

WORKERS PARTY PLAN FOR RECONVERSION AND POST-WAR

A Guaranteed Annual Wage! Jobs for All!

Workers Party Program for Organized Labor

For the Unemployed and Veterans:

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

For the Post-War:

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

These Aims to Be Achieved Through:

6. A \$250 billion five-year program to provide decent housing for all, extensive public works, rural electrification and modification.
7. Conspicuous of all war industries; national-

ization of the banks, big industrial monopolies and transportation systems, and no handing over of government-built and owned plants and facilities to private ownership.

8. A 100 per cent tax on all war profits above a five per cent maximum on invested capital; a \$25,000 ceiling on total individual income, and a graduated capital levy on all accumulated wealth over 50,000 to cover war costs and provide post-war security for labor.

This Program to Be Carried Out by:

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

By MARY BELL

"A job! We want a guaranteed job and a guaranteed annual wage."

These are the demands foremost in the mind of every worker. To the unemployed worker who has already suffered loss of his job due to current cutbacks; to the war worker who has a year at most to work before he undergoes reconversion unemployment; to the returned war veteran who has no job yet; to the youth who are coming of age; to the soldiers' widows who must support families—every one of them is in deadly fear of the material and moral insecurity that accompanies unemployment.

The Workers Party offers in adjoining columns its plan for jobs for all. The plan is concerned with the needs of the workers for jobs, better wages, a guaranteed annual wage, special needs of veterans, better housing, etc. It begins and ends with the needs of the working people.

It is not concerned with the needs of industry for profits. The government has more than adequately taken care of converting industry for war, providing it with a market for all its war-time products, guaranteeing its war profits, allowing it tax rebates for reconversion and guaranteeing its profits for peacetime.

Aside from the fact that the plan of the Workers Party makes more adequate demands than any program presented by either the Truman Administration or the official labor leaders, it differs from all other plans in one decisive way. The Workers Party plan tells not merely what is wanted, but HOW to get it.

Shachtman on New York Bus Slowdown

CIO, AFL, TRUMAN

Max Shachtman, Workers Party candidate for Mayor of New York, has stated that the sensational slowdown by drivers on New York City's bus lines, is supported 100 per cent by his party.

"The undemocratic Smith-Connelly anti-strike law, which Congress considered a sure cure for strikes," he said, "has simply forced American workers to find new ways of fighting for their rights and against unbearable conditions."

Answering a charge by Mayor F. H. La Guardia, well known "friend" of labor, that the slowdown was un-American, since the drivers were not giving a full day's work for their wages, Shachtman added:

"Naturally, La Guardia represents the ideas of the capitalists and the bankers in such a situation. Ours is a party of and for workers. The Workers Party says that, even with the slowdown, the bus drivers are more than earning their present miserable wages. If that's un-American, then millions of American workers who have gone on slowdowns in the last few years are un-American."

"Like all the other business profiteers, the New York Omnibus Corporation has been cashing in big during the war. At the same time, they shout Americanism and pay their beginning workers seventy-one cents an hour for the first six months, which is even lower than the starting rate in the great and famous city of Jackson, Mississippi. If they can't do better than that, they're not fit to run a business. The city should take

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The UAW-CIO wants no idle factories which produce unemployment. But the former workers of Willow Run are stalking the USES for jobs or a few of the luckier ones are working at beginners' rates while R. J. Thomas still piteously begs Henry Kaiser to take over Willow Run. Thomas doesn't know HOW to get security for the workers.

Or the CIO leaders want to raise the present starvation dole of unemployment compensation. They visit President Truman, who remembers suddenly he had forgotten the "human side of reconversion" and recommends an emergency act by Congress to raise compensation to a maximum of \$25 a week. Congress, having guaranteed profits to industry and tided it comfortably over reconversion, and upped its own salaries in one House, prepares to vacation. Meanwhile thousands of workers are on enforced vacations—without pay. The CIO leaders don't know HOW.

The Truman Administration plan for "full employment" is embodied in the Murray bill. This bill, mentioning "preservation of free enterprise" in practically every paragraph, would do no more than bring back the WPA days of "fake jobs" and "made work" that characterized the pre-war period. It is worth about as much as a prayer. President Truman doesn't know HOW.

JOB FOR ALL POSSIBLE
The reactionary AFL leaders not only don't know HOW. They don't (Continued on page 2)

Detroit UAW Asks National Strike Vote!

By MARTIN HARVEY

DETROIT—The mass pressure of the rank and file auto and aircraft workers for militant action to meet the growing problem of unemployment and cutbacks was reflected in a call for a national UAW-CIO strike vote to enforce the union's demands. The call was contained in a resolution carried by a three-to-one vote at a Detroit regional conference composed of the four top officers of all UAW locals in the area.

The conference was held at the insistence of local UAW presidents who were fired of the inaction of the International Executive Board and top officers of the union in the face of mass layoffs and pay cuts. At a meeting the day before the con-

ference delegates not to ask for strike action. He called those who favored strike action "rabble-rousers" but could offer no program at all which would protect the workers from unemployment and lower wages. The complete failure of Thomas's policy of running after government officials and industrialists, such as Henry J. Kaiser, and begging them to do something was so obvious from Thomas's own remarks that they only served to sharpen the demand for militant union action.

Richard T. Leonard, regional director, who presided over the conference, attempted in his usual blundering, bureaucratic way to prevent discussion of the strike question. He ruled the minority report of the resolutions committee out of order on the ground that it violated the UAW constitution. Hammond thereupon introduced the demand for a strike vote as an amendment to the majority report. This was also ruled out of order by Leonard amid the boos and catcalls of the delegates. Leonard's ruling was appealed from the floor and in the vote he was overwhelmingly defeated.

STRIKE VOTE CARRIES

The strike vote amendment was then carried, three to one. It was an indication of the disgust of the membership with the so-called labor statesmanship of the union bureaucrats, which consists in hanging around the servants' entrance of the White House, waiting for crumbs to be tossed out. The conference, unfortunately, does not have the power to institute the strike vote itself. The resolution was in the form of a demand upon the Executive Board which the board will undoubtedly try to ignore or water down beyond recognition.

The chief danger is that the proposals of Vice-President Walter Reuther will be accepted in order to sidetrack the militancy and fighting spirit of the union. Reuther, who is the UAW expert in emulating fighting proposals, is calling for the rescinding of the no-strike pledge only in plants that are reconverted to peacetime production.

This means, of course, that strike action is prevented until after reconversion has taken place and is prevented even then if one machine in the plant is producing some inconsequential item for the war with Japan.

The need is for strike action NOW when the workers' living standards and the unions are being most bitterly attacked.

Progressives in the UAW must take care, however, that they don't jump from one extreme to the other on the question of political action. The completely justified resentment against the alliance between Thomas, Addes and Reuther and the capitalist politicians in the government and in the Democratic Party can result in a movement away from any kind of political action and toward purely union action and wage and hour demands.

Militant union action is essential but it is not enough. The problem of unemployment and reconversion can be lessened by the thirty-hour week and increased wages, but it cannot be solved without nation-wide planning by the government in the interest of the workers. This in turn requires

Trial of Sixteen Poles Shows Moscow Domination of Poland

By ALBERT GATES

A new Polish delegation, headed by former Premier Mikolajczyk and Jan Stanczyk, so-called Socialist leader, has arrived in Moscow to work out the compromise with Stalin as to how they shall be represented in the Polish government and thus end the quarrel among the Big Three. While it is made to appear that President Truman's representative to Stalin, Harry Hopkins, succeeded in bending the Kremlin oligarchy's will on the Polish question, no really important change will be forthcoming.

All the necessary preparatory work for Russian domination over Poland has already succeeded in wiping out in that country these elements now

finally succumbed to the Russian GPU and its Polish assistants, the Lublin government installed by Stalin.

ORGANIZING POLAND

Tens of thousands of these people have been wiped out, either by execution, imprisonment or mass deportation to the convict camps in Siberia. The leaders of the Polish people for the most part have truly been liquidated. Even if Stalin does permit Mikolajczyk and Stanczyk and a few of their friends to enter the government, no fundamental change in the Polish situation will follow.

Stalin's agents will dominate the country. Behind them stand the GPU and the Russian army ready to insure the rule of these enemies of Polish independence. With all this power at his disposal, Stalin made sure of the deal with Hopkins by barring any Pole who would not in advance agree to Russian domination of Polish policy.

As living proof of Stalin's attitude we have the case of the "sixteen Poles" which almost became a cause célèbre at the San Francisco Conference. These sixteen Poles include one General Bronislaw Okulicki, commander of the Polish home army

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Big 5 Veto Overrules Small Nations

By STEPHEN PARKER

The controversy over veto powers was settled at San Francisco and all of the great powers emerged satisfied and vindicated. The British and Americans felt that they had abided by their "democratic principles." The Russians had made an inconsequential concession that demonstrated their concern for the success of the conference. The press and the statesmen hailed the settlement as final confirmation of how the powers are able to work together.

