

WE SAY—  
Labor Must Form an  
Independent Labor Party

# LABOR ACTION

WE ARE FOR—  
A Guaranteed  
Annual Wage  
For All Workers

MAY 14, 1945

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

ONE CENT

## THE WAR ENDS IN EUROPE!

### Truman Upholds Little Steel Wage

By WALTER WEISS

President Truman last week (on May 2) came out flatly in favor of the Little Steel formula.

This news, of the highest interest to millions of workers who are now being downgraded or having their hours cut, was not considered worthy of notice by most newspapers!

Truman was asked, reports the Associated Press, whether he had any new views on labor demands for a rise in the Little Steel formula. He replied that "his position was unchanged," that he felt the same way he had during his Vice-Presidency, when he told a CIO delegation from Missouri that he could not agree with their demands for higher pay.

Why did reporters think that the President might have some "new views"? Perhaps because, just two days earlier, William Green, president of the AFL, had called on Mr. Truman. Following this, the AFL Executive Council issued a tearful statement warning of the danger of mass unemployment because of "cutbacks" and begging for better unemployment insurance and an "immediate revision" of the Little Steel formula.

#### DAVIS PLAYS TWO SIDES

This AFL begging made exactly the same impression on Truman as it used to make on Roosevelt—that is, no impression at all. The coal miners (and even the telephone girls) are somehow more successful in getting a hearing for their views.

On May 3, the day after Truman's press conference, R. J. Thomas, president of the United Auto Workers (CIO), did his share of begging. Pointing out that Ford workers (those who had not lost their jobs altogether) were taking a pay cut of \$10 a week because of reduced hours, Thomas said that it was high time for the War Labor Board to act.

On that very same day, Economic Stabilizer Davis, taking his cue from Truman, told newsmen that the end of the European war would mean no relaxation in "controls." The price line had to be held, he said. (This is Davis' idea of a good joke—Ed.) Did that mean, a reporter asked, there would also be no "slackening" in wage controls?

"Yes, it follows very definitely," Davis replied.

#### DAVIS WAS KIDDING

Davis, to be sure, put on his better-times-are-coming act. A day would come—naturally he couldn't fix it exactly—when living standards would just have to go up thirty or forty per cent, but that day would definitely be after "reconversion."

The labor leaders seem to think

that they can convince Truman, Vinson, Davis and the War Labor Board by giving good arguments or by reminding these gentlemen of past promises.

It's true that Davis himself, before the last Presidential election, promised a new wage formula after the defeat of Germany. He went so far as to say that "any damn fool" could see that a change would then be needed.

On March 15 of this year, however, the same Davis warned the War Labor Board, the War Food Administration and the OPA that "now is no time to relax either the price controls or the wage controls." The defeat of Germany, he said, made the danger of inflation greater (not less) than before.

In other words, the change that "any damn fool"—and especially a capitalist politician—could see as necessary last September before an election (and, by the way, at a time when the most important CIO unions were holding their conventions) had become quite unnecessary and even downright dangerous a few months after the election (and, by the way, just a few days after the CIO Executive Board almost unanimously reaffirmed its no-strike pledge and its support of the WLB).

(For a fuller story of the Administration's trickery and the labor leaders' weak-kneed submission during the past year, see LABOR ACTION of April 30.)

#### WLB "RECONVERSION" PLAN

The most recent announcement from the War Labor Board (May 5) is to the effect that the board HAS, at last, actually adopted a reconversion wage policy—unanimously, that is, with the agreement of labor members.

From brief reports so far available, it appears that under this new policy the WLB, in reconversion cases, will look with favor on joint agreements by employers and unions to keep wage rates where they are now or to lower them toward the old peacetime levels—or even to raise them. Such agreements may go into effect at once (provided no price increases are claimed), subject to later review by the WLB.

That's fine, you may say. Now we're getting back to genuine collective bargaining. But only one of the three choices mentioned above will even begin to meet the needs of workers—pay INCREASES, and increases large enough, moreover, to compensate for the loss of overtime and other premiums. How many employers will agree to that? How many will really bargain, while the unions are bound by the no-strike pledge and membership on the WLB?

### But the Struggle of the Peoples for Peace, Freedom and Security Still Goes On!

#### Some Unfinished Business



### Ranks of Ford Local 600 Take Action on Cutbacks

By MARTIN HARVEY

DETROIT—At a special mass meeting of workers at the Ford Rouge plant the membership of Local 600, UAW-CIO, scotched the attempts of their local and international leadership to talk away the layoffs and cutbacks that are taking place and voted unanimously in favor of rescinding the no-strike pledge and calling a National Labor Holiday.

The meeting, held on Saturday afternoon, May 5, had been called by Local President W. G. Grant, leading member of the Communist-controlled clique that had just suffered a severe setback in the local's primary elections. It was advertised as a meeting to protest the recent announcements of further layoffs and cutbacks at the Rouge and other Ford plants and the wage cuts resulting from a reduction to a forty-hour week.

#### LOCAL LEADERS STALL

In reality, Grant and his cohorts had two purposes in calling the meeting. One was to increase his chances of re-election in the local's runoff election which will be held soon.

Grant had come our second best in the primaries, running after a Reuther supporter, J. McCusker. Shelton Tappes, recording secretary, and other Communist Party stalwarts had been defeated in the primaries. A meeting of this kind looked like a good opportunity to revive the waning popularity of their sell-out administration.

Their second purpose in calling the meeting was to forestall any militant struggle against layoffs and unemployment by big talk and little action. For this purpose, International President R. J. Thomas, Ford Director Richard T. Leonard and Carsten Tiedeman, Detroit chairman for the War Production Board, were presented as speakers. The whole tenor of their remarks was that unemployment and wage cuts could only be prevented by the kindness and good nature of the government and private industry in providing jobs. The fact that it was this same government, allied with private industry, that was announcing cutback after cutback just as soon as production could no longer yield profits to industry, that it was this government

which was completely ignoring the needs and welfare of the workers during the reconversion period and after, did not seem to teach these people anything.

It was clear, however, that the membership of the local understood that only a militant fight against the corporations and the government would get them anywhere. Over 4,000 members packed the hall, with 3,000 more having to be turned away. They waited patiently throughout the meeting for some indication that their leadership was prepared to put up a struggle in their behalf but got none.

#### RANK AND FILE ACTS

Toward the end of the meeting, Larry Yost, chairman of the aircraft unit at the Rouge plant and national chairman of the Rank and File Steering Committee, introduced a fighting resolution on the Little Steel formula. It resolved "That this meeting of Ford Local 600 calls upon the Congress of the United States to abandon the Little Steel formula and the area bracket system which have

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By ALBERT GATES

Five years, eight months and seven days after the Second Imperialist World War began the remnants of the once mighty and seemingly invincible German land forces capitulated to the overwhelming manpower and matériel of the Allied armies and ended the war in Europe.

But the most destructive war in all human history, a struggle which has destroyed the most important areas of the Continent and inflicted casualties to an estimated 40,000,000 soldiers and civilians from all countries, still goes on in the broad expanses of the Far East.

Nor will a triumph of Allied arms over Japanese militarism bring a lasting peace to the world. Already the seeds of a Third World War have been planted. For no sooner have the rifles and cannon ceased their fire, the tanks halted in their rumble of death, the planes ended their flights of destruction, when the victorious nations engage in the old imperialist game of re-establishing positions by which each hopes to dominate the world.

The war against Germany and Italy in Europe, and Japan in the Far East, was a conflict between rival powers. The Axis nations sought to change the world in their own favor. By that they understood the necessity of wresting from the United Nations the economic power lodged in Great Britain, France and the United States. In simple words, what Germany, Italy and Japan sought were the colonies, markets, raw materials of the Allies.

### OPA Creates Chaos on the Price Front

By M. HOWARD

What amounts, for all practical purposes, to chaos is now reigning in the world of price control. Testimony before a House committee to investigate food shortages has finally proved to Chester Bowles, head of OPA, and some other officials, what every housewife has known for months: OPA price control, especially on meat, is a failure.

The chairman of the New York City committee to investigate black markets has reported that few food products coming into New York City are wholly untainted by the black market.

Reports from Pittsburgh estimate the meat operations of the black market in that area to be eighty per cent of the total meat transactions. Out of 1,088 cases of violations of OPA ceilings and rulings in the district, only one person received a jail sentence for black market dealings.

Wholesalers in New York are reported to be paying as much as \$100 above the ceiling price for a choice carcass of beef, which obviously results in fantastic prices in the retail markets.

