

**WORKERS PARTY BACKS GI'S DEMAND TO BRING TROOPS HOME. SEE PAGE THREE AD ON MASS PROTEST MEETING**

# LABOR ACTION

JANUARY 14, 1946

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

ONE CENT

# STEEL, PACKERS, UE, FE SET TO GO! UNIFY THE STRUGGLE!

## Chicago Steel Workers Prepare

By R. L. FERGUSON

CHICAGO, Jan. 6—"This is not going to be just another 1919 or 1937 steel strike" is the mood today of the 1,000 delegates of District 31, United Steelworkers of America, CIO, who jammed into their final pre-strike rally at the Hotel Morrison here. From the speeches of their leaders, this meeting of workers' representatives indicated that the 1946 steel strike is thoroughly prepared, in the technical sense, and that the response of the union masses in the important immediate Chicago area will be overwhelming. This mood of confidence is in sharp contrast to that of 1937, with its bitter memories of the massacre of union men.

Main spokesman at the strike rally was Joe Germano, District 31 director, who traced the history of the wage negotiations for a \$2.00-a-day increase back to December, 1943. Covering up his own and his fellow bureaucrats' role of refusing to strike during the war, Germano showed what a long "cooling-off period" the steel workers have been subjected to. In fact, they have been "frozen out" since the steel corporations refused to even consider a wage increase without a price increase.

On this last point Germano dodged any discussion of the relationship of wage increase to price increase, in accordance with the national policy of Phil Murray's leadership of the steelworkers. He stated, "If the steel companies can convince the government to give them a price increase, that is their own business." In other words, the leadership of this union of 700,000 workers considers that the union movement should not take a definite stand against inflationary price increases, which in the long run, tend to nullify the gains that labor obtains through pay increases.

### LEADERSHIP'S POLICY

Experienced political observers in the labor movement believe that this attitude of Murray-Germano of "leaving the door open" for the companies to get price "relief" from the government is the tip-off as to how the strike's course will run. It is believed that Murray feels that a "token" strike of brief duration will save his own face, obtain something approximating the \$2 a day demand and also permit the government to grant the steel barons their increased prices. Perhaps these considerations explain the supreme air of confidence that the leadership asserted at this pre-strike meeting. They understand that

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## Stamford's Example of Labor Unity

By SID ROBERTS

STAMFORD, Conn. — Making American labor history and showing what the united ranks of labor can do, the combined CIO-AFL membership of this city participated in a general strike and city-wide demonstration on Thursday, January 3, to protest against the strike-breaking tactics of the state police and to force Yale & Towne to resume collective bargaining. (It's instructive to note that the state police had to be called in because the local authorities and city police refused to take action against the strikers. Aside from the fact that most of the cops and municipal officials, including the mayor, had at one time worked for Yale & Towne and therefore might have been sympathetic to the workers' struggle, one may be pretty sure that life would have been very unpleasant for them now and in the future if they had sided with the company.)

As a direct result of labor action, the company officials have agreed to resume collective bargaining, but it is a bit premature to say whether or not the company's hitherto stubborn attitude towards the union's demands has changed. However, it is not too soon to calculate the results of the

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## The Picket Captain



## GI's in Philippines Protest New Demobilization Delays

By JACK WILSON

The first serious and organized political opposition to the present world policies of the Truman Administration from within the ranks of the Army came with dramatic and violent suddenness in the GI demonstrations in Manila and throughout the world.

In demanding their return home and their non-interference in Philippine politics, the 20,000 GI's who held a series of protest meetings in the islands raised a series of political questions which are causing consternation in Washington.

The language the GI's used was expressive of the new kind of thinking that is going on in the Army. They didn't get up and just gripe. They spoke about the imperialist character of the United States foreign policies. Some talked about being used as pawns. Others warned against conscription. It was just the kind of I&E (information and education) program that the brass hats never wanted the soldiers to hold.

The cables and letters of thousands of other GI's stationed everywhere confirmed the seriousness of this situation.

This crisis reached a peak when the War Department announced a

drastic revision in the demobilization schedule which would force veterans to remain overseas for a long period. The brass hats calmly announced they were cutting the rate of discharge from 1,000,000 men a month to less than 300,000, thus assuring that at least 1,500,000 soldiers would still be stuck overseas next summer!

"Our overseas forces would be dangerously under strength in occupying hostile countries if all eligible men were to be returned," the brass hats said, in trying to explain their broken promises to the combat veterans. In a radio broadcast, Drew Pear-

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By DAVID COOLIDGE

Millions of industrial workers in the United States are on the mark, set and ready for militant mass action, as a class, against the capitalist ruling class.

Labor in the automobile, steel, electrical, textile, meat packing and farm equipment industries awaits the call of its elected leadership to form the picket lines and begin the too-long-delayed struggle against their capitalist exploiters and oppressors.

These CIO millions have spoken in the clearest possible manner to the leaders of their Internationals and to the top leadership of the CIO. In every one of the Internationals mentioned they have voted, by overwhelming majorities, to strike, to mass their numbers against the tremendous economic, social and political power of the employers.

Outside the CIO there are thousands of workers on strike from other labor organizations. The grievances of labor in the CIO, AFL, UMWA, railway brotherhoods and the non-affiliated unions are basically identical. All the legions of labor are demanding a living wage, the guarantee of economic security, a permanent job, the opportunity to live and develop as human beings.

The working class now knows more than formerly. We know that it is not enough to be concerned with wages alone and in a narrow way. We know now that wages are inextricably related to production, profits, dividends and prices and that therefore wages cannot be separated from or negotiated without taking production, profits and prices into consideration.

This is why the demand of the UAW that the General Motors Corporation open its books to union inspection represents a correct beginning in the matter of dealing with wages in the present concrete situation. That is why GM rushed into the capitalist press screeching about a "finger in the pie." That is why Ford demands "company security." That is why Kaiser proposes his bonus (incentive pay) fakery. This is also the reason why President Truman intervenes in the conflict with his "fact-finding" boards.

Who doesn't know the facts? Truman? The employers? Congress? The CIO? The working class? Everybody who knows anything knows the facts, for they are clear. Before the beginning of the Second Imperialist World War the working class was in the breadlines for ten years. The capitalists had demonstrated that capitalism was bankrupt in the sense that this decayed and rotten system could no longer feed, house and clothe decently the masses of the people. The masses were fed in soup lines, housed in the streets and "Hoover-villes" and clothed in rags. When the war came the masses were herded into the tank, airplane and atomic bomb factories to manufacture the instruments of imperialist devastation.

At the company plant at 395 Hudson Street, there were about fifteen pickets at the main entrance, with at least that many police stationed up and down the block. A mass picket was planned for 4 that afternoon, since the supervisory and maintenance scabs then in the building were to come out after that time.

Across the street on a corner were thirty or forty men, members of the Association of Communications Equipment Workers, an affiliated union. These men worked as installers in the plant and were awaiting a strike call from their union, which is expected Wednesday. Meanwhile they

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# A "Look at the Books" Or a "Finger in the Pie" ? The Answer Is Both!

The question is General Motors'. The answer is ours.

Labor has had enough of "pie in the sky." A finger in every pie is precisely what is labor's right today, not in the hereafter!

And as socialists we will go unabashedly further: labor should want more than a finger and more than a hand in what GM calls "the pie." Labor should have the whole works!

What is the situation? We, labor, produce the pie. They, the bosses, eat it. But they have no right to any part of it whatsoever.

Today the auto workers are demanding only a finger in the pie. Good, we stand with them wholeheartedly, unreservedly. But we add that the whole pie rightfully belongs to us, and we can get it today if we employ the political and economic power that is ours.

We don't know whom GM intended to scare with its full-page ads in all the newspapers. It couldn't be labor; certainly not the auto workers, who have made no bones about their position. Perhaps the stockholders and coupon-clippers who are glutted with "pie."

There is no mystery about the auto workers' demands. And there is equally no doubt that these demands represent a progressive development in trade union policy of utmost significance.