What was all the shouting about? At the Yalta Conference, attended by Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin, an agreement was reached on veto powers. This agreement stated that any of the five great powers had the right to veto a hearing about them, if they were involved in any aggressive action. In other words, each of the powers by itself was the only one which could determine whether or not it was an aggressor!

The dispute was over the interpretation of this formula. The Americans and British contended that the veto powers were not applicable to discussion of acts of aggression on the part of the five powers. The Russians said that they were. The French and the Chinese lined up with the Anglo-Americans. Finally a compromise was reached that stated that there could be discussion, but that is as far as it could go. There could not be an inquiry established to go into the matter of aggression.

Of course, the question is raised about who can be the aggressor in a future war? Germany and Japan? But, according to the decisions reached at Yalta, the war-making powers of Germany and Japan are to be destroyed for all time. Who else then? Could it be that any of the victorious Allies themselves might be capable of aggression and therefore want to see to it that they will not be brought to account because of it? And if they

can be aggressors, and the world organization can do nothing about it, then what can prevent the new world war?

BASIS FOR "PEACE"

Secretary of State Stettinius both posed, and answered this question in a recent speech. This is what he said: "But, it is objected, what happens if one of the five permanent members (the great powers) embarks upon a course of aggression and refuses to recognize the machinery of the world organization? How can the aggressor be restrained if his own contrary vote prevents the council from invoking force against him? In such an event, the answer is simple. Another world war has come, vote or no vote, and the world organization has failed."

Precisely so. The world organization cannot prevent another world war. It can take no effective actions against the nations that will be in-

volved in the coming world war. The organization is only an empty shell. And the dispute about whether or not a discussion could be held settled nothing and left the powers with all the immunity that they require.

A few recent historical examples should demonstrate what the new organization will be able to do about aggression. Even before the war ended and even while the conference was still in session, the great powers have embarked upon courses of aggression.

The newspapers have recently headlined French aggression against Syria and Lebanon and the bombing of civilians and the destruction of Damascus. Syria and Lebanon both happen to be members of the United Nations.

Under the new provisions, Syria and Lebanon could introduce discussion on the aggressive French actions. But there could be no inquiry (Continued on page 4)



EMPTY-HANDED

ference the local presidents demanded an end to all manpower restrictions, a thirty-hour week and, as the first step in that direction, the forty-hour week with forty-eight hours pay. As the means to carry out these demands, they called for a national strike vote under the Smith-Connelly Act.

These proposals were presented to the conference the following day, representing 400,000 UAW members, by a steering committee headed by Brendon Sexton, president of Local 50, and Matthew Hammond, president of Local 157.

THOMAS EMPTY-HANDED

UAW President R. J. Thomas, who admitted that he returned from Washington empty-handed and that no one in the government had any idea of what to do about reconversion unemployment, pleaded with the



POLAND'S NEW RULER

opposed to the imperialism from the East as they opposed the imperialism from the West. They included not only Polish reactionary nationalists, colonels and landlords, but above all, and in the first place, the heroic elements of the Polish working class, the activists of the Polish Socialist Party, the Jewish fighters of the Bund and the militants of the trade union movement. After the fight against the Nazis which culminated in the Warsaw uprising of last winter, during which the Russian army marked time outside the city, they

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Veterans, Seniority and Jobs

By MIKE STEVENS

A minimum of 2,000,000 servicemen will be discharged from the armed forces during the next twelve months, according to recent government reports. This means 2,000,000 men in search of jobs. When the war in the Pacific comes to an end, there will be millions more of discharged veterans, all searching for jobs.

Big business and its government have done nothing to provide jobs for the returning servicemen, just as nothing has been done to provide jobs for the millions of workers in the war industries who are being thrown out of work at an ever-increasing rate every day.

By reading the newspapers one gets the impression that big business and the government are really interested in providing jobs for the returning veterans, but that the only drawback is the trade union movement and its seniority rules. The capitalists have launched a huge campaign calling for "super-seniority" for the veterans.

"SUPER-SENIORITY" The notorious anti-labor Timken Roller Bearing Company ran full-page ad in the Wall Street Journal last year calling for "double seniority" for the veterans. Major-General Lewis B. Hershey, Selective Service Director, speaking at an American Legion conference last month, said that a veteran should be rehired even if it means firing a worker with more seniority. The auto industry is already demanding that veterans who were never employed in that industry be given priority over the present workers.

It is obvious that this big business propaganda is intended to split the servicemen from the other workers and thus to weaken the labor movement. In other words, they seek to weaken the only force that can be of any real value to the returned soldier. Big business knows that UNLESS its propaganda is successful,

the veteran will eventually realize that his needs are tied up with those of the rest of the working class, and that only through the organized labor movement will a really effective fight be made against unemployment. Big business knows that a strong labor movement can demand jobs for all, pry into the huge war profits and insist that the government-owned war plants not be sold to big business but opened up to provide jobs.

Big business wants the veteran who is looking for work to be pre-occupied with the thought that he is unemployed because all the jobs are being held by "civilians" and that the only way to get a job is to "bump" a civilian from one. Some industries, fearing that the propaganda that they direct toward the veterans may not be successful, are already trying to push through legislation on "super" seniority for veterans.

The owners of the auto industry are repairing for a real fight with the unions. The auto companies have already shoved men with fifteen to twenty years' seniority to the third shift to make room on the second shift for veterans. After reconversion, when jobs and shifts are cut down, the older workers will be discarded completely to make room for the younger men. The auto magnates hope to create a real division between the older workers and the veterans, and out of this division and chaos to wreck the unions.

If the bosses are successful in playing "veteran" against "civilian" in

any particular industry and the union is weakened or destroyed, then the bosses will start their old game of reducing wages and eliminating all workers' rights won by the union. If the workers object to the bosses' attempts to tamper with wages and working conditions, they will be fired, and the workers who had been previously "laid off" will be hired to take their place.

VETERANS' ROLE

The veteran should join the fight for "jobs for all." It is his only protection for a job and security. It falls for the capitalist propaganda and put on the "super-seniority" horse blinkers that they are proud of, he may gain a temporary advantage which will eventually cost him and the rest of the working class a high price.

Veterans of the First World War will remember that capitalism did not have any jobs for them when they came back. As a matter of fact, if their jobs existed at all, they could only get them back, except in cases where they were protected by their unions, if they were willing to work for less money than they received before they were drafted.

But there is a difference today. There is a strong labor movement that has, in all its union agreements, a clause that a veteran must be given his old job and his seniority should continue as if he had never left the company. Knowing that the unions would back up this clause and fight for the returning serviceman's rights, a clause along similar lines was inserted into the Selective Service Act so that the veteran would not feel that it was the union that saved his old job and his seniority.

The unions have fought for equal pay for equal work during this war so that it will be impossible to tell the veteran, as he was told after the last war, that he can have his old job back only if he is willing to work at the reduced rate being paid a woman worker. According to many

union agreements, if there have been any upgradings or promotions while he was away, the veteran is entitled to get them. Also, if he is physically handicapped so that he can't handle his old job, the boss must find other work for him at the rate of pay being paid on his old job.

The trade union movement fought for these safeguards for the veterans. The bosses try to get the veterans' help to weaken the labor movement in order to eliminate any protection that the veterans may have.

The interest of capitalism in the veteran can be seen in the plans that have been made for jobs. No genuine plans exist now and the capitalists do not have any intention of making any plans that will benefit the working class. Capitalism's interest in the veteran's welfare can be seen daily in Washington where legislation that might benefit the veterans is defeated by representatives of big business.

The super-seniority propaganda is one of the greatest pieces of hypocrisy ever attempted by industry. It has been fighting seniority tooth and nail for many years and now it comes out as the champion of seniority for the veterans.

The capitalists and their representatives will continue pushing this union-wrecking idea for the remainder of the war. Government officials like Major General Hershey will help by handing down the appropriate interpretations. But the all-out drive will come with reconversion. There will be mass unemployment with millions of ex-war workers and ex-servicemen looking for jobs. Capitalism hopes to catch the labor movement off guard, creating chaos among the millions who are looking for the limited number of jobs.

The only way that the labor movement can protect itself and guard the veteran from falling for the phony propaganda of capitalism is by pushing a program that will guarantee JOBS FOR ALL AT A LIVING WAGE.

The following paragraphs, some lifted from the daily press, tell the local employment story.

"A week ago applications for unemployment insurance hit the 5,000 mark and this week they were being filled at the rate of 500 to 900 a day."

From a feature story describing the increased activity at the unemployment insurance office: "A tall, thin woman, obviously worried, chimed in: 'My husband was killed in action. I've got three babies, four, three and two years old. Fifty cents an hour would just about pay my housekeeper.'"

A recently laid off aircraft worker relates his experiences at the USES: "I've got a wife and four children. They tell me to go to a foundry for eighty cents an hour. My family just can't live on that kind of money."