#### BLACK MARKET AND PROFITS

All of this means one thing, specifically. It means that workers' families aren't getting much meat. OPA, supposedly devised to protect their interests, has sat idly by while most of the available meat supplies have been diverted to black markets. Black markets demand prices that workers' pay envelopes don't cover. Therefore the people who do the nation's work aren't doing it with much meat for nourishment.

Meat shortages in ordinary markets and the abundance of meat available to black markets aren't

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#### OLD ENSLAVEMENT AND NEW

Hitler had enslaved almost all of Europe on his road to the conquest of the world. He destroyed the independence of nations and enslaved their peoples. The fascist beasts ruled the Continent with naked force, destroying what they could not subject to their brutal rule.

During the early years of the war, German fascism seemed all-powerful, incapable of destruction. But its immense power could not prevent the emergence of a new force on the Continent, the mighty resistance movements in all countries fighting for their liberation from all tyrants, fighting for their national independence, fighting for free speech, free assembly, free press and free organization, and their right to choose their own governments.

The victory of the Allies in Europe, however, did not bring these things to the people. In one country after

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### Goodyear Tire Union To Vote On Strike

By BILL FORD

AKRON, May 7—Nothing succeeds like success, goes the old saying, and it applies aptly in the current labor picture in Akron.

While the recent successful strike of Goodrich workers was on here, members of United Rubber Workers Local No. 2 of the Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co. met in their largest membership meeting in years and voted to hold a strike vote under the Smith-Connally Act. By an overwhelming majority of at least five to one, the Stalinist-Communist clique was snuffed under its demands not to conduct the vote.

Lo and behold, the day after the announcement that the membership had so voted, the union obtained two concessions from the company and the WLB that had caused "wildcat" strikes of some 9,000 workers the previous week. Rim plant welders obtained satisfaction on their particular grievance and pit curing men got the WLB finally into motion to award them their ten per cent increase per hundred tires cured.

The lesson that is being drawn from the victories at Goodrich and Goodyear by most Akron unionists is: Scrap the no-strike pledge.

The pressure from the ranks has even forced N. H. Eagle, Dalrymple's organizational director of the URWA, to break into print to state that a conference of local union officials

pointed out that "ninety per cent of the work stoppages and production interruptions occurring in the Akron area can be traced to arbitrary action by the employers in establishing and revising piecework rates, which too often result in decreased earnings to the worker. He stated that the local unions are going to demand contract provisions whereby no rates can be put into effect unless agreed upon previously by the union. The Akron community has taken such an interest in the strike wave here that the City Council Industrial Relations Committee has begun an "investigation" of their causes. Of one thing the workers can be quite certain: these pint-pot city solons (Republican and Democratic politicians) are not going to provide any solutions in labor's interest. In all probability their immediate concern is to appear as "liberal" friends of labor in preparation for the fall municipal elections. Otherwise, they reflect the misgivings of the merchants and small business men of the city about the terrific plight they will be faced with in the not far-distant future when the war boom ends and the rubber barons step up their already far-advanced DECENTRALIZATION plans.

On the question of decentralization, which is a foremost topic of discussion in all circles of local society, LABOR ACTION has repeatedly dealt with it and will again.

### No-Strike Pledge Is a Company Weapon

By ARNOLD CRAMER

DETROIT—If any worker still needs proof that the exchange of a no-strike pledge by labor for a no-lock-out pledge by big business was a complete fraud, let him take a look at the plight of Local 628 of the United Automobile Workers (AFL) in Port Huron, Mich.

The members of this local had a dispute with the United Brass & Aluminum Co. The issues in the dispute, while important, are not decisive in this case. They were the same as you would find in any shop. During the course of this dispute, the president of the local, John E. Hand, was fired by the company. The company announced further that it would not deal with any union committee on which Hand was repre-

sented. Further, it would not deal with the local union, with which it has a contract, as long as Hand remained president.

The membership naturally backed its elected spokesman. A union which has its officers dictated by management might as well dig a grave and lie down in it. The plant was struck, with the issue being whether the company would bargain with the elected representatives of the workers.

At this point the company announced that rather than bargain with its workers it would go out of business and announced the termination of all contracts and the sale of all machinery and equipment. Later developments proved that this was a bluff. But bluff or no bluff, this was

as complete and permanent a lock-out as can be found. And in a plant producing war equipment.

Can you picture a situation in which a plant was shut down by the workers because they refused to bargain with the representatives of management? Can you picture a situation in which, on any grievance, the workers struck the plant? The hue and cry that would be raised, that is raised every day, about "sabotage," "the war effort" and all the other lies and slanders against the workers would be heard throughout the land. But when United Brass & Aluminum shuts down—to remove a local president from office—the War Labor Board, the kept press, the union bureaucrats all launch a vigorous campaign—of silence. Complete, ear-shattering silence. Not a

word of protest. Not even a complaint.

The membership stuck it out for over a week. Finally the executive board of the local surrendered—unconditionally. They removed President Hand, and the vice-president, Leon Brown, took his place.

#### NO-STRIKE PLEDGE THE CAUSE

After the negotiations were opened for operation of the plant, the company proceeded to rub salt into the wound. AFL International Representative Jerry Aldred announced that he and Hand would take part in the union affairs. The company immediately threatened to break off negotiations, and so complete was the surrender of the local that they ordered Alfred and Hand to stay completely out of the picture.

When labor gives up a finger, big business demands an arm. When labor gave up its arm, the no-strike pledge, big business demanded its life. And with a no-strike pledge, with its fighting arm gone, how could labor defend its life?

Management has attempted to interfere with unions before. Not so long ago the Ford Motor Co. demanded the removal of the president of Highland Park Local 400. So long as labor takes these encroachments lying down they will continue and the offensive against labor will grow in strength. Only through a vigorous, fighting counter-offensive can labor's past gains be kept and new gains made.

The first step in labor's offensive must be the removal of the no-strike pledge.



# Labor Notes From Buffalo

By JOHN BARNES

Mass layoffs involving as many as twenty thousand workers continue to be just around the corner. Almost daily, stories in the press keep hinting about "reductions in force in substantial quantity" at Curtiss-Wright and Bell Aircraft, which between them have already slashed twenty-five thousand workers from the payrolls since peak war production in 1943. In line with this huge cut a recent release stated that the two plants were employing less than fifty-five thousand at present.

This reporter is in a position to know that the real employment figure for the two is CONSIDERABLY LESS than fifty-five thousand and in all probability is around the forty-five thousand mark. By this sort of manipulation the corporation heads evidently wish to calm the fears of those who are constantly becoming more aware of the layoffs that have already taken place. The situation has reached the stage,

however, where rumors and reports of all types, pertaining to layoffs, are sweeping both plants, and everyone is freely predicting the worst.

There are many facts to substantiate these feelings. In the first place, aircraft officials have already said that post-war employment in that field in this area would hover about the nine thousand mark. In the second place, neither Curtiss nor Bell has shown anything in the way of post-war production planning. Thirdly, Bell may be expected to move out of this area completely and to shift any future operations to its government-built plants in Marietta, Ga., and Burlington, Vt.

In the light of these, added to the statements offered by the companies, approximately twenty thousand aircraft workers can expect their pay-off (the layoff) within the next three months. Those workers who do survive the initial cuts will, as the Japanese war progresses, be cut in a more subdued fashion.

Another development of prime importance to the workers will be the return to the five-day week, a move which is, this reporter believes, only weeks away. The elimination of Saturday work results automatically in a thirty per cent pay cut for all workers on an hourly rate and will tend to emphasize the low base rates that have prevailed in this area during the so-called "boom" period.

### Read and Reap

**HIGH COST OF WAR STRESSED**  
NEW YORK, May 3 (AP)—The war has cost the American people enough to build an \$8,000 house for every family in the country. Mordecai Ezekiel, economic adviser to the Secretary of Agriculture, said Wednesday. Before the Women's Action Committee, for Victory and Lasting Peace, he estimated the cost to date as \$272,000,000,000.

# War Ends in Europe--

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another the same struggle goes on now against the "liberators."

Poland, the country over whose independence the war began, is now a Russian puppet state enslaved in the same way as it was under German rule. Its people live under the terror régime of the GPU and its Lublin offspring.

Finland is completely under the domination of Russia.

The Baltic states of Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania have been incorporated into the Russian nation and the other United Nations have acquiesced in Stalin's grab.

All of Eastern Europe and the Balkans are under Russian "influence."

Italy, after more than a year and a half of "liberation," still has not achieved its national independence, nor the important freedoms promised it in the early days of the war. Belgium remains under the supervision of Great Britain.

