

# LABOR ACTION

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A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

ONE CENT

## Having Put Over the Smith-Connally Act; Now-

# CONGRESS PLANS A NEW SLAVE LAW!

## Goodyear Out; Big 3 Rubber Strike Impends

By BILL FORD

AKRON—Entering the second week of their mass strike against the Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co., 16,700 unionists of Local No. 2 today have the intense admiration of the whole working class population of Akron behind them.

Under heavy pressure from the War Labor Board, Army and Navy, and the interantional officers of the United Rubber Workers of America, the membership and leadership of Goodyear Local have stood their ground firmly. President Clarence V. Wheeler has delighted his followers with good, tough and reasonable answers to the threats and lies of the political stooges and propagandists of the rubber barons.

At the very beginning of the strike, Wheeler told the press that the workers will return to work if the Army takes the company's plants over, but that in the event the dispute then remains unsettled and the Army turns the plants back over to the company, the men would "go out again."

Today the Goodyear Local leaders are in Washington before the WLB after having been subpoenaed because they did not attend an earlier "show-cause" invitation. Wheeler's telegram to the WLB reads in part:

### UNION TELEGRAM

"We disagree that way to effect same (settlement) is by issuance of order to union to return to work, because that would not settle present and probably future controversies and would leave company in the position that they could stall on grievances and otherwise evade the contract with the union without penalty and at will, which we know would continue.

"Workers are tired of ineffective, bungling, do-nothing policy of government agencies and are resentful of 'show-cause' orders issued in an attempt to coerce them as a substitute for proper handling of this case... Why not issue 'show-cause' order on Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co. for violation of company-union contract and federal statutes?"

Most observers believe that today's hearings before the WLB in Washington are the final step being prepared by the company and government before sending in the Army to take over the plant.

The striking local union has held two crowded meetings during the past week. At one they enthusiastically and unanimously voted to ignore the regional WLB's order to return to work and at the second the membership likewise directed their leaders to ignore the national WLB's order to attend the Washington hearing.

Position of the union has been that the strike is entirely legal and the WLB has no authority, inasmuch as the membership voted by an impressive three-to-one majority in an NLRB poll conducted under the Smith-Connolly Act to strike. Two weeks elapsed after that vote and the beginning of the strike, during which the company conceded nothing substantial to the union's demands. Major points of the union's demands are that the company join the union in demanding WLB approval of decent wage increases for engineering, mill room, rim plant and janitor employees, and that the union be consulted BEFORE any changes in wages, hours and working conditions became effective.



STRIKE-BREAKING AGAIN!

In reply to flag-waving denunciations of the strike from WLB and Army and Navy officials designed to pit soldiers against the strikers, Wheeler commented: "As far as soldiers suffering from the strike are concerned, we have boys on the picket line who have seen service at Guadalcanal, the European theater and other places."

On the no-strike pledge, which is constantly being injected into the reactionary propaganda of the company, government and international officers, the union points out that its delegation at the last URW convention unanimously opposed reaffirming the pledge.

### INTL OFFICIALS OPPOSE MEN

A sorry spectacle of pork-chopping and attempted strike-breaking is being presented by Sherman Dalrym-

ple, international president of the URWA. His chief "contribution" so far to the dispute has been to denounce the anti-labor Smith-Connolly Act, not, however, because of the restrictions and penalties it imposes on workers, but "merely because that statute appears to give legality to a strike, the workers get the erroneous idea that this law releases them from the no-strike pledge." He charged the act with being a "cordial invitation to trouble."

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BUSINESS SERVANTS: BURTON, HATCH, BALL

## Stalin's "New" Poland

By ALBERT GATES

As was expected, the negotiations between the Warsaw Polish government and representatives of the London Poles, the "democratic" Poles, resulted in the reorganization of the Stalin-appointed government and the inclusion in the new set-up of former Premier Mikolajczyk and former head of the Miners Union, Jan Stanczyk, member of the Socialist Party. Also added to the "new" government as members of the Presidential Council were Wincenty Witos from inside Poland and Stanislaw Grabski from London.

This development in Polish affairs is credited to the mission of Harry Hopkins, personal representative of President Truman, who flew to Moscow to obtain Stalin's agreement to broaden the Warsaw government in line with the Yalta decisions. Stalin agreed to "broaden" the government although he protested that he was carrying out the Yalta agreements and, from one point of view, that is exactly what he had been doing.

### THE YALTA SELL-OUT

The Yalta agreement conceded to Stalin his chief demands on Poland, a shifting of its borders and the recognition of the Lublin government, which he created with Polish Communists and fellow travelers, under the supervision and surveillance of the GPU. British-American demands for a broadening of the government were insisted upon in order to make the Polish sell-out look more palatable. They had already accepted in principle Stalin's right to have a Pol-

andicate but will go on fighting for what it calls the "independence of Poland." Moreover, it will continue to find widespread support inside of Poland, where the desire for independence is powerful. It will not be easy to suppress this fundamental urge of the Polish masses who no more want the domination of Russia than they did Germany.

### NOTHING REALLY CHANGED

The mere inclusion of the London Poles in the "broadened" Warsaw government will not fundamentally alter things. As Clifford Daniel wrote from London in the New York Times of June 24: "Their presence in the Cabinet, however, cannot be expected to have any profound effect on

the foreign policy and domestic social and economic policies of the Warsaw government."

The "leniency" of the sentence of the sixteen Poles in the Moscow trial for organizing "diversions" against the Russian army is a result of the agreement reached by Great Britain, the United States and Russia on the Polish question.

These Poles were arrested and convicted on the charge of continuing the struggle for the independence of Poland after Russian occupation on orders from the London government, then headed by the same Mikolajczyk who has just become a member of the Warsaw régime. This is their real crime. But Stalin will

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## Pigeonhole FEPC; Stall Anti-Poll Tax

By CHRIS WARREN

The bill to establish a permanent Fair Employment Practice Commission has once again been locked away in the House Rules Committee pigeonholes. The anti-poll-tax bill, passed by the House, is now in the Senate Judiciary Committee. It is feared that when the anti-poll-tax bill is brought to the floor of the Senate it will be defeated by Southern filibusters, as has happened more than once in the past few years.

### AN ABOUT-FACE

The anti-poll-tax bill was given solid support by the Republican Party. It is important, however, to understand the basis of this support. The repeal of the poll-tax would give almost ten million Southerners, white and Negro, the right to vote. With these ten million votes the Republican Party would be in a position to break the Democratic "Solid South" bloc in Congress, something it has been trying to do since the Civil War.

Proof of their "disinterestedness" in the welfare of the Negro, despite their very animated speeches in fa-

vor of "equal rights," is shown by their treatment of the FEPC bill.

This bill provides a five-man commission with the power to enforce its decisions in cases of racial or religious discrimination in private industry. Four times in one week the Republican "supporters" of the bill prevented it from coming to a vote in the committee by being "absent," etc. When the committee finally met and voted there was a tie and the bill was again locked away.

### FEPC THREATENED

The temporary FEPC set up to guarantee to all a "wartime job" ends on June 30. The Senate Appropriations Sub-Committee, with eight members "absent," voted to discontinue its funds. The right to work regardless of race or religion, is, in the eyes of these congressmen, only a wartime emergency measure.

They will defend the constitutional rights of citizens where it will further their own plans and the interests of their class, but any attempt to strengthen labor by the solidarity of white and Negro workers is bitterly opposed.

### What We Fought For—

## U. S. Using Bavarian Fascists

By JESSIE KAAREN

Despite the tight lid that has been clamped down on mass action of any kind in Germany making impossible the rebirth of the German working class movement, once the most militant, most politically advanced in all Europe, it is already obvious from certain news dispatches that the German masses want desperately to rid the country of the fascists and that they are being checked in this by the Allies.

In the first place, when the concentration camps of Dachau, Buchenwald, etc., were opened after the defeat of Germany, it was disclosed that there were huge numbers of German political prisoners incarcerated there thus giving the lie to those journalists and Allied propagandists who said that the German people

were all either completely fascist or were content to be servile to the fascists. As a matter of fact, these German political prisoners spontaneously formed anti-fascist committees in the prisoners to help bring order out of the chaos that set in when the fascists fled so that the other prisoners could be taken care of and returned to their native countries.

The most interesting story of all in this connection comes from Raymond Daniell of the New York Times. It is a reflection of the changed situation in Germany, because Raymond Daniell writing in the magazine section of the Times shortly after V-E Day, said that he had combed Germany for evidence of German resistance to fascism and that there was none.

