "Workers, we have been sold out by 'The Chief' and these other political quislings. Now we will form our own independent Labor Party and nominate and elect our own candidates to office?"

No, J. M., you urge us to write to reactionaries and labor-haters like the estimable Senator Ball, as if letters from us would cause him to drop his own vicious anti-labor bill!

Rodney Jacobson's Words: You are right, Rodney, old chap! Labor's right to bargain collectively is indeed under attack in Washington. But the Ball-Burton-Hatch Bill is only one side of the attack. While you've got your peepers glued to the BBH Bill, Truman and his buddies are busy helping Schwelienbach "reorganize" the Labor Department. In the big CIO oil workers' strike they asked the union to accept a temporary fifteen per cent wage boost and then agree to accept in advance whatever decision they might make in the case.

are right, Mr. Burkhammer. The United Steel Workers did indeed get about as much as any other labor group during the war! They got frozen wages and out-of-sight prices, as any miner on the Mesabi could tell you in six short words.

"Peaceful arbitration" got us Roosevelt's famous "equality-of-sacrifice" bat on the ear; it got us the no-strike pledge so the corporations could pile up fabulous profits and yell "unpatriotic" every time we squirmed under their heel and yelled for a wage boost.

And the day the war ended, it got us loss of overtime pay and loss of jobs and taunts of "bums and loafers" by federal legislators, many of them elected by the CIO-PAC-Labor vote, when we asked for a measure of unemployment compensation.

But we workers might expect such baloney from you, Henry. Any labor "leader" who can solemnly speak at a Rotarians' meeting and tell these business people how labor and capital can "cooperate" and promote class peace and wonderful prosperity is capable of any folly. Just attend a few more gatherings of the Hibbing Rotary, Henry, and you'll be telling us that the head of U. S. Steel ought to

COMPANY TRICKERY

As was pointed out in LABOR ACTION on October 1, the issue in this strike is the protection of the grievance procedure and the elected representatives of the workers. The Kelsey-Hayes workers realize this. That is why they have been so determined to stay out until their three officers discharged by the company (upheld by the WLB) are reinstated. That is why they have defied the entire UAW leadership time and time again.

At a meeting of 2,000 Kelsey-Hayes workers, called by the international-appointed administrator, Percy Llewellyn, September 29, the international president, R. J. Thomas, was greeted with boos and cat-calls and an impromptu picket line, while the appeals of Frankenstein and Addes were no more effective. Workers shouted: "What are we paying these 'pork choppers' for?"

Just as during the war, all the leadership could offer as a solution to the workers' grievances was: "Go back to your jobs and let us negotiate your grievances with management."

N.Y. Veterans--

(Continued from page 1) banking friends (of course, he pretends to attack them in his public utterances), who endanger public health and safety, year in and year out.

REPUBLICRATS

Would William O'Dwyer, Democratic-ALP candidate for Mayor, or his Republican-Liberal Party opponent, Judge Jonah J. Goldstein, do any better? To be sure, they say beligerently, "The slums must go!" But not even their warmest supporters claim that either of these capitalist hacks will do more than continue the "good government" program of La Guardia.

As for any definite program on housing (or on anything else of importance), neither of these candidates has one. They cannot have one, for they are both tied fast to political machines which have countless connections with the big realtors and banks.

(Further articles on New York housing will appear in future issues of LABOR ACTION.)

Frankenstein vs. Jeffries

By MARTIN HARVEY
DETROIT, Sept. 25—The thin coating of non-partisanship has just about worn off in the Detroit municipal elections in which Mayor Jeffries and UAW Vice-President Richard T. Frankenstein are running for mayor of Detroit.

In recent issues of LABOR ACTION it was pointed out that Frankenstein, although a union official, represents capitalist politics in the labor movement and that only the "non-partisan" election laws of Detroit which prohibit candidates from running on party tickets made it possible for Frankenstein to appear as an independent labor candidate.

As if to confirm our stand, the Democratic Party of Wayne County (Detroit and environs) made it official. Joseph Wisniewski, Democratic County chairman, announced recently that the six congressional district chairmen of Wayne County endorsed Frankenstein for mayor and were giving him the full support of the Democratic Party including use of all Democratic headquarters. Wisniewski explained the move by saying that "Frankenstein has always been Democratic, and we know Jeffries is not. So naturally we would back Frankenstein."

Jay G. Hayden, Washington correspondent of the Detroit News, had predicted this development a few days earlier and stated that it would

result from Democratic National Chairman Robert E. Hannegan's desire to keep labor tied to the Democratic Party and to offset any dissatisfaction with Truman's policies. Detroit Democrats, however, denied that they had consulted with either

the Democrats with violating the city charter and election laws but announced at the same time that they would back Jeffries.

That just about sums up the Detroit municipal election: Democrat Frankenstein against Republican Jeffries. Another case of Tweedledee and Tweedledum.

An incident reported from the CIO Michigan summer school finishes the picture. Several CIO members were discussing the Detroit election. Frankenstein's election, they held, would greatly benefit labor. "Why if Dick becomes Mayor of Detroit, the next step would be to run him in the Democratic primaries for Senator or Governor."

While just a casual conversation, this incident is very revealing. Frankenstein's campaign is not helping to further the idea of independent labor political action and a labor party. It is doing the reverse. Workers who support Frankenstein, are led to believe that they can expect gains for labor from participating in capitalist politics and maneuvering with capitalist parties.

Detroit Readers:
ALLIED PERSECUTION OF EUROPE'S JEWS
SPEAKER—LOUISE BROWN
Sunday, Oct. 21—8:15 p.m.
LABOR'S STAKE IN THE DETROIT ELECTIONS
SPEAKER—MARTIN HARVEY
Sunday, Oct. 28—8:15 p.m.
WORKERS PARTY HEADQUARTERS
3773 Gratiot

Hannegan or the national committeeman from Michigan, E. Cyril Bevan.

TWEEDLEDEE-TWEEDLEDUM
Detroit Republicans who have been the chief benefactors of the non-partisan setup, immediately charged

Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor...

Reader Is Factually Wrong

Dear Editor:
In your September 10 issue of LABOR ACTION, front page cover, you have an article, "How They Lied About Pearl Harbor," by E. Lund.

In the third paragraph you have besmirched the good name of our late President and you will not help yourself with labor's rank and file by the use of such journalism.

Your words, "...that establish that the American government was steering a course toward war as deliberate and calculating as that of the Japanese government," is a gross misstatement.

Anybody knows, even the lowliest but good union member, of which I am one in good standing, standing farthest down the line and getting the least of all hourly rates, even he knew that Mr. Roosevelt was our leader and running our government as he saw fit all during the years he was our Chief Executive, therefore, naturally, to state that the "American government," etc., etc., is an ungentlemanly, unkind, vicious and a malicious mis-statement which reflects discredit on our late President.