Greece is crushed under the jagged heel of British imperialism.

So far as the colonial world is concerned, Great Britain has already announced that it will brook no interference with her empire. Stalin's interest in Asia has already been made abundantly clear in his intervention in Iran and in remarks subtly made about Russian interests in China, and an outlet to the Indian Ocean.

In all of these conflicts, the United States pursues its own aims of preventing any single power from dominating Europe, while seeking to establish its economic weight over the entire world.

### WHAT IS FASCISM?

The war in Europe did establish the fact more clearly than behind the fascist régimes in Germany and Italy stood their respective industrial and financial ruling classes. These régimes were agents of capital, fighting a war to advance the economic interests of these capitalist classes. Despite the economic power of a revived German imperialism, the fascist movement made up of the scum of society, revealed itself to be composed of cowardly mercenaries who disintegrated when defeat became inevitable. Its collapse also revealed that the leaders were in truth merely the servants of their capitalist masters.

But German fascism had accomplished its task at home only too

well. In the years preceding the war and especially during the war they succeeded in so effectively destroying the German labor movement that military collapse did not bring about a widespread national movement of revolt, such as occurred in Italy with a weaker fascist régime. The same German masses which had suffered ten years of Nazi enslavement, now face a new enslavement under the Allied victors.

The defeat of the fascist powers, moreover, does not end the danger of fascism in the world. Fascism has been revealed as the agent of imperialism, as the servant of the capitalist rulers. So long as capitalism continues to exist, so long as imperialism is triumphant, the danger of fascism remains a constant threat to the world.

### NO HOPE FOR PEACE

The most important fact to be borne in mind now is that the hope of the peoples for permanent peace is in vain so long as the present social order continues. The deliberations at the San Francisco Conference of the United Nations aimed at the establishment of a new world organization to maintain the peace, already demonstrate that the new world struggle for power referred to above is inescapable.

The struggle for peace is the struggle of the peoples for a new life, for a new social system, for a socialist world of peace, freedom and plenty for all.

The consequences of the European peace for America are already obvious in the widespread cutbacks and cancellation of war contracts. This means the growth of unemployment for millions of American workers.

### THE STRUGGLE AT HOME

The war economy which was carried through on the backs of American labor will now be sharply curtailed. But the workers who have toiled throughout the war years to break all records in production and productivity under frozen wages, a no-strike pledge and a deterioration of their working conditions and standard of living, face the coming period with the threat of unemployment under conditions where they will be unable to meet it.

The government in Washington which has so faithfully served the interests of American monopoly capitalism, guaranteed its profits and en-

riched it beyond all expectations, has seen to it that industry will be well rewarded for its "contribution" to the war by refunds running into hundreds of millions of dollars. This will swell even more the already swollen profits of America's economic rulers.

Yet nothing has been done by this same government for labor to help it meet the post-war situation, such as has been created by the end of the war in Europe.

The present situation dictates to labor to organize its independent forces in a struggle for its rights. It means a fight to place the burdens of reconversion upon the shoulders of industry which can more than afford it and take it off the overburdened shoulders of labor.

The struggle over reconversion means that labor must fight against the closing down of plants and demand their operation in the interests of labor.

Labor must oppose the government turning plants over to private industry which will promptly close them because they may not be profitable to operate.

Labor must fight for a guaranteed annual wage, for reconversion pay, against any wage cuts resulting from cutbacks.

Labor must demand a vast public works and housing program to provide jobs and means of existence for all of the people.

This is only part of the program for labor. To carry on this fight labor must organize itself now, not only on the economic field, but on the political as well, by building a party of its own to fight for this program.

# NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

## What Can Labor Do for the Veterans?

By JACK MILLER

DETROIT—After much beating about the bush, the cat was finally let out of the bag here in Detroit by R. W. Condor, labor relations director for the Chrysler Corporation. Speaking to the press after the third breakdown of negotiations with the United Auto Workers on the question of veterans' seniority, Condor complained that the union had "again rejected Chrysler Corporation's proposals to aid veterans."

Under the proposal put forward by the corporation, a veteran coming through the door of Chrysler's employment office would be given seniority BEFORE HE WAS EVEN HIRED! This would mean, of course, that the veteran would be able to bump off a job a Chrysler worker with any given amount of seniority while actually having no seniority himself. The proposal put forward by the UAW is the "model clause" whereby the veteran does not get any seniority until AFTER he has been hired and served his probationary period, after which he gets seniority equal to the period of service in the armed forces.

In his interview, Condor stated that "the company would have to agree to what amounts to a lockout clause against veterans who apply for jobs later on." What Condor is saying here is that the corporation is aware of the fact that there will NOT be enough jobs in the post-war period so that ALL workers and veterans will be able to work. He is stating that the jobs will be so few that the needs for manpower of the Chrysler Corporation will be filled by calling back workers already on the seniority lists.

The corporation never intends to use as many workers for auto production as they have used during the war period and consequently the seniority lists would never be exhausted so that veterans could be hired off the streets.

Why has Chrysler Corporation, as well as Ford and General Motors, suddenly started to worry about the welfare of the veterans? Since when have these tough, blood-squeezing corporations started to worry about their workers? Is it because of their patriotism? Is it because they feel they owe a debt of gratitude to the

vets? No such thing! If so, they owe the same debt to the veterans of the last war who have grown old and worn assembling cars; who have, at the cost of their youth, health, strength and happiness accrued for the corporation the most fantastic profits imaginable. But no! The vets of World War I are being told that the corporation is done with them. They are going to be replaced by younger workers who will be able to work faster and produce even more profits.

### USING VETS AGAINST LABOR

The real reason why the corporations have suddenly become the protectors of veterans' jobs is because they see in the veterans an additional means to carry on the fight against the unions, to smash them completely and re-establish the old speed-up and "kill 'em" system.

The corporations know that all this talk about "sixty million jobs" and "full employment" is just so much hogwash and they know that there will be PLENTY of unemployed in the post-war period. As a matter of fact, one of their spokesmen has

stated that as a NORMAL thing they expect TWENTY MILLION unemployed. To take up slack, you understand. And knowing this, they also know that they will be able to turn to the job-hungry and food-hungry vets and say to them: "Here, we want to give you jobs, but the unions won't let us do it."

Thus they hope to turn the vets against the unions. That is why they are demagogically "protecting" the vets. Actually they are protecting themselves and their profits.

Well, what's the answer? Full employment, of course. But not on the basis of promises made by profit-bloated corporations and their political agents, but through guarantees, through a guaranteed annual wage of \$2,500, through spreading the work so that both veteran and worker will have a job and, instead of layoffs, cutting down on the hours of work with NO CUTBACK IN TAKE-HOME PAY!

## Willow Run Local Fights Shutdown

DETROIT—The Willow Run Bomber Plant, operated by the Ford Motor Co., is slated to shut down completely by no later than August 1. Immediately following the announcement by the Army Air Forces of the contract cancellation for B-24's, several thousand workers were laid off. The total labor force of 22,000 workers is scheduled to be laid off in the next five or six weeks.

As has been the practice in the past, neither the Army nor the Ford Motor Co. has revealed any plans for the use of the plant now or in the future. Thousands of workers, native and "in-migrants" from practically every state in the Union, have been stunned by the suddenness of the announced closing of the plant and the complete absence of any regard for their welfare.

Brendan Sexton, president of Local 50, immediately called a special membership meeting to offer a program designed to keep the plant working. The meeting was the largest and most controversial ever held in the history of the local union. After several hours of heated debate the membership adopted the program offered by Sexton and voted that \$50,000 of the union's treasury be used, if necessary, to carry out the program.

### LOCAL'S PROGRAM

The proposals adopted were:

1. Smash the Little Steel formula by fighting for forty-eight hours pay for a forty-hour work week.
2. A conference of mayors and local governmental officials of the com-

munities affected by the layoffs to adopt the union's program.

3. Send delegations of servicemen's wives and ex-servicemen to picket Congress, WLB, etc.

4. The use of radio and newspapers to protest the shutdown.

5. A conference of local business men.

6. A declaration of intention of the Army or Ford as to future use of the plant.

7. Immediate relaxation of manpower controls.

8. Establishment of a fund to finance the return home of in-migrant workers and their families.

9. Establishment of a strategy committee to plan and carry on the fight for jobs.

The Stalinist-Communists and the disgruntled ex-office holders bitterly opposed adoption of the program, but not openly. They raised irrelevant issues in order to confuse and delay the meeting so that the meeting would dwindle down to the point where they would have a majority and then be able to sabotage the fight completely. Despite the maneuverings, the membership voted overwhelmingly in favor of an all-out fight for jobs at Willow Run.