"Which is the UAW-CIO really after?" asks GM. "Is it seeking facts—or new economic power? Does it want to know things—or run things?"

The answer in each case is the same as for the first question. The UAW is seeking all the facts pertaining to wages, prices and profits. It wants to see the books. And, it is true, this demand does mean "new economic power" for labor. New in the sense that this is the first time that a powerful union in a basic industry has invaded the privacy of monopolistic enterprise—new, but necessary!

The auto workers want to KNOW things precisely so that they can have a hand in RUNNING things. They legitimately and magnificently have demanded that they have a voice in deciding what wage the corporation is able to pay, what prices and profits shall be.

Should they win, they will have gained a "new economic power"—a power that will spread through organized action to other industries and corpora-

tions. They will have advanced the American labor movement to a new height that will inevitably be followed by further advances.

### IT IS AS SIMPLE AS THAT

GM is therefore completely right when it says in its ad: "These questions concern you as well as General Motors." Absolutely!

If you are a worker, a small farmer, or any one of that greatest mass of people whose interests are best served by labor's struggle, you are most positively concerned with backing the GM strikers to victory.

If you are a profiteer, a monopolist, a capitalist politician, a newspaper editor or any one of that tiny handful of people whose interests are best served by capitalist enterprise, then you are most positively concerned with trying to break the GM strike.

It's really as simple as that. It's one class against another—workers against bosses. The difference, however, between them is this: workers actually produce, while bosses pocket the profits of that production.

More than that, the interests of the working class coincide with the interests of society as a whole. The interests of the boss class coincide only with the interests of a puny minority who live a parasitic existence on society. Witness the GM strike. Is it GM or the UAW which protects the interests of the consumer for lower prices? The answer is known.

There is much "virtue" and equal hypocrisy in the GM line. The full facts are published yearly, says GM. All the figures are thoroughly checked by expert auditors. Why then object so strenuously to the union demand? Why are they so afraid that the auto workers will discover facts in the books that the GM employed auditors don't reveal?

The auto workers have marshalled all the facts that justify their position for a 30 per cent wage increase. The only way GM can dispute these facts is to open the books to the workers!

### THERE IS MORE INVOLVED

But, of course, there is more involved than the

facts. Obviously a principle is involved. That is what gives the strike its exceptional merit.

If there is a weakness in other strike struggles that are either in progress or preparation, it is because these other unions have not adopted the principle of the auto strikers. "Open the Books!" ought to be a slogan in every strike. With millions of workers in major unions standing behind that demand, fighting unitedly, planning their strategy, the principle would be won.

We have a special obligation to stand behind the GM workers, just as we have an obligation to every worker to stand with him in his struggle for a better life. The union cannot afford expensive advertisements, as can GM. We must use every facility we have—our unions, our papers, our discussions—to line up 100 per cent solidarity with the GM strikers.

Note how the "liberals" in the capitalist press have back-tracked on the UAW strike. The union was so overwhelmingly in the right that it got a

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NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Unite the Struggle of All Labor --

(Continued from page 1) tion and barbarism. This was the capitalist solution to the unemployment crisis.

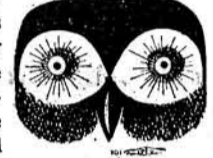
The Facts:

When Germany had been reduced to rubble and the atomic bomb had conquered Japan, the imperialists began to close their factories again, pocketed their billions in blood profits and threw the workers into the streets. These are the facts, Mr. Truman, and no fact-finding boards are needed to discover them.

What are some other facts that do

Open 'Em Up!

"This week Miss Ethel du Pont wrote Lloyd K. Garrison, chairman of the President's fact-finding board in the GM wage dispute, that she has received more than 1,000 letters and telegrams from GM stockholders backing her demand that differences with employees be arbitrated and that the concern open its books for inspection of costs and profits."—Labor, January 5.



said that they would not pay, but suggested that they might consent to a little increase if they could be guaranteed "protection" by the unions. When GM was confronted by the demand of the UAW that the union have a look at General Motors' accounting system, the whole pack of the capitalist employers yelped in unison that it was not really a question of wages or the ability to pay, but WHO IS TO BE MASTER IN THE HOUSE? Who is to have a "finger in the pie"?

The capitalist employers are correct. This is the main question today: WHO IS TO BE MASTER IN THE HOUSE? Who is to run the country? Who is to run industry and the government? Who is to control production? Which class? What kind of government shall we have and in whose interest shall the government operate? Shall industry continue to be privately owned and run by those who say that they cannot or will not pay decent wages? Shall the government continue to be composed of those who represent the exploiters and oppressors of the masses?

Capitalists Have General Staff

The capitalist employers have their general staff, their NAM, their Chamber of Commerce, their Republican and Democratic Parties. They have their general staff to plan, organize and lead them. The general staff of the capitalist ruling class operates and functions in every phase and aspect of the life of the capitalist ruling class. It functions today as millions of workers prepare to form their ranks on the picket lines. The capitalist employers will have their strike council to coordinate their strike-breaking activities. They will not function as individuals or as separate units of industry. The steel, automobile, farm equipment, electrical, meat packing and textile industries will not go it each for itself. They will be together: one class protecting its class interests.

We said above that labor is ready for militant mass action. But to carry through effectively in the present situation it is necessary that the efforts of labor be coordinated and unified. Big and decisive unions of the CIO are involved in this strike situation. The GM strike is the spearhead. Tomorrow when the steel

workers go out they will play a most important part in the action because of the basic importance of steel in the production of other commodities. Proper organization and coordination of the activities of the various CIO internationals will bring all of the UAW, including Ford and Chrysler, into action. Philip Murray knows this and he trembles at the prospect of



MURRAY—SOMEWHAT TIMID

being forced to the head of a nationwide militant action of the CIO as a whole. While millions of workers strain at the leash Murray and his lieutenants pale at the sight and scheme to apply the brakes.

Labor Needs General Staff

We say coordinate the projected strike actions of the several CIO internationals. Every worker in every international, local and shop should demand this. Let there be a National Strike Council, democratically elected by the locals in all the internationals involved. This would be a CIO National Strike Council authorized to coordinate the actions of the striking internationals, to plan and lead the strike, to adopt the slogans and formulate the demands of the workers.

The National Strike Council might well adopt the slogan: "OPEN THE BOOKS!" Let us see all the books—

U. S. Steel, Jones & Laughlin, National Steel, Republic Steel, Youngstown Sheet & Tube, Westinghouse and General Electric.

The Workers Party takes this position because this is no ordinary situation. This is not mere bargaining for wages. The working class is at a higher level of understanding today than ever before in its history in the U. S. The fight of labor and its demands have gone beyond the pure and simple trade unionism of the past. The main problems of labor today cannot be solved by pure and simple trade union action. The strikes themselves cannot be confined to old-fashioned wage demands, as Murray wants to do. The UAW in its demand to see the books of GM, demonstrates at least an elementary understanding of the problem.

For a Workers' Government.

The demand for "Open the Books" is itself a part of the demand for workers' control of industry. We must see the books and examine them. Is this a mere trade union demand in the old sense? Of course not! The capitalist employers and their press are correct when they point this out. We are correct also when we make this demand.

To demand that the books be opened, that big industry be nationalized under workers' control is a political demand, a demand for political power. Furthermore, the mass militancy of the working class today is a political struggle in its most elementary form. It cannot be confined to the old-fashioned trade union procedure.

To have political power a class must have its own government. For labor this means a WORKERS' GOVERNMENT. For the capitalist ruling class it means also its own government, the present government at Washington.

In the present strike situation the working class must have its general staff. Its general staff for the present strike situation: the GENERAL STRIKE COUNCIL elected by the locals in the striking internationals. We must have our over-all political general staff: a national political party of workers and based on the trade unions, a mass Labor Party freed from all connections with and control by the capitalist Republican and Democratic Parties.

LEFT JABS By SHAW

The Ecuadorian delegate, arguing before the UNO Preparatory Commission for San Francisco as the home of the UNO, declared: "San Francisco is a city of wine, and where there is wine there is civilization, culture and the spirit of enthusiasm which we need."