If you do the correct thing, you will apologize to your readers in another issue for those gross and unjust mis-statements.

Yours truly,
C. R. H., Detroit.

by Ernest Lund on the Pearl Harbor Report. The statements made in the article are based upon the official reports of the Army and Navy board of investigation.

We repeat: (1) Japanese-American rivalry for control of the Pacific dates back over thirty-five years. (2) This rivalry is born out of the respective economic needs of big business in this country and in Japan. (3) Both the Japanese and the American governments conducted their military and naval preparations in the Pacific since World War I with an eye toward what both viewed as a future inevitable war in the Pacific. (4) The Japanese government made use of Britain's involvement in the European war to conduct a policy of expansion into Indo-China. (5) The American government issued a sharp protest and warning. (6) The Japanese sent a special envoy to negotiate at Washington. (7) The Japanese movement into Indo-China continued. (8) The U. S. Army and Navy knew that it meant war and asked to be given more time to prepare. (9) Secretary of State Hull, in consultation with Roosevelt, dispatched what has since come to be known as the "ultimatum," demanding that the Japanese withdraw... or else. (10) American Ambassador Grew called this "the document that touched the button that started the war."

If these facts "besmirch" the good name of our late President," it is the verdict of history and not the result of our saying so.

We do not seek to REFLECT discredit upon Roosevelt. We seek openly and frankly to state that Roosevelt was the head of the government and responsible for its policies and has, therefore, discredited himself as a double-talking politician who spoke

about peace while taking steps that were leading to war. The official documents for the government verify this. As time goes by, there will, no doubt, be more evidence to establish this fact further.

You say, "...that Mr. Roosevelt was our leader and running our government as he saw fit all during the years he was our Chief Executive." Exactly! But this is just what we object to. The German word for "leader" is "Fuehrer." We don't want any "leader" running the government as HE sees fit. This principle of government is becoming all too popular in Washington, D. C. We counterpose to it a government democratically controlled by the working people who form the vast majority of the population—a workers' government.

A Correction—Situation Same

Seattle, Wash.

I beg to differ with you—in your editorial of September 24 you state that unemployment payments range from \$9.00 a week in North Carolina to \$19.61 in Michigan. The state of Washington pays \$25 for twenty-six weeks. Inadequate as it is, we fought hard for it. You should know about those things.

Sincerely,
Sympathizer.

(Thanks for the information. It is clear, however, that nothing fundamental is changed. Our position is that this inadequacy is based on the insufficient payment of unemployment compensation and its limited character. No worker's family can live decently on \$25 a week, nor is the future of labor guaranteed by a twenty-six week limit on payments. —Ed.)

Kelsey-Hayes Union Faces Injunction

By LEE ROBERTS

DETROIT, Oct. 7—A new assault has been made against the militant Kelsey-Hayes strike which started August 23, with the issuance of one of the most vicious anti-labor court injunctions in the history of the American labor movement.

On Thursday, October 4, the Kelsey-Hayes Wheel Co. obtained an injunction from the Wayne County Circuit Court. This order names specifically 200 individual strikers and restrains them and anyone else from picketing, loitering at the plant gates, congregating across the street from the plant or anywhere in the vicinity of the plant, standing at bus and street car stops, speaking to workers entering the plant, and visiting employees at their homes.

The injunction has been backed up by about a hundred police—mounted police, patrolmen and commando police—who patrol the two plants of the company to ensure the safe and "peaceful" entrance of the 200-odd employees who have returned to work. Thus the workers learn another lesson in the role of the "impartial" courts and police.

Not one word of protest against this dangerous precedent has come from the official leadership of the UAW, international or local. Two days before the issuance of the injunction, the Detroit News reported that "police and international UAW officers assured the workers (about 200 of them) full protection from aggressive pickets."

In a letter sent to Kelsey-Hayes workers, the international explained,

and tried to justify its strike-breaking position: "As a result of the election of two foremen from the plant by members of our union, thirteen union men were discharged. The international fought for their return to work, even though such cases are very embarrassing—because we do not have the right to throw foremen out. We cannot support your strike because if we do so it means the international is winking on the agreement to let the War Labor Board decide the issue. If we support your strike we are actually saying that we will not accept any arbitration anywhere, if we don't like the verdict. It is impossible to conduct a responsible union on that basis."

Such words one can expect to find on the editorial pages of the anti-labor Detroit newspapers, which have been whooping it up daily for compulsory arbitration. The international is merely repeating the lies of the companies and their press.

Shachtman Speaks In Newark

Special to LABOR ACTION

September 23—An audience of close to forty people heard Max Shachtman, national secretary of the Workers Party, give a penetrating analysis of the nature of the Russian state and of its intrigues in the post-war world. Condemning Stalinist imperialism, Shachtman asserted that the forceful introduction of nationalized property into such countries as Poland and Yugoslavia by no means represented the spread of socialism. "If it is true, as the Socialist Workers Party asserts, that the mere existence of nationalized property is sufficient grounds for labeling such a country a workers' state, then one would have to follow this argument to its logical conclusion and assert that socialism can be introduced (as in Poland, etc.) not only WITHOUT the aid of the working class, but also AGAINST them. We might as well then take all the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky and discard them."

For two hours after the talk ended, the audience, at least a dozen of whom are members and sympathizers of the SWP, pled the speaker with question after question.

Several subs to LABOR ACTION and all the copies of The New Course that were on the literature table were sold. In addition, many signed cards indicating their interest in future meetings to be held by the Workers Party in Newark.

BUFFALO READERS:
Remaining Two Lectures on
American Labor Struggles
THURSDAY, OCT. 18
THURSDAY, OCT. 25
TIME: 8:15 P. M.
PLACE: Workers Party Hall, 639 Main St. (2nd floor)
SPEAKER: John Barnes, Labor Action Correspondent

Workers Party Fund Goes Over Top

The Workers Party Building Fund went over the top. The quotas set for all branches amounted to \$5,000. The total collected was \$6,079.67.

It is interesting to note that many of those branches that went over the top in this Fund Drive have been branches that had an exceedingly heavy schedule of local activities that involved large expenditures. Action and hard work always bring a response—new members and more money for further action.

Special mention goes to Akron, Buffalo, Cleveland, Boston, Detroit, Denver and Minnesota.

A few branches were just a little short. For some, there are valid excuses. New York Local was a little short on this drive but it raised in the same period over \$1,400 to finance the election campaign of Max Shachtman for Mayor. Los Angeles, though a few dollars short, had large expenses in its fight against Gerald L. K. Smith. That branch financed, wrote and published an excellent pamphlet, "The Truth About Gerald Smith," which was so effectively used in Los Angeles and Detroit and throughout the country.