After having failed to defeat the proposals, the next maneuver of the Communists, which also failed miserably, was to tie up the local's funds by earmarking them to be spent on stated projects that had no relation to a fighting all-out attempt to keep the plant at work.

## OPA Creates Price Chaos--

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natural and unavoidable, as they are sometimes represented to be. They are artificially created by big meat packers who are not content to have their ordinarily large profits limited slightly by OPA price ceilings.

The profit record of eight of these major meat packers—Armour, Cudahy, Hormel, Hygrade, Morrell, Rath, Swift and Wilson—was reported as follows in the People's Lobby Bulletin for April:

Profits after taxes—1936-39, \$17,472,000; 1941, \$49,650,000; 1944, \$44,110,000. Profits before taxes—1936-39, \$22,392,000; 1941, \$71,140,000; 1944, \$153,193,000.

A \$27,000,000 jump in profits since the beginning of the war is not to be laughed at, nor is the fact that a great deal of that jump comes out of deliberately developed black markets which the packers admitted to in their recent lobby for higher price ceilings and more (!) profits.

Large meat packing establishments like the companies listed above are able to create meat "shortages" at will and demand and get the prices they want in black market dealings because they are able to monopolize most of the meat slaughtered in the U. S. or brought in from other countries. By co-operating against cut-throat competition, they keep prices as high as is necessary to keep their own profits soaring. What the little people on the other end can afford to pay concerns them not at all.

There is only one way to combat situations such as these. Committees made up of workers, working farmers and housewives would not be interested in maintaining black markets and pouring swollen profits into the coffers of the big meat packers. If they were put in charge of meat packing and meat distribution, there would be no meatless tables for workers' families, no artificial shortages, no black markets. Meat prices

could be kept consistent with the cost to produce and process it.

OPA Administrator Chester Bowles has thought up a ten-point program for straightening out the present chaos in meat prices and supplies. Needless to say, he has included nothing like the changes we mentioned above. He isn't cracking down on his friends, the big packers, to

whom he granted price concessions less than a month ago. He isn't even being too critical of his OPA, which has been winking at black markets until recently when shortages began to be really scandalous. Mr. Bowles puts most of the blame upon "customers," which is a sure indication that he's knuckling under to the meat packing industry!

## Workers Party Holds May Day Affairs in Detroit and Buffalo

DETROIT—Seventy workers joined Local Detroit of the Workers Party in the celebration of the international labor holiday of May Day with a dinner at the Twelve Horseshoe Civic Center on the evening of Sunday, April 29.

In a room bedecked with red flags and banners reading "Forward to a Socialist U. S. A." and "Revolutionary Greetings on the Fifth Anniversary of Labor Action and the Workers Party," speakers dwelled on the significance of May Day, 1945, and the history and development of the Workers Party during the past five years.

Adding color and spirit to the occasion, the audience, each one with a red carnation on his or her chest, joined in the singing of labor and socialist songs.

The keynote of the program was taken from the founding manifesto of the Workers Party, intransigent opposition to the two imperialist war camps and dedication to the struggle for the Third Camp of Labor and the building of a warless, socialist world. This dedication re-

ceived practical form in the contributions totalling seventy dollars which were offered to further the work of working class emancipation.

BUFFALO—Approximately fifty comrades and friends of the Buffalo branch of the Workers Party joined in celebrating May Day at Labor Action Hall, on Sunday, April 29.

The entertainment committee did an excellent job of providing the necessary setting for a successful party. The hall was colorfully decorated, the food tasty and plentiful, and the music "on the beam."

To formally begin the festivities an album of union songs was played after which Comrade Jones spoke briefly and effectively on the meaning of May Day to the American workers. During the evening a number of subscriptions to LABOR ACTION were received and a goodly amount of revolutionary socialist literature sold.

All in attendance pronounced the party a complete success and the comrades are planning more of the same in the near future.

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**Ford Local 600--**

(Continued from page 1)

served to undermine the real earnings of war workers.

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(b) Allow for industry-wide equal pay for equal work in place of the vicious area bracket system.

"Be it finally resolved that unless immediate steps are made to meet these demands, that this assemblage favors immediate revocation of our union no-strike pledge and the calling of a National Labor Holiday."

This resolution threw the leadership into consternation. This was not what they had planned. They had wanted the meeting limited to long-winded speeches and cut-and-dried resolutions with no discussion from the floor. When the resolution was put to a vote, however, it was passed unanimously. Its passage was greeted by the membership with a huge ovation.

Grant sheepishly remarked after the vote that this was not the resolution that the membership had intended to pass. But he was immediately answered with loud cries of "Oh, yes we did!"

Once again the Ford workers have shown the way. They have demonstrated the only way in which labor's program for jobs and security can be won—through militant, determined struggle.

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They're Preparing for the Third World Slaughter Now

By BRITANNICUS

The Stalinists and the Nazis have carried the art of the lie to depths never before attained in human society. Hitler has explained the technique: Say the lie over and over again and no matter how big and how monstrous it is it will go over. The "democracies" repeat the saying with smug pride and imply that they are above such immorality and stupidity. Yet precisely such a Hitler-Stalin lie is being peddled in every capitalist newspaper in the country. The lie is this: The Germans, the battered and destroyed Germans, are now preparing for a Third World War.

WHO IS PREPARING?

The leading Nazis? Their chief concern is to save their hides after having lost World War II. As we write this, Himmler is negotiating with representatives of the United Nations over some sort of peace. Whatever plans he may have for the future depend upon his having a future. As has been widely noted in the press, his repeated references to Hitler's illness show that he is ready to get rid of his former fuhrer at the shortest notice. Where Goering is, no one knows. Goebbels for the last few days has been silent. We can be sure that only urgent pressing personal business has shut his mouth up—not plans for a Third World War.

The junior Nazi chieftains are in all probability split, each behind his leader, into warring factions. Some Nazi supporters like Papen and Dittmar, the radio war commentator, have surrendered. Some, as those in Munich, have been fighting for their lives against revolting Germans. They fought World War II. They fought it to the end according to plans and purposes of their own. That is clear.

WHAT WAR REQUIRES

But maybe the German generals are plotting the war. How? Wars are fought with production systems and with men in armies. The German army is being cut to pieces, its morale and traditions are being dragged in the mud. The productive forces which supplied it are being battered to rubble. The Russians control one-half of Germany. Anglo-American imperialism is busy taking over the other half. How, exactly, then is the German general staff preparing for World War III? With what factories, with what army, with what men are they preparing? To save Germans from total ruin some of them staged a revolt in July of last year. It failed. Since then they have either plotted in secret or gone on fighting World War II. Exactly how are they preparing for World War III?

One particularly impudent piece of folly is that the German leaders are secreting funds in neutral countries to prepare for the next war. Not even Hitler or Stalin in their wildest flights ever surpassed this in sheer unadulterated fantasy. What bank in the world could hold money or funds (or whatever it is) to finance a war? What kind of money is it? Gold? Hitler's gold reserve was found at the bottom of a mine, thousands up-

on thousands of feet down. Is it bank-notes? German bank-notes? To be paid by what German government? Is it coin? What are these funds which have been transported to foreign countries?

The fools who write and permit this to be written must really think that workers are like what Hitler and Stalin think they are, ready to swallow any baloney the capitalist press dishes out.

No bank can hold funds to finance a war. A government builds up a war-machine by labor, the labor of millions upon millions of workers. That is the main "fund" which "finances" a war. The financial arrangements are made by a government which has as security the land, the mines, the factories, and the control of the population. Upon this basis taxes are levied, loans floated, funds raised; these are the only source of funds to finance a war. It costs billions to run a modern war for a few weeks. There is no such money to be put in a bank ready for the next war. It is all hard brazen bold lying to fool the people.

WHY THE CAMOUFLAGE?

And why do they want to fool the people? On the same principle and for the same reasons that Hitler and Stalin told their most audacious lies. They are accusing the Germans because they are the ones who are preparing the Third World War. Yes, precisely the Anglo-American-Russian imperialists are today jockeying for position in order to have advantages for the war which they see ahead.

The United States fought the war to prevent the enormous power which would be in the hands of any country which dominated Europe. But Stalinist Russia dominates half of Europe today. It lays claim to supremacy in Asia as well.