If you're bothered with war-guilt And things come to a pretty pass, Just call the nearest waiter. And have him fill your glass. To solve that weighty problem Of control of the Rhine, Douse yourself liberally With San Francisco wine.

WITH-THE-WEIGHTY-THINKERS DEPARTMENT

Leonard Lyons reports that Admiral Halsey, in speaking of the atom bomb, conceded that it did one good thing: "It meant 100,000 dead Japs we'll never have to worry about." As somebody remarked, Halsey's foot and mouth seem to have a dreadful affinity.

WITH THE LIBERATORS

Max Fechner, chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, was stopped by American MPs and brusquely asked why he was speeding. He claimed that he had been driving at a moder-

ate pace. "Shut your trap, you swine!" shouted the American sergeant and punched him in the face.

Yessir, we'll learn them guys "democracy" if we have to punch it into them!

Last week in London a committee of the UNO was discussing a proposal which would permit African natives to elect spokesmen to appear before UNO. The imperial delegate from South Africa cried: "To invite natives to get up on platforms and express their wishes would result in chaos in Africa."

Why, they might even ask for independence!

The president of the Imperial University at Tokyo predicted last week that Emperor Hirohito, the living God and Archpriest of Shin-tō will soon embrace Christianity. Hirohito must have been reading that remark of Napoleon's: "God is on the side of the most numerous battalions."

A thousand British fascists celebrated their release from wartime imprisonment at a so-called "reunion" dance a fortnight ago in

London's Royal Hotel. The British working class should have been there in force to give them a real Christmas present the way the American working class has been demonstrating at meetings of one of this country's Hitlers, Gerald L. K. Smith. There are some people who claim that there's no sense trying to reason with fascists. They're wrong. Those scum can understand a broken head as well as the next man.

The New Yorker magazine reports that one of its correspondents, a convict in Sing Sing, has spent two years adding up the total dead in all wars to date and finds that it adds up to 1,450,678,000. No comment.

In opposing a recommendation by the director of the Canadian National Committee for Mental Hygiene for the sterilization of physically attractive moron girls before their release from institutions for the mentally ill, the Roman Catholic churches cited Pope Pius XI: "Public magistrates have no direct power over the bodies of their subjects." Except, of course, to clap them into jail.

Strike Wave Hits Chicago

CHICAGO, Jan. 7.—Within two weeks 125,000 Chicago area workers will be holding their picket lines against some of the mightiest of the nation's corporations if present union plans materialize as scheduled. The battle lines are already drawn, with the unions standing firmly in their insistence that they will not be cheated out of badly needed thirty per cent pay increases.

Tens of thousands of the 200,000 workers in the meat packing industry organized into the United Packinghouse Workers Union, CIO, will strike in the famous Chicago stock yards for a twenty-five cents per hour wage increase on January 16. The packinghouse workers are among the lowest paid of all industrial wage workers. They received no general wage raise during the war and have already rejected the miserable 7 1/2-cent wage "boost" offered by two of the industry's Big Four packers, Swift and Armour. Strike plans are well under way, with organized community support for the strike very much in evidence.

Fifteen thousand workers of the International Harvester Company here will strike on January 21 for a thirty per cent increase to compensate for lost take-home pay. Organized 30,000 strong nationally in the Farm Equipment Workers Union, CIO, the Harvester workers have set their strike deadline later, apparently

in line with some unknown strategy evolved in Washington with Philip Murray.

Seventy-five thousand steel workers in the Chicago-Calumet area, second largest steel producing area in the country, leave their jobs at midnight January 13, picket action having been planned weeks in advance.

STRIKE-BREAKING POLICE

Delegations of labor leaders have been visiting Chicago Mayor Kelly's office with regularity in the past few weeks in protest against the city police activity as strike-breakers in the UE-CIO strike against two small gear producing shops. But their protests against such scab-herding have gone unheeded, for today the cops arrested thirty-four more pickets after having broken the picket line last week also. The total of arrests in these small strikes in the past ten days has now reached eighty-one workers, indicating the ferocity with which the city authorities are trying to stamp out the mass picketing technique where they can, now, in small isolated places, to get in practice for

future attempts against the larger unions.

The air is filled with talk here of how the government intends to settle the packinghouse crisis, since a shutdown of the yards would in several days have a nation-wide effect. During the Christmas shopping season the UPWA distributed leaflets to shoppers in the Loop business section, indicating their economic plight and proving how consumers generally should blame the profit-bloated monopolies, such as Swift, Armour, Wilson and Cudahy, for any future meat shortages. These corporations have grown fat on wartime governmental subsidies; the union has denounced any possible attempt by them to reduce prices to the farmers. At the same time, like the steel union, it has not come out in clear-cut fashion against any price increase being granted by OPA.

One possibility for settlement is being mentioned in that the union has recently accepted a 17 1/2-cent increase from the Hormel Co., which in turn expects to demand "price relief" from the government. In the end, the consuming public, made up largely of workers, would bear the burden of such a settlement, since at present the unions have no voice in Congress which can prevent OPA from granting price increases to the packers.

New York Western Electric Strike --

(Continued from page 1) respected the picket lines and lent what moral support they could.

POLICE-SCAB COLLUSION

At 3:45 a howl went up from the pickets and the installers across the street, for the scabs were coming out ahead of time. "They sure pulled a fast one," muttered the men as over a hundred scabs poured from the plant door. George Renaldi, union delegate at 395 Hudson, stated, concerning this "fast one":

"I can definitely prove that the police are working hand-in-hand with the company—they go in for sandwiches and coffee. We have photographs to prove it." (I noticed several men with camera equipment standing near.)

"We made arrangements with Mr. Maguire [Edward Maguire, labor adviser to Mayor O'Dwyer] to hold a mass picket at four o'clock. They told the company about it and they had management employees out before four, when the usual time is from 4:30 on."

Concerning the strike, Mr. Renaldi said: "Our argument with the company is—we don't want 30 per cent now and then forget about it. We want it open, so at any future time that the average living cost rises, we can reopen wage bargaining."

Speaking of the company, Mr. Renaldi said that "They are looking for trouble." He described an incident in which the company sent someone to talk to the pickets on the south side of the building. While they were talking, water was thrown

down on the pickets from the plant windows.

When questioned about the NLRB statement that the WEEA was company-dominated and its recommendation that the union be dissolved, Mr. Renaldi stated: "We are resentful because we are just as progressive if not more so than other unions. We hold elections every year and the officials are all short service people. We are trying to make a good union, and we can prove that we are not company-dominated."

Mr. Renaldi's prediction was optimistic. "Our plan is to carry on till we win our demand. We feel that with the general support of the telephone workers, we should be able to win out very soon."

ON FACT-FINDING BOARDS

A picket at the plant at 529 West 42nd Street also questioned the fact-finding boards with their authority to open company and union books. "What good is it? No one will do it. General Motors isn't listening to Truman and I don't think anyone else will, either."

A picket who had worked for WE for four years was in favor of fact-finding. "I think it's a good idea. Neither management nor unions should have anything to hide."

There was unanimous agreement as to the justice of the wage demand of 30 per cent, although one picket said: "We're not demanding enough." He confirmed the statement made by Willard Bliss of the United Electrical Workers in a letter to C. G. Stoll, president of Western Electric, that

workers in that company were underpaid from twenty to forty cents an hour compared to the industry average. This brother added: "I don't believe that any company should be allowed to make tremendous profits and then refuse to give its employees a raise."

A union delegate answered Stoll's remark that the company offer of a 15 per cent increase would raise the wartime average pay of \$53.56 to an average wage of \$56.16: "Stoll is a liar! Our wages vary for we have different job rates. They run from \$32 to \$41."

PICKET SKIRMISHES

At the company plant at 529 West 42nd Street, five pickets marched with signs reading: "On Strike. Hold That Line. Management Goons Are Attempting to Break the Lines. Don't Pass the Pickets." Earlier in the day, I was told, six pickets had been arrested in a scuffle with three

supervisors and held by the police for half an hour before being released with court summons on charges of disorderly conduct.