The other localities (Philadelphia, Louisville and Seattle) that fell short should find out why this happened, especially in view of the fact that most of the branches did so well and the entire Drive went way over the top. Chicago writes that although it didn't make the deadline, the rest of its quota will be in by the end of the week.

The money raised has already been put to work. The pamphlet "Socialism—The Hope of Humanity" by Max Shachtman, will be printed and released for sale Monday, October 15. This pamphlet is a speech by Max Shachtman as candidate for Mayor of New York City and is very suitable for national distribution. This pamphlet has had two printings. The national edition is twenty-four pages, well illustrated, carries the Workers Party Program and sells for ten cents per copy.

A revised and illustrated edition of "Plenty for All" is now at the printer's and its publication date will be announced in a few weeks. The book, "The Struggle for Socialism—the Program of the Workers Party," by Max Shachtman, will be published shortly. Its date of publication will also be announced soon.

The Workers Party staff has been increased by seven additional activists already.

Our next big job is strengthening and expanding LABOR ACTION. This week a special letter has gone out to all LABOR ACTION subscribers asking their help in this undertaking. (Also see story on page 3.)

There is much to be done. The Workers Party asks all the friends of LABOR ACTION to help. The greatest help can come by joining the Workers Party in its work. JOIN THE WORKERS PARTY!

Paul Bern, Administrative Secretary.

\$5,000 PARTY BUILDING FUND

City	Total Cash Sent
Akron	\$ 387.50
Baltimore	10.00
Boston	55.00
Buffalo	288.00
Chicago	217.00
Cleveland	220.00
Detroit	620.00
Denver	175.00
Los Angeles	556.17
Louisville	105.00
Minnesota	55.00
Newark	6.00
New York City	1,911.50
Oregon	25.00
Philadelphia	185.00
Reading	100.00
Seattle	135.00
St. Louis	50.00
Streator	50.00
San Francisco	693.50
Syracuse	10.00
Youngstown	50.00
National Office	175.00
TOTAL	\$6,079.67

PAUL BERN, Administrative Secretary

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

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WORKERS PARTY PROGRAM FOR ORGANIZED LABOR IN THE RECONVERSION AND POST-WAR PERIOD

FOR THE UNEMPLOYED AND VETERANS:

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

FOR THE POST-WAR

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

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

THESE AIMS TO BE ACHIEVED THROUGH:

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

THIS PROGRAM TO BE CARRIED OUT BY:

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

Pegler Incites Vets to Form Hooligan Squads Against Labor

Ordinarily, it would be best to ignore the bitter anti-labor utterings of Westbrook Pegler. The once great sports writer turned columnist has justifiably earned the scorn of the tens of millions of people who work in order to live because he has revealed himself as a venomous and cowardly enemy of labor. From his fluent pen streams a torrent of pro-capitalist, anti-labor opinions compounded of his colossal ignorance of history, economics, politics, and highly-paid prejudices against the workers and their economic and political organizations.

His sharp columns against the German fascists in 1936, which earned him a temporary reputation as an anti-fascist, were not grounded in an understanding of the nature and function of fascism, but was based on his "sporting instincts" coupled with a fierce nationalism momentarily directed against Germany and Hitler's conduct in the 1936 Olympics. He was never anti-fascist in the real meaning of the term. Otherwise, it would be impossible to understand how Pegler writes such reactionary, pro-fascist filth that is now distributed daily by Hearst's King Features. By training, environment and associations, Pegler is undoubtedly the outstanding prominent anti-labor journalist in the country today.

BIG-BUSINESS SPOKESMAN

As a rule, we read his columns and pass on to the more important problems of the day. But on October 1, King Features syndicated a column written by Pegler which is a challenge to the whole labor movement and every worker in this country.

Pegler, in his usually stupid way, paints a picture of post-war America as a land where everyone who wishes can obtain a job. What then, is wrong, asks the ignorant Connecticut squire? The labor unions maintain job control (!) for the purposes of monopolization, collecting dues and assessments from the workers and enriching union treasuries. This is a grave problem, according to Pegler, for the returning veterans who will want jobs but will be prevented from obtaining them by the unions. The unions, says Pegler, will put into operation their "private armies" and hold the disorganized and unarmed veterans at bay!

Pegler then describes post-war America as a land in which the unions and the workers profit from the war, dominate jobs and wages and keep the financially poor industrialists, financiers, corporations and monopolies in a state of terror and control. And thus we learn, too, that the profiteers in this country are not the big businessmen, but the workers.

INCITING THE VETS

After describing the inability of the veterans to get jobs because of the terrorization practiced by the unions, Pegler says:

"Well, then, why won't the veterans meet force with force and psychological terror with methods that they learned in training and perfected in the War?"

"The answer is that the union terrorists were thinking far ahead...."

"They are organized and the veterans are not. The unions have their general headquarters. The veterans have none...."

But all is not lost, according to Pegler. He concludes:

"But surely, men who fought to preserve the nation against foreign enemies while the union bosses thrived, fattened and increased their political power and their treasuries at home, have as much right to organize for battle as the unions have and the right to go unmolested to and from lawful employment."

This is a rallying cry to the ex-servicemen to become anti-labor hooligans, to organize raiding squads against labor, the "enemy at home."

Pegler does not comment about rising unemployment which is caused by failure of capitalism and the capitalists to provide jobs for all and security for the people.

Pegler does not say anything about the excessive war profits of big business.

LAUDS PROFITEERING

Pegler also says nothing about the fact that big business dominates the country politically through a capitalist government in Washington which has no time or desire to aid labor in this reconversion period because it is too busy giving tax refunds to industry and guaranteeing peacetime profits to it just as it did during the war.

Pegler has no room in his daily column to mention the fact that one-third of the families in this

country lived on wages less than \$1,000 a year during the war years.

Pegler omits from his column the fact that the wages of the workers have been cut anywhere from 15 to 45% since V-J Day while the cost of living has remained the same or is mounting.

Pegler does not demand full employment for everyone and a living wage.

No, what he wants is jobs for veterans by throwing all civilians out of jobs.

AN "ORDERLY" SOCIETY

In Pegler's mind, a good society, an orderly and sane society is one in which

Big business is free to do as it pleases in robbing labor;

Big business earns as much profit as it can possibly squeeze out of the people;

Big business can set any prices it wishes on consumer goods;

Big business must pay the lowest possible taxes, no matter what its incomes and profits;

Labor must pay as much as it is possible to take from their meager wages, which must at all times be left low;

Industry must have complete freedom in its anti-union campaigns;

Labor must be shorn of any rights to organize and fight for higher wages, shorter hours and improved working conditions;

Government must serve only one purpose: defend the rights of capital and hold labor at bay.