Britain, today America's junior partner, can have no safety except from a European continent so divided that Britain holds the balance of power. That balance is now destroyed. Britain is fighting a lost battle to maintain at least a foothold in Europe. Russia is master of Finland, owns Poland, dominates the Balkans. She aims at being able to break Britain's connection with the Far East at any time it suits her. Britain's only hope is the United States. This uncertain situation will lead sooner or later to war.

IT'S PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S TURN

President Truman, at his press conference of May 2, handed labor two nasty jolts.

- 1) Despite "cutbacks," downgrading, loss of overtime and the piteous pleas of the great labor "statesmen" who unfortunately still head our unions, he came out firmly for continuing the Little Steel formula. 2) Asked about the so-called Murray Full Employment Bill, which is soon to have Senate hearings (and from which labor leaders mistakenly expect great things), he replied that he was not familiar with it.

The reporter for PM, a liberal New York daily, comments: "There were some eyebrows raised over Truman's reply.... He had signed a report by a (Senate) Military Affairs subcommittee last December which recommended a program similar to that proposed in the Murray measure and had been considered a firm supporter of it."

Come on, fellows, give the poor man a fair chance. After all, he's new at the job.

Even so, he already gives promise of equalling Roosevelt in double-dealing, if not in smoothness, doesn't he?

WORLD POLITICS

By REVA CRAINE

"Enough" Is too Much

ILYA EHRENBURG, until recently the official Kremlin hate-monger against the German people, has fallen from grace. He has been taken to task for over-reaching himself in an article, entitled "Enough" in which he attempted to explain why the German people fled from the advancing Russian army instead of welcoming it as a liberator.

We need only recall that it was Ehrenburg who said, with official sanction, that the Russians were coming to Germany, not as liberators but as conquerors, and that those Germans who would welcome the advancing Russian army would be the "first people we would shoot."

In his latest article, he states that all Germans are the same, that is, fascists and murderers, and that they must all be held equally responsible for the crimes of Hitler. He writes that the German people are a "huge gang which is scattering and fleeing now that the time has come to answer for their deeds."

THEY CAME AS CONQUERORS

For these statements, Ehrenburg, who was merely carrying out orders, is now being reprimanded in the Russian press. That the German masses did not enthusiastically welcome the armies of Stalin cannot be denied, not even in Stalin's official press, which has been able to create all kinds of fables. The German masses, no matter what they may think about the nature of Russia itself, know one thing: Stalin's armies are not coming as liberators, but as conquerors.

They know this from the pens of all the Ehrenburgs, and they know this from the past deeds of Stalin's armies as they occupied one country after another. They know it from the proposal of the Russian ruling class to take at least ten million German workers into slavery. And they have not forgotten that Stalin is the ex-partner of Hitler and has his own system of concentration camps, torture chambers, frame-ups and confession trials.

The Russian press is now trying to explain away the fact that the German people fled upon the approach of the Russian armies. The Stalinist writers have been instructed to say that all this has happened as a result of a plot on the part of the Nazis who tried to sow intrigue and dissension among the Allies by frightening the German masses about the Russians and making them less apprehensive about the western Allies.

Ehrenburg is now repudiated for having lumped all the Germans into one mass. No, he is now told, not all the Germans will be punished or exterminated. That is all a Nazi lie, you see. And Ehrenburg is helping the Nazis by writing as he does. The reason for this change should be sought in the increasing difficulties of the Big Three.

Nothing in the criticism of Ehrenburg, however, repudiates the Russian proposal for ten million German slaves. There is no indication of who the "good" Germans are, except a passing reference that those "who behave loyally toward the Allied armies are not threatened."

Changing the Line

How serious may be the differences between Russia, on the one hand, and Britain and the United States on the other, is reflected in the as yet cautious words of Earl Browder, American mouthpiece for Joseph Stalin. The San Francisco conference is daily revealing these deep-seated conflicts among the Big Three in their desire to dominate the European continent. The dispute over Poland may well be the crucial question.

Should a break occur between Russian and American policies, the Communist Party in this country will again "change the line." And Earl Browder, in his capacity of leader of that party, is the official line-changer.

His recent piece in the Daily Worker is preparing for any change that might be called in Moscow. From an all-out endorsement of the foreign policy of the United States, there are now squeezed in cautious words of criticism. As yet, it is not an all-out break and condemnation. Browder utilizes Roosevelt's death to say that the latter's policy of collaboration with Russia is now being distorted by the U. S. delegation at San Francisco and questions whether it is not Vandenberg who is making U. S. foreign policy.

Editorials

Imperialist Intrigues Doom The Independence of Poland

World War II started with a declaration of war on Germany by Britain and France, in order to defend what they called the independence of Poland. Now World War II is over in Europe. And Britain and the United States are at daggers drawn with Russia over what all of them are again calling the independence of Poland. It is not the broken, prostrate, miserable German people who are plotting World War III. It is the conquerors themselves who are plotting it. In 1938 Hitler took Austria. In 1939 he took Czechoslovakia. Conquest of Poland would have made him, strategically, the dominant power in Europe. British imperialism could not stand the thought of any single power dominating Europe. Britain for two hundred years has intrigued and fought wars for what she called "the balance of power" in Europe. She has always seen to it that there were at least two great powers or groups of powers in Europe. This enabled her to play one against the other. But if Hitler were allowed to take Poland without a struggle, most of Europe would look upon any resistance to Germany as madness.



result has been catastrophic for their plans. When the war began there were three major powers in Europe: France, Germany and Russia. British imperialism could intrigue and maneuver among them. But the war has ruined two of them. One power and one alone remains—Russia. There is at the moment nothing in Europe to bolster up as a counter-force to Russia. Thus the very thing the war was fought to avoid has come to pass. And British and American imperialism are frantic.

This is what makes the Polish issue so important for them. They do not care one riddle for democracy in Poland or for the independence of the Polish people. What they care about is a Poland which can be used as a base for checking any further encroachment into Europe by Russia. They want a Polish government which will depend for economic and political support on Britain and the United States.

But Stalin has conquered Poland by force of arms. It is valuable in every way—political and economic. He is determined to hold it. He calculates that Britain and the United States are in no position now to start a war against him. As fast as he can he is destroying any Polish opposition which can serve as a basis for an Anglo-American puppet. Britain and the United States are in a bad spot. But they will not give in. They are fighting to keep the Polish question an open question. They will be satisfied for the moment with a compromise government.

STALIN SAYS: SO WHAT?

Each side knows the issues at stake. This is at present a political struggle. War, as von Clausewitz said, is a continuation of politics by other means. Here, before our very eyes, amid the rejoicings about peace, the war-mongers are at their blood work. And as usual they are taking their special pains to fool the people.

Everybody knew that the sixteen Poles had been arrested by Stalin. They had, at any rate, been missing for weeks. Eden and Stettinius kept this in reserve. When they reached a deadlock with Molotov over the struggle for power in Poland, they solemnly asked him: "What about the sixteen Poles?" When they received the answer they knew they would receive, they turn to the public and say: "We have to break off negotiations. Stalin has arrested sixteen Polish leaders and we, as good democrats, cannot negotiate with people who behave like that."

This is the old, old game, with human lives as the pawns. We hope the workers are watching this and drawing the necessary conclusions. As long as these politicians have the destiny of society in their control the dirty, bloody business of war and intrigue will go on. To end imperialist war we have to end imperialism.



THE IMPERIALIST GAME

Chamberlain decided he would call a halt to Hitler if Poland was attacked. The Chamberlain note to Poland, however, stipulated that Britain (and its satellite France) would defend the "independence" of Poland only if German imperialism attacked. Chamberlain, i.e., British imperialism, was not unwilling at that critical time to see Poland attacked by Russia. Why? Because that would most certainly bring Russia and Germany face to face and probably set them at each other's throats. That was the aim of Chamberlain's policy.

And Stalin? Stalin had been seeking an alliance with Britain and France. But he demanded a price. He wanted Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia. And he wanted half of Poland. Chamberlain refused.

Hitler gave Stalin what he asked for. Poland was run over, and the war began. Chamberlain told the traditional lies to the world in the traditional language and everybody was made to understand that Britain was once more going to the rescue of democracy and the independence of small nations. Poland wasn't so small, but the idea was given a new turn. Hitler was an aggressor. So the war was for democracy and against "aggression."

AMERICA'S INTEREST

The United States was vitally interested. Germany was obviously aiming at mastery of Europe. This immense concentration of capital and manpower would be a deadly threat to American imperialism on the world market. Roosevelt therefore stood firmly with Britain.