Bill Cooper, Robert McCloskey's alternate, and delegate to the 42nd Street plant, gave a first-hand account of the skirmish there on Saturday. "One supervisor went to go through the door. One of the pickets stopped him, and gave him a little tap. Two supervisors came up, were about to approach the door. The second supervisor was about to go through the door. He got tapped!"

The Western Electric workers have taken the first step in the defense and improvement of their condition. When they learn that the government and its police are not impartial arbiters, but agents of the corporations, including Western Electric, which they are now fighting, they will be ready to move their struggle to a higher and more effective plane, that of political action.

Whose "Pie" Is It?--

(Continued from page 1)

"good press" when the strike first broke. Its position for open hearings, its unassailable facts, its logic, made it impossible for the more liberal sections of the capitalist press to deny the justice of the union's cause.

The strike, however, has lengthened to a long and determined struggle. GM, and all of the big corporations, have put the squeeze on. The issue of principle has become clearer. And the liberals shy away.

The liberals' reaction is the same as GM's underlined indignation: "If the union can do this in the case of General Motors, it can do it to every business in this land of ours." Again, the corporation has hit the nail on the head and we would be the last to deny it. Most assuredly, if the UAW can do it, other unions can.

FOR A WORKERS' SOCIETY

But how hypocritical are these monopolists! GM is worried about the "monopolistic power" of the unions! If it were honest, this giant monopoly would admit that it is really concerned with preserving ITS monopoly. If GM were honest it would say that it is fighting democratization of production.

So long as a handful of blood-suckers own and control industry so that they can hog the whole pie produced by labor, we will have monopoly. We will have democracy in production only when industry is nationalized and production controlled by the

men and women who actually do the work.

They ask, these propagandists of capitalism, what will happen if the high wages won this year cannot be sustained the next, if a less efficient auto monopoly, cannot pay the same as the more efficient General Motors. The very question they ask, indicates the questioners—whether they be paid GM publicists, or liberal thinkers such as Dorothy Thompson.

If these monopolists confess themselves so bankrupt that they cannot guarantee a decent living standard, that they can promise a "reasonable" wage level only in extraordinary times, then it is time, high time, that they be swept out.

If they cannot guarantee security, and they admit they cannot, there is only one conclusion: take industry out of their hands! Nationalize the plants under workers' control! That way, THE MILLIONS will enjoy the pie of production, not a bloated handful.

We have no qualms of conscience in giving that answer. Not by a long shot! For it's the only answer. We stand as worker against boss. As plainly and as simply as that! There is no compromising of interests here. There can't be. The interests of worker and boss are inimical to each other. We are socialists! We want a workers' government, a workers' society—a society in which production is operated for the benefit of EVERYONE.

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Steel Meeting --

(Continued from page 1)

a nationwide steel strike will materially affect the major part of all industrial production in the country within ten days and that the government will have to move in some direction quickly—probably in the line of least resistance, which will be to grant price increases.

Germano obtained his greatest applause when he announced that the USA (CIO) rejected all physical strike-breaking measures of any city, county, state or federal police agencies. According to the list of 25 strike instructions read, which, previously have been adopted as national policy by all the local unions, practically all contingencies arising from a peaceful strike have been covered, so that the membership and local leadership knows what is expected of them and how to go about almost every detail. As one speaker put it, "We're not interested in just making a demonstration, we're interested in a successful strike." It is expected that picket lines will be small in size, maintained principally "as a

symbol," conducted on a 3-shift-a-day basis. No attempt will be made to keep out office workers.

Since there was no discussion from the floor the ideas of the rank and file could not be ascertained accurately. However, whenever a spokesman of the leadership laced into Truman even mildly, it found an immediate response from the audience. Germano showed how Truman was in full possession of all information on the steel case, and that no new facts could be obtained; he indicated Truman has consciously buried his own committee's report, which showed that all American industry was fully able to pay a general 24% wage increase without price increases. The meeting passed resolutions of solidarity with the auto, electrical, packing house and farm equipment workers unions who are now on strike or about to be. It condemned Truman's fact-finding board proposal and demanded the repeal of the excess profits tax carryback provisions, which aid industry in its current struggles with the union movement.

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

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## Editorials

### Bread-and-Butter Strikes?

According to the charges of the corporations against the major CIO unions that are currently attempting to gain a 30 per cent increase in pay, the unions have gone beyond the demand for a wage increase. Because the UAW has vigorously pushed forward the demand to "Open the Books!" and based its case on the ability-to-pay principle, the high-paid company counsels and the corporation ad-writers accuse the union of seeking greater economic power and of taking the first steps toward management of production.

The initial motivation for the strikes is a bread-and-butter one. The workers, having sacrificed during the war while the companies accumulated immense profits, are being squeezed between lowered wages and increased cost of living. It is the pressure of dire necessity which has compelled the General Motors strikers to take to the picket lines these bleak winter days and to forego all remuneration, with the resulting privations for their families, in order to gain greater security through higher wages.

But workers have always organized, struck and picketed for wage increases. This strike is different. It is different because, in the face of company refusal to grant a decent wage increase, the unions have been forced to demand that the companies open their books and reveal their secrets of management, including their ability to pay. They are seeking greater economic power. They are taking the first steps toward workers' control of production.

Just as labor on its side is fighting for more than bread-and-butter in demanding no price increases as a result of wage increases and the opening of the books, the corporations are fighting a broader struggle in their own behalf. This was evidenced in the ad of the "Society of Sentinels," headed by DuBrul of the GM hierarchy, which demands an end to the Wagner Act, the Wage-Hour act, the Social Security act, the Price Control act, etc.—an end to practically every progressive piece of social legislation on the books!

#### IS THE ABILITY-TO-PAY PRINCIPLE HARMFUL TO LABOR?

The arguments against basing wage increases on the ability of the corporations to pay, offered by the corporations and a few befuddled liberals like Dorothy Thompson, boil down to: (1) small businesses that don't have the ability-to-pay would be driven out of business, and hence monopoly would be bolstered, and (2) the unions themselves don't really subscribe to this principle, because it would mean that wages would go down in a lean year.

But the ruin of small business is the result of the general tendency of capitalism: it is continually reduced because it cannot profitably compete with larger busi-

### GM's Hired Professor

The daily press and magazines of this country are a big business. They are profiteers in the same way as any industrial or financial enterprise. Small wonder then that in every important labor dispute they take the side of the monopoly corporations, picturing them as poor, defenseless businesses which are at the mercy of the labor movement. Every unionist knows instinctively that in his struggle against the boss he must always fight against the lies and misrepresentations of the press. He may not always know the direct connections between big business and the press but he knows their true relationship.

A case in point is the article "Where Do Wages Come From?" by Peter F. Drucker, which was published in the Saturday Evening Post last November. Mr. Drucker is an author of books on economic subjects as well as a professor of econom-

ness. The federal government aided this process of decline all through the war by giving its most juicy contracts to large enterprise. Labor's answer to this complaint, however, is that if a business cannot pay a living wage to its workers it should not be in business.

It is true that the fat years of the war for big business will be followed by somewhat leaner years. Labor must then add to the ability-to-pay idea, that if big business cannot guarantee employment and a living wage, then labor, which is interested only in full employment and security for all, must take over the control of production. It must set up a workers government in Washington which, instead of guaranteeing the profits of the corporations as the present capitalist government does, will guarantee security, full employment and plenty for all!

#### NO RETREAT ON OPENING THE BOOKS AND NO PRICE INCREASES!

Because this is the logic of labor's struggle for a living wage, it must not give up either of its cardinal demands: *open the books and no price increases!* There is plenty of indication that this will be done. Of foremost significance is the Kaiser-Fraser agreement with the UAW, which attains approximately the 30 per cent demand through the infamous anti-labor device of an incentive system.