That is why his corrupted mentality can spew out a column in a period of rising unemployment and general insecurity for the workers, with a call for the veterans to organize anti-labor "armies" and give battle to the workers of this country.

FOR LABOR-VET UNITY

Pegler does not advise the soldier to solidarize himself with labor and fight for jobs for all and security.

Pegler does not denounce the industrialists for their refusal to cut into their big profits and keep the factories open to provide jobs for everyone who wants to work.

Pegler does not advocate a living wage and security.

With this column Pegler does announce where he stands in the coming grave period of reconversion. He stands with the most reactionary segments of big business against the labor movement and the worker. He stands for profits against security for the people.

The labor movement must take up this challenge, for the problem of the veteran is indeed a serious one. The soldier coming back from the fighting fronts does not want to face joblessness and insecurity. He wants a right to work and security. But he can get that only by joining hands with the labor movement with the workers of this country in a struggle against the capitalists, whose only interests in society are profits.

In labor's fight for jobs, living standards, high wages and security, it is carrying on the fight for the veterans. But labor must do more than just that. Labor must organize the veteran before he becomes the prey of the reactionary, semi-fascist and fascist organizations in this country.

Labor must organize a veteran's ex-servicemen's organization to represent the best interests of the returning soldier and to provide the means by which his struggle will be a progressive one. The labor movement must take the lead in welding a common fighting front of all workers and soldiers, who are themselves workers, in the interests of all who toil.

That is the only way to meet the challenge of the Peglers, Gerald L. K. Smiths, Robert Reynolds and the Rev. Coughlins.

Analysis of the "Gig Five" Fiasco in London

A Special New York Election Page

Workers Party Manifesto on Labor's Postwar Tasks

Next Week:

Workers Party Manifesto on Labor's Postwar Tasks

Analysis of the "Gig Five" Fiasco in London

A Special New York Election Page

One-Tenth of the Nation

Anti-Negro School Strikes

By J. R. Johnson

The clashes between white and Negro school children in Chicago, Gary, Ind., and New York are merely tentative sparks of the tension in race relations. The book of Scripture says that a little child shall lead them. But there is no doubt whatever that in this case the children are being "led."

BEHIND THE YOUTH

In Chicago the number of white children on strike is 1,200. Where did these youth learn to undertake this ORGANIZED hostility to Negroes? In Gary, most of the strikers' parents are members of an all-white Parents and Teachers Association which two years ago was refused affiliation to the National Parents and Teachers Association because of its racial basis.

The Civil Liberties Association of Chicago states that the agitation is inspired by employers in the steel industry who wish to divide white and black workers, particularly in view of the pending negotiations over wages in the industry.

The Gary Civil Liberties Committee charges that the all-white inspirers of the anti-Negro agitation in Gary have been encouraged by the slow and indifferent response of the authorities. The principal of the school involved in New York claims that the stories in the New York papers were "smears" and hopelessly exaggerated the actual occurrences. If even these statements are true, they do not touch the root of the question. That capital foments racial strife to divide the workers is not new. That in many areas the municipal authorities either directly or indirectly side with the whites

against the Negroes is a fundamental feature of the Negro problem.

Newspaper writers always have exaggerated incidents which they think lend themselves to catching the eye and holding the attention of the jaded reader.

What is important is that this racial flare-up is taking place in the two most important and largest cities of the nation. Still more important is the fact that observers of both areas have repeatedly in the recent period pointed to the growing tensions. One of Chicago's leading Negro citizens has stated categorically to the press that everybody knows that Chicago is heading toward a race riot. There is once more to be observed in New York the same strained tensions which preceded the outburst in the summer of 1943. Anti-Negro agitators use this racial tension. They do not create it.

NEGROES AND V-J DAY

In Harlem, for example, the demeanor of the Negroes on V-J Day was striking in its sobriety, its universal recognition of the fact that a new period had begun for Negroes. Full of memories of the last year, the Negroes recognized that the gains they had made in industry were now in jeopardy, that unemployment was going to hit them harder than all other sections of the population, that among the upheavals which the post-war period would bring, racial clashes would take a high place. Behind all this is the determination not to put up with the old situation, to mobilize all resources and fight for the rights of democracy.

Among the Negro youth in particular, except in the South, there is an

almost unanimous sentiment that they will not tolerate being pushed around simply because they are Negroes. The Civil Liberties Association of New York reported a few weeks ago that stories and protests dealing with racial discrimination exceeded all others in the press of the nation so far as civil liberties were concerned. It is more than probable that at least two books dealing with the Negro question were among the dozen best sellers during the past two years. The Negro question is not a Southern question any more. Capitalism expanding for the war has multiplied and intensified all its antagonisms and contradictions.

LABOR'S URGENT TASK

To accuse capitalists of fomenting anti-Negro agitation is not enough. They are able to do this because a condition exists. Labor's task is not only to check the tricks and maneuvers of capital and its fascist agents. Labor's task is to remove the condition.

Labor's task is to put an end to the Negro question and this can be done only by a complete reconstruction of American society—the same type of reconstruction needed to abolish unemployment, the same type of reconstruction needed to lift the millions of poor farmers from rural isolation and backwardness.

This reconstructed society is socialism. It may seem a far cry from school children on strike to socialism. It is not. Those children, the coming generation, future citizens of New York and Chicago, are merely expressing in a highly significant and symptomatic manner one of the heavy curses with which they are burdened by capitalism.

Workers Party Tour

Special to LABOR ACTION

HIBBING, Minn., Sept. 28—American labor moved a step closer to the independent Labor Party tonight as a result of Albert Gates' speech in Hibbing's Memorial Building. To a militant audience of mine and railroad workers, the editor of LABOR ACTION exposed the complete inability of the vaunted "free enterprise" system to provide peacetime jobs for all in this country.

Gates wielded a merciless scalpel. With one deft stroke, he laid bare Truman's double-dealing in sabotaging by means of a private memorandum to his congressional whips the \$25 jobless pay bill that he publicly "demanded." He cut into ribbons the so-called pro-labor "New Deal-FDR-Truman" Administration. The role of "The Chief" as false prophet and misleader of the American workers assumed disillusioning aspects as Gates delved into the real meaning of the fake "equality of sacrifice"—no-strike pledge, Four Freedoms, Atlantic Charter promises.

SOLUTION OF SOCIALISM

Summing up, Gates explained that socialism, production for the use of the working masses instead of for the profits of the capitalist crowd,

was the only real and lasting solution. "The first step that the workers must take on that road," he concluded, "is the formation of an independent Labor Party. Against the organized financial and political strength of the bankers and industrialists must be pitted the organized economic and political power of the workers. It is labor's lack of an independent Labor Party, that would nominate and elect and CONTROL its own workers in office, that forces it to take beating after beating at the hands of the small but politically organized ruling class."