But with all their power, these rulers are in the grip of economic and social forces which they cannot control. The war has been won. But the

A SOLDIER SPEAKS OUT ON THE POST-WAR WORLD-II

By GEORGE TABER

In last week's issue of LABOR ACTION we discussed the ideas of some of our soldiers, as expressed by one of them, Byron B. Buckeridge, in Free World, November, 1944. Briefly, these ideas are as follows:

"This country has the industry and resources to provide a high standard of living for all its people.

"The present capitalist owners of industry will mismanage, the way they did before, resulting in unemployment and misery.

"Therefore the government should step in and run industry for the benefit of all the people, not for the profits of a few monopolists."

We pointed out that only a government controlled by the workers can run the country for the benefit of all the people; to secure such a workers' government it is necessary for the working people to form a mass party of their own, an independent Labor Party, and fight to carry out a drastic reorganization of society.

Mr. Buckeridge is aware that the reactionaries are trying to prevent labor from coming into its own by fostering race division and hate within the working class. He says in his article (emphasis mine—G. T.):

"I come from Texas and I do not hate Negroes. I oppose Jim Crow laws. I oppose the poll-tax. I do not think Negroes should be sent back to Africa. I do not think Negroes are one degree different from a white man, except that in Texas everything it seems, has been done to keep the Negro in the status of a slave.

"My older friend thinks the Negro is going to 'rise up' after this war. I wish I were a Negro and could 'rise up' with them. I have worked with Ne-

groes on constitution jobs; I have debated with them at college; I have gone through Officers' Candidate School with them; I have fought with them in this war. I like them and look upon them no differently than I look upon other Americans, or Chinese, or French, or Russians, or British, or Mexicans.

"I favor an all-out program of education for the Negroes; I favor a vast program to clear up their slum districts and build them modern homes; I favor the abolition of all Jim Crow restrictions; I favor extending the democratic privilege of voting to the Negro; I favor treating the Negro the same as the white man in the demobilization program and re-employment program; I favor equality for Negroes in America in social, political and economic life. Many of them are fighting for the same kind of democracy I am fighting for. Both of us have a big job ahead."

It is indeed true that the last defense of the rulers against the efforts of the workers to act unitedly for their betterment is to divide the workers, to get them fighting among themselves, race against race, religion against religion, and nation against nation.

FOR INTERNATIONAL UNITY

Our author wants unity not only of the common people in this country, but of the common people of all countries in the job of building a better world:

"There are many problems, domestic and international, which lie underneath all the sacrifice and death and destruction of World War II. First, a realization that civilization is a failure at this point in history. Second, that unprecedented ideas and institutions must arise to tackle the problems in the new era of peace. Third, 'this is the century of the common man' and not the status quo century of the big owners, privileges for the few, bought off governments, exploitation of the masses. Fourth, a new League of Nations must seriously aim at raising living, health and educational standards everywhere on earth. Fifth, in this machine age an economy of abundance is possible everywhere, and big business must not be allowed to operate on a scarcity basis, putting profits before human need and employment.

Sixth, every help must be given the German and Japanese people to solve their domestic problems and they must be welcomed into the new League as soon as revolution within has brought forth their new leaders. Seventh, the emphasis on world armies to prevent further Hitlers and Tojos must be secondary to the above aims of seriously attempting to solve the problems which enable such leaders to arise. Eighth, a recognition that the economic problems of this age are solvable, and that much greater problems lie ahead in enabling all men to live full, useful, happier lives on earth, and in scientific research where man has only begun to scratch the surface of the vast unknowns in the universe beyond."

Can you imagine fellows with such ideas willingly shooting down revolutionary workers in Europe and elsewhere fighting for freedom?

The point we must emphasize again and again is the need for unity of the common people, the workers, poor farmers, and exploited peoples in the colonies; not unity of the exploiters, profiteers and tyrants of all countries, for the latter are already united.

SEEDS OF A NEW WAR

The author of the article in Free World thinks that the proposed international organizations of the United Nations, or a new League of Nations, the UNRRA, ILO, World Court, etc., will provide a means for international co-operation in planning a peaceful, prosperous world. But we must remember that no organization is any better than the people who control it. If the same bankrupt leaders of the various countries, who have brought mankind to its present sorry state, get together to form an international organization, that would be nothing more than an international "cartel" for the purpose of dividing the spoils and preparing for a Third World War. An international organization can be successful in planning a world of peace and security only if it is formed by the elected representatives of the

common people, the workers, poor farmers and exploited colonial peoples of all lands, only if these forces rule the world in place of the profiteers.

Mr. Buckeridge would like to extend the hand of brotherhood to the German and Japanese people, who are as much the victims of fascism and militarism as anyone else. But the people in power today have different plans.

Harry Hopkins, President Roosevelt's trusted adviser, writes in the American Magazine that we must have a PERMANENT army of occupation in Germany and Japan. Hitler tried that, in most of the countries of Europe. His occupation didn't last five years. Now the United Nations think they will have better luck. They want to maintain troops in Germany and Japan, not for six months, not for six years, not for a generation but—FOREVER!

PREACHERS OF HATE

Mr. Buckeridge would like to extend the hand of brotherhood to the German and Japanese people. He has seen the movie short entitled "Have You Killed Your Jap Today?" issued by the U. S. Army Signal Corps, and now being shown throughout the country? This horrible film depicts atrocities committed by the Japanese armies in China and tries to whip up a terrible hate against the Japanese people. It makes no distinction whatsoever between the criminals, the Japanese warlords, industrialists and politicians, and their victims, the common people and drafted soldiers of Japan. This blood-curdling film shrieks hate, bloody, violent, unreasoning race-hatred, according to the latest Goebbels technique. Its theme is: Kill every damn Jap!

Have you seen this item?

CHATTANOOGA, Tenn., April 5 (U.P.)—Paul McNutt, chairman of the War Manpower Commission, told a Chattanooga group today that he favored "the extermination of the Japanese in toto." Asked if he meant the Japanese military or the people, he said he meant the latter "for I know the Japanese people."

The gentleman who expressed these democratic and humanitarian ideas is the big boss in charge of regimenting American workers, in order to fight the Axis. Why? Because, you see, the Axis preaches and practices the barbaric and un-American theory that there are inferior nations; because the Axis tries to exterminate entire peoples; because the Axis regiments labor.

And B-29 raids on Japanese cities have hit not only war plants, but also the homes of civilians. The American press on the morning of March 11 boasted that ONE MILLION were made homeless, unknown numbers perished, fifteen square miles in Tokyo were set aflame—by the use of the newly-invented M-69 incendiary bomb, "designed especially for use in Japan" (isn't it wonderful—the miracles of modern science?). But the press reported the same day: "The Imperial Palace was outside the target area." And Congressman Celler stated on the floor of Congress that high officials in Washington and London favor preserving the Japanese Emperor and ruling class to act as quislings for the Allies after the war!

WHAT KIND OF FUTURE?

The big powers intend, as they have already shown in Italy and Greece, to make a hard, brutal "peace" for the people, but a soft, very soft, peace for the fascists, industrialists and big landowners, in order to keep the people down. Thus they sow the seeds of the Third World War.

"Will my kids have to fight another war in twenty years?"

"Am I going to find a job when I'm discharged?" The answer to these questions depends on what action is taken by the workers. Things will not be the same after the war as they were before. They will be much worse, if the present rulers of economic and political life continue in control. They will be much better if the great masses of the "little" people, under the leadership of the working class, take over control in industry and government.



# 20 Years of European Fascism

## How Hitler and the Nazis Came to Power

By Stephen Parker

HITLER joined the German Workers Party in 1919. The German Workers Party was anything but a party of German workers. It was a remnant of a movement that had been financed by German capitalists and militarists during the war. Its purpose was to win the support of the German workers for the prosecution of the war.

At this time Hitler himself was only a miserable police spy. Because of his reactionary, militarist connections he was able to win a certain amount of support for the party that he had taken over. The capitalists were striving desperately to initiate such movements that would counteract the revolutionary moods of the German workers.

The successful revolution of Lenin, Trotsky, and the Bolsheviks in Russia, acted as an example to the German workers. Here was a lesson that could be easily understood. In Germany, however, there was no Lenin or Trotsky, to organize and build the party that would lead the German workers to victory. The ablest leaders of the German working class, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, were murdered by fascist agents. While the labor movement was powerful, its policies were fatally wrong.

### HOW THE FASCISTS OPERATED

For a number of years the Nazis worked mainly as an "educational" group. They adopted the word "Socialist" in their name, this organization of human debris that was the very opposite of everything that Socialism represented. They also adopted racism, and the virulent anti-Semitism that was later to shock the entire civilized world.