Of even more significance is the rumored deal in the steel industry, for, as steel goes, so goes the union movement. Here it looks as though a wage increase has been traded for a price increase, which will not be limited to steel, one can be sure, but because of the basic character of this industry, will spread a wildfire of inflationary price increases throughout the entire economy.

It is asserted that Philip Murray is all too willing to make such a settlement because he fears the union demands have backed the companies against a wall, and that they must be allowed to "save face." If the union backs down on its demand to hold prices, it will not be a "face-saving" gesture towards the corporations, but a profit-saving one.

Just as all the corporations are united in their opposition to wage increases, inspection of the books and their demand for breaking price ceilings, they will uniformly back the steel demand for price "relief." A weak agreement in steel, like the weak agreement with Kaiser-Fraser, will stave in the magnificent front of solidarity of the auto workers.

That is why a greater unity of command is indicated by the various CIO internationals, and the AFL as well. The fight of one union is the fight of all. There should be a united strategy committee to coordinate the demands and strikes of all the international unions.

ics at Bennington College. The gist of Drucker's article is that it is impossible for industry to raise wages even five per cent now because that would signify the end of profits for industry. He supplied elaborate figures to prove this untenable position.

One might reply that this cannot be true; that industry made profits of \$25 billions in 1944 and that if it raised wages by thirty per cent it would still have profits of \$5 billions, which is almost as great as its profits before the war. But that is a little beside the point in the case of the professor. It was later disclosed that this same Mr. Drucker was an employee of General Motors. In writing his article on wages he obviously misrepresented the profit situation in order to come to the defense of a giant corporation whose servant he is.

# IRAN: VICTIM OF IMPERIALISM

By HARRIET FALLON

(Since this article was written the movement in North Iran inspired and directed by Stalinists and protected by the Russian army set up an autonomous régime. The Teheran government threatens action against it but is helpless in the face of Russian determination to keep the new Azerbaijanian régime in power.)

A duplicate of the imperialist tug-of-war taking place in China today is being re-enacted in miniature in the state of Iran. Although Iran has received nominal independence and was reassured of its "territorial integrity" by the tongue-in-cheek Teheran Declaration of 1943, Russian and American troops still occupy the country and control its internal affairs. Both of these countries were pledged by a tri-partite agreement in 1942 to withdraw their forces on or before March 2, 1946. Since the revolt in Azerbaijan Province has broken out, the U. S., with a well-timed diplomatic flourish, has suggested to Russia that both nations withdraw their troops on January 1, two months before the prescribed evacuation date. This gesture, ostensibly to prove that the U. S. will maintain a hands-off policy in the Azerbaijan separatist rebellion, is in reality a subterfuge. First, the U. S. could be reasonably sure that Russia would not withdraw her troops on either of the two dates, since the Azerbaijan revolt is Russian inspired, financed and controlled. Secondly, although the U. S. announced that it would evacuate Iran in January, 2,000 troops have just been sent to Iran to "bring the American garrison up to required strength."

Foreign Commissar Molotov, when confronted with angry Iranian reports on Russian activities in Azerbaijan, expressed great surprise, since Russia is committed to observance of Iran's "territorial integrity." Actual-

ly, the existence of Russian troops in northern Iran and their creation of the Azerbaijan revolt is part of a definite plan. An Azerbaijanian state, controlled by Russia, is an open sesame to Russian exploitation of the rich oil resources of Iran proper and adjoining states. Additionally, such a state would serve to frustrate American ambitions for pre-empting the oil supply, plus the desire for air bases in Iran (for which air bases the U. S. is currently negotiating with the Iranian government)—as strategic ambushes in a potential war against

the Persian Gulf and the southern boundary of Russia; and Azerbaijan, the province which is demanding autonomy within the framework of the Iranian state, touches the Russian border. The Azerbaijanian party most vociferously in favor of autonomy is the Tudeh (People's Masses) Party, formerly called the Communist Party and directly affiliated with Moscow. Throughout the entire revolt, Russia has given financial assistance to all parties declaring for autonomy, has supplied Kurdish chieftains with arms, paper and presses, and has prevented official Iranian troops from moving northward to suppress the revolt.

Meanwhile, the impotent Iranian government is twisting its head off trying to flash the smile of appeasement at both imperialist powers at the same time. This, of course, provides an excellent excuse for continued occupation by Russian, American and British troops, for while Azerbaijan percolates, the imperialist troops are necessary to "maintain order." Although the U. S. has announced withdrawal plans, two U. S. military missions with thousands of soldiers are slated to remain indefinitely. While Russia is interested primarily in creating Azerbaijan as a buffer state, the U. S. and Britain are hammering their stake in the rich oil fields of southern Iran and they must have occupation troops to guarantee this stake.

We of LABOR ACTION cannot support either the Russian-controlled movement of Azerbaijan, nor the appeasement - happy Iranian government. Both groups are operating, not for improving conditions of the Iranian masses, but rather in the interests of their respective imperialist masters. It is up to the Iranian masses to scrap their puppet leaders and evolve a positive program of ACTUAL independence from foreign imperialism.



FOREIGN COMMISSAR MOLOTOV

Russia. If there are any air bases or petroleum resources to be gotten, Russia is making sure that she will be the one to get them.

Why the U. S. should send 2,000 troops to a country she will purport to evacuate in a month, and why she is maintaining "required strength" in a country ostensibly of no interest to her, is a contradiction. The contradiction unfolds itself, however, when we observe the geographical position of Iran and the struggle for supremacy between Russia and the U. S.—and, incidentally, Britain—in that area. Iran is located between

## Fourth International Notes

### FRANCE

The International Communist Party, the French section of the Fourth International, recently opened a campaign for the establishment of a fund of one million francs (about \$8,400 at the new rate of exchange).

The fund will have a twofold purpose: (1) to conduct a membership drive to extend the influence already revealed by the party in recent elections and in the acquisition of old-time members of the French Stalinist party who recently joined the French Trotskyist movement, and (2) to prepare for the election of several Trotskyists to the Constituent Assembly, the elections for which are scheduled to be held in five months.

The call for the campaign concludes with a demand for the utmost efforts from all so that "after so many years the voice of communism will once more ring from the tribune of bourgeois parliament."

### INDIA

The "Socialist Appeal," organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party, British section of the Fourth International, recently revealed that our Indian comrades, despite their having to work in illegality, and despite

the imprisonment of leading comrades, continue their revolutionary work.

"Permanent Revolution," the theoretical organ of the Indian comrades continues to appear. Other publications include the following: A 200 page book by K. Tilak titled, "From the First to the Fourth International," a brief history of the international working class movement; a hundred page pamphlet by C. R. Govindan, "The First Round of the European Socialist Revolution," a study of recent developments in Europe; and an agitational pamphlet entitled, "For an Anti-Imperialist Left Front."

In the last named pamphlet our Indian comrades call upon all anti-imperialist organizations for a united front on the following basis:

Opposition to the Gandhi "Constructive Program" for revolutionary mass struggle.

Opposition to the attempt to bring trade unions and the Kisan Sabhas (organization of the small, land-owning peasants) under capitalist control or domination.

Release of all political prisoners.  
Repeal of all repressive legislation.  
No compromise with imperialism.

—J. M. F.

## GI's In Demonstration - -

(Continued from page 1)

son, whose exposés of the brass hats have won him a wide hearing among GI's, added the information that another reason the brass hats were slowing up demobilization is because they wanted to blackmail the American people into supporting peacetime conscription.

In the Philippines, this news combined with some local developments to create a fever heat of excitement and indignation among the veterans. One division was alerted for duty after President Truman spoke of the "danger of unrest" in the Philippines.

GI's everywhere knew that the Army was beginning to lag in its own already announced program of returning soldiers home. The pouring of more men into China to intervene in China's internal political situation was a disturbing sign. The use of American marines to guard British property in China was common knowledge.

The news of American government-controlled ships transporting Dutch marines to suppress the Indonesian fight for freedom was known. The

usual Army snafu in handling demobilization aggravated the situation.