A question-and-answer period followed the round of applause that greeted Gates' final fighting words. A majority of the mine and railroad workers present were readers of LABOR ACTION and they asked questions about the Workers Party (its nature, program, structure, etc.) which Gates had outlined in his speech.

On Tuesday evening, October 2, Albert Gates, editor of LABOR ACTION, spoke in Akron on the subject, "How to Get Jobs for All," presenting the reconversion and post-war program of the Workers Party.

Gates analyzed the only two attempts of the capitalist class to cope with the problem of unemployment:

the so-called Full Employment Bill and Henry Wallace's book, "Sixty Million Jobs." The "Full Employment Bill," which now "guarantees everybody" out of work the right to seek a job if he can find one, has been acted upon by the House, said Gates, but no one knows when the Senate will act upon it. And while Wallace frankly recognizes the need for full employment, he cannot point out the way to achieve it, for he, too, is a spokesman for capitalism and "free enterprise."

Comrade Gates then explained the program of the Workers Party for full employment. Permanent full employment with a guaranteed annual wage and a guaranteed annual family income can be achieved, said Gates, only by the workers themselves. They must break the ties with the capitalist parties and with the labor leadership which itself is tied to the capitalist regime and form an independent Labor Party with a program built on the needs of the workers.

Gates' speech was warmly received by Workers Party members and sympathizers who attended. Interest in and agreement with the Workers Party program was shown by the questions asked during the question period and by the generous contributions and sale of literature at the close of the meeting.

How Would You Handle A Fascist Demagogue?

Gerald L. K. Smith is the one we are talking about.

- In speaking, he lashes his 200 pounds into a fury of shouting, hysterical denunciations, emotional appeals and vivid phrases, till he is bathed in sweat and his enormous expenditure of energy has prevented the hearer from remembering that he is saying nothing at all. ● In an interview, "Oh, I'm a rabble-rouser. Put that down—a rabble-rouser. God made me a rabble-rouser. God made me a rabble-rouser of and for Right. Better spell that word Right with a capital R." ● In strikes, "Industrialists found him dependable. If a community was plagued with sit-down strikes, Smith could go in with his gospel of Americanism and old-time religion and get results that pleased those who hired him.... The CIO picketed the meetings, then hissed and booed and tried to break them up." (American Mercury, August, 1942.) ● What is this native American fascist doing today as the United States faces one of the most critical periods in its history, the gigantic problems of reconversion, demobilization, unemployment, racial conflict?

LABOR ACTION has brought to you the stories of Smith's attempted invasion of the labor strongholds of Los Angeles and Detroit. LABOR ACTION has reported on the energetic protests and picketing of Smith by members of the Workers Party and LABOR ACTION sympathizers and the trade union movement.

LABOR ACTION has exposed and analyzed the characteristics of the native fascists like Smith: rabble-rousing, Jewish and Negro baiting, pitting veteran against organized worker, making radical promises, big business' backing, etc.

LABOR ACTION brings you each week the most complete coverage from labor's point of view of national fascism, the problem of jobs for all, analyses of the imperialist war, national politics, the Negro people and the trade unions.

But day by day this news becomes more personally important to all of us, and at the same time difficult to follow in the big daily papers without the analysis from labor's point of view which is LABOR ACTION's special function.

That is why at this time you need LABOR ACTION most. Whether you are a regular reader, a subscriber or a casual reader, you can do something important. Help LABOR ACTION increase its circulation so that many more thousands of workers can be reached weekly with the truth about the problems they face.

SEND US YOUR CONTRIBUTION TO MAKE POSSIBLE LABOR ACTION'S EXPANSION! YOU CAN ASSURE LABOR ACTION'S FUTURE BY ACTING BEFORE YOU LAY THIS PAPER ASIDE! USE THE FORM PRINTED BELOW.

I send you herewith \$_____ for the Labor Action Expansion Fund. I will send you each month \$_____ for the Labor Action Expansion Fund.

Name _____ Address _____ City _____ Zone _____ State _____

WORLD POLITICS

By BRITANNICUS

Differences Between British Labor Gov't and Tories

The American liberals and, unfortunately, the American workers too are looking on with puzzled eyes at the performance of the British Labor or, as it sometimes calls itself, the British Socialist government. Bevin's first declaration earned warm approval from Anthony Eden, Foreign Secretary under Churchill. Since then we have seen:

- 1. The British government make an offer to India which the Indians characterize, and rightly, as being no more than what Churchill offered through Sir Stafford Cripps. 2. We have seen British troops in Indo-China fighting side by side with American and Japanese troops against the attempt of the Indo-Chinese to establish independence. 3. We have seen Bevin, Byrnes and Molotov meet in a typical imperialist scramble, in the course of which it was impossible to distinguish in what way Bevin, the socialist, was in any way different from Eden, the conservative, or Byrnes and Molotov, the representatives of their respective imperialisms.

Bevin and some four hundred other Englishmen have replaced in Parliament some four hundred other Englishmen who were members of the Conservative Party. It is true that this replacement is the result of a tremendous upheaval among the British people, a demand for socialism. But the actual change in personnel is extremely small.

Take, for example, Bevin himself at the Foreign Office. The American worker is accustomed to Roosevelt or Truman or Byrnes making sweeping changes at the State Department. Owing to the spoils system in American government, a new administration means large changes in personnel or at any rate many changes.

CIVIL SERVANT SYSTEM

In Britain it is not so to anything like the same degree. The Foreign Secretary has a Parliamentary Under Secretary who is a member of Parliament. Both of these therefore are elected. But running the Foreign Office is a permanent Under Secretary of State. He is a civil servant, so many years of service, so much a year, such and such status. Below him are the heads of the various departments of the Foreign Office, all civil servants. They do not change, whatever government comes into power. Bevin naturally will change his own special advisers. But the established procedure of the Foreign Office goes on. It goes on because it is the instrument best fitted to perform its task.

What is this task? The foreign policy of any government is merely the continuation abroad of its home policy. In this case, the case of Britain, the policy is to preserve the British Empire. Churchill said very plainly that he had not become the King's Minister to preside at the liquidation of the Empire. Bevin has no intention of liquidating the Empire either. He therefore fits into the system.

PRESERVING THE EMPIRE

First and foremost is the preservation of the British control of India—hitherto source of cheap raw materials, field of investment for capital and milk-cow for interest on loans made decades ago. To hold India demands control of the Mediterranean, Gibraltar at one end, Malta in the center and Greece at the other; Palestine, the Suez Canal and the Gulf of Aden. That is the life-line of the Empire. Churchill would not tolerate any independence for Greece. Bevin cannot tolerate it either. The Foreign Office holds all the threads of British intrigue in Greece. Bevin will only change the Foreign Office if he intends, for instance, to free India and therefore to abandon the necessity of controlling the road to India.