Mr. Daniell now writes to a different tune: "By unanimous vote of its

### Workers Party Pickets Gerald Smith Meeting

(Special to LABOR ACTION)

LOS ANGELES—In answer to the fascistic activities of Gerald L. K. Smith, the Workers Party of Los Angeles called a demonstration which picketed his meeting held on Monday, June 25. About 150 workers responded to the call to picket Smith's meeting while almost a thousand people observed the demonstration. The demonstration and picketing were followed by an enthusiastic street meeting attended by hundreds.

The Workers Party of this city has already planned another demonstration and picketing of Smith's second meeting scheduled for Thursday, June 28.

By WALTER WEISS

A new anti-labor bill, giving the corporations just about every union-busting weapon they have been crying for, was introduced in the U. S. Senate last week by Senators Ball, Burton and Hatch. Almost all the daily newspapers, controlled as they are by big business, at once declared that the bill was wonderful.

It is called by its backers a Labor Relations Bill. A much better name would be the "Ball-and-Chain Bill."

Its main aim is to make strikes practically impossible. A new Labor Relations Board would be established. In any labor dispute this board would decide whether a strike would cause severe hardship to the "public." If so, the union would be forced to accept arbitration and the decisions of arbitration. In other words, in almost every important case, there would be compulsory arbitration, just as under the War Labor Board at present.

For refusal to obey the board, a union could lose its bargaining rights and individual members could be fined and jailed.

The gentlemen who cooked up this bill claim that any worker could still quit his job, and so it is not (they say) a slave bill. However, "concerted action" (their expression for strikes) would be "limited" for the sake of "public health, safety and welfare."

Senator Burton told his follow-senators that the bill takes a "fresh view of the essential importance to modern civilization

of the continuance of industrial employment and production."

## Bell Sit-In Caused by Mass Layoffs

BUFFALO—At the present date of writing the eighteen Bell militants discharged for participating in a stay-in to protest the layoff of eight thousand workers are still out of the shop. But regardless of the fate of these militants some of the lessons learned at Bell can be applied to the whole union movement.

The stay-in at Bell came as a result of a company-announced layoff of several thousand workers. The actual demonstration was a more or less spontaneous reaction to the layoffs themselves but because of the inexperience of the rank and file leadership it was shortly turned into a demonstration for a series of "demands," all legitimate in themselves, but really outside the main interest of the workers in the shop whose sole concern was jobs.

On Monday, May 28, several thousand workers in the Elmwood plant and about 500 workers of the Niagara Falls plant, first shift, stayed in the plant after working hours and demanded to know their future status before leaving the shop. The company had previously announced that 6,000 workers would be laid off and most of the workers who took part in the stay-in, felt that they would be included in that group.

### FINE SPIRITS

The spirit of the workers at first was very high. They felt that they were being unjustly laid off after years of work as "soldiers on the production line" and they were taking this opportunity to express their resentment and to demand jobs. Nevertheless, the rank and file leadership unanimously failed to recognize that this demand for jobs was the fundamental and, in fact, sufficient demand to mobilize the largest possible following behind the action.

The leadership, impelled by the

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What a mouthful! All the Senator is trying to say is that workers should be working all the time—that is, all the time the employer asks them to. If he lays them off, that's all right. But if they strike, employment doesn't continue, and that's bad. Do you call that a "fresh view," Senator Burton? Go tell it to Hitler or Stalin.

We don't have space in this article to discuss the many other murderous details of the bill, but it is enough to say that the comments of the great labor organizations are altogether correct.

The CIO has described it as "a bill to enslave labor," the AFL as a "strait-jacket for labor," and the United Mine Workers as "a scheme blueprinted to rob the poor and further enrich the rich."

"THE BILL MUST BE FOUGHT. THAT MUCH IS CLEAR. BUT HOW?"

### WHAT LED TO IT?

To answer this question we are going to examine, so far as our space allows, some of the background of the bill which has been passed over in newspaper accounts.

1) As most workers have heard the story, their leaders soon after Pearl Harbor made a no-strike pledge to cover the war period only.

NOW, to reward labor for this sacrifice that the leaders made on behalf of an unconsulted rank and file, the capitalists, who have made no sacrifices but plenty of profits, demand a stiff and permanent no-strike law to replace both the pledge and the Smith-Connally anti-strike act, which hasn't proved harsh enough for them.

Believe it or not, Senator Thomas of Utah, who is famous as one of labor's very dearest "friends," denies that the no-strike pledge was meant for the war period only. Thomas says that, at the industry-labor conference shortly after Pearl Harbor, he himself made the motion that was finally adopted. It simply stated, "There shall be no strikes or lockouts." Nothing, he now informs

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## Mickey Mouse's Publicity Agent Works for Tammany

The Democratic Party in New York has hired a public relations counsel who will present the Tammany Tiger as a saintly virgin lamb to the New York public in the coming elections. The well earned stigma of corruption, machine politics, boss and gangster control of the Democratic Party will be "erased" by Russell H. Potter, who was hired for the job. At least Mr. Potter and those who hired him, hope so.

Mr. Potter will handle the job of presenting a disinfected Tammany to the New York voters through as many press releases, magazine spreads, political pamphlets as a fat budget will permit. Mr. Potter expects to be successful because he will have the fanatical aid of people who will go much farther than he and pretend that the Tammany Tiger never existed—the Communist Political Association and the American Labor Party.

The Tammany bigwigs picked Mr. Potter because of the publicity successes he has had for one of his other clients, the Walt Disney Studios. If Mr. Potter can bring out affection from the people for a mouse, surely he can bring out the votes for a tiger.

For Mr. Potter's radio programs one of the New York columnists suggested a theme song to put the Democratic Party over as if it were a muscle rub, a mouth wash or a motor oil:

"No matter what is wrong with you,  
The Wigwam it will see you through;  
Tiger! Tiger! Hits the spot!  
Tammany is getting hot!  
Purified, as if by yeast—  
Tammany for man and beast!"



GENERALISSIMO GRAB

ish government completely subservient to Russian interests and demands.

In granting the concession to Hopkins and including the aforementioned Poles in the government, Stalin conceded very little. Poland is firmly in his grasp economically and politically. The important opposition forces, the independent organizations and their leading elements have been uprooted. Thousands have been liquidated in the purges which followed the establishment of the Lublin government. Other thousands have been arrested and deported to Russian prison camps.

A real commentary on this phase of world power politics is the change in British-American policy with respect to the exiled Polish government in London. This government, invited to London by the Churchill Cabinet after the defeat of Poland by Germany and its joint partition with Russia in accordance with a prior agreement contained in the Hitler-Stalin pact, awaits its death. London and Washington are now preparing to withdraw their recognition of this body, as well as the money which has kept it alive, and through it, to a considerable degree, the underground struggle against the Germans.

Naturally, this government will not

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

# Tobin Scabs on Chicago Truckers

By ROY GOULD

(At press time it was reported that the union officials have ordered the strikers to return to their jobs.)

CHICAGO—A month ago LABOR ACTION reported the unusually stubborn strike of 10,000 Chicago truck drivers against a decision of the War Labor Board. They were demanding a forty-eight-hour week and a flat \$5.00 per week wage increase. The WLB granted only a \$4.08 raise for a fifty-one-hour week, so the men voted to strike.

They received the full support of the Chicago Truck Drivers Union (independent) and its 6,000 members struck solidly. However, the officers of the AFL Brotherhood of Teamsters acted as open strike-breakers, despite the fact that their members

had voted overwhelmingly to strike. The majority of the teamsters struck in spite of their scab leaders.

This strike was effective for a week. Tens of thousands of dollars' worth of perishables were spoiled and grocery store shelves were empty. The WLB, the newspapers and the teamsters' offices were all ranting. But the independent union leaders and the men stood solid. Even when the government seized the lines and sent in the Army, the strike went on. Finally the WLB gave in and agreed to "reconsider" the drivers' demands and this strike was "won."

### WLB STANDS PAT

Now the WLB has reconsidered, and it has upheld the same bad wage decree. So both unions voted

again to strike. This time the Army was standing by and many of the lines were already in the technical possession of the government. Again the WLB, the press and the scab officials of the Teamsters Union joined the Army in a strike-breaking campaign. The Army moved first but the men stopped work.

For a couple of days few trucks moved, but now some are rolling again—many of them driven by soldiers, and the rest of them with strong escorts of soldiers. Some 4,200 troops have descended upon the city's trucking lines and 800 more Army drivers were due on the fifth day of the renewed strike.

According to the Truck Operators Association, about thirty per cent of the trucks are moving again. Accord-

ing to the Sun, this is the first time in a government seizure of strike-bound properties that the Army has actually operated the plant itself.