And, finally, Secretary of War Patterson aroused the ire of the Pacific veterans when he stated in an interview with the Pacific that he didn't know the details of demobilization. To be exact, he didn't know that points were frozen as of September 2. This ignorance and contempt for the real problems and concerns of the GI's added fuel to the flames of resentment.

When the series of demonstrations followed, Lieut.-Gen. Styer added his nickel's worth by saying via radio to a jeering and booing audience of GI's that the "changing international situation" caused the War Department to revise demobilization schedules.

**HOW GI'S FEEL**  
The unprecedented nature of the GI protests and their world-wide scope served to emphasize the bitterness and hatred the GI's feel for the Army and the foreign policies which make pawns of them.

Of course, the demands of the Manila demonstrators don't answer all the questions. When they ask for

their own return, and not the return of the men stuck in Japan and Germany, they are short-sighted. Those men have an equal right to come back home. The policies against which the Manila soldiers protest are carried out everywhere. There are a few thousand GI's stuck in the Persian Gulf, for example. And in India. And elsewhere. All the American troops should be withdrawn from overseas, for all of them are being used as a police force against the common people and their struggle for liberty. The Philippines are not an exception. They are the rule.

The insidious attempt of the War Department to foist conscription on the American people to build a large army and to continue the present imperialist policies must be fought as part of this struggle. There is no point in freeing some men from the grip of the Army only to penalize others.

The duty of every person is to back the demands of the GI's to get home and to continue the fight against the source of this demobilization scandal, U. S. imperialism.

## OFF LIMITS

By James M. Fenwick

### PART IV

#### THE BRUTALIZATION OF THE AMERICAN SOLDIER

The army is a reflection of the capitalist society which created it—but with this difference: that every villainess is magnified a hundredfold. For almost every civilized norm established by nineteenth and twentieth century capitalism the army substitutes a regressive opposite.

The indoctrination consciously given the soldier by the officer corps of the army, and the corrupting influence of army life itself, are responsible to a grave degree for the bad conduct of many American soldiers abroad.

Military training consists, on the one hand, of the physical hardening and technical preparation of the soldier, and on the other, of his psychological remodeling. Progressive human attitudes, carefully built up over the years by parents, teachers, and the workday world are systematically dismembered and replaced by brutal formulas designed to lower the moral consciousness to a more primitive level.

The reason for this, of course, is simple: the capitalist class and its military hired hands, the general staff and the lower ranking officers want to develop as ferocious, and hence, as effective a soldier as is possible within the limits imposed by the present stage of economic, political and social development in the United States.

#### THE HIGHEST GOOD

"Men, you're here to learn one thing, and only one thing—and that is: how to kill as many Germans and Japs as possible!" This statement is one of the first pieces of wisdom revealed to the enlisted man in training. In one form or another, it is pounded home daily. Almost all methods of achieving the death of the enemy are considered fair, down to the foulest refinements of dirty fighting such as eye gouging, kicking in the crotch, and garrotting—methods which are of little practical utility but which are useful in establishing certain thought patterns.

To justify the killing of other men an intense propaganda based upon two simple concepts of enemy guilt is tirelessly worked over. These concepts are, first, the German and Japanese initiation of the war, and secondly, the enemy atrocities. War and its accompanying atrocities, we have explained many times, are inherent in capitalism and will exist as long as capitalism exists. Of course, United States capitalism can hardly be expected to reveal this simple and devastating truth. To do so would be to undermine itself.

Nor does it. Through movies such as the "Why We Fight" series; "orientation" lectures; pamphlets like "Army Talks"; "Yank" magazine; and especially through the pages of "Stars and Stripes" (which, during the war, was an exceptionally coarse, brutal, and vicious sheet, aimed at extending the worst aspects of the personality) the guilt of the Japanese and the Germans was ceaselessly repeated. In the case of the Germans, in particular, the guilt was placed, not upon the capitalists, their fascist servants, and the German military caste, where it obviously belongs, but upon the people as a whole.

The reverse of the heaping of hatred and contempt upon the enemy was the exaltation of the American forces which took place. The standard sequence ran as follows: "Remember, men, you're in the best goddam regiment in the best goddam division in the best goddam army of the best goddam country of the world!" In airborne outfits, as in the Italian Arditi of World War I, this reactionary consciousness was exceptionally highly developed. This led to incidents, such as occurred when large numbers of the 82nd Airborne division, for instance, rioted with Negroes in England before D-Day in 1944. Complaints by foreigners against members of airborne units were especially common.

#### "YOU'RE NOT PAID TO THINK!"

Initiative, and thinking in general, are carefully discouraged in training. Generally speaking, unthinking and unquestioning obedience is the ideal sought for. Extravagant penalties are given for such dangerous breaches of discipline as having too much oil on one's rifle, failing to salute, having a button unbuttoned, etc. Penalties such as being forced to dig a six foot square and six foot deep hole, to cut the grass with a mess knife, or to scrub the barrack's floor with a toothbrush are known to all GI's.

For the capitalist, this stupid, maddening sort of discipline is the only one possible. No one, unless he could be presented with an overwhelming social ideal, would voluntarily subject himself to the danger of death, maiming or wounding; absence from home; unbearable officers; poor pay; endless waiting, waiting, waiting in lines; deadly monotony; absence of sexual pleasures; perpetual, irrational mix-ups; and hard work which compose army life.

The army was able to create a hatred of Hitlerism. But this was negative. It was never able to create in the minds of a majority of the soldiers a positive conviction in the allied cause. For the most part he was cynical. Hence the enforced, not self-imposed, character of the discipline.

#### CLOUD-CUCKOO LAND

Under these conditions a certain inversion of values takes place in the army. Though intelligent people, and persons endowed with an understanding of human values often achieve positions of responsibility, many are unwilling to make the necessary compromises with their ideals which are nearly always involved. More especially, the rigid, initiative-destroying "chain of command" creates a system where, as nowhere else in the United States, those who are stupid but obey orders, those who are sucks, those who are brutal, those who are loud-mouthed, those who are cowards, those who are able to give a quick response (whether it be right or wrong) and those who are ignorant and incompetent achieve such relative success so surely. Even good persons who become officers or non-commissioned officers are victimized by the limitations of the system.

These are the men who are the virtually absolute masters of the rank and file soldier.

It is almost inevitable that the GI, like the Roman slave who vented the whole crushing hatred of his condition on the farm implements, the cattle, his wife, and his fellow slaves, behaves as he does in Europe.

Combat added the final straw.

## BRING THE GI'S HOME NOW!

### MASS PROTEST MEETING

Speakers:

SAUL BERG—34 months overseas and in the Philippines

JAMES M. FENWICK  
ETO 1st Infantry Division

JACK WILSON—  
A.A.F.

HARRY MILTON—  
ETO 5th Infantry Division

EMANUEL GARRETT—  
ETO 368th Engineers

Chairman:

EUGENE VICTOR—  
USN Seabees, Marshall Islands

Hotel Diplomat, 108 W. 43d St., near 6th Avenue, Wed., Jan. 16, 8 P. M.

New York Workers Party Veterans Committee

# Walter Merritt: Specialist In Union-Busting

By P. Prentiss

Walter Gordon Merritt is one of the chief counsels for the General Motors Corporation in its drive to smash the UAW. Always a spokesman for "free enterprise," Merritt has for many years served the big corporations in their struggle against the workers.

Merritt got an early start in anti-labor legal practice. In 1902, after the renowned Danbury hatters' strike, Merritt sued the AFL hatters' union under the anti-trust laws and won a judgment for the company of over \$200,000 against 191 union members.

In 1934, while receiving a high salary from thirty-two shipping concerns, he fought against the teamsters' and longshoremen's unions, which were struggling at that time for a closed shop and job security. Merritt fought to establish legal company unions in opposition to provisions opposing this in the Wagner Act.

In 1936, when members of the Building Employees Union in New York City were striking for higher wages, reduction of hours and a closed shop, the Realty Advisory Board let it be known through their lawyer, Walter G. Merritt, that "they would not grant any of these demands and that a closed shop was definitely unacceptable."