Two Curtiss-Wright workers tell us: "In spite of the fact that the company has laid off about 4,000 people recently, with many more thousands due to go, they are hiring in our department. Wage? Sixty-five cents an hour! They now get two workers for the price of one. Where is the War Manpower Commission on all this?"

But Bell Aircraft is plainly not troubled: "Frankly, Bell Aircraft welcomes recent order cutbacks. The B-29 plant in Georgia and Ordnance plant in Vermont continues to hum, offsetting any financial losses which might be incurred here during the adjustment period."

And so it goes. Everywhere there is confusion and uncertainty. Those still working inquire anxiously of those out job-hunting: "What's it like at the USES?" Some, in or out, whistle bravely in the dark and speak of business ventures, fishing trips and "extended vacations." One hears increasingly the home-spun theory of mass consolation—"I'll be no better or worse off than the next guy."

So far reality has only jabbed the

working class off balance. The real punches are yet to come.

Saturday, June 9, the local afternoon newspaper gave front page banner headlines to (what seemed to be) a genuine reconversion plum. The National Aniline plant had announced plans for a ten million dollar post-war reconstruction program which would entail the hiring of an additional fifteen hundred workers.

Thousands were no doubt duly impressed. But alas, while struggling through page 10 of the June 10, Sunday paper we discovered that this widely heralded plum had dried overnight and was now but another capitalist prune....

We quote: "Reports circulated yesterday that the National Aniline plant is planning a ten million dollar post-war reconstruction program or confirmation." The company spokesman also denied plans for hiring an additional fifteen hundred workers."

Moral: A capitalist liar grasps at any straw, and buries on page 10 (if he even bothers) the sins of page 1.

Twelve Subs from The Coal Diggers

Mr. Albert Gates, Editor:

Please accept these subscriptions for one year, the following named wish LABOR ACTION mailed to them. (List of twelve subs follows.) We have found your LABOR ACTION paper refreshing and enlightening.

Yours sincerely H. R. Penn.

Bilbo's "Back to Africa" Program

By CHRIS WARREN

For the past eight years Senator Theodore Bilbo has endeavored to convince the Senate that his Back-to-Africa bill is the solution of the racial problem in the United States.

In an interview in March 1944, he stated that he was sure that discrimination against Negroes in this country would continue after the war. Their only chance for "security, equality, and a decent life" lay somewhere on the continent of Africa. He would begin his Back-to-Africa campaign "after the war." The Senator probably felt that it would not be tactful to bring up the subject of wholesale Negro migration to Africa during the war.

Three weeks ago Bilbo started his campaign. He informed the Senate that 2 1/2 million Negroes had signed a petition supporting the Back-to-Africa bill.

One of the organizations that is supporting Bilbo is the Garvey Club, Inc. The Garvey Club, Inc., is a carry-over from the old Garvey movement. This organization was founded by Marcus Garvey, a West Indian Negro, about twenty years ago, for the purpose of creating an independent Negro country in Africa. Mr. Gibbons, the president of Garvey Club, Inc., said that his organization does not condone Bilbo's "prejudices" but they support his bill because they are both working towards the same goal.

Gibbons wants the Negroes to have "national dignity" and Bilbo wants to keep the white race "pure." Therefore, they both want to set up a country in Africa (exactly where nobody seems to know) and are now working together in harmony. This shameful hypocrisy should be condemned by all workers, because the American Negro doesn't want to emigrate, he wants his rights at home.

Bilbo's other friend and collaborator is Mrs. Mittie Gordon, of Chicago, the head of the Peace Movement

for Ethiopia. Eight years ago at the first presentation of Bilbo's bill, Mrs. Gordon, with Bilbo's aid, brought a few bus-loads of Negroes from Chicago to the Senate. In 1943 Mrs. Gordon was convicted of sedition for encouraging Negroes to sympathize with the Japanese people. She was sentenced to two years in prison, although the Peace Movement for Ethiopia has no connection with the Garvey Club, Inc, still it has "the same aim," says Mr. Gibbons.

The working class must realize that only through the united action of black and white workers can it ever solve these problems and develop to its fullest strength.

SOME OPINIONS

Bilbo's bill did not meet with much approval by some people interviewed in the Harlem district of New York. Below are some of the comments.

Mrs. Julia Keeffe 930 East 207th St., Bronx, N. Y.

"You couldn't print what I'd say to that guy. Hell, no, I don't want to go to Africa. I'm a North American Negro. I was born here. I live here. I work here. What would I want to go off to some country I never been to? No sir. I guess it will take a lot of education to get rid of discrimination but I'll stick it out here. This is my country." Mr. Samuel Ware 137 W. 141st St., N. Y. C.

"Seems silly to me. I was born in New York. What the hell would I do in Africa? There isn't anything over there. If I'd been born there I might want to visit but no sir, I stay here." Unidentified sailor, "Why, that..."

Negroes Get Priority in Layoffs

By W. F. CARLTON

Two weeks ago ten thousand Negro workers were laid off in four cities of the Midwest, Chicago, Detroit, St. Louis and Indianapolis. Other workers were laid off also, of course. Thus among 5,000 workers to be released from the Allison division of General Motors, only 400 are Negroes.

In Chicago at the Pressed Steel Car Co., of 1,800 workers released, 1,000 were Negroes. Ford Willow Run released 4,000. The Murray Co. of Detroit released all persons hired since 1942. The UAW-CIO has made certain that layoffs were made according to seniority. But most of the Negro workers who broke into war industries did so only after the war effort was well under way (1942 and 1943). Thus they are slated to be laid off first.

The Negro communities are hard hit. While unemployment among white workers is scattered in its geographical effects, the concentration of Negroes in Jim Crow areas brings home unemployment to them in a concentrated manner. Finally the industries in which most of them are employed are aircraft and other mushroom war industries. This is particularly true in California. These are the industries with the most uncertain future, which means an uncertain future for the Negroes more than for any other section of the population.

WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

Two things must be established first. From all sides it is being hammered home into the heads of all workers that the problem of cutbacks, of layoffs, of unemployment, is a national problem. In the same way that the organization of production for the war was and is a national problem, so the organization of production to prevent unemployment is a national problem. This means also that it is a problem of government. In its broad outlines it has to be organized from one center.

Modern industry is too interdependent to be organized successfully in separate groupings. On the auto industry depends steel, coal, oil and transport. Disorganize one and you disorganize all. Whatever special difficulties the Negroes may suffer from, there is no special solution for them. In fact, the very uncertainties of their future in industry compel them to be more than all others concerned about a well planned, well organized industrial system in the United States. If there is no such planning then the weight of the chaotic economy will fall most heavily upon the most oppressed, the most discriminated against, i.e., among others, the Negroes.

The Negroes are concerned with the problem and are racking their brains to find a way out. The Labor Vanguard is a weekly paper which styles itself the official organ of the National Labor Council. Its avowed aim is equal rights for minority groups. It preoccupies itself with this very question of Negroes and unem-

ployment. It claims, and this is very likely true, that it has been "virtually bombarded" with questions by colored workers as to what position organized labor will take on the retention of colored workers when the time for layoffs comes. It conducted a poll among labor leaders on this question and the result appears in a June issue.

LABOR LEADERS SPEAK

R. J. Thomas, William Green, K. C. Adams of the United Mine Workers (for John L. Lewis) sent replies. All stated that seniority was the foundation of the union movement and that it was to be "respected and preserved," in the words of William Green. R. J. Thomas, in a lengthy reply, gave his positive solution of the problem.

"Rather, we join with the national CIO in subscribing to a program of full employment for all workers with adequate safeguards which will insure equality and full employment opportunity for all alike."

The Labor Vanguard in its editorial of that issue was realistic and bitter. It more or less accepted the inevitability of the seniority rule being retained. But it poured scorn on the slogans of full employment and sixty million jobs. It pointed to the fact that in Harlem on V-E Day there was no celebration. "For, over and above the roar of guns, the peals of church bells and the screech of horns, the working masses heard the deafening clatter of empty larders. To them, V-E Day was the forerunner of hungry days."

Sixty million jobs, full employment—this was talk and nothing more. All this is true. However, the editorial did put forward one suggestion. Labor and management must get together and devise a plan "to ameliorate the harshness of the cutback. President Truman's unemployment compensation plan is a step in the right direction. But it is only a

step—a government step. Labor and industry must devise a practical plan of their own to meet the situation."

POSITIVE PROGRAM NEEDED

Now here is a thoroughly defeatist, muddled and demoralizing attitude to an urgent problem affecting not only Negroes and other minorities, but the whole nation. It is particularly mischievous because it comes from an organization speaking in the name of labor minorities.

What can "labor and management" do to mitigate cutbacks?

Why is the government excused simply because Truman has proposed unemployment compensation?

Is the country in a position to provide full employment and sixty million jobs?

The government organized production for the war. Why can't it organize production for the peace?