The same with the African colonies, the West Indies, with British Borneo and Singapore and Hong Kong. How then can he, despite his "socialism," do anything but help suppress the Indo-Chinese in their struggle for independence? One word from him in their favor, one action to support them, would unloose on his head not only struggles in the British colonies.

The whole upper staff of the civil service would be in revolt. For all of these, or most of them, are dyed-in-the-wool Tories. The India Office would be in revolt. But the chiefs and upper officers of the army and navy would be in revolt also. All of them are men carefully selected and trained by the British ruling class to protect the Empire on which for three centuries they have built up their way of life.

For Bevin to change the foreign policy of Britain from the foreign policy of Churchill means first and foremost a revolution at home—a genuine revolution, clearing out all the representatives of the old ruling class who infest the government. Obviously he and Major Attlee and the rest don't propose to do anything of the kind. It takes revolutionaries, men determined to change the old system root and branch, to build a new Britain—and so have a new foreign policy.

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN BEVIN AND TORIES

And yet Bevin is not just another Eden. He isn't because he sits where he does, precisely because the great masses of the British people want a change, that drastic change which Attlee and Bevin are incapable of giving them. The British people know, feel in their bones, that they cannot live in the old way any longer. In addition, they feel that Churchill's policy toward Greece was wrong. They feel that India ought to be free. They do not know precisely how all this is to be done, but they do know that they can— they elect members of a party who have always claimed that the old system is wrong. That is the vast difference between Bevin and Eden.

Nobody expected Eden to change the system. Nobody expected Churchill to change it. But they expect and they are ready to support serious changes by Attlee and Bevin. The failures of Attlee and Bevin therefore must lead to a serious examination by the British people of the foundations of their system and a serious way for them to attain their desires. For Churchill and the Tories failing, Attlee and the Labor Party remained.

But if these fail, then the British people will be faced with the alternative—continue to degenerate or take the matter into their own hands—factory committees, workers' councils, a revolutionary party which will BEGIN by clearing out all representatives of the old order. Though Bevin and Eden may act alike, they are vastly different because they represent different stages in the historical development of the British people. That is why, despite the crimes and subservience of Bevin, the Labor victory at the polls was a great and significant event.

U. S. Fascists Cast Nets For Veterans

By Shirley Lawrence

Demobilized and back home after the war, war veterans are notoriously prey to deep discontent: many of them cannot adapt themselves to civilian life. Even when they get back to the old stream of things they are often weary, restless, disappointed. There are those, too, who carry back from the war a physical need for violence, a need they can no longer satisfy in the prosaic existence of peacetime.

Our twelve million war veterans will constitute one of the strongest political forces in this country. Nobody is more aware of the tremendous power they represent than the Nationalists of former Senator Robert R. Reynolds and Gerald L. K. Smith. They are making a strong bid to get hold of some of that power.

Smith has organized two veterans' organizations, the Nationalist Veterans of World War II and the Committee of Veterans of World War II. Smith's line for these groups is cleverly designed to appeal to the veteran's outrage at unemployment. You "have been virtually deserted by our people," he tells them. You "belong to the Lost Battalion."

The big bait which Smith tosses out to veterans is a proposal to get them at least \$1,000 for a year or more of service.

The type of membership sought by native fascists is indicated by the fact that George Vose, head of Smith's veterans' outfits, is trying to recruit among the United Sons of America, an offshoot of the Ku Klux Klan.

With the war over, everybody who is anybody in the fascist world of America is trying to get into the act. Joe McWilliams, better known as Joe McNazi, is distributing a "Veterans Reconstruction Plan" in which he calls for gifts amounting to \$7,800 for war veterans.

Veterans' organizations are booming. Anti-Semitic Edward James Smythe, temporarily enjoying freedom from the sedition trials, is coming out in the open with his Protestant War Veterans—no Catholics, Negroes or Jews wanted. In Detroit and in the South, the Ku Klux Klan is contacting ex-servicemen. The American Order of Patriots in Texas wants Gentiles only. Father Coughlin has run up the list of his San Sebastian Brigade to 400,000.

The native fascists hope to organize the veterans into hoodlum gangs for use against the labor movement. One of Smith's associates, Homer Maertz, is already recruiting bands of terrorists, according to Eugene Segal of Scripps-Howard. This unsavory character attended the first national convention of the America First Party in Detroit, August 29, 1944, where he presented a resolution calling for the sterilization of all Jews in the United States. He has definite connections with the Ku Klux Klan and United Sons of America as well.

PATTERN OF NAZISM, FASCISM

What better way of aping the pattern set down by Hitler and Mussolini? In Italy the first groups founded by Mussolini in 1915 were soldiers, Fasci, and the Fasci of 1919 were formed under the sign of "the spirit of the trenches." "Only unknown men can save the German people," Hitler declared, "but these unknown must come from the front... they must come from the ranks of those who did their duty during the war." And Rudolph Hess asserted: "The Third Reich was founded on an idea that came from the trenches."

Germany after the First World War offers the best example of how a "war psychology" continued to permeate certain sections of the population, namely, the unemployed veterans and opportunistic officers. This subsequently led to the suppression of the post-war revolutionary uprisings and later to the formation of Hitler's storm troopers.

There were groups in Germany, the big industrial magnates and military cliques, which wanted to exploit these sentiments by giving the fascist gangs financial backing and using them against the militant workers. Thus the beginnings of the National Socialist Party of Germany, founded by a troop of armed soldiers, which later, as the S.A. (Sturmabteilung) became the basic party core.

Hitler's true political line was always directed against the Jews, against "Jewish democracy," "Jewish Marxism," "Jewish world domination" and "international finance." American fascists are able pupils and run true to form with their tirades against Jews and Negroes.

VETERANS AND JOBLESSNESS

According to a CIO pamphlet on "Substandard Wages": "Millions of returning soldiers will find that work in private industry actually yields them less income than the Army did. A soldier with wife and two children now gets \$128 in cash a month for them under the Soldiers' Allotment Act—plus of course, his own board and keep." We also read that veterans in large numbers are collecting unemployment insurance of \$20 under the famous GI Bill of Rights. They could get jobs, says a representative of the War Manpower Commission, but they "have a fantastic notion of what jobs are paying."

More than anything the soldier seeks for some meaning to his existence, some justification; he seeks to understand why wars are fought and how illusions are built up concerning the outcome: why the fruits of wars are more wars, why rivalries and conflicts flourish afterward even among the so-called victors.