Speaking that same year before a Chamber of Commerce meeting, Merritt stated that he believed "labor unions should be stable for damages for violation of contracts" and he further urged that a legal curb be put on labor unions.

### INTERVENES AGAINST MINERS, SIT-DOWNS

In March of the same year it was Merritt who came to the defense of the Anthracite Institute, which was being charged by Senator La Follette with having purchased tear and nauseating gas bombs. These bombs were to be thrown at so-called "bootleg" miners who were digging coal out of the company-owned mines and selling it themselves and using the money to supplement meager relief funds. Merritt at that time proclaimed that a "state of anarchy existed in Pennsylvania" and therefore justified the use of the bombs by the company.

Through 1936 and 1937 Merritt fought on the legal front against the sit-down strikes as "an abuse of labor's right to strike."

In 1938, when the Pennsylvania anthracite industry was charged with being a monopoly, Walter Gordon Merritt was there to deny it.

In that same year, when an injunction suit was brought by the National Electric Manufacturers Association against Local 3, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Merritt was brought up on contempt charges by the union. He was accused of having deliberately published an article containing falsifications directed against the electrical workers "which warped the minds of those who read it." The union counsel at that time, Frank P. Walsh, wrote that Walter Gordon Merritt "had done more than anyone else in the country to depress wages."

In 1941, the United Better Dress Manufacturers engaged Merritt when they wanted to take legal action against the ILGWU. In answer to the garment workers' demands, Merritt said:

"On looking over the distressing situation in which the manufacturers find themselves, I can readily understand why they have resolved on the desperate course of attempting to regain their rights by resort to the courts. The uncertainty of a legal battle is far better than the certainty of gradual disaster."

### DRAWS LEWIS' FIRE

In August of 1943, John L. Lewis warned the WLB that unless the 77,000 anthracite workers for whom he spoke were granted a wage increase so as to enable them to buy more food, there would be a "production crisis." Merritt once again was fighting on the side of the coal operators with every legal weapon at his command. It was about such as he that John L. Lewis was talking when he stated at that time: "These operators never yield anything. They always say no. They employ the best talent for spying no. They employ statisticians, researchers, lawyers and pay them large salaries to serve the corporations and ignore the human rights in the industry."

Walter Gordon Merritt has proved himself a reliable hireling for the capitalist class. A living wage or a decent life have nothing to do with his concept of "freedom." His personal case record against the working class is a long and ugly one.

### CHICAGO FORUM: "How to Fight American Fascism"

Speaker: Hal Draper

AT 188 WEST RANDOLPH STREET STUDIO D—26th FLOOR

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 16th 8:00 P. M.

ADMISSION 25c

Auspices: Workers Party, Chicago Local

### A Reminder—

TUESDAY EVENING CLASSES: The Role of the Party, 7:30-8:45; Historical Roots of Bolshevism, Part II, 7:30-8:45; History of Great Class Struggles in America, 9:00-10:15.

FRIDAY EVENING CLASSES: Elementary Marxist Economics, 7:30-8:45; Theoretical Contributions of Trotskyism, 7:30-8:45; The World Today, 9:00-10:15; Advanced Seminar in Marx's Capital, 9:00-10:15.

### STUYVESANT CASINO

142 Second Avenue New York City

### As an Answer to Strikers' Demands—

# Truman Advises Labor to "Cool Off"

By EMANUEL GARRETT

President Truman has established during his months in office a record of complete consistency. Each of his public addresses is more dramatic in expectation than in performance. Thus, each of his major declarations of policy the day after it is delivered proves to be somewhat less sensational and momentous than the day before. It would be a mistake, however, to reason that because the nation's press invariably shows itself let down once the President has spoken, that his speeches can be ignored. While less astute and less forceful than his predecessor, he is nevertheless trying to play the same game: to appear as labor's friend while strengthening the hand of Big Business. And the most recent proof is his January 3 radio appeal.

First note that according to advance publicity the radio appeal, or "fireside chat," was to be the administration's programmatic reply to the strike wave. And if you got the impression that it was not, that it was instead a denunciation of "obstructionists" in Congress, you are wrong. Basically, it is exactly that: the Administration's anti-labor program for breaking—breaking, not solving—the strike wave.

Truman's proposal was dressed up with all the adroitness at his command. That's true. It pointed the finger of accusation at those congressmen who stand in the way of various types of social legislation. It slipped General Motors for walking out of a fact-finding hearing. And it appealed to the people of the United States to make their voice heard. Very commendable, all that—and so much eye-wash.

The fact is that the nub of his contribution to the strike situation

### Our Selection of The UNO Site

"A subcommittee of the UNO arrived Saturday at La Guardia Field from London to inspect sites in the eastern United States for the peace organization's headquarters."—New York Times, January 6.

LABOR ACTION suggests that the "peace" delegates deliberate undersea in a diving bell, since experts predict that that is the safest place to be during atomic warfare.

# New York Worker's Party Convention

NEW YORK—The annual convention of the New York local, representing the largest city membership of the Workers Party, was called to order at 3:30 p.m. Saturday, January 5, and met for two days. The Saturday session was devoted to a report by Max Shachtman, national secretary of the WORKERS PARTY, which appraised the work of the party nationally during the war years, in order to furnish a perspective for the New York membership in the coming year.

Comrade Shachtman paid tribute to the strength and leadership of the New York party, which lost almost half of its membership to the armed forces and which sent many of its leading members out of New York to "colonize" in other cities.

He pointed out that the Workers Party, which has existed as an independent revolutionary socialist party for five years, has disappointed those who predicted its death within six months after its formation at the time of the split with the Socialist Workers Party. "The minority [a group inside the SWP which has proposed unity with the Workers Party—Ed.] has acknowledged that we have discharged our responsibility as a proletarian, revolutionary socialist party," Shachtman stated.

He cited the early days of the party, when it "sloughed off" middle-class elements in both the leadership and ranks which were "undesirable and unassimilable"; the drain of the draft on young comrades of the "locked-out" generation of youth; the entry of the majority of the party into the ranks of the workers and unionists who became the spearhead of militant struggles during the war and the replacement of two national committees that had been drafted, as problems which had been overcome. "With our losses," said Shachtman, "the Workers Party performed virtually a miracle, recruiting many workers from the factories."

### REARMAMENT OF PARTY

During this period also there was effected a "political and theoretical rearmament of the party." Shachtman referred to the working out of political ideas which are distinctive features of the Workers Party and distinguished contributions to the struggle for socialism. These include the analysis of Stalinist Russia as a bureaucratic collectivist economy; the progressive character of the movements of national resistance in Europe against imperialist domination, both "democratic" and totalitarian, and the struggle for national liberation; the role of China in the war as a dependent of American imperialism; the stage of development of the working class in the United States and the struggle for a Labor Party as

were not entirely without purpose. He prefers running his party and Congress HIS way, and therefore used the occasion to whip the recalcitrants and the extreme reactionaries who gum up the works by pursuing their anti-labor objectives without subtlety of sugar-coating. Do not be misled by that, nor by the enunciation of Truman that followed his speech from Republican party circles. Taft's (GOP) complaint about a PAC-CIO inspired speech merely indicates that the Republicans prefer their own, less sugar-coated method of crushing labor, and hate in any case to lose an opportunity for a little election campaigning.

In his speech Truman plaintively protested that labor had him all wrong when it resisted his proposition. But, no, labor did not and does not misunderstand his bill. For labor knows the facts, and such men and women as are on the GM picket line and other picket lines certainly know them. The facts are that wages are inadequate for life, that the corporations are bloatedly rich.

Truman knows these facts too. Not so long ago he publicly declared that industry was fully able to pay a wage increase without an increase in prices. Confronted, however, with the reality of labor's DOING something to get these necessary wage increases, Truman shifted his ground to a head-on assault on labor and its action.