If Roosevelt's slogan of sixty million jobs was nothing but a fake, why not devise a practical plan for making this fake a reality?

WHAT IS WRONG?

Negro labor cannot accept any such program. Negro labor, more than any other labor, has the right and the duty to say and say loudly, that there must be a plan to prevent unemployment. Production was organized for war. It can be organized for peace. Such is the program Labor Vanguard should place before those who bombard it with queries.

Labor Vanguard should conduct polls among labor leaders, but the main purpose of the polls should be to find out: What do you propose to do about full employment?

Labor Vanguard should place most bitterly and realistically before them

the evidence that Roosevelt's slogans were not meant seriously.

Labor Vanguard should inform the labor leaders that even their labor plans (for full employment) are fakes unless they show that they mean business and are prepared to take steps to carry them out.

Finally Labor Vanguard should say that it agitates on behalf of Negro and other minority workers it is only expressing the most acute form of what is a national problem.

OUR WAY OUT

This is the approach of LABOR ACTION to this problem. Naturally LABOR ACTION fights for substantial compensation for unemployment. Labor Action welcomes the struggle of minority groups against their special disabilities. But when those who speak in the name of these groups propose a policy of capitulation—then they mislead their followers and instead of being in the vanguard find themselves at the tail of the labor movement.

The problem is a national problem. It is a problem of government—of the government planning production. What is required is a workers' government, a government of labor backed by all the millions who fear the coming unemployment and do not know what to do. By accepting so pitifully the whole idea of unemployment, Labor Vanguard misleads the people who bombarded it with questions.

Labor Action a Fearless Paper

Dear Sir: Enclosed please find one dollar for a one year sub to LABOR ACTION. It's a swell paper. I don't belong to any political party but I certainly like to read a fearless paper which champions the working man. After all, the majority of the people in the world are working people.

J. R. Bypkoklyn.

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

Ten Days That Shook the World

By John Reed PRICE 95 CENTS ONLY A FEW COPIES ON HAND. ORDER NOW.

Letter From a Sharecropper

SOUTH-EAST, MO.—Sharecroppers and day workers the run is on and who can stop it? No one. So you can get what you want now and that's a living. Watch your steps. The landlord wants cotton and if he don't get it his money is stopped from the God he delights in on that the cap class. So you all one. Let them have cotton for you. See what the landlord want to do through South East as a whole. Well they have bought every hog they can buy and send it to St. Louis and yet they can't get any meat for you to buy so you can work the soldiers.

WORK LIKE DOGS

Say they don't get meat—they tell us that when we can get to talk to them. So you can think what you want to on that. Some men say they got to quit farming for they can't make anything well for one thing you see like him he got to pay you now and not so much thinking work any more. So he say mens work any more you have and learned to think that work is hard.

One man and lot of them do not want to do it at all. All we know them so them that don't work.

Ought to pay the one that do work for to work for someone is hard for a dog.

Do not work and let the cotton set in the shade and wait for the dog to bring the money home. Are you that sensible? Not so much the animal has the most sense you know.

John Jones.

Workers Party Jobs Plan--

(Continued from page 1)

merely propose nothing themselves, but demand that the government do nothing, leaving everything up to private enterprise.

All of the plans of all the planners do not fall short because full employment, a guaranteed annual wage and genuine security are impossible.

The national income of the country has been raised during this war to over \$190 billion. The previous all-time high was in 1929, when national income was only \$90 billion. Bear in mind that this more than doubling of goods and services has been accomplished with only a twenty per cent increase in the working force and much of this increase was from the ranks of the unskilled who had never worked before!

Up to the present we have had full employment—no, an actual manpower shortage—for war production. Why not jobs for all in peacetime?

There have been produced more factories, more machinery, more skills—for war. Why cannot they be used to create the jobs for peacetime?

It is possible in peacetime to secure jobs for all. It is possible when you KNOW HOW, when you have a complete program to assure full employment.

"HOW" OF WP PROGRAM

Therefore the Workers Party calls for "conscription of all war industries... no handing over of government-built and government-owned plants and facilities to private ownership." Let Willow Run and other plants like it be owned and operated by the government since it is not profitable for free enterprise to do it!

Therefore the Workers Party calls for a "100 per cent tax on all war profits above a five per cent maximum on invested capital" and a "\$25,000 ceiling on individual income, plus a levy on all accumulated

wealth over \$50,000 to cover war costs and provide post-war security for labor."

With this revenue the government could operate every outlet, branch, plant, factory and industry that cannot guarantee jobs at adequate wages for its workers.

As for management, which has shown its "genius" for organizing production only in wartime (with government money and orders), it has lost its right to manage. Let the organized workers elect their own management committees which will plan production for jobs, needs and security.

Who will carry out this program? Not Murray, nor Green, nor Thomas, nor Truman, nor "free enterprise," which is already breaking down now that the war market is shrinking.

Only an independent Labor Party composed of the working class who lack jobs, security and a guaranteed income can achieve these things.

(Continued from page 1)

The labor leaders in the American over, eliminate the profiteers, and establish decent conditions."

These labor leaders, including leaders of the Transport Workers Union, which is now involved in the slowdown, were begging La Guardia just a few days ago to stand for reelection. Now he is repaying them in the usual manner of capitalist politicians.

The labor leaders in the American Labor Party don't dare to put their new 'friend' O'Dwyer on the spot by asking him to make a statement. The same goes for the labor leaders in the Liberal Party with regard to Goldstein.

This whole affair proves once more what the Workers Party has been saying all along. Workers need their own completely independent

Labor Party, based on the mass trade union. They need their own program and their own candidates, who will be fully responsible to labor.

That's a key plank in our platform for this election. A vote for the Workers Party is a vote to end company unionism in politics. It's a vote to end these betrayals by so-called 'friends' of labor, who are really the friends of big business."

New York Bus Slowdown--

A PAPER IN THE INTEREST OF LABOR



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Editorials

Pastor Niemoller and the Nazis

Martin Niemoller, the German Lutheran pastor, was long a symbol of religious opposition to Nazism. For alleged anti-Nazi views, expressed from the pulpit, he was imprisoned for over seven years.

For all his sufferings and all his piety, Niemoller was a mild kind of anti-Nazi. When released recently, he told reporters that he volunteered in 1939 to resume his World War I role as a U-boat commander. "If there's a war, a German man does not ask the question whether the war is just as unjust, whether the aim is this or that, but feels instinctively he is bound to serve in some way," he said. He also condemned the German people as longing for "authority," and unprepared for self-government.

As for squaring his conscience on the matter of volunteering his services to the Nazis, he quotes: "Render unto God the things that are God's, and unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's." He also "could not stand the idea that my sons (who had been drafted) might be dying while I was doing nothing."

There are many conclusions to be drawn from the example of Martin Niemoller—about himself, German fascism and national feelings.

About Niemoller: He was the kind of anti-Nazi who became an opponent of Nazism only after it began to make attacks on his church. Even after imprisonment, he was willing to make his peace with it. The doctrines of his religion "caused me to obey the given authority," he said.

About the Allied Military Government: They treat Niemoller gently (as they have dealt with outright fascists), despite his compromises with fascism. On the other hand, they have dispersed masses of German anti-fascists demonstrating for more severe punishment of the Nazis than the Allied Control Commission is handing out.

About national feelings: The sentiments

Niemoller expresses concerning "My country, right or wrong" and his feeling for his sons who were fighting are not peculiarly German. These are feelings every ruling class tries to instill into every ruled class. By such feelings they try to identify the interests of the ruling class with the interests of all its inhabitants to create national unity. Actually, in every capitalist country, Germany, Britain, the United States, the interests of the ruling class—the wealthy, exploiting, war-making class—are opposed to those of the working class—the poor, the exploited, those who fight and bear the burdens of war.

About German self-government: Certainly Germany is not ready for government of the type the self-abasing, self-condemning Niemollers would give. Nor any of the minor fuhrers who are being hoisted into command by the Allied authorities on the plea that these are the only ones that have the "administrative skills and experience." Only the German workers, upon whom the entire weight of fascism rested, can regenerate and re-educate Germany. Better "crude" administration with a deft rooting out of the fascists than the "efficient" administration planned by the Allies, efficiently handled by former Nazis.

About German fascism: The fact that Niemoller was persecuted by the Nazi authorities even though he volunteered to serve them, reveals the nature of Nazism. It delivers a blow at those who say so light-mindedly: "If the German workers aren't guilty, why didn't they revolt?" The truth is that the most outspoken and heroic leaders of the workers' opposition to Hitler were killed, sent to concentration and torture camps, or fled. Niemoller, who would have commanded a U-boat if permitted to by the Nazis, was merely imprisoned.