A solution for him can be socialism, wherein equality will really reign for the first time and wars among mankind will be wiped out, wherein workers will have their own government, cooperatively run their own economy.

In the United States, the most advanced of all countries productively, such a society is possible. It is the only way out of the chaos of future wars and future insecurity. It will truly mean the beginnings of a better world. It will provide a solution to all the antagonisms inherent in capitalist society: worker versus boss, black versus white, Jew versus Gentile and worker versus veteran. This is the only answer to the threat of fascism.

Big Business Press Would Give

Free Speech for American Hitlers

By BEN HALL

DETROIT—If you own a newspaper and want to learn how to help fascism, take your tip from the Detroit newspapers.

The press here rose in indignation after the anti-fascist picket line thrown around the public meeting called by Gerald L. K. Smith. But their ire is directed not against Smith and not against the police who brutally clubbed several CIO pickets, but against the pickets themselves!

Briggs Local 212 carried the slogan, "Drive the Fascist Rev. L. K. Smith out of Detroit." The Detroit News editorializes against this slogan as follows:

"Those who deny freedom to others run a grave risk of losing freedom for themselves and for all of us."

Smith's right of free speech must be upheld, the News declares, and adds: "The police were not merely justified but duty bound in their use of force to oppose the forcible efforts of pickets to prevent the Smith meeting from being held."

Remember... the News and other papers like it have been denouncing the German people for "permitting" Hitler to

come to power! If we follow the advice of the News we will permit fascists to come to power in this country. Hitler's rise to power in Germany was facilitated by capitalist newspapers just like the Detroit News here. Like the News, these papers misled the German people, taught the people to remain defenseless against the Brown Shirts and denounced attacks on the Nazis.

FOR WORKERS' DEFENSE GUARDS

Why did the union workers picket Smith? Because he stands for fascism, for anti-Semitism, for Jim Crow and for smashing the labor movement. The anti-fascist workers want to protect their own democratic rights and they want to do so NOW. They don't want to wait until the fascists get so powerful and impudent that THEY are prepared to initiate their anti-working class violence and to break up workers' meetings. In 1943, the fascists succeeded in organizing anti-Negro riots which caused many deaths. That is enough. We don't want any more of that. If we follow the advice of the News we will wait until the fascists reorganize and are ready to renew their violent attacks.

The pickets must not use force, says the News. But the police MUST use force, it continues. Why? Why are the police justified in cracking the heads of the pickets in order to defend the fascists while the anti-fascists are not justified in defending themselves against the fascists?

Will the police defend the workers against fascist violence? At his mass meeting Smith said to the police in his hall: "When you see that scum outside and these citizens here in this hall, you know where your interests lie."

Smith believes that the police have more in common with the fascists than with the working people. He probably reached this conclusion during the 1943 riots when not a single fascist was shot by the police, while many Negroes were killed by them.

The News helps the fascists. It would give them time to organize and prepare. It would mislead us into abandoning our own self-defense.

The workers must not follow this advice. Instead the union movement must organize the self-defense of the working class through Workers' Defense Guards.

U. S. Workers Strike for Security--

(Continued from page 1)

The workers also know that they were unemployed before the war but that they had jobs during the past four years ONLY because the government planned war production and provided the jobs and the finances for the purposes of world destruction.

FULL PRODUCTION FOR PEACE

What the workers want to know now is, why, if all this was possible during the war years, if full employ-

a reality. The question immediately arises, "Will the present government accede to this demand?" A summary of the record will show how much labor can expect from Washington.

Throughout the war, the government of the capitalist class has safeguarded and guaranteed profits and private property and not the welfare of the working people.

More than \$47 billion were reaped by the manufacturing corporations in the course of the war.

Labor endured long hours, the no-

It is not necessary that workers eat for the system of private enterprise to function, you see, but big business must have some "incentive" in order to produce. The proposed tax schedule will guarantee that profits of industry will remain at the war-time high—an average of \$9 to \$10 billion per year!

MINIMUM WAGE:

There are still over 300,000 workers in this great land of opportunity who receive under 65 cents an hour, the current minimum wage under the Fair Labor Standards Act being 40 cents an hour, or the equivalent of \$800 a year. Yet the "maintenance budget" estimated for a family of four for the year 1945, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, is, after taxes, \$1950! Sixty-five cents would yield merely \$1300. All odds are that after the hearings take place in the Senate committee, the minimum wage proposal will be killed on the floor.

HOUSING:

Congress has done nothing on the "broad and comprehensive" postwar housing program called for by Truman. It has, however, effectively wrecked whatever OPA ceilings existed on building materials, so that any low-cost housing program will be blocked.

FULL EMPLOYMENT:

The Murray-Patman Full Employment bill was a testimony to the overwhelming pressure of the working people for a decent economic system that would give people employment

good will. It did not guarantee jobs for all. It did not provide any means, through either government planning or the necessary financial support, to make jobs for all a possibility. All it provided for, in a systematized form, was a repetition of the government spending that characterized the New Deal depression days. Now, as amended by the Senate, the Full Employment Bill is a vaster hoax than before, meaning all things to all people, except full employment for the working class. The record of Truman and Congress is unmistakable. This government, the spokesman and friend of private enterprise, will never nationalize the giant monopolies and big corporations so that production can be planned, full employment exist and plenty for all be produced.

THE LABOR PARTY

That is why LABOR ACTION advocates the formation by labor of a labor party to carry out the program of nationalization of industry and workers' control of production.

Industry has declared itself bankrupt when it refused to meet the demands of labor for a living wage. Congress has declared itself bankrupt in its inability to intervene and organize industry so that full employment can be assured.

It is labor's turn now. Labor must organize a party of its own, completely independent from the capitalist parties of big business, the Democrats and Republicans. Labor must send its own representatives to Congress and the White House, elected by labor, with a program for labor, and responsible to labor.

PLANNED ECONOMY

"Berlin was getting ready for the winter. Quickly, before the earth froze over, shovel squads were digging extra graves—for some 10,000 Berliners expected to die of hunger and cold, or to commit suicide."—Time, October 1.

ment and production were possible for the purposes of death and destruction, why can we not have full employment, high production and a living wage in a period of peace?

If industry, if private or so-called "free enterprise," cannot provide such security for the overwhelming majority of people, then let the government do what it did during the war.

Let the government plan production for peace.

Let the government keep the factories which it built during the war to produce airplanes, ships, bombs, munitions, tanks and other instruments of destruction, and operate them for the purposes of peacetime production to provide for the needs of the people.

Let the government take over the factories of the big corporations and monopolies who confess their bankruptcy, who state plainly so that everyone can understand, that they cannot guarantee jobs or a living wage to the people of the United States, and operate these plants.