How utterly clever and disgustingly false is his appeal to the "people." Says Truman "... but there are those who, when they decide to make themselves felt, are the most powerful pressure group in the world. I mean the American people—the great mass of our citizens who have no special interests, whose interests are only the interests of the nation as a whole."

With two changes of text we'll accept that. Where he speaks of "American people" we'll make it more specific: American workers and small farmers. And where it speaks of "no special interests" we'll change to read "who DO have special interests, and whose special interests ARE the interests of the nation as a whole."

Yes, the power is theirs. It is in the hands of the "people"—that great mass of workers—who in championing their own interests for a decent life promote the welfare of the great

### "Nothing's Too Good For Our Boys"

"Colleges and universities in every part of the country, faced with the greatest influx of students in their history, are turning away thousands of discharged war veterans because of insufficient housing, overcrowded classrooms and lack of instructional staff, a country-wide survey conducted by the New York Times has disclosed."—New York Times, January 6.

achievement of the program and principles. The other major report of the convention which dealt with local problems, was that of the city committee, presented by Reva Craine, New York organizer for the past three years. She presented as the major practical task of the New York party that which also confronts the working class in general, its re-employment in the major industries, where its job is "to wed our socialist theory to the struggles of the workers." She showed as a result of war activities in these fields that recruitment came almost exclusively from industrial workers.

In the discussion on this point, the membership subjected its past work and functioning, as well as that of its leading committees, to severe criticism in an effort to improve its future work.

The educational program of the New York party as proposed in the city committee report, is to center around the building of a party cadre based on the party program.

### Youth Tour

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

- January 11-27, Philadelphia, Pa. (Write to Young Labor League, 1105 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa.)
- January 28-February 4, Baltimore, Md. (Write to Youth Action, 114 West 14th Street, New York 11, N. Y.)
- February 6-20, Detroit, Mich. (Labor Action, 3773 Gratiot, Detroit.)
- February 22-March 7, Chicago, Ill. (Youth Action, 1703 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill.)
- March 8-12, Madison, Wis. (Write to Chicago address.)
- March 13-20, Chicago, Ill. (Same address.)
- March 22-25, Detroit, Mich. (Labor Action, 3773 Gratiot, Detroit.)

### Civilization Marches On!

"A destructive force more hideous, if less spectacular, than the atomic bomb was ready for use by the War Dept. when the war ended, and may well be cheaply developed by small countries, according to a formal report handed to the Secretary of War this week by George W. Merck, special consultant on biological warfare.

"Rumors that the U. S. was prepared to wipe out half of Japan's rice crop by airborne poison dusts are borne out by the announcement. Airborne disease-producing agents, mass production of micro-organisms, and studies of the effect on plant life of 1,000 chemicals were only a part of the work secretly carried on at Camp Detrick, Frederick, Md."—Business Week, Jan. 5, 1946

# Lt. Gen. Morgan: An Example of A Fascist Mind

By Stephen Parker

The problem of the handling of the European refugees, victims of Hitlerism and the recent war, constantly recurs and "embarrasses" the efforts of the Allied authorities who are dealing with the problem. A few months ago the Harrison report, which condemned the callousness and lack of humanity toward the DP's (displaced persons) of Europe, was made public. And only last week the world was treated with the spectacle of the head of all relief in Germany, the British Lieut.-Gen. Morgan, indulging in the most open anti-Semitism and borrowing from the arsenal of Hitlerism for his arguments.

Morgan's speech indicated the complete failure of Allied administrators to understand, let alone solve, the elementary problems of the victims of Hitler's terrorism.

Lieut.-Gen. Sir Frederick E. Morgan is not a minor administrative official in the European relief set-up. He is a bosom companion of Winston Churchill and his position is the key one in Europe today, that of chief of UNRRA in Germany. That the opinions that he expressed are prevalent in the mentality of the combination of ex-military men who are handling the problem can be seen by the support he has received from them after making his vicious statements.

What is the essence of Morgan's remarks and why did he make them at this time? Morgan attacked the Polish Jews because they are leaving Poland by the thousands and escaping to the American zone of occupation in Germany. They are leaving Poland because of the almost intolerable anti-Semitism that exists there.

### ANOTHER "JEWISH CONSPIRACY"

This "good General Morgan cannot understand. Perhaps General Morgan wishes them to remain in Poland? Perhaps General Morgan wishes them to stay in a land where their homes and means of making a livelihood have been taken away from them? Perhaps General Morgan prefers that they quietly tolerate persecutions and abuse and not be a bother to this great man?"

What simple conclusion does General Morgan draw from these universally known facts? He merely concludes that there is "a world-wide Jewish conspiracy" whose immediate aim is to get "300 thousand to 500 thousand Jews into the American zone." These Jews from Poland and the European Balkan countries are not really suffering at all. General Morgan knows that he himself has seen "well dressed, rosy checked Polish Jews walking in the streets of Berlin."

For people like General Morgan, truth has no purpose. Must it again be pointed out that for the Jews Europe is one vast graveyard? Must it again be pointed out that over six million Jews were slaughtered by Nazi barbarism? Must it be further pointed out that one thing Hitler did accomplish was to spread successfully the vicious doctrines of anti-Semitism? General Morgan himself is proof of that. Is there a civilized man, woman or child who does not know these facts?

Because the European Jews have demonstrated the desire to emigrate and live instead of committing suicide, Morgan has discovered a "Jewish conspiracy." What sort of language is this? This is the language of Hitler, who, until his dying day, was fighting "a world-wide Jewish conspiracy." This is the language of the infamous Protocols of Zion, this forgery which also spoke of a "world-wide plot." This is the language that appeals to the bigoted, the ignorant, the mental cretins.

### JEWIS FLEE ANTI-SEMITISM

The Jews are going to the American zone, not because they want to live there, but because they want to emigrate. General Morgan has an answer to this also, his solution to the Jewish problem.

They want to emigrate? Then, says he, "there are plenty of islands where we can dump them in the South Pacific." Where? Tarawa, General Morgan? Iwo Jima, perhaps? How about Guadalcanal? Lots of room there. It seems to make no difference to the worthy General whether or not there is an economy that can maintain up to 500 thousand immigrants. And climate? Disease? General Morgan cannot be concerned with these things.

Emigration, of course, is not the solution to the problem of Europe. Only the socialist transformation of society can accomplish that. However, there are special categories of people who are confronted with the immediate problem of how to live. The Jews are included in this category.

What is enraging General Morgan is that the hypocritical democratic pretensions of the victorious imperialist nations have been exposed by their failure to provide adequate means of refuge for the refugees. There are only a few places where they can go, and the South Pacific islands are not one of them.

### WHERE CAN THEY GO?

Palestine? Under the provisions of the White Paper of 1939, certificates for the admittance of 75 thousand Jews over a five-year period into Palestine were provided for. This was a wholly inadequate measure and thousands of Jews are dead today because of that. There are still a few casualties left, but the British have closed the doors and have refused to permit any more immigration into Palestine.

It is British imperialist policy that has done this. Together with the Arab feudal landlords, the British have been conducting a violent campaign against the Jews, as part of the struggle against Zionism. Zionism is not the issue. The democratic right of people to live wherever they wish is the only issue involved. The Arab feudalists who give oil concessions to the British are opposed to any immigration and so the British are more concerned with oil rights than the right of a people to live.

The Truman Administration a few months ago asked for the admittance of 100,000 Jews into Palestine. The British persuaded them to suspend the demand until a joint Anglo-American committee investigated the entire Palestine question. That meant a delay of four months during which nothing would be done. The 100,000 admissions into Palestine is inadequate but the British will not even assent to that.

Truman asked that 100,000 be admitted into Palestine. But what about America? For his contribution on New Year's Day he issued a declaration which made him out as a great friend of the persecuted. What he proposed was that 39,000 of the persecuted be admitted. But this is nothing more than the old immigration quota and its effects are almost imperceptible.

What is needed is the unlimited immigration of all peoples.

Open the doors to the starving people of Europe. Remove the General Morgans from the administration of relief.

Give adequate food and clothing to all the peoples of Europe.