In 1923, when economic conditions were at their worst, Hitler decided to strike. Inflation was sweeping Germany like a plague. The Allies were occupying the Ruhr. The Nazis were able to get the old Quartermaster General Von Ludendorff, to be the front in their bid for power. This was the famous Munich "beer hall" putsch, about which so much has been written.

The putsch was unsuccessful. Hitler was still not the mass leader of the frustrated middle class he was to become later. He was arrested, lightly sentenced, and spent most of his time in jail working on the book that later became the bible of Nazism, *Mein Kampf*. The Republic, which harshly and fiercely repressed revolutionists, gave Hitler the opportunity of openly carrying out his propaganda.

### THE GREAT ECONOMIC CRISIS

Beginning with 1924, there was a period of comparative economic stabilization in Germany. The Allies poured in billions of dollars, in this attempt to stabilize industry. It was only a temporary respite. For in 1929 came the great depression, world wide in scope. The foreign powers stopped pumping money into Germany. Once again poverty and unemployment swept the land.

The Weimer Republic was completely unable to handle the problems that this economic catastrophe raised. Hitler now appeared in his full demagogic glory. He promised a solution to everything; and in everybody's interest. To the middle class whose economic existence was imperiled by the ever increasing encroachments of finance capital, he promised the preservation of their property. To the workers he promised jobs, and an end to unemployment.

But to the finance capitalists who ruled Germany, he offered his main attraction. To them he represented the complete suppression of the working class, its organizations and institutions. With the working class crushed, preparations could be taken for the inevitable world war that was certain to follow. German capitalism would have a head start in the preparation for, this agonizing war which has just ended.

Hitler could have been completely and absolutely crushed, if only the workers would unite to destroy him. But they were paralyzed by their leadership. As in 1919 the Social Democrats could only think in terms of maintaining capitalism, of the democratic variety to be sure, but nevertheless capitalism. And the by now completely Stalinized Communist Party, the other large German Workers party, could only think of destroying the Social Democrats. Thus they completely ignored the main danger to the entire working class, and its complete destruction should Hitlerism triumph. Instead of uniting and wiping out fascism, the Communist Party fought against unity and helped pave the way for Hitler's victory.

### A DISUNITED WORKING CLASS

From 1930 to 1932 the economic crisis became deeper and deeper. Many of the German workers were becoming pauperized. Their main sustenance came from an inadequate dole. The shabby economy reflected itself in the social life of the period. Tent colonies, shantytowns, sprang up on all sides. Peasants would stand guard with guns over their crops, so that starving workers wouldn't pilfer their crops.

Hitler always the shrewd psychologist expanded the scope of organization. Now he offered a home to the depressed of society. He gave them a uniform, a club, and a promise for the future.

His propaganda as always was directed against the Jews, and "Bolsheviks," and as an afterthought the "capitalists," whose creature he was. His appeal against the Jews was primarily economic. The "Aryan" worker, dentist, or storekeeper might well welcome the elimination of a Jewish competitor, in a period of economic depression.

In the elections of 1932, Hitler ran for president. The Junkers ran the incumbent, Von Hindenburg, a hero of the war. The Communists ran their own candidate, Thaelmann, who concentrated his fire on the Social Democrats. The Social Democrats supported Hindenburg, since he represented the "lesser evil," and he was elected. The eventual victory of Hitler was now assured. Once again the working class had failed to unite. Hindenburg was a bankrupt who had no program that could solve anything. Hitler at least had a program, fascism, the naked dictatorial rule of capital. After establishing a series of intermediary ministries, Hindenburg finally called on Hitler and established him in power.

So the finance capitalists were at last triumphant, and the workers movement destroyed. The only force in society that could smash fascism annihilated, its power rendered useless by the false policies of its leaders.

The stage was now set for Germany's participation in the second World War.

## An Analysis of the Fascist System

By SAM ADAMS

The propagandists of the present war are responsible for a great deal of misunderstanding about the things for which this war was fought in Europe. They wrote and spoke of it as a war for democracy against fascism. Many people did not see that this was and is pure propaganda. But time will prove it to them, just as time proved this to many people all over the world who believed that the first world slaughter was fought in the interests of peace, freedom and security against Prussian militarism.

The people will come to learn that this war, just as the first world war, was a conflict between rival capitalist powers for economic and political domination of the earth.

### SOME DANGEROUS THEORIES

In the course of this war a great deal of misleading propaganda has been produced specifically on the subject of fascism. Let us examine some of the common theories on this phenomenon:

Fascism is a national characteristic of Germany and Italy. It came in Germany because the people were nationalistic, militaristic and prone to regimentation.

It came in Italy because the country was backward.

Japan, on the other hand, is regarded as a mysterious country populated by strange people with strange customs. Fascism, however, could not possibly come to such enlightened "democratic" nations like the United States and Great Britain.

These theories are false and dangerous. They disarm the people of other countries, especially the working classes, in their struggle against reactionary fascism. They do not explain, for example, why in almost every important country of the world, fascist movements were and are in existence. As a matter of fact, if the war had not come, one or more of the Allied countries might have succumbed to fascist rule.

### FASCISM, FORM OF CAPITALIST RULE

Fascism is not a new social system, but a form of political rule under capitalism. As such it is capable of coming to power in any country. This is clearly established by the experience of Germany and Italy, one, a highly advanced capitalist nation, the other, a second-rate power. The significant fact about the victory of fascism in these two countries is that the fascist movements came into existence and were successful during periods of deep economic crisis. They arose at times when the masses of people were engaged in a struggle against the economic ruling classes, threatening to end their reign.

## The Collapse of Germany and Italy

By SUSAN GREEN

In November, 1942, the Nazi-fascist régime held sway over Europe, from the Arctic across the Mediterranean into Africa and from the Atlantic to the steppes of Russia.

Hitler and his pals, with Mussolini in the role of inflated errand boy, acted as though their power were as eternal as the seasons. They had military control of a vast empire. The economic assets of the Nazis had been multiplied to include the industries, mines, oil wells and transportation of all industrial Europe. The invaders squeezed all the produce out of the fertile lands. They enslaved the best manpower of Europe to produce in their factories. To convince themselves of their fictitious superiority, with machine-like unconcern for human values, they exterminated millions of Jews, Poles and other unfortunate people. To prepare themselves for future mastery of the world, they robbed Europe of its wealth.

The threat of world fascism was then as real as the map of Europe could make it. But that threat was not realized. Today, two and a half years from the acme of its power, the Nazi-fascist régime lies defeated and shattered. First to collapse was the weaker Mussolini régime. Then steadily Hitler's "New Order" retreated and finally fell apart—in complete disorder.

### REASONS FOR FASCIST COLLAPSE

There are three important elements that contributed to the defeat of the Nazi-fascist régime in Europe. Each one must be given its due.

The military and economic might of England, Russia and the United States surpassed that of Germany, Italy and Hitler's newly acquired European empire. It must, never be forgotten that World War II is a contest between two groups of imperialists. It was one thing for Hitler to suppress the German labor movement in blood, but when he made his military bid for a greater share of the earth, he ran into the military opposition of imperialists with other plans. The combined manpower, resources, material and military talents of the Allied powers proved more than a match for the "New Order"—and, of course, Allied might stood entrenched in the almost miraculous productivity of American labor.

The Nazi-fascist régime ran into another force of considerable strength—the will of the European peoples to rebel against enslavement by a foreign invader. We do not want to exaggerate, but it should be remembered that never before in the history of mankind have such extensive underground movements been organized nor against such powerful odds. Not only did the liberation

The aim of fascism is to retain the economic rule of the capitalist class, capitalist property relations and the profit system. Fascism defends the rule of the monopoly capitalists.

Thus in Germany and Italy, fascism came into existence and rose to power through the direct assistance of the monopoly capitalists. Hitler was supported by the Ruhr industrialists, the Krupp munition magnates, I. G. Farben, and a host of other big business firms. Mussolini came into power as a result of a conspiracy between the Italian industrialists and the monarchy who were desperately trying to defeat the revolutionary workers stretching out their hands for power.

The most important aim of fascism is to destroy the labor movement and

with the patterns set by Mussolini—the changes in this sphere ultimately play a minor role—but means first of all and for the most part, that the workers organizations are annihilated; . . .

Why is all this so? Because, by destroying the labor movement, by controlling all life, i.e., thinking, writing, speaking, and organization, the capitalist classes can guarantee their own existence as economic rulers. By regimenting the workers through a police regime, and a huge spy system, buttressed by a government organized "labor front," the industrialists and financiers prevent the workers and all other sections of the population from fighting for higher wages, shorter hours and improvement in their working and living conditions.

think that fascism will improve their economic position, and who believe it is labor rather than the big business monopolies which is responsible for their economic plight.