The Future of Women Labor

By RAY MANTLER

The women who have entered industry since Pearl Harbor look uneasily to the future. From the 9,700,000 of the nation's women who were working in June, 1940, the number has grown to 16,500,000, an increase of over fifty-two per cent. Women now form a significant section of the working force of the country. More than one out of every three workers in the country is a woman. Yet they fear the loss of their jobs and through their labor unions they are trying to protect the positions they won for themselves.

The United Automobile Workers and the United Electrical Workers, two large unions with many women in their ranks, are spearheading the fight for the protection of women's jobs. Women in both unions have won the right to security while they are on maternity leave. Many UEW contracts have been signed where the employer is compelled to provide suitable light work for pregnant women.

UNION GAINS

They also are entitled to a minimum leave of absence of six weeks before and two months after childbirth. The UAW contract clause provides maternity leave two months before the expected date of childbirth. The woman can return to work any time up to two months after delivery upon presentation of a doctor's certificate. The two month

period can be extended on a physician's recommendation. Seniority is accumulated during the time of the leave.

Women, therefore, relative newcomers to the ranks of organized labor, have learned in a short time, that the way to bolster their position is through their labor unions. On the whole, most women in industry make good trade unionists. Forty per cent of the UE and thirty per cent of that of the UAW is made up of women.

What women must realize, however, is that a fight for the inclusion of maternity clauses in their union contracts is only the first step. The important task for labor in the post-war period is to keep up production, and women must give their strength to push this demand also. A clause in a contract is of very little value when a plant closes down altogether. The task is to keep the factories, which have been producing for death and destruction, producing for life and civilian needs. Many employers, bloated on the war profits, will refuse to produce when they are no longer at their wartime standard of profit.

Organized labor must decide that in such cases the employers are no longer entitled to their plants. They have no right to turn out on the streets without jobs the thousands of workers who have made possible their gory profits during the war. Where the employers prove incapable and inefficient in maintaining production, the trade unionists must take over the plants and run them under government management.



By Reva Craine

Indian Independence

The question of Indian independence is moving into the limelight again. The White Paper issued by the Secretary for India, Leopold S. Amery, in which the British government is reoffering in slightly modified form the 1942 Cripps proposals as a substitute for national independence, is a sign of the times.

The current proposals are designed not so much to break a deadlock in negotiations between a few Indian leaders and the British government. If that were all that was involved, Churchill could slap Gandhi back into jail and forget the whole business.

What produces these proposals at this time are three factors, the most important of which is the fact that India's millions have not given up their century-old desire for freedom and are ready to take up an active struggle for it again.

Added to this is the growing popularity of the United States, which for its own imperialist aims presses for the loosening of England's grip on India.

And finally, there are the British elections, in which Churchill wants to appear as the friend of the Indian people. Britain is seeking, not to break a deadlock, but to prevent the outbreak of the Indian revolution.

The Cripps Proposals

The Amery document declares that the Cripps offer, rejected in violent struggle by the Indian people in 1942, remains open. The Indians threw this offer back into the faces of their British masters because it had in no way satisfied their demand for immediate and unconditional independence. It had proposed to retain the 1935 Constitution, which deprived about 365 million out of a population of 400 million of the right to vote, and which gave to the British Viceroy the following powers: to veto all decisions of the Provincial Councils, to control the police, army and use of troops, to order arrests, to levy taxes, to control the banks, foreign relations and finances. The matter of defense was to remain entirely in the hands of the British government.

In the sweet bye and bye, "some time after the war, nobody knows just when, Cripps proposed that a new Constitution, which would aim at independence but "semi-dominion" status, be drawn up. In the meantime, the Indian masses were

to throw all their energies behind the British war effort.

That was in 1942, when Japan's armies were on the borders of India. In defense of their country the Indian people unceremoniously gave Sir Stafford the boot and opened up an active struggle against British imperialism.

Vacillation of the leadership and superiority of the British forces temporarily suppressed the struggle. Thousands were arrested, thrown into jail, and the Constitution was suspended. The British ruled India by executive decree.

The New Proposals

Now Mr. Amery is offering to reconstitute the Executive Council, to be composed of Indian political leaders who would be chosen by a conference of recognized party leaders. The Viceroy would, naturally, retain all his old powers. Represented on a parity basis at this conference, called for June 25 at Simla, would be the Moslems, who constitute less than one-fourth of the population, and the caste Hindus, or a very small proportion of the remaining 300 million. The great bulk of the Indian masses would not be represented at this conference.

Mohandas K. Gandhi, leaders of the Congress Party, has stated that he is willing to study these proposals. However, he is very careful not to commit himself too definitely since he is not too sure that the Indian people are ready to accept. He therefore states that he is prepared to recommend to the Congress Party that it study these proposals. Later reports declared that Gandhi would oppose the British plan.

This is characteristic of Gandhi's conduct. He is an Indian nationalist, that is, he wants national freedom for India. But he is at the same time a representative of the small Indian capitalist class, and therefore wants this freedom so that his class will be able to exploit the Indian workers and peasants. That is why he is opposed to, active mass revolutionary struggle, for he knows that such a struggle can very well sweep away the Indian capitalist together with the British imperialist. This is at the root of his compromising attitude.

However, the Mahatma is far too shrewd to oppose the will of the masses directly. He seeks therefore to deflect their struggles into passive resistance, always leaving them unprepared to resist the armed intervention of British imperialism.

In 1942, we know that the Con-

gress Party leaders were ready to accept the Cripps proposals, but it was the insurgent masses who prevented that. Gandhi, more sensitive to the moods of the people, got the Congress leaders to reject the Cripps offer. Today, Gandhi is ready to recommend to his party to accept the Amery offer, but leaves himself free to change his position should the Indian people once again force their will upon the Congress leadership.

We have every reason to believe that the Indian masses will not be fooled by the Amery proposals any more than they were by the Cripps proposals. The famine of the last three years, entirely the product of Britain's misrule and mismanagement, is a stark reminder to the Indians that they have nothing, absolutely nothing to gain from across-the-table negotiations with their imperialist overlords, and that direct action is the only language the latter will understand.

British Labor Leaders Accept

Clement R. Attlee and Sir Stafford Cripps, leaders of the British Labor Party, have endorsed the Amery proposals. In this they were certainly not speaking for British labor. The working people of England have no interest in the continued retention of India as a colony.

At a Labor Party conference last December, the worker delegates showed where they stood on the question. Over the objections of the Party leaders, who threatened that the passage of the resolution introduced by the National Union of Railwaymen meant that the "British should quit India tomorrow," the great majority of the conference called for the immediate release of all Indian political prisoners.

While Churchill shows that he understands how the British workers feel about freedom for India, the leaders of the British Labor Party show that they are at one with Churchill, i.e., British imperialism, in regard to foreign and colonial policy.

A new stage in the struggle for Indian independence is opening up. A very important factor for the success of this struggle is the solidarity of the British workers with the Indian masses. Spearheading this solidarity are two organizations—the British Revolutionary Communist Party, which calls for immediate and unconditional freedom for India, and the Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India, which calls for the attainment of national freedom through independent class action of the working classes.

One-Tenth of the Nation

The Case of the 92nd

By J. R. Johnson

For months now, the case of the 92nd Division, a Negro outfit, has reverberated through the Negro press. The capitalist press has had echoes of it. It is clear that we shall hear more of it, particularly in the post-war period.

The 92nd was stationed in Italy and fought in the Italian campaign. Toward the end of the campaign the rumors began to spread that the 92nd had not met the test of war. When this appeared in the press, the bitterness and protests of the Negro people began at once. Soon it had reached such a pitch that the War Department sent its Negro representative, Truman Gibson, to Italy to investigate and, if possible, patch up a situation which had become an international scandal.

Truman Gibson is one of the capitalist spokesmen who do their dirty work among the Negroes. The job he has was once held by Judge Hastie. These aides to the Secretary of War are supposed to represent Negro interests in the Army. So flagrant was the discrimination, so obvious the failure of the Roosevelt government to do anything about it that Hastie resigned. Now Truman Gibson found himself in Italy representing the War Department and representing the Negroes at the same time.

AN INFAMOUS INTERVIEW

The result could have been foreseen. At a press conference packed with reporters, Gibson gave a new-famous interview. It amounted to a long whitewash of the black record of the Administration's treatment of the Negroes.

He blamed the weakness upon some abstract difficulties of Negroes as if he didn't know where the difficulties originated. He took it upon himself to say that the 92nd had "melted away" under fire. He said that the record of the 92nd "presents a rather dismal picture." There was a universal demand for his resignation. But Gibson continues in his job.

Now General Clark, commander of the American Army in Italy, has returned home. Speaking before 60,000 people in Chicago he said: "Our Negro troops were among our most valuable assets." He spoke of the "glor-

ious 92nd" and refused to discuss Truman Gibson's statements. But, true or not true, the charges have gone abroad.

Ro Otley, PM correspondent in Italy, has investigated the charges and reports that they were unfounded. But he leaves no doubt that in morale and fighting spirit something was radically wrong with the 92nd.