The government manager of seized truck lines is notifying draft boards of the names of striking drivers under thirty-eight; the teamsters officials are outdoing themselves with no-strike piety; Even Ed Fenner, the director of the independent union, who has backed his men so well, says he hopes the men will go back to work because the strike is "futile." After all, the full resources of the government are being mobilized to break this strike. But the truckers have been working long hours at less than \$1.00 per hour, with no overtime pay. The weather is fine and thus far they prefer to stay at home.

# FE Issues: Wage-Cuts, Stalinism

CHICAGO—"Stalin's Purge Reaches McCormick's"—this is the title of a leaflet issued after the Communist leaders of Farm Equipment Local 108 expelled three former officers and fined 19 workers \$250 each for the crime of advocating the UAW-CIO.

This is one more step in the Stalinist drive to consolidate their hold over the farm equipment field before the UAW takes over that jurisdiction. While the UAW allows itself to be tied hand and foot by the terms of a truce imposed by CIO's arbitration committee, the Communist misleaders of the FE union continue with their slanderous literature in violation of the truce.

They removed most of the elected stewards—who were UAW—and appointed Communist stooges. They continue to publish monstrous lies about good union men. They continue to tighten their ranks with action and with skill. Unfortunately this skill is turned against the honest union leaders and not against the company, which has been slashing piece-work allowance rates.

All the while the UAW does nothing. The workers both at Caterpillar in Peoria and at the Harvester plants in Chicago became demoralized. The Communists then took their next desperate step—to expel the leaders of the UAW faction at McCormick's, just as they did more than a year ago at the Tractor Plant.

It appears that the Kremlin crew have overshot their mark this time. The McCormick workers, who have always spearheaded the opposition to the Communists in FE, are in no mood to accept "Moscow Trial" methods lying down.

The line has been drawn anew and the fight to rid the FE field of these misleaders is now on to a finish.

The UAW should understand the critical nature of this situation and give the support which their people need and deserve. The workers have done their share. Some have suffered broken heads and broken noses in this drive for the UAW and for themselves. The UAW should stand up to its original pledge, given publicly by Frankenstein for the Board.

CHICAGO.—The national CIO continues to mediate the issues between

the UAW and the Farm Equipment Union. The UAW continues with its dilatory tactics in stalling the organization among farm implement workers until they can make deals on top. Yet events will not stand still, nor does the Company, nor do the Stalinists, who are making hay. The Mc-

Cormick workers, without adequate leadership, are plunged from one crisis to another, but being at heart good union men, they have at last got fed up with everybody and everything and they have gone on strike, all 5,500 of them to a man.

The main issue is a wage cut—a cut

in the minimum allowance to piece workers when they do not make out. The majority of McCormick workers are still on piece work.

The former local union officers (who have now been expelled for UAW activity) had worked out special allowance rules with the company, granting average piece-work earnings when workers failed to "make out." But these officers were replaced by new ones who were bound tightly to the Communist Party line, chained hopelessly to the No-Strike Pledge. As soon as the company had only the new officers to deal with, the chiselling began.

In various departments the company cut allowances back to day rates—a cut of 20% or so. The union officials protested, but allowed the company to maneuver them into a Labor Board appeal. The WLB upheld the company and the pay cuts were announced.

### PLANT DOWN SOLID

Within a few hours the word got round and every department quit work in a spontaneous sit-down strike. Both factions of the union gave full, but unofficial, support to the workers in their just demands. Thus far the plant has been down solid for three days, with no sign of a break in ranks. This in spite of the fact that there is no official leadership or organization of the movement.

The FE Stalinists, who control all offices and stewards (by simply removing the majority of them for supporting UAW) are in a position where they could organize an EFFECTIVE strike. But they plead fear of the Smith-Connelly Act! They give only back handed support by not urging anyone to go back to work.

The UAW caucus is in no position to take the lead, unless the UAW itself should throw over its no-strike pledge and back them up. In that case, the UAW could march in and take over the FE field. But such aggressive unionism has long since been forgotten by Thomas and Renter. They will continue with their legalistic negotiations and deals.

The present situation is this: the McCormick workers are out in a fine, solid strike over a good issue; they have an over-abundance of unions, but neither one is willing to offer the required leadership.

# Kindergarten Demerit System Issue at No. American Aviation

By ANN JORDAN

LOS ANGELES—The North American Aviation Co. has cooked up something new in its union-busting campaign—the demerit system. The demerits are handed out by the foremen and when a worker gets 100 of them he is automatically fired.

As reported in the Labor Herald, California CIO newspaper, the company issued a demerit chart last week, listing fifty-five different rules that had to be obeyed—otherwise come demerits.

For making false, vicious or profane statements about a workers, the company or its products—30 demerits; failure to wear badge in prescribed position—10 demerits for the first time, 20 for the next three, 30 for the fifth; creating or contributing to unsanitary or poor house-keeping (whatever that may mean)—10 demerits; insubordination rates anywhere from 20 to 100 demerits and the definition of insubordination is made up for each occasion by the company.

At the present time, sneezing, coughing and blowing one's nose are demerit-free. But nobody knows how long that will last.

This reform school system is not without its happier side. For three months of good behavior, a worker can have ten of his demerits taken away. But that's all. However, when anyone reaches a score of 45 demerits he gets a one-day layoff; for a score of 50-60 he gets a three-day layoff and for 65-95 he gets a week's layoff. By the time a worker gets 100 he is terminated, if he hasn't gotten disgusted and decided to quit before this.

### REFORM SCHOOL SYSTEM

For instance, if a worker is seen five times with his badge not in the prescribed position—which is "on the left chest below the shoulder, on outer garment"—he is automatically discharged. Or if he is seen "engaging in horseplay, scuffling, throwing things or causing confusion by shouting or demonstration"—three times would net him a total of 100 demerits and that finishes him. It's easy to see the company can get rid of anyone, including the union men and women, in short order.

The whole demerit system is in violation of the union contract. Already, one shop steward has filed a grievance to get rid of some demerits he got when he was seen discussing another worker's grievance with him—although talking over a grievance with a worker is permitted by the contract. But the steward didn't stop there. He is challenging the whole demerit system and the case is now up before a U. S. conciliator.

The North American workers must be on the alert not to let the case get hung up in conciliation for such a long time that the company has a chance to get the demerit system going full force. More than that, the workers must be prepared to defend their union and their union contract with action—militant action.

# Reading Hosiery Workers Walk Out

READING.—The Reading, Pa., plant of the American Chain and Cable Company was shut down, 100 per cent effective, when 1200 members of Local 2715, United Steelworkers of America, walked off the job at noon Thursday, June 21, in protest against the arbitrary firing of the chairman of the grievance committee. The company could excuse its act on nothing better than that musty claim that the committee used foul and abusive language against the Management's Labor Councillors.

The firmness with which the workers are insisting upon the reinstatement of their chairman, despite the pleas of Army, Navy and WPB representatives, indicates that they thoroughly realize the seriousness of this latest company provocation. "If they get away with this, they'll get away with any thing," is the opinion of the union members.

A conference between the Union, Company and Government officials is scheduled for Monday, June 25 to attempt a settlement of the issue. Another mass meeting of the Union is to be held at 9 A.M. Tuesday morning, June 26. One thing is fairly certain, and that is that there is only one settlement to which the workers will agree—the immediate reinstatement of the Chairman of the Grievance Committee.

### ANTI-UNION CAMPAIGN

The members of Local 2715 have every cause to be determined to force the ACCC to retract in this high-handed action. As is the situation in so many other factories and industries, the recent developments here in Reading follow a whole period in

which the workers were faced with a company anti-union campaign. The experience of Local 2715 has been that the real purpose of the company's "Labor Councillors" has been to hinder, stall and place all kinds of

barriers in the way of an honest attempt to settle grievances and bargain collectively.

The company has constantly attempted to whittle down the wages of the workers by making changes

in the piece work unit system. The changes were introduced piecemeal in separate departments, at different times. In the machine shop the company got away with it when the workers weren't on their toes. This has resulted in a big decrease in take-home pay for many workers. The union, however, forced the company to agree to a re-evaluation of jobs for this department. This issue has been stalled for many months now.

Another important matter for Local 2715 has been the negotiation of a new contract. Except for a section on improved seniority and changes in vacation calculations, the contract is a dead document. The whole matter has been dragging out for almost a year. There have been in addition a host of lesser grievances which the management has been very reluctant to settle. With the Local at the mercy of the WLB and strangling in the noose of the no-strike pledge, the ACCC could very well afford to use dilatory tactics.