Declassed elements from the ranks of the workers, people who have been broken in spirit by years of unemployment, people without hope and no future, who believe that fascism will bring them wealth, property or jobs.

Unemployed professional militarists who live in the hopes that nationalistic, reactionary fascism will revive the military fortunes of a nation and give them important jobs, position in society and money.

### PROFIT SYSTEM MUST GO

The experiences of the past twenty years show that fascism brings nothing but enslavement for the overwhelming majority of the people. It brings wealth and power only to the big capitalists, not to the middle classes and certainly not to the enslaved workers.

Why then did the imperialists of the Allied countries go to war against the fascist imperialists of Germany and Italy? Only because the latter banded together to threaten their empires and their wealth. Up until the war broke out, the big Allied powers had many points of common interests with Germany and Italy and did profitable business with the Nazis and fascists.

The defeat of Germany and Italy, and the certainty of defeat for Japan, however, does not mean the defeat of fascism. Hardly. Because the conditions that bring fascism into existence remain. Fascism feeds on economic chaos, and since capitalism cannot guarantee economic security, peace and freedom the danger of fascism is constant. Since capitalism guarantees only economic crisis, war and totalitarian rule of one kind or another, it forces the peoples of the world into rebellion in order to achieve a better life. Fascism, as a system of political rule, as a brutal hated dictatorship, is employed by the capitalist rulers against these rebellious peoples.

The fight against fascism is primarily a fight of the labor movement, of the working peoples of all countries. The fight against fascism is the fight of the common people against the exploiting capitalist classes. This requires the building of a movement of all the working people to fight for a new and better life against reactionary capitalism which guarantees only new wars, extreme world poverty, mass unemployment and intense misery to hundreds of millions of people.

Misguided middle class people who

### CHURCHILL HAS "ALWAYS SAID"—

In a speech made on November 11, 1938, less than a year before the war broke out, Winston Churchill, His Majesty's Prime Minister, declared:

"I HAVE ALWAYS SAID THAT IF GREAT BRITAIN WERE DEFEATED IN WAR I HOPED WE WOULD FIND A HITLER TO LEAD US BACK TO OUR RIGHTFUL POSITION AMONG NATIONS."

all forms of independent organization by labor, whether it be economic, political or fraternal.

### TROTSKY ON FASCISM

Leon Trotsky, the great socialist leader who was assassinated by an agent of Stalin's GPU, once wrote:

"Fascism has for its basic and only task, the razing to their foundation all institutions of proletarian democracy."

What happens after fascism comes to power? Here again, Trotsky's penetrating analysis is instructive. He wrote:

"After Fascism is victorious, finance capital gathers into its hands, as in a vise of steel, directly and immediately, all the organs and institutions of sovereignty, the executive, administrative and educational powers of the state; the entire state apparatus together with the army, the municipalities, the universities, the schools, the press, the trade unions, and the cooperatives. When a state turns Fascist, it doesn't only mean that the forms and methods of government are changed in accordance

### FASCISM UPHOLDS PROFIT SYSTEM

While the laboring populations of Germany and Italy were thus enslaved by brutal fascist régimes, the property and profit rights of the financiers and industrialists were never interfered with. On the contrary, their property rights and profits were guaranteed by the new fascist states.

It is easy to understand then why the régimes of Hitler and Mussolini were admired by the capitalists of all countries, especially those of Great Britain and the United States. If you examine the fascist movements of the latter countries, you will find that the support to them always comes from men of means, from the capitalist class.

Labor never supports fascism. It did not do so in Germany, Italy, Spain, or any other country. On the contrary, it fought desperately against fascism in all these countries.

What other sources of support does fascism have? Misguided middle class people who

### NEXT WEEK—

An Article on John L. Lewis' Views as Expressed in Collier's

By David Coolidge

## Mussolini Served His Masters Well

By Ray Mantler

ON April 29, 1945, the Italian partisans silenced forever the man who for 23 years had ruthlessly persecuted every decent and courageous working man in Italy.

When the first World War broke out, Mussolini, as editor of *Avanti*, the Socialist mouthpiece, condemned the conflict as an imperialist struggle. Suddenly, in October, 1914, he changed his position and declared himself in favor of the intervention of Italy on the side of the Entente.

In November, 1914, he founded a paper, *Popolo d'Italia*, to express his ideas. He didn't have a penny in his pocket at the time. It is hardly a mystery where he got the money. He was in the pay of the French government. Thus his history of opportunism and deceit begins.

### LACK OF LEADERSHIP

In the months immediately following the war the economic situation for the workers in Italy was unbearable. While the conflict was still on the Allied governments had prevented the fall of the lira, but by 1919, Italy, left to her own resources, was in a great financial crisis. In addition, Italy, which depends on her imports to supply her population, could not give the people the barest necessities for existence.

The workers, suffering one provocation after another, replied in September, 1920, with a General Strike and occupation of the factories. Had they had an organized, conscious, Bolshevik leadership they would have been able to seize the state power. But the leaders of the Socialist and Christian Democratic parties were not the men for this job. They did not have the courage to act decisively when the situation called for such action. As Mussolini said of them, they had too peasant a mentality. Yes, Mussolini had more imagination than they, and he realized the possibilities of the situation.

Even if the railroad workers and those who had followed them in the occupation of the factories were not Bolsheviks, and did not realize their own potential strength, even when they held the power in their hands, they had given their employers a good scare.

### CAPITALISTS AND FASCISM

The Italian industrial class did not have the stability and sureness which comes from a long establishment in the social order. Many of the industrialists were "pessimists," or war sharks. They made up for their ineptitude and instability by having a ruthless attitude towards anyone who challenged their power. They saw in Mussolini's core of Fascist hoodlums, their salvation. This new party was made up of various elements of the population. Many of them were discharged officers who couldn't accustom themselves to the tedium of every day existence. Another element consisted of discouraged civil servants who envied the workers for the slight gains they had been able to make. Instead of uniting with them, and realizing that this was essentially their fight too, they united against the workers to fight them.

This little group of fascists, supplied now with money from the industrialists, bought uniforms and arms, and carried on raids against the workers' groups and their organizations.

At the end of 1920, Giolitti, a "Liberal," was Prime Minister; Bonomi, a reformed Socialist, was Minister of War; and Pera, a "Democrat," was Minister of Justice. If any three men can really be held responsible for the situation which existed in Italy in the next 20 years, these men are to be held to account. The Fascist group of Mussolini was still weak, and the parliamentarians did not see their eventual power. Now, they thought that they could use this organization of hoodlums to eradicate, or at least weaken their rivals, the Socialists and Christian Democrats. The fascists were given carte blanche to do with impunity what they would to the workers. Arms, trucks, and officers were put at their disposal to help them in their gory task. The story of their crimes fill many volumes, and need not be gone into now.

### A FASCIST CONSPIRACY

During the two years of the so-called "Bolshevik tyranny" the workers never attacked any organizations belonging to industrialists. They did not burn a single newspaper or printing press. It remained for the fascists to perform these deeds of "heroism." By the summer of 1921, as a result of such methods, not a trace of the "Bolshevik" peril existed in Italy.

The military authorities, who had at first simply carried out the orders of the Prime Minister and his staff, now became more arrogant. The new organization could, in their hands, be used to ensure their political domination. They ceased to obey the civil authorities, and staged little demonstrations to call attention to their might. The Ravenna incident was one such.

In September, 1921, 3000 armed fascists entered Ravenna, while the population was celebrating the anniversary of Dante's death. Of course there were clashes with the civilian population, but the police were conspicuously absent. General Sani, who was responsible for the Ravenna district, also could not be found.

Other such demonstrations followed, and now the military group was ready to clinch its power. They decided to carry through a coup d'état, with Mussolini as the figurehead of power. The March on Rome, in October, 1922, was, in reality, a coup. It could have been stopped except that those who would have been in a position to do so, were involved in the plot. There were less than 8000 badly armed and disorganized fascists involved in the March.

The king, working behind the scenes, recognized Mussolini as Prime Minister. From then on the fascists became even more ferocious in their dealings with the population. All opposition to the regime was immediately silenced at the point of a gun. The story is well known.

On the corpse of an unsuccessful revolution, fascist reaction emerged. Supported by the industrialists and landlords, Mussolini and his band came to power for the express purpose of destroying the Italian labor movement and guaranteeing the existence of the profit system in Italy.

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