NEGRO PRESS REPLIES

To the charge that the Negro soldiers in the division were below the average in education, the Negro press replied that even if this were true, the fault is the fault of the American government. It sanctions the Jim Crow system in education and allows numerous Southern states to spend five times as much on the education of one white child as on the education of a Negro child.

On the question of morale, the reply is devastating. The men know that they are not fighting for democracy. They did not live in a true democracy, they know they are not going back to any democracy. The Negro press refuses to take any apologetic attitude. While it argues the case for and against the charges, it states emphatically: If anything is

wrong, you, the authorities, are responsible. This is a long way from the days when Negro publicists took examples of Negro excellence and boosted them to whites, hoping to achieve equality thereby.

So it is. But that is only one part of the story. In the integration which took place in the German campaign, men from Negro service battalions were trained, incorporated as combat troops, and won high opinions for themselves. The present case is different. If the 92nd is broken up and incorporated with white regiments, then however well the men fight, nothing will wash away the stain that the 92nd Division, as a Negro division, was a failure.

The labor movement should take note of these things. Such a struggle as the struggle of the Negro people for common justice in the Army can be used by capitalism to divide and disrupt the workers. The same struggle can be used by labor to strengthen and consolidate labor. The Negro struggle for just treatment in the Army is a struggle for democratic rights. And where anyone struggles for his own rights he struggles for the rights of all.

CHINA:
The Struggle Between Chiang and the Communists

By SUSAN GREEN

China is split into two antagonistic sections. There is Kuomintang China, with its capital at Chungking, and Communist China, with its capital at Yenan in the northwest. The hostility between the two Chinas verges on civil war. About Communist China, until quite recently, very little has been known for the simple reason that the Generalissimo's blockade of so-called Red China has excluded the press from the area.

However, in an inadvertent moment at a press conference, the official Chungking spokesman denied that there was a blockade. Whereupon, a group of correspondents pressed their advantage and asked permission to go to Yenan. After months of squirming, Chungking granted permission. Mr. Forman was one of the group to go. He reported on his six months' stay in Communist China in the book here reviewed.

In a way, Mr. Forman's book reminds one of the reports that used to come out of Russia in the early '30s when the starry-eyed friends went to see what was good, beautiful, brave and progressive—and naturally saw only that. However, Mr. Forman is supposed to have gone to Yenan with no preconceived views. Be that as it may, much of what he reports has been authenticated from other sources. Some of his account is based on official statements of the Communist Party; some consists of verbatim interviews with Communist leaders; so that, all in all, a reader can piece out a pretty comprehensive picture—if he applies some critical sense of his own.

RUSSIAN CONNECTIONS

The section where Mr. Forman tries to show that the connection between Communist China and Stalin's Russia is negligible has to be taken with a grain of salt. "In the five months I spent with the Chinese Communists I saw not the slightest tangible connection with Russia. There were no Russian supplies—no guns, planes or equipment. There were no Russian military or political advisers." Thus writes Mr. Forman.

Again, Mr. Forman makes the point that "the Chinese Communists are not Communists" in the Marxian-Leninist sense; and this is true. But neither are the Russian Stalinists communists in the Marxian-Leninist sense or in any sense. Nor are the Stalinists anywhere communists in the Marxian-Leninist sense. On the contrary, they have become a major counter-revolutionary force in the world. In America, the Stalinists are now staunch supporters of capitalism and enemies of all working class militancy. All of this, far from indicating a slackening of connections with the Kremlin, reveals how the puppet parties of the world dance to Moscow's fiddle.

The reader must pause and consider the policy of the Chinese Communists to accept only one-third of all elective offices—even if they receive more votes. This, supposedly, is evidence of the democratic intentions of the Communist Party. Has it, then, given up the primary objective of every political party, namely, power? Of course, it has not. Po Ku, member of the Politburo, made this clear to Edgar Snow of the Saturday Evening Post: "We must struggle for leadership everywhere and at all times. We do not deny that a political party that does not lead has no reason for existence." Presumably, there are other ways of gaining influence and making friends, and that one-third business is only a token concession—to what?

Red China seeks the military and economic help of the so-called western democracies, especially of the United States. Knowing the American disapproval of the Russian one-party system, is it not likely that the Chinese Stalinists have swept the dust under the carpet to make a democratic impression?

Mr. Forman's story of the military achievements of the Eighth Route Army, the New Fourth Army and the peoples' militia or partisans has been substantiated by others, including General Stillwell and Ambassador Hurley. These men, interested in winning the war against Japan for America, soon saw that the Chinese Communists were doing a businesslike job against the invaders, while the Chungking government was more concerned with doing such a job against the Chinese Communists.

POLICY OF COMMUNISTS

Another pretty well substantiated fact is that the Communist Party has instituted a number of reforms in its extensive Border Region with a population of some 90,000,000. There is a very close connection between the military plans of the Communist leaders and such reforms as were granted the people. No party could get the ear of the poverty-stricken, landlord-oppressed peasants subjected also to the assaults of the Japanese invader, unless that party came with a program of agrarian relief and governmental change. On the other hand, tightly blockaded from the outside world, the Communist leaders just had to secure the active support of the people.

The Communists advocate lower rents and lower taxes. At the same time an intensive production drive was started to supply food and the materials of war. Cooperative labor exchanges facilitated the division of labor between working and fighting. To remove the old-time objection of poor peasants to billeting an army, the army also rolled up its sleeves, participating in the production program and making itself as self-supporting as possible.

Local self-government in the villages—such as it can be under Communist domination—has been established. Education, within the limited facilities, becomes available to larger sections of the people. Much of the education is, however, propaganda pure and simple, as are also the cultural efforts which Mr. Forman describes as being so thoroughly enjoyed by the villagers.

By quoting Mae Tze-tung, big chief of the Communist Party, Mr. Forman makes it quite clear that the party program is not revolutionary. The agrarian reforms consist mainly in inducing the landlords to reduce rents, and then, by intensifying production, making it possible for the peasants to pay rent where formerly they couldn't. For the rest, the Communists stand for competition, private enterprise, and encouragement of foreign capital investments.

Neither is a revolutionary people's government on the slate of the Chinese party. It calls for a government representing landlords, merchants, capitalists, petty bourgeois, as well as peasants and workers. At the time of Mr. Forman's writing the Communists were willing to make peace with Chiang Kai-shek. The latter's terms, however, were not acceptable; consisting of reducing the 570,000 Communist army to a mere 100,000, disbanding the 2,200,000 people's militia, and appointing Kuomintang dictators for the anti-Japanese bases in North China.

Two Meetings on the New York Mayoralty Election

The Real Issue: Jobs!

A Socialist Program for Full Employment

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

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AFL VS. CIO

Why Is the Trade Union Movement Divided?
What Are the Policies and Groups Dominating the Unions?
Will the Unions Survive a Post-War Depression?

JULY 9

CHURCHILL AND/OR THE LABOR PARTY

Is the Labor Party of England Fighting for Socialism?
Why Did the Labor Party Break Up the Coalition with Churchill?

FREE ADMISSION QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSION WELCOME

Grand Illusion: Labor-Boss Cooperation

By Pearl Prentiss

The bubble of "industrial peace" that Eric Johnston, president of the United States Chamber of Commerce, Philip Murray of the CIO and William Green of the AFL, created a couple of months ago has just burst. The labor-management charter which was signed before grinding newsreel cameras and given large spreads in the pages on the capitalist press now, in the face of the reconversion crisis, reveals itself as an illusion.

The announcement of the indefinite postponement of the negotiations and talks scheduled to take place between the labor and Chamber of Commerce representatives has brought to a close these plans to disorient the labor movement.

In the camp of labor the AFL refused to sit down with the CIO. In the camp of big business, the National Association of Manufacturers (whose purposes resemble and whose membership almost overlaps that of the Chamber of Commerce) has been outspoken in its refusal to cooperate in Johnston's plans for industrial peace.

CAUSE OF BREAKDOWN

The newspapers try to play up the fact that the differences within either group have caused the breakdown. This is not the main factor, however. The important, unmentioned difference that makes the charter a failure is the unbridgeable gap between labor and business. It is the differences between the worker and the employer that make a genuine industrial peace impossible.

It is an ironic picture to see Johnston and his "management" group sitting at a round table discussing class peace, the very same group of people who form the organizations that are constantly campaigning for the breaking of strikes and the smashing of labor unions. The grovelling labor leaders play the same role they played when they shackled the workers to the no-strike pledge. When Murray and Green signed the charter and agreed to the mock "industrial peace," they were once again attempting to weaken the necessary struggle fought by the workers for their own interests.

ROLE OF LABOR LEADERS

Instead of dragging them with false ideas, the labor leaders should be teaching the workers that it is impossible for the bosses ever to cease fighting against labor. In order to extract profits from production, the capitalist must pay as low wages as possible. Regardless of whether workers starve or die, the capitalist must combat the trade unions which struggle for a decent livelihood for the workers.

It is the real job of the labor leaders to direct the working class in its inevitable struggle against the opposing interests of the capitalists. The worker must learn that as long as there are classes there will be a class struggle.

The cessation of labor-management negotiations at this time was no doubt a result of the independent action taken by the workers all over the country in the form of strikes, slowdowns and sit-ins. The farce of labor and management working side by side is revealed in all of its absurdity as it becomes clear that the only way labor can be guaranteed those much needed sixty million jobs is by acting independently.

The false policy of class collaboration cannot solve the problems of present-day society. Some of the big business and labor leaders who practice it may know this but they are not worried about tomorrow's pay envelope. The workers alone, independent of capitalist class ties, must struggle for their own interests.

Bell Aircraft Firings

BUFFALO—Eighteen leaders of Bell UAW Local 501 were fired on June 6 in a move designed to head off the local and forestall any action against the mass layoffs which are in process at the present time.

The eighteen were participants in a stay-in demonstration the preceding week against the laying off of 8,000 workers when no provisions for future work for them were made. The company firings was an obvious attempt to forestall such future actions along these lines and to tell the union in effect: "We will do what we damn please and you will take it and like it."

The case of the eighteen is now before an arbitrator and his decision together with a full report on Bell will be carried in next week's LABOR ACTION.

SOCIALISM AND POST-WAR HOUSING

Part I: Kitchens and the Ladies' Magazines

By MARIAN GOULD

Having just glanced at LABOR ACTION's headlines after papa lays it down, you might think that we don't know or don't care anything about kitchens.

That's an error.

We too have a position on kitchens and the post war world.

Of course, we can't compete with the slick-paper ladies' magazines showing in color prints just what kind of kitchens we advocate, because that would run our printing bills up out of all reason. (And we don't have any big capitalist advertisers to pay them, you know; just the dollars and dimes of ordinary workers who think like we do.)

For the record, let me paint you a word picture of what we think every housewife should have:

A beautiful, 100 per cent modern kitchen—installed in an equally modern house, of course. Complete with table-top range, electric dishwasher and garbage-disposal sink, oversize refrigerator, windows and French doors overlooking green lawns and gardens, plenty of storage space and work surfaces, radio, work-desk and serving counter. I think that covers the items in the typical photograph.

Not being totalitarians, we won't prescribe whether it should be in white enamel or in bright colors. We'll also leave it to you whether you want to go all the way with the ultra-modernists in the Ladies Home Journal architecture department (probably subsidized by the big home equipment and steel advertisers), who include a washing unit in their built-in kitchens. That is, a washing machine and dryer, with ironing boards and chair, and sewing machine handy.

Yes, we're all for post-war kitchens. That is, until modern science comes along with some more efficient way of cutting down that thirty per cent of her time that every housewife spends in the kitchen.

In fact, that's what SOCIALISM means: more and better consumers' goods and a real application of twentieth century technology to the problem of designing homes to eliminate household drudgery.

We socialists are the original planners. We

started well over a hundred years ago figuring how machines could be made to serve men, and not vice versa, as it is today.

The ladies' magazines are just catching up with us, and showing pictures of what we have long said CAN and SHOULD be made available to all families without exception.

We've even got a PLAN on HOW TO GET decent housing to the masses of people, which is more than they've got! (See page one.) And I will make so bold as to say that reading the ladies' magazines is NOT one of the ways to do it, however enticing their pictures.

There's no use denying the appeal of those pictures, even though we know they're just a mirage to take our minds away from reality. We housewives go for them.

It's a relief, the supper dishes washed and kids in bed, to sit down opposite the old man, and lose yourself wandering through the Post-War House. Even the traditionally conservative ladies' magazines (I mean the kind that advocate putting ruffles on every item of furniture) have given in to the trend and begun photographing Modern Post-War Homes.

(For a sound dollars-and-cents reason, of course, extensive advertising surveys, of which McColl's recent Traditional vs. Modern Home Contest was one, have shown the housewife's absorption and concern with this problem. The very same concern, incidentally, which has prompted LABOR ACTION to discuss the subject.)

"This is how you can live," Better Homes & Gardens, circulating to 2,350,000 families, heads their series on Post-War Homes.

"We're showing these homes," says the Ladies' Home Journal (circulation 4,205,000) "so you can make up your mind what's possible as a way of life for you."

Gracie Allen hit the nail on the head when she said: "They tell you everything but how to get the money."

THAT'S WHERE LABOR ACTION COMES IN.

Because what is actually involved in getting the rank and file housewife installed in that dream house is a whole series of black and white and dirty gray facts and figures from the back columns of the newspapers, government documents, financial, real estate and construction industry journals.

This is what we propose to discuss in our column, because, as scientific socialists, we take these facts of the capitalist world AS IT IS, for the starting point of OUR PLANS.

The bright colored photos in the magazines look real enough, but unfortunately for the down-trodden housewives, mass methods of printing and distribution have just succeeded in putting into our heads the most ephemeral of dreams. THEY HAVEN'T, AND WON'T, IF THE PAST IS ANY JUDGE, SUCCEEDED IN PUTTING THE HOUSES THEMSELVES INTO OUR HANDS.

That fact alone shows what kind of society we live in today. On a land-rich continent that sweeps from the Atlantic to the Pacific, capitalism organizes human living so as to jam thousands of families into a few restricted acres of high-priced city land—and then sells them pictures of gardens and green lawns, at a profit!

Only by pouring out their gaily-colored escapist literature in ever-increasing quantities, combined with their floods of movies, and radio dramas, can the economic masters of our land keep people's heads full enough of junk to prevent them from seeing the crystal-clear fact that

there's something basically wrong with a society that can mass-produce bombs, flame shooters and tanks, but cannot even build sanitary homes for its children on its abundant sunlit hills and valleys.

The Ladies' Magazines are right Out of This World. LABOR ACTION is right in it when we expose, and outline a program for fighting the real stumbling blocks that are keeping us workers from enjoying the healthful, modern standards of living that THE RICHEST COUNTRY IN THE WORLD is certainly equipped to provide.

We'll return to the subject of Post-War, and present-day, housing next week. Until then, let me urge you ladies: Forget the color pictures for a while, and let's get busy against the REAL Obstacles to decent housing.

Namely (to give you a short preview of Things to Come), the unequal distribution of national income, the ever-present threat of another depression, and the basic lack of common human decency of the capitalist system we live under, which unfailingly puts profits above any and every human need.

(Next week: Today's Housing Crisis.)

Picket Lines Enforce Goodyear Rubber Strike for Wages and Union Conditions

AKRON—The war profiteering rubber barons got a good sock in the jaw this week when 20,000 Goodyear workers struck for a long-overdue settlement of major grievances and 15,000 Firestone workers began balloting on a strike vote.

Although the Goodyear strike was begun under careful observation of the Smith-Connally law, under which a strike vote had been taken, the National Labor Relations Board wasted no time in denouncing it, saying the law was no concern of the NLRB!

The fact that Goodyear employees voted by over three to one to strike stood out so clearly that neither the company nor government agencies dared argue that the strike was caused by a "minority of trouble makers," etc.

And all the usual strike-breaking agencies were silent in the face of the fact that Goodyear made a 300 per cent increase in war profits while the workers bore the brunt of the rising cost of living.

CALLED BY LEADERSHIP

The strike was called by the leadership of Local 2, United Rubber Workers of America, after company stalling on settlement of all grievances proved that only direct action could bring any fruitful results.

It is known that the international union officers are opposed to the strike—even if it was carried out under the provisions of the Smith-Connally Act—but the international officers had made no public moves by Tuesday noon.

The Goodyear strike shut down the five Akron plants without any serious opposition, for the entire work-

ing population of Akron is fed up with the rubber companies chiseling, union-busting activities in the plants, and the war profiteering of the rubber industry.

This is the third time since the CIO began to organize in Akron that the Goodyear plants were shut down. The Goodyear strike victory in 1938 established the CIO movement after a five weeks struggle.

In 1937 Goodyear was shut down again, as the union fought a major campaign against the union-busting activities of the company.

The present strike climaxes a series of skirmishes in which the company sought to break union standards on wages, hours and seniority rights.

Strike leaders indicated that they would ignore any orders from the NLRB to resume work before negotiating, for they had received such a run-around in precisely those kind of

negotiations just before the strike.

Four major demands have been made by the union and rejected by the company, thereby precipitating the walkout. They involve union participation in setting wage rates, a general wage increase for workers in some badly underpaid departments, a revision of a "merit" system in the engineering department, and elimination of special "quick shifts."

C. V. Wheeler, president of Goodyear Local, said that any War Labor Board order to go back to work would be ignored. "This is a legal strike according to an act of congress, and the WLB has no authority."

He added that the union would be glad to go back to work if the government seized the plants, although the union has not taken a stand on the question yet.

Meanwhile, pickets keep the plant gates under close observation, and the strike is solid.

Big Five Veto Power --

(Continued from page 1)

into French responsibility, with proposals for any concrete actions to rectify French policy, to say nothing about taking any concrete actions. The Syrians and the Lebanese might be able to discuss, but this would hardly bring back to life, the civilians who were being bombed and murdered, even while the discussion was taking place. The French would be the only ones with a say on the matter, and it is hardly likely that French imperialism would brand itself the aggressor.

The very same situation would prevail in the other recent acts of aggression. The British could veto any interference in their reactionary policy in Greece. The Russians could veto interference with their policy in Poland, or with Russian agent Tito's attempt to annex Trieste. The entire thing is a mockery.

ANOTHER CONVENTION

No sooner had the veto question been settled at the San Francisco Conference than a new series of matters arose to plague the delegations. The small nations asked for the convening of another constitutional convention within ten years to reconsider the veto powers of the Big Five. Although the motion carried by a vote of 28 to 17, it was defeated because it wasn't two-thirds of the vote. The Big Five have rigged up a series of parliamentary statutes to help them dominate the conference. The controversy on this, as well as

on other matters, helps to underscore the distrust that the small nations feel toward the Big Five. The Big Five have had their way all down the line. They have made it clear that they want no interference from any of the small nations, not even in ten years. They don't even have the idealistic pretensions that the old League of Nations had.

According to the decisions of the San Francisco Conference, the new world organization is to have two main bodies. These are the World Security Council and the World General Assembly. The real power is in the hands of the World Council, which has eleven members on it and in which each of the Big Five has a permanent dominating seat.

QUESTION OF DISCUSSION

Another dispute broke out on the question of discussion in the pro-

posed World General Assembly. The Russians asked that the rights of discussion of this assembly be limited to questions dealing with international peace and security. They don't want anyone to have the right to discuss any internal question that involves any of the member nations. This right of free discussion in the General Assembly has been promised to the small nations in return for their support of the many crass deals that have been made by the Big Five.

If the small nations do not even have the right of discussion in the General Assembly, then they have lost their last right. Discussion, or rather the right of discussion, would not mean that the small nations would have any real power, since power is held by the Big Five through their permanent control.

Moscow Domination of Poland --

(Continued from page 1)

and formerly aide to General Bor. He and the other fifteen were arrested and accused of "diversionary" activities against the "Red" army and of having killed more than five hundred of its officers, in addition to "conducting intelligence and spying activity in the rear of the Red Army."

The press now reports that fifteen, including General Okulicki, of the sixteen prisoners have confessed their guilt. There you have the perfect Stalinist frame-up. We observed this process in the infamous Moscow Trials where afterward the charges and alleged facts were proved to have been false. Then, too, we had confession after confession describing the weirdest plots. All of them

were later shown to have been invented by the secret police. We have no doubt that the same kind of "evidence" will be presented and the present Polish defendants found guilty by their "confession."

It is also possible that as an international political measure, Stalin may grant the defendants clemency. The charge against them is that they maintained "secret" radios with which they contacted the London Polish government. These were the same radios they used during the German occupation. It is also charged that they had weapons—the same weapons they used against the Nazis—but did not turn them over to the Russian army.

The significant fact about the trial of the sixteen Poles is that it is

opened simultaneously with the negotiations between Mikolajczyk, Stanczyk and their aides and the Lublin government with Stalin at its side. And there is really nothing strange about this. The Russians have bluntly told the Allies where to get off on the question of Poland, namely, that Russia would brook no interference with its Polish policy.

All talk about the Yalta agreement and Russia's failure to carry it out are a lot of words, since the whole premise of Yalta was that it acceded to Stalin's demands on the question of borders and Russia's right to dominate the country.

The present trial and negotiations arise from the fact that the overwhelming majority of the Poles are against the Lublin gang, renamed the

Warsaw government, and Russian domination over the country. Like all other peoples, the Poles will not stand for a foreign oppressor who bars the way to genuine Polish national freedom and independence.

The Polish desire for national liberation is accentuated because for tens of years the Poles have been oppressed by Russian Czarism. Now they face a new foreign oppressor in Russian Stalinism.

The Poles have always been militant in their national struggles for independence. If they resist the Russianization of Poland today it is because they cannot easily forget that their country was partitioned in 1939 by Hitler and Stalin in accordance with the dictators' pact dividing the Polish nation between them.

Reactionaries Terrorize Greek Masses

By Jim Tanakos

Despite the continuing terror in Greece against the workers and the working class organizations by fascists and the British puppet government there, the workers are fighting back with strikes and demonstrations. This is the news coming out of every part of Greece.

The present government under the premiership of Voulgaris and the regent, Archbishop Damaskinos, had hoped by this time to have the working class of Greece in complete submission. Workers are being killed daily by the government police and home guard, tens of thousands are in jail and a number have been condemned to die. Offices and printing shops of working class organizations have been destroyed by the dozens. But the workers, instead of giving up the struggle, as the government expected them to do in the face of this terror, keep hitting back as hard as if they had just started to fight.

EVEN EX-PREMIERS PROTEST!

This performance by the workers has made many realize that the working class in Greece is far from played out and that it will insist on being heard on any decision made in that country. Five former Premiers of Greece, who have at various times done the same things to the workers that Voulgaris is doing now, have signed a petition to the government protesting against the reign of terror being inflicted upon Greek workers and liberals. These former Premiers have all served British imperialism. Each one was put into office when the situation called for it and withdrawn with the next turn of the wheel.

One of them was Plastiras, who preceded Voulgaris, the present Premier. Plastiras' reign of terror was just as bloody as the one his successor is now conducting. Another former Premier who signed the protest to Voulgaris was Emanuel Tsouderos. He was the Premier who had the Cairo and Alexandria mutiny of the Greek soldiers and sailors drowned in blood. Dozens of men were killed and 16,000 are still in the prisons of the Middle East, put there by this same Tsouderos. The mutiny, which was called to demand that the Greek government be more democratic, was suppressed by Tsouderos' man, Admiral Voulgaris, the same Voulgaris to whom Tsouderos is now sending protests.

The five former premiers realize that the workers are not going to be coerced and frightened into quitting the struggle. These workers represent a threat and a danger to the British and Greek capitalist interests, therefore these former premiers are coming out as the friends of the workers, hoping that the workers will follow them and not take a radical course.

COMMUNISTS EXPEL LEADING MEMBER

Thousands of Greek workers have fled to the mountains to escape the terror and to continue the fight. Just what their plans are and how they are organized are difficult to tell at this time. One of their leaders is Aris Velouhiotis, well known as a Communist Party member and one of the generals of the Greek Liberation Army (ELAS). He was one of the dozen or so Communist "mountain men," as the underground fighters from the hills were known, who forced the Central Committee of the Communist Party in Greece to change its policy last December when it was aiding Premier Papandreou disarm only the ELAS.

It has been reported that Velouhiotis and the other ELAS men threatened to leave the CP unless it carried on a more militant policy. Later when the treaty of Varkissa was signed by the Stalinists, in which they agreed to disarm the underground, Velouhiotis refused to go along. Months of negotiations between him and the CP failed, and the CP has now officially announced that he has been expelled. In the meanwhile, Velouhiotis is in the mountains building an organization of guerrilla fighters. Exactly what his expulsion means cannot be clear until more facts come through.

In Cephalonia, the army has instituted censorship on all mail coming in and leaving the district, and permits are necessary to enter or to leave. On June 14, censorship on all letters and telegrams leaving Greece was reinstated, which means that events are taking place in Greece which Churchill and his puppets do not want to leak through.

(It has just been reported that Velouhiotis was executed by the Rightist government. Up until now he had been in hiding in the mountains where the government police and home guardsmen were unable to find him. It is significant that he was found immediately after his expulsion from the Communist Party, which knew his whereabouts. There is no doubt whatever that the Stalinist Party put the finger on Velouhiotis.)

NEW YORK ELECTION CAMPAIGN

The Shachtman-for-Mayor campaign of the Workers Party started off with a big bang on a sweltering Friday night, June 15, at the Hotel Diplomat in midtown New York. Despite the terrible heat, over 125 workers, trade unionists and friends of LABOR ACTION and the Workers Party, who had received special invitations, attended and listened with the deepest interest to the plans of the campaign managers and to the speech of Candidate Shachtman.

Shachtman expounded the "good government" talk of the capitalist parties and their labor followers as being a cover for cheap government, which

provided very little in the way of decent housing, schools and hospitals for the great masses of people.

The platform of the Workers Party, he said, is based on the following clear propositions: (1) that production in peacetime must be planned to give jobs and a guaranteed and decent annual wage to all who wish to work; (2) that workers will need their own independent Labor Party and a workers' government to achieve these goals.

Trade unionists, readers of LABOR ACTION, friends of the Workers Party, you too will want

a place in this campaign. It is your campaign. Join the Shachtman-for-Mayor Committee. Workers Party Campaign Committee

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