Indeed, so far as Local 2715 members are concerned, they have shown that they understand the real need for the Union movement to get back the right to strike.

It was the delegation from 2715 to the United Steel Workers Convention during May, 1944, that led the campaign to rescind the no-strike pledge.

Local 2715 must once again come to the forefront of those progressive forces in the USA-CIO who are seeking to change the present disastrous course of the union by rescinding the no-strike pledge. There is every reason to believe that the members of Local 2715 will live up to their task.

# West Coast Labor Round-Up

By AL MARKS

Paper box employees of eight companies went back to work after a three-day strike, winning a raise for men from 74½ cents per hour to 90 cents and for women from 62½ cents to 72½ cents per hour. This was approved by a board.

Two additional branch plants of Lockheed, located in San Joaquin Valley, will close July 1, due to cut-backs. Another plant in Bakersfield will be reduced from 225 to 60. Fresno plant also to be reduced. Sub-assembly plant in Taft closed three weeks ago.

Experienced seamen over thirty years of age will be drafted if they leave the sea to earn a living wage elsewhere, the War Shipping Administration has announced.

Who were the boosters and ardent supporters of the war? Who said the peoples of Europe were put on starvation wages and must be freed from oppression? We're sure the Citrus Growers did their share. But why

go so far from home to find such atrocities? In Garden Grove, Calif., German war prisoners have an allotment of forty boxes of oranges to pick per day. Those who cannot fill their quota are put on bread and water. These men are paid eighty cents a day—some wages for a hard day's work, and picking forty boxes of oranges is certainly a hard day's work. Yet we still hear the Growers cry about high wages.

The Douglas plant at El Segundo will ask NLRB to okay a vote for a strike among 10,000 employees, 3,000 of whom are women, announced Lodge 129, International Association of Machinists. Differences involved are downgrading of wages, job classification and discrimination against women. The company, with its usual naïveté, stated it was mystified. "We find it hard to believe that threats of work stoppage and interference with victory can seriously be contemplated by anyone under these circumstances." Would Douglas keep operating at no profit? "Victory and democracy be damned," they would say, and shut down in five minutes.

From Joint Action News, RWJAC, a side note on the railroads is interesting, as it shows what the other companies are doing, by pursuing a deliberate policy of plugging the Railway Labor Adjustment Board with thousands of unnecessary cases. Claims already decided for the men are referred to the board again and again, the only difference being in names and locations. By this method the boards are overcrowded and claims take two to three years for adjustment. If the companies were made to pay interest of ten per cent on all back claims, this would stop.

The Railroad Workers Joint Action Committee, 607 Plaza Bldg., 506 Fifteenth Street, Oakland 12, Calif. is calling for support of railroad workers to form a committee of all railroad union members under a mutual platform in a coordinated drive for better conditions. Write for RWJAC's platform.

Monogram Pictures Corp. net profit for thirty-nine weeks ending March 31 was \$107,741 after charges and federal tax reserve.

# UE Strike Threat = Results

NEW YORK.—The threat of strike action won a victory for Local 425, UERWA-CIO, in a recent dispute with the Ford Instrument Co. of Long Island City over the question of the transferring of the entire Grievance Committee and the Chief Steward from Building 4 to other buildings, during a reorganization of production.

When the company refused to re-transfer the Grievance Committee and Chief Steward back to Building 4, where 600 workers were without representation, the union threatened to file a notice of intention to strike within 30 days under the Smith-Connelly Act.

The union's refusal to arbitrate the matter was explained in a leaflet issued to the membership of Local 425 on the grounds that "the company can keep piling up violations of the contract, one upon the other and call for arbitration. It can transfer, discharge, harass the union and call for arbitration. The result would be utter confusion, bankruptcy of the union

treasury, chaos in the shop steward system and grievance machinery.

The same leaflet recalled the case of Mary Ellen Swanirick, the shop steward who was fired while acting in her capacity as union representative. Her case went to arbitration eight months ago, and is still unsettled. Those members of Local 425 who at that time were in favor of filing strike notice as the only effective means of settling the case and preventing the company from further attacks against the shop steward system, are fully vindicated today by this new case. The same swift militant action which brought about the re-transfer of the Grievance Committee and Chief Steward, could have saved the union the time and expense of arbitration and could have settled the case of Mary Ellen Swanirick eight months ago with a victory for the union. It would also have made the company think twice before attempting this latest provocation against the union.

In the near future, the workers of the Ford Instrument Company, in common with workers all over America, will be confronted with "reorganization of production," mostly in the form of layoffs. The company will undoubtedly seek ways and means of utilizing these "reorganizations" to break up the union. In order to maintain their union and to be in a position to fight for a short work week, the members of Local 425 must be armed with labor's strongest weapon, the right to strike.

The strength of that weapon is well illustrated by the favorable settlement won by the union in the case of the transferred committeemen. Forward-looking, Local 425 unionists will realize that now is the time to get rid of the union's no-strike pledge, in order to guarantee future victories for the union in the major problems of the post-war period.

# Buffalo Bell Sit-In Strike--

(Continued from page 1)

fact that the layoffs were being carried out in a manner that violated almost every clause of the contract, raised the following additional demands: For a 40-hour week with 48-hour pay; for layoffs strictly according to seniority; against seniority for supervision; for preferential seniority for union representatives, and finally, the demand that soon became the crux of the demonstration, no reprisals against anyone for the demonstration.

During the long night of May 28, more and more workers began to drift away despite the pleas of the leadership, because as one worker expressed it, "Even if we do get all the things we're asking for, I still get laid off."

Meanwhile, the International had stepped into the picture through the Regional Director, Martin Gerber. A tentative agreement had been reached on all the union proposals except the one demanding no reprisals. On this basis Gerber urged the union to leave the plant and continue negotiations on the outside. As soon as this was done the pincery broke off negotiations. A week later the mass firings came.

The position of the union militants should have been this: We want and need jobs. Let those who are responsible for production worry about giving them to us. This mess is none of our making.

If WE, the workers, had charge of production, there would be no unem-

ployment, no mass layoffs with utter disregard for human needs and welfare.

You, the boss, Bell Aircraft, claim that your ownership and control of production is due to your superior wisdom and competence.

Then, in your superior wisdom and competence, supply us with the work we want, we need and we are capable of performing.

Otherwise, confess your inability to rule in the interest of all, and get the hell out of here. As for us, we are staying here, until we are provided with jobs or regular wages until jobs are found.

# Akron Rubber Strike--

(Continued from page 1)

...It will encourage workers to strike unless it is repealed or drastically amended."

Other Akron workers have given wholehearted support to the strike and denounced Dalrymple's pro-company statements. President Ike Watson of the big Firestone Local of 16,000 members, which in an NLRB poll last week also voted six to one to strike to obtain a satisfactory union contract, publicly blasted Dalrymple's statement as follows: "He sounds more like the president of the National Association of Manufacturers than president of the Rubber Workers."

The Akron Industrial Union Council, representing 90,000 workers of this area, adopted unanimously amid cheers a resolution endorsing the Goodyear Local and offering the body's entire strength and facilities in support if needed. Because of this elementary offering of working class solidarity, Allen S. Haywood, organ-

ization director of the national CIO, today has jumped down the Council's throat: "The Akron Industrial Union Council has overstepped the boundaries of its jurisdiction, in view of the ruling of illegality by URWA President Dalrymple."

### DALRYMPLE AGAIN

Reports in union circles have it that Haywood has threatened to suspend the Council's militant officers and put it under an administrator for interfering in the affairs of an affiliated international union. The URW and national CIO officialdom is getting a bit panicky about all this current determination on the part of the rank and file to make their unions mean something.

Today Dalrymple again obtained a big spread in the Akron press against Goodyear Local. He raved: "Regardless of what the hecklers say about the services being rendered by the international union, we intend to continue to be consistent in observ-

ing our no-strike pledge and will use every means at our disposal to reopen any plant where..."

This blunt strike-breaking proposal indicates clearly that the dictators at the top of the URW are getting ready to move in on the striking local, probably in conjunction with the Army, within the next few days. Dalrymple has a group of discredited Stalinists, who opposed even taking a strike vote, to attempt to use as a "reserve force" within the local.

Sentiment of the whole Akron labor movement indicates clearly that any disciplinary actions against the Goodyear Local leaders will only harden and further consolidate the anti-Dalrymple movement within the whole URWA, especially in view of the fact that Dalrymple's International Executive Board has just bowed miserably to the ODT's refusal to grant the URW permission to hold its annual convention this fall.

# U. S., Bavarian Fascists--

(Continued from page 1)

The Allies are proving by their actions that they are willing to collaborate with the fascists to prevent the rebirth of the German labor and socialist movement.

No one should be fooled by the lip service which Allied propagandists give to democracy or to the "re-education of the German people." As LABOR ACTION has stated, the only way to have a democracy in Germany is for the armies to leave the country and permit the working class to reorganize the nation.

Mass meetings are forbidden which

is the same thing as forbidding the organization of trade unions. Political parties are banned. Fascists are being used to set up local puppet regimes. The fascist police have been retained. Soldiers are forbidden to fraternize with the people. The big German industrialists who backed the fascist regime have not been molested.

And yet, the Allied armies cannot repress altogether the natural impulses of the German masses for democracy and self-government. Even the iron band in which the German working class is encased must burst

under the terrific impact of worsening economic conditions. No people can live in a vacuum.

The American, British, French and all other trade union movements, as a fundamental pre-requisite to their own self-preservation, must call for the right of the German workers to freely re-organize their trade unions and their political parties. Having a strong working class movement in Germany means having an ally against fascism on an international scale.

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Editorials

The Communist Party Menace

Like rats leaving a sinking ship, the leaders of the Communist Political Association have abandoned Earl Browder. All of these misleaders of labor who up until yesterday followed Browder with an unquestioning servility are now embracing Foster, who has apparently received the nod from Moscow.

It is clear that the basic reason for any change in Stalinist-Communist policy arises from Russian requirements in international political relations among the Big Three. There is no difference in principle between Browder and Foster. Browder dissolved the Communist Party into a political association because he wanted to aid the campaign of Roosevelt. All the leaders of the Communist Party went along with him, with the exception of Foster, who said it was an unnecessary step in order to carry out Browder's policy with which he, Foster, agreed.

MEETING RUSSIAN NEEDS

Of course, now that Russia's needs are different, and Stalin may require the assistance of his international battalions in the form of Communist Parties, it becomes necessary to prepare for a change of policy on the part of American Communists. Why didn't Browder carry out the change in line? Apparently he had gone too far as the representative of the ultra-patriotic policies which he sponsored in the name of the Kremlin. What could be better than to resurrect Foster, who would appear on the scene with somewhat cleaner hands because he opposed "dissolution" of the party.

But Foster is as much guilty for the "line" as Browder. He is as guilty as the rest of the Communist leaders, Minor, Green, Williamson, etc. And what were they guilty of? Of misleading the workers by their extreme rightist policies. One of their leaders, hastening to add his attacks on Browder, wrote:

"Our wrong post-war perspective orientated many of the workers we influence to rely on the 'intelligence' of their bosses and then we wondered why they did not respond as they should have to recent reactionary events. The reason is to be found in our class collaboration poli-

icy. We helped to stifle independent working class action while calling for the same."

Another leader writes: "My first big mistake... was... made when on returning overseas I read 'Victory and After' (by Browder) and after a momentary hesitation and reluctance accepted the propositions in this book, especially the last chapter, which contained in embryo the opportunist line which we later developed in a full-fledged manner. At that time I conditioned myself to swallowing an opportunist goat and as is inevitable in such cases wound up by swallowing elephants. ... I believed in this line and during my period of active participation in the leadership of the CPA I have contributed within the limits of my capacity to elaborating and applying this line."

What miserable confessions! What sycophants and hypocrites! All they prove is that this movement and its leaders have not the slightest reason for enjoying the confidence of the workers and their own worker-members. They were "opportunists." They followed "a class collaborationist policy..." which "helped to stifle independent working class action."

TURN AWAY FROM THEM

A party like this, which responds to the Kremlin and its changing policies which, in turn, depend on Russian national interests, is a misleader of labor. Its leaders say frankly that their policies are not based on the interests of the working class and its emancipation, but on the needs of Russian foreign policy. They admit that they misled the workers. Now they are preparing a new change of line, just as opportunist as the last.

The workers at large must spurn these new attempts of the Stalinists to gain the confidence of labor only to mislead it once more.

The worker members of the Communist Party who joined it on the mistaken notion that it is a revolutionary socialist organization should leave it in droves and not remain the dupes of "opportunists and misleaders." The place for all militant and socialist workers is in the ranks of the Workers Party.

Liberation: American Style

A series of events in the American-occupied Bavarian area of Germany reveals the true aims of the Allied Military Government, i.e., to prevent the assembling and organization of a new labor and political movement of the working class. While retaining fascists in office, the military governors reject the demands of Germans to replace them with anti-fascists.

The latest report from Dachau, seat of the famous concentration camp to which anti-Nazi Germans were sent to be tortured and murdered, is that the American military governor of Bavaria has ordered the dissolution of the "anti-fascist" party organized in that city. This group was organized a short while ago with the permission of the American military governor of Dachau, a subordinate of the Bavarian governor. The "anti-fascist" party has already carried on money-raising and recruiting activities and adopted a platform which demanded

"... the right of the anti-fascist working class to hold meetings; freedom of speech, press and religion; and the formation of anti-fascist committees in all towns and communities."

Col. Charles Keegan, military governor of Bavaria, in disbanding the anti-fascist group said that "The Germans are conquered people and have no right to demand anything."

While the Russians in their part of occupied Germany have permitted the re-establishment of the reactionary German Communist Party, which tells the German people that they must pay for the crimes of their rulers, the Americans follow another policy which accomplishes the same aim: prevention of the genuine resurrection of a free movement of the German people, the rebirth of the free German labor movement.

At the same time, the German industrialists, sponsors, supporters and financiers of the Nazis and powerful backers of Hitler and his clique of murderers go scot-free and are permitted to retain their associations, enterprises and carry on their "business" activities in the name of capitalist enterprise and profits. Their real support comes from the American and British capitalists who, in the last analysis, determine the policies of their countries.

NEXT WEEK:

- Capitalism's Permanent Housing Shortage, by Marian Gould
- Part III of the New Turn in the Communist Party, by David Coolidge
- Windup of the San Francisco Conference and
- Labor News by Special Labor Action Reporters

One-Tenth of the Nation

Eisenhower and Jim Crow

By J. R. Johnson

Last week I noted the stir over the military performance of the 92nd Division and the contradictory nature of the reports. Truman Gibson, Negro civilian aide to the Secretary of War, sent to Italy to investigate, said that the 92nd had "melted away under fire."

General Mark Clark, the commander of the AEF in Italy, called the 92nd "our glorious 92nd," but refused to discuss the Gibson statement. Now, however, the supreme Allied commander himself, General Eisenhower, has found himself under fire on the Negro question in the Army. His answers are a noteworthy contribution to the situation of the Negro in the United States and in the whole post-war world.

EISENHOWER'S IDEAS

Eisenhower was giving no ordinary interview. He was summing up his experiences and his conclusions drawn from the whole war. His military conclusion was: the value of integrated tactical power in war. That was the last word he wanted to leave with the correspondents—the necessity of integrating all departments of combat, artillery, air, infantry, navy, into one whole. It was in keeping with his whole policy.

Now, whether Eisenhower is a great soldier or not is of no importance to the labor movement. But one thing has stood out in his campaigns and in his leadership and some judgment can be passed on it. He fought for an integrated Anglo-American army. The frictions between the Allies in World War I had repeatedly brought immense losses. Eisenhower had taken the lesson to heart. And his publicity department at any rate never failed to make it clear that this was one of the main objects of his strategy.

Thus integration, collective, homogeneous action, emerge as the General's main strategy of action during the war. In this he is in his own way in harmony with the developing social characteristics of our age, which must be respected even by the ruling class.

In the midst of his interview a reporter shot at Eisenhower the following query: Comment on the contribution Negro soldiers made to the European theater of operations.

Eisenhower's first sentences were characteristic. Here they are:

"To start with, I would like to say this: that I do not differentiate among soldiers. I do not say white soldiers or Negro soldiers and I do not say American or British soldiers. To my mind, I have had a task in this war that makes me look upon soldiers as soldiers."

How far Eisenhower has been able to carry out this policy, in general, is one thing. That he strove to diminish differences, to integrate into a whole, can be abundantly proved. The words, therefore, came automatically to his lips: "I do not differentiate among soldiers."

IS HIS CLAIM TRUE?

With all due respect to the victorious general, I beg to say that his claim not to have differentiated between white soldiers and Negroes is eyewitness. His own reply, brief as it was, shows that.

He said that their work was good, as far as he saw and as far as the reports showed. He complimented the volunteers who filled an emergency last November and did good work. Then he continued:

"But their major job has been in service of supply, engineer units, quartermaster units, ordnance units. ... They have done their job and they have done the job given them."

The General was on the spot and he knew it. Look in particular at the last sentence:

"They have done their job and they have done the job given them."

It is an awkward, self-conscious sentence and can be explained only by the contradiction between the General's pet theme—all soldiers under my command are equal soldiers—and the hard reality—Negroes were used in his army chiefly for services of supply.

The fact is that the Army could more easily "integrate" American soldiers with British than it could American white soldiers with American Negro soldiers. In the First World War one Negro regiment was treated so shamefully by the American commanders that the French asked for it. It was brigaded with them and fought as a French unit until the end of the war.

Eisenhower could praise Negro soldiers and Truman Gibson could

damn them. The fact remains that there is no way of integrating Negroes into the Army until they are integrated into American society. You cannot have a Jim Crow society and a non-Jim Crow army. So that the efforts at collective action, completely integrated units of war, reached at least one impassable barrier.

STILL A JIM CROW ARMY

The Negroes were soldiers of service and supply. Polish soldiers fought in the European theater. Since the defeat of the Germans in France, French armies have taken their place in the war under Eisenhower's command. All these can be integrated and welded as far as necessary and possible into a collective whole.

But the Negroes—no, they must in their majority stay where American society has decreed that they must stay—segregated and as always with segregation, doing the hardest and dirtiest jobs.

The press-conference, as Eisenhower said, was one of the last in which he would meet so many reporters. He made some historical pronouncements. Some were controversial and he admitted that frankly. Then suddenly the Negro question was interjected and at once the General was in difficulties. The non-integration, the segregation of Negroes, the discrimination against them could not be camouflaged. It stuck out in the long, careful survey. It was the only awkward question. The answer was the only awkward answer.

We should remember that Roosevelt, who could talk around anything, left such questions as lynching alone.

The Negroes had better take good note of all this. In a great national and international crisis, in which collective, integrated work was a necessity, the Negro soldiers were incorporated only in so far as their incorporation did not upset their economic and social position in American society. To think that the government will act to change this status substantially after the war would be the greatest folly imaginable.

Any serious change can come only from a fundamental change in the whole social order of the United States. Otherwise the Negroes will do as well as other citizens—but only in the jobs that are given them.

New Labor Slave Bill--

(Continued from page 1)

the Senate, was said about limiting this to the war period. True enough. But everybody understood that it was a wartime pledge, and Roosevelt definitely said so in setting up the War Labor Board on January 12, 1942.

The incident is important only in that it shows how far the "friends" of labor will go to deceive labor.

2) As most workers have heard the story from their leaders, the purpose of the war has been to restore, preserve and even to extend democratic rights all over the world. "This is labor's war," we have been told.

NOW, the political spokesmen for American capitalism announce that labor's democratic right to strike, won in the blood of many martyrs, doesn't fit into the picture of "modern civilization."

Let's hear from the liberal Senator

labor? Aren't they gentlemen of the very kind recommended to us by the CIO's Political Action Committee and the AFL leaders, too?

Ball and Hatch, at least, won the love of labor leaders and liberals because they, together with Hill of Alabama (who is an outstanding New Dealer and who also favors this bill, although his name is not on it), took the lead in calling for the U. S. to participate in a world security organization.

Now they add that peace depends not only on "our democratic ideals" (such as belief in labor's freedom, perhaps—Ed.) but also on "the strength of our great industrial power." And American industrial power, according to them, depends on peaceful labor relations. So spoke Senator Hatch.

Ball was a little franker. He stated that layoffs in the reconversion period might lead to a "knock-down, drag-out fight between management and organized labor." Instead of suggesting even so slight a concession as more liberal unemployment insurance, this "friend" of labor proclaims that two things are necessary: big tax favors to encourage business men and a harsh law to keep labor down. Otherwise, says he, America will lose in world influence.

There is the peace that these great capitalist internationalists always had in mind: a peace in which American labor would submit to big business, so that the capitalists might have enough "influence" on the world scene to compete successfully with other imperialists in oppressing and sucking profits out of the workers of China and Japan, India and the Philippines, Belgium and Italy, and every other spot into which they can push their investments and trade.



BUT HE'S FOR LABOR PEACE

Thomas once more: "Already in one nation the medium of the strike has been overcome and is not used.... So we know that it is no longer necessary."

What country? Surely the Senator is not suggesting, as Eddie Rickenbacker has done in the past, that Stalin's dictatorship is, after all, quite wonderful?

3) Workers have been assured by their leaders that the way to guarantee lasting peace, full employment and workers' democratic rights is to vote for "friends" of labor in the Democratic and Republican Parties.

"FRIENDS OF LABOR"

NOW, it is some of these very "friends" who, in the name of international peace and full employment at home, propose to turn the no-strike pledge into a no-strike law.

Isn't it a fact that Ball, Hatch and Thomas are considered "good" senators, "friends" of progress and of

AND SO IS HE

The whole program of cooperation with the capitalists, which in practice has meant yielding to them in every dispute, was fatally wrong.

The capitalists never gave up their fight against labor. They now hope, with the aid of their government, to close in for a kill.

Labor has no other course but to fight back. That means:

- 1) To junk the no-strike pledge and get off the War Labor Board!
- 2) To support fellow workers in every country of the world against the plans not only of British and Russian but also of American imperialism!
- 3) To form an independent Labor Party, aiming at a workers' government, instead of depending on treacherous "friends" in the capitalist government!

Poland--

(Continued from page 1)

never permit the existence of any genuine free and independent Poland. That is why, in the first place, he has purged the revolutionary working class fighters. In his counter-revolutionary program for Poland he has received the firm support of the United States and England.

Thus, five years after the Second World War broke out over the violation of the independence of Poland by Germany and Russia, and a few weeks after the defeat of Nazi Germany, Poland has been sold down the river by Allied powers who plunged into the war in her behalf. This fact alone testifies that freedom, security, peace and the national independence of nations were not the things for which the war was fought.

CONSCRIPTION:

For a New World War  
For Anti-Labor Use

By SUSAN GREEN

A special committee of the House of Representatives has just closed hearings on the subject of peacetime conscription. Before the committee came representatives of organized labor and farmers, of veterans, of educators, of socialists and liberals, and of big business, of the Army and Navy. Although the findings of the committee have not yet been officially stated, its chairman is confident that the committee will recommend to the House passage of a peacetime conscription bill.

Certainly this recommendation will not be based on the majority opinion as expressed by witnesses before the committee. It is true that the greatest publicity was given to what was said by admirals and generals and big business. But if you consider that the CIO, the AFL and the National Farmers Union oppose compulsory military training; that the "public opinion" voiced by people like Norman Thomas and other liberals also oppose it; that educators either oppose it outright or are for postponing the matter until after the war; then you see that the recommendation of the committee will NOT represent the opinion of the American people.

In other words, the hearings just closed are another instance of congressional hocus-pocus. The support by the committee of a peacetime conscription law could have been predicted by anyone with an ear to the ground.

PREPARING FOR WAR

For whatever the democratic trimmings may be, the fundamental interests of American imperialism will be served. And today we are at the threshold of an era of world militarism with all the imperialist powers armed to the teeth. Bluntly David Lawrence, ace capitalist columnist, stated the point: "This is apparently to be a world where force alone talks." And again: "Physical force is to be the basis of the coming era of balanced power."

It is no accident that in Moscow at the celebration of the defeat of Germany, Marshal Zhukov did not glory in the blow struck at German militarism as much as he did in the growth of Russian militarism. He boasted that Russia has emerged from the war with the largest army on earth.

The world situation being what it is, it was a foregone conclusion that the committee would support a post-war conscription bill—no matter what the hearings revealed about real public opinion on the subject. Drew Pearson reports that a survey shows that fifty-six per cent of the people prefer spending the estimated \$4,000,000,000 annual cost for military training, for education instead. But American imperialism is out to be firstest with the mostest in military power.

This is the raw fact that the working people of this country must face. Millions of immigrants came to this country to escape the militarism of Europe. But so does the development of capitalism worsen the lot of the masses, that, if they allow it, they will be the pawns of the No. 1 militarist nation of the world. It is quite in order for General Patton to look at a group of Sunday school children and see only soldiers and nurses of the wounded in the next war.

Who will pay the bill for keeping American imperialism armed in the style demanded by modern warfare? An inkling is already given in the fact that steps are being taken to lower the taxes on big business while keeping the heavy pay-as-you-go taxes on the working people. The bill will be staggering.

There is the estimated \$4,000,000,000 per year for military training alone. But that is the least of it. The armed might of the United States extends into occupied Europe and will include Asia after the war. There will be extensive and expensive bases in the Atlantic and Pacific spheres where war strategy dictates. There will be a Navy second to none and an air force to master the skies, with the necessary ground forces. Rough estimates are that the Navy will require 1,000,000 men; the Army 2,000,000 to 3,000,000; and reserves another 3,000,000.

STRANGE WAY TO PEACE

Spokesmen for capitalism do not usually admit that peacetime conscription is needed for the next imperialist war. But many witnesses at the hearing openly spoke of war with Russia. However, this unguarded frankness was corrected and in the main the line followed by the advocates of militarism is, in the words of General Marshall, Chief of Staff: "It is evidence that we are going to back up the peace." Other spokesmen for peacetime conscription say it will assure the world "that at last America is taking seriously its international responsibilities."

But all this is so much sand in the eyes of the people. Imperialist powers with antagonistic interests, armed to the teeth, do not keep peace but make Poland, Syria, Trieste illuminate the deep-seated conflicts.

The gag about stopping aggressors is also pretty transparent. For who would dare "aggress" against the United States, or against a little nation in the sphere of influence of the United States, except another big power fully armed. So it all boils down to the big powers arming against each other.

A CHANGE IS NEEDED

While the U. S. Chamber of Commerce brushes aside the play-acting at San Francisco and gets down to the business of preparing for the next blood-letting, Nathan E. Cowan, speaking for the CIO before the House committee, still naively championed "collective security" and a capitalist-imperialist "world free from war." The move for peacetime conscription disturbs this pipe dream of CIO officialdom. On the other hand, it was a bit hard to see on what ground Lewis G. Hines, the AFL spokesman, could logically oppose compulsory training since he believes "our country must maintain an Army, an Air Force and Navy adequate to make our views on national and international policies respected." This is another way of agreeing that force shall rule the world.

Labor's correct course is clear. The militarization of this country must be fought tooth and nail. Peacetime conscription must be opposed as a step to military dictatorship. Complete disarmament of all the world is what labor wants.

But it must make these demands with open eyes, knowing full well that they cannot be realized without abolishing imperialism. Preventing the world from being turned into hostile armed camps can be accomplished only by dislodging the capitalist classes of this country, of Great Britain, of all countries, and the bureaucratic rulers of Russia. Complete disarmament can exist only between peoples bound by mutual interests, not ruled by rival imperialists.



AND SO IS HE

# Native Fascism: Smith and McWilliams

By Shirley Lawrence

The defeat of Germany and Italy, and the certainty of defeat for Japan, does not mean the defeat of fascism. For the conditions that bring fascism into existence remain. Fascism feeds on economic chaos, and since capitalism cannot guarantee economic security, peace or freedom, the danger of fascism is constant.

All sections of America have united in an uproar of indignation over the crimes of foreign fascism. "How can such things be in a civilized world?"

It is misleading and decidedly dangerous to think that fascism is a national characteristic of Germany or Italy; that it came to Germany because the people were nationalistic, militaristic and prone to regimentation; that it came to Italy because the country was backward. Such theories are false and disarm the people of other countries, especially the working classes, in their struggle against reactionary fascism. They do not explain, for instance, why in almost every important country of the world, fascist movements were and are in existence. FASCISM IS NOT A NEW SOCIAL SYSTEM, BUT A FORM OF POLITICAL RULE UNDER CAPITALISM. AS SUCH IT IS CAPABLE OF COMING TO POWER IN ANY COUNTRY.

There are evil threats, which are taken for granted, to American workers in such native, anti-labor, anti-democratic and anti-Semitic pro-fascist movements as the newly-formed Nationalist Party, headed by ex-Senator Robert Rice Reynolds, and of the America Firsters, led by Gerald L. K. Smith. Both are financed by, and serve the interests of big business; both are flourishing today, and trying to consolidate and coordinate all reactionary and pro-fascist forces in this country.

### JOE McWILLIAMS' ACTIVITIES

Sensational disclosures in the Cleveland "Press" reveal that Reynolds is employing as a key-man, none other than Joe McWilliams, the silvery-voiced Yorkville Fuehrer, to solicit wealthy Cleveland industrialists for contributions to the Nationalist Party. It is pretty generally avowed that McWilliams is an out and out fascist and admirer of Adolph Hitler and all his policies; a friend of the leader of the German-American Bund, Fritz Kuhn; and of Silver-Shirt leader, William Dudley Pelley. McWilliams gained notoriety chiefly through his vicious anti-Semitic speeches at street corner rallies in Yorkville in the early days of the war. He is the author of such a profound remark as: "ADOLPH HITLER IS THE GREATEST LEADER IN THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD."

Reynolds, leader of the Nationalist Party, former chairman of the Senate Military Affairs Committee, husband of Evelyn Walsh MacLeop, owner of the Hope diamond and a huge fortune, had the political and social prestige to give his party a deceptive aura of respectability. The big-time Nationalist press, the New York Daily News and Washington Times-Herald have come out for a Nationalist Party, while the Chicago Tribune has specifically praised the Nationalist Party of Reynolds. Reynolds is himself the owner of a newspaper, the "National Record," the official organ of his Party, and the proud possessor of a private, potential storm-troop outfit, the Vindicator.

Here is what A. F. Weber of the Triplex Screw Company of Cleveland tells of an interview with Nationalist Party representative, Malone, "public relations director" for the American Nationalist Committee, Reynolds' Number One organizer and trouble shooter, active in the last four months in New Jersey, New York, Massachusetts, Illinois and Ohio.

"Malone asked me for a donation to the party. He said the Nationalists expected to get into office and would help industry. He said they would do away with all business regulations, lower taxes, and make the unions incorporate. Like they do in some of the Southern states. He talked a lot about Communists, and how they were taking over the country through the New Deal. He said the Nationalists would put an end to the Communists and foreigners in this country. He explained the way the Nationalist Party would get into office by uniting the anti-New Deal Democrats of the South, with the right kind of Northern Republicans. He showed me a map to see how the votes in the different states would be united under the Nationalists."

Other industrialists or firms visited by Malone or McWilliams include: James F. Lincoln, president of Lincoln Electric Co., who has a record of violently reactionary actions against labor; Robert A. Weaver, president of Ferro Enamel Corp.; Republic Steel Corp., Standard Oil Company, Federal Reserve Bank, Mutual Finance Co., American Shipbuilding Co., etc.

### GERALD L. K. SMITH

The Nationalists are in communication with Gerald L. K. Smith, head of the America Firsters, who has as one of his financial backers Harry Bennett, former head of the Ford Co. service squad, now reputed to be running the Ford empire. Smith visited the San Francisco Conference to relaunch the America First movement from there and to transfer his Detroit headquarters there. He plans to coalesce the various fascist, crack-pot elements on the Coast—the pension "oldsters," the fundamentalists, the vegetarians, the "monetary reform" groups, the "good government" people the "ham and eggs" movement.

Fascism in Italy and Germany was subsidized by the magnates of the heavy industries, the iron, steel and mining industries, and by the financiers—the Krupps and the Thyssens. Krupp told his employees once: "We want only loyal workers who are grateful from the bottom of their hearts for the bread which we let them earn." Thyssen said: "Democracy with us represents—nothing." And yet it is the workers of Germany who today must suffer, and the Thyssens and Krupps will go scot-free. Fascism came to power in Germany as the instrument of the capitalist class to prevent the workers from seizing power.

The fascist movement is usually composed of de-classed elements: middle classes which have been destroyed by big business, unemployed militarists, i.e., professional soldiers, unemployed workers whose morale has been destroyed by years of idleness, youth who have no hopes for the future under capitalism. These were the forces which the degenerate leaders of the Nazi Party won to their program. This program promised everything to everybody but really adhered to one aim: strengthening the power of the capitalist rulers of Germany, guaranteeing their profits and waging war to extend their interests on a world scale.

Fascism can be fought only by militant working class action. Labor must organize the fight against fascism, it must organize a strong Labor Party with a genuine labor program, for the people to guard against the inroads of the fascists. Labor must organize its own Defense Guards to be ready for the fascist violence, organize an independent Labor Party, based on the unions, to bring about the victory of its program.

# SOCIALISM AND POST-WAR HOUSING

Part II: The Housing Shortage

By MARIAN GOULD

Last week we wandered through the cheery, airy vistas of the paper dream houses that the capitalist pen-prostitutes have created to take our minds off the war housing crisis. Today, let's plumb the depths of the general, permanent housing shortage which the last four years of war has intensified.

Any LABOR ACTION reader earning around the median U. S. wage of \$1500, or in the 61% of U. S. families earning less than \$2000 a year, or even in the 81% earning less than \$3000—knows what I'm talking about. Whenever you try to find decent apartments or houses for your families, you run smack into the fact that:

There has always been a housing shortage in this country.

It has always been difficult, if not impossible, for three quarters of the population to find clean, sunny homes with enough rooms, at rents they could afford to pay.

The residence areas that the vast majority of the urban U. S. population can afford are characterized by

factory, and/or traffic ODOR, NOISES, DIRT;

CONGESTION, and lack of privacy; lack of sunshine, fresh air, and nature's green.

(Rural slums are just as bad, but for other reasons, which lie outside the scope of the present discussion.)

The most heavily populated city residential areas are usually located on the cheapest land, that is, the worst located sites in terms of topography, prevailing winds, year-round exposure to sunshine.

The working class families that can find decent homes within their price range, by moving to far-out suburbs, almost invariably lack the necessary complement of nurseries, schools, recreation facilities, libraries, safe shopping cen-

ters—that all add up to make a convenient, functional residential neighborhood.

Widespread dissatisfaction with popular living conditions has revealed itself in the mass exodus from cities to the suburbs during the last twenty years. Suburban areas have grown twice as fast as city areas proper.

The deep-felt human need for fresh air, sunshine and communion with nature is also expressed regularly by the week-end and summer vacation migrations from our cities.

The figures on the EXTENT of America's housing shortage are unbelievable to the ordinary reader of the daily kept-press, with its mythology about the "American Way of Life."

OVER HALF OF THE FAMILIES IN AMERICA DO NOT LIVE IN HOMES OF MINIMUM DECENTRY OR SANITATION.

This startling estimate was made by Fortune magazine as early as 1932. It has been confirmed by the most recent publications of the National Housing Authority, and by the 1940 Census Report.

Of the 37 million housing units it got reports on, the Census found that 18.2 million needed major repairs or had no private bath.

Even this isn't a complete picture of the SHORTAGE because the Census doesn't bother about the

LOCATION of the units—whether or not they're in slum areas; how CONGESTED they are—how many families are living in one unit.

The National Housing Authority has estimated America's housing needs at 16,000,000. The United Automobile Workers-CIO calls this inaccurate, and says the need is closer to 17,000,000.

To bring the meaning of these astronomical figures home in terms we housewives are used to thinking in, I'll list you three more statistics, and that'll be all for today.

1. In the boom year of 1929, the private building industry put up a little over 500,000 dwelling units.

2. In 1941, counting all the Government's war housing construction, only 700,000 non-farm units were built.

3. TO BUILD 17,000,000 DWELLINGS IN TEN YEARS' TIME MEANS THAT 1,700,000 UNITS A YEAR MUST GO UP.

That's the extent of the shortage today: to provide Decent and Sanitary homes for the housewives who need them most (to say nothing of Dream Houses), there must be three times as much building as in 1929, and over twice as much as there was in 1941.

AND THAT, LADIES, IS QUITE AN ORDER, FOR THE PRESENT SET-UP TO FILL. (Later on I propose to consider at some length whether or not they can fill it.)

We socialists go along with the UAW on their demand for 17,000,000 new dwelling units. But we don't think that's enough to alleviate the shortage of decent, wholesome (modern) housing.

We believe, we know that our country can afford to house its citizens in homes that are not only decent and sanitary, but also roomy, sunny, and located in safe, well-landscaped, restful environments where body and soul can relax from the day's labors.

America has the lumber, the bricks, the concrete, and the labor to house its people well. Why then, has this obvious and elementary task never been carried out?

We've already seen that the answer is tied up with LOW INCOME. The people who are short of houses are that 80% of families who earn under \$3000 a year.

Next week we'll go into the cause and effect relations between those two facts by discussing: The Cause of Capitalism's Permanent Housing Shortage.

# "New Turn" of the Communists-II

By DAVID COOLIDGE

(The second article in a series)

In discussing the new ferment in the Stalinist Communist Party in the United States, which William Z. Foster calls the return to "Marxism-Leninism," we compared the record and writings of Foster for the past few years with those of Earl Browder. The printed record reveals no fundamental difference. On the contrary, it reveals that Foster and his friends were in full accord with Browder (and Stalin) on every important and significant question.

Foster, Minor and Hudson agreed with Browder on the Stalin-Hitler pact. They agreed with Molotov that "Hitlerism... is a matter of taste."



### "GOOD AND BAD CAPITALISTS"

They were completely satisfied with the position of Browder in 1939 that there was little difference between the government of Great Britain and the United States on one side and the government of Germany on the other.

In 1941 they agreed with Browder that the war was an "imperialist war."

In 1942, when Browder (and Stalin) decided that it was no longer an imperialist war, but that the U. S. was fighting for national liberation, Foster rushed to the side of Browder and Minor and added that "this is a sacred war."

But now Foster, Minor, Hudson and the rest of the "majority" discover that they were "misled" by Browder.

### SKIDS GREASED FOR BROWDER

A meeting of the National Committee of the CPA endorsed the action of the National Board which recently repudiated Browder and endorsed the "line" of Foster. The vote was 53 to 1 against Browder. The committee also decided to hold a convention during the month of July and elected a secretariat to represent the organization publicly in the interim. Foster, Dennis and Williamson make up the secretariat. Browder was ostentatiously omitted!

They reach back into 1939 and come up with a stinking Stalinist concoction which Foster has the brazenness to label "Marxism-Leninism." Although Browder had no such intentions, in his reply to the Fosterites he objectively exposes the quality of the Foster-Minor-Hudson Marxism. Foster accuses Browder of flirting with capitalism and leading the CP into reformism. Browder quotes from an article by Foster in the June, 1945, number of Political Affairs (the CP substitute for the Communist International, monthly magazine published up to the time the GPU took the "dissolved" Third International underground), as follows:

"By far not all American capitalists favor a policy of aggressive imperialist expansion. Large numbers of them follow the general Roosevelt line. These more far-sighted elements among the capitalists, the Kaisers, Krugs, Nelsons, etc., realizing that their class interests dovetail with the nation's interests... are accepting the general policies laid down at Teheran and Yalta."

Browder comments as follows on the Foster position that there are good and bad capitalists:

"The true understanding of American imperialism and American imperialist policy is that it is represented not only in Vandenberg and du Pont, but is equally represented in the Kaisers, Krugs and Nelsons."

Browder adds that the Kaisers, Krugs and Nelsons are the true representatives of the interests of their class, whereas the Vandenberg and du Ponts "fail to see the true interests of their own class."

We are certain that every worker will be profoundly touched by this question: which group of capitalists truly represents the interests of the capitalist class? This is one of the things Browder and his "opponent" Foster are quarreling about.

Far more important, however, is the fact that Foster, who accuses Browder of "revisionism and a departure from Marxism," attempts to discover good and bad capitalists.

Kaiser, according to Foster, is better for the working class than du Pont, Nelson is better than Ford, Krug is better than Vandenberg. This is Foster's "Marxism-Leninism." Every worker who has toiled in the mines, mills and factories knows that this is pure rubbish.

"Not all American capitalists favor a policy of aggressive imperialist expansion." What other kind of imperialism is there except aggressive imperialism? Imperialism means to seize, to suppress and exploit colonial and small nations and their peoples for the benefit of an imperialist capitalist ruling class. The oppression and exploitation is accompanied by armies and navies with all the weapons at their command. Has Foster ever seen a pacifist, or meek, or modest imperialism? British, perhaps? Or American? Or Russian?

### WHERE WAS DISAGREEMENT?

At what other point does Foster disagree with Browder? He and Browder disagree on the possibilities of "socialism in our country." Foster charges Browder with the "curt dismissal of the whole question of socialism in our country, not only as an immediate political issue (in which he was correct) but also in the sense of mass education (in which he was wrong)." When did Foster find himself in disagreement on this important question? When was Foster advocating mass education in socialism?

In his pamphlet "Socialism" issued in March, 1941, Foster talked about socialism. "There is no system of society except socialism that can free humanity... In a socialist America the people will enjoy freedom in its fullest sense and also the material well being which must serve as its base... To grease the chute for our final plunge into the war, the warmongers are asserting that this is a war to save democracy... What a familiar stench that 'argument' has. It was a lie in 1917... and it is a lie now..."

John L. Lewis was correct in charging that there are 52,000,000

shrunken bellies in this country...

The Roosevelt government, the spearhead of American imperialism, is leading this work of reaction behind a mask of progressive phrases...

"Capitalist exploitation of the workers and farmers is... the basic cause of war..."

"The New Deal Administration, obeying the dictate of Wall Street, has abandoned its makeshift 'pump-priming' and is going the way of all capitalism, into wholesale munitions production and