Let the unions, through committees of workers, control production and plan it in accordance with the needs of the people.

Thus, the first step in the direction of the economic security and well-being of the people will have been taken.

The nationalization of big business is an indicated step if planned production with jobs for all is to become

strike pledge, high prices, the wage freeze.

Industry during the reconversion period has the government-guaranteed privilege of dipping into the \$60 billions of war taxes. The CIO has estimated that each worker would have to receive \$18,000 to equal the cushion the government has granted to industry.

Labor has not been guaranteed one red cent during its period of reconversion unemployment.

UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION:

The "25-for-26 weeks" bill—remember this \$25 promise was the maximum—has been scuttled. The Democrats in the House Ways and Means Committee permitted their poll-tax Southern wing and the reactionary Republicans who would "bull-whip" (in the expression of Rep. Knutson) the unemployed into 30-cents-an-hour jobs, to "postpone indefinitely" the Kilgore bill after it had already been gutted in the Senate.

TAXES:

After voting for hunger for the unemployed, Congress turned immediately to consideration of removing the tax burden from big business as a punitive measure against striking workers. Secretary of the Treasury Vinson's proposals, which still left a heavy burden on workers' incomes, are currently being modified so that business will benefit still more.

Brothers Under Skin, or What's in a Name?

"Eugene Reale, Italy's new Ambassador to Poland, is a recent convert to the Communist Party. He used to be a physician. He is being assisted in Warsaw by Counts Soardi and Marchori, both of whom were founding members of the Fascist Party."—Leigh White in the Chicago Daily News, September 28.

In peace time as well as in war the dissolving of depression unemployment into wartime peak employment demonstrated that the United States had the plants, the raw materials, the equipment, the skills. Everyone is asking himself, "If we can have full employment during wartime, why can't we have it during peacetime?" However, the Full Employment Bill was never more than a declaration of

Only then can labor meet the challenge of the industrial overlords and show through national ownership of the factories, mines and mills that it is possible to have peace, prosperity and plenty for all!

NATIONALIZE BIG BUSINESS WITH WORKERS' CONTROL OF PRODUCTION! FOR AN INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY NOW!

Britain Stirs Arab-Jewish Conflicts

By Jessie Kaaren

British submarines, troops and planes are being rushed to Palestine as the Labor cabinet prepares to announce the decision it has reached on the question of Jewish immigration. According to Reuter dispatches, the White Paper is to remain in force with a slight modification—the admittance of 1,500 Jewish immigrants monthly into Palestine.

This offer was privately made to the Jewish Agency for Palestine last August and was refused by them. There is a report that Chaim Weizmann, that old friend of all British governments, Tory or Labor, is about to resign as president of the Jewish Agency in protest against this new decision. The newspapers also report that President Truman's proposal to Prime Minister Attlee that 100,000 Jewish immigration certificates be issued immediately, has been turned down.

LABOR CABINET FAILS

A few months before the Labor Party took power it passed a resolution in favor of a Jewish Commonwealth and it called on the then conservative British government to fulfill certain demands which went even further than the demands of the Zionists, namely that Transjordan be returned to Palestine and that if necessary the Arabs be asked to move out of Palestine.

And so the decision of the Labor government comes as a betrayal to the conservative Zionists, labor Zionists, the labor movement of Palestine, the Jewish survivors in Europe and many other people who greeted the coming to power of the Labor Party as a hopeful omen of a solution of the Jewish problem.

Nevertheless this action of the new government is strictly in line with the policy defined by Attlee in his first speech as Prime Minister. He made it very clear that the Labor statesmen would subordinate everything to the job of hanging on to British imperialist conquest, by their teeth if need be. Election promises became a luxury which they could not afford to fulfill once they took over Churchill's job.

It is important to understand that Palestine, small as it is, occupies a tremendously important place in British imperialist calculations. "Palestine is the most important security center of the entire Middle East and the area of the Suez canal," states an English newspaper quoting a Reuter's report. "... in the future, neither Iraq nor Egypt will be an essential or secure base for British military power in the Middle East..."

One immediate consequence of this adjustment of Middle Eastern policy is that the British authorities will have strong forces in Palestine this autumn, a situation which is markedly different from any of the previous occasions when they had to deal with armed uprising or other trouble. British labor leaders would like, of course, to achieve an agreed solution between Jewish, Arab and British interests, but "the prospects of such a happy ending are not rated high."

IMPERIALISM DOMINATES

Why are the British so determined to stop further colonization of Palestine? After the first world war, they welcomed Jewish settlers and used them as an anti-Arab wedge. The answer lies in the fact that with the industrialization of Palestine and the rise of a militant working class, anti-imperialism has become such an explosive force that the Jewish proletarian movement must eventually fight for independence for its own survival. Sooner or later this movement will make a powerful alliance with the Arab proletariat.

The official excuse for sending troops, submarines and armaments is that they are needed to stop illegal immigration and to "protect" the Jews and the Arabs from one another. Actually, no large scale immigration can be organized illegally and, if anything, the British civil servants in Palestine are working overtime to fan the flames of Arab-Jewish antagonism just as they did during the 1936 riots. The Arab League is a body of top officials organized by the British for no other function than to spread anti-Semitism. "If there were no Jews in Palestine, they would have to be invented," is the common joke in the Middle East.

DEFEAT REACTIONARY POLICY

The Palestine labor movement is one of the most class conscious. If it were not for its fatal policy of exclusiveness and condescension with regard to the Arabs, it would already be in a position to call for a show-down in the Middle East. But this is not the case yet and its weakness plays into the hands of a coalition of British colonial servants and Arab feudal lords, both of whom are interested in maintaining the Arabs as a peasant class and keeping them in their present backward state.

President Truman can afford to be "noble." American imperialism rests on dollar diplomacy and not on physical control. By asking for enough certificates to settle the Jewish survivors now in the Displaced Persons camps in the American-occupied territories, he is relieving pressure for immigration to America and he is securing the friendship of 5,000,000 American Jews besides posing as a democrat. A Reuter's report states that the British have asked the United States to assume joint responsibility over Palestine and that the President has refused. America's aim is to undermine British imperialism everywhere.

There is danger that the present explosive situation may degenerate into Arab-Jewish clashes or into individual acts of terrorism committed by desperate young Jews. If, however, the Palestine labor movement manages under the pressure of an extreme situation to break the stranglehold which the conservative Zionist leadership exerts over it, and comes out openly for Arab-Jewish unity in the common struggle for independence from the British, they have a grand opportunity of winning the fight. They would then have a weapon against the British more powerful than tanks, aeroplanes or bombs. In a struggle for independence against British imperialism, they would get the support of the international working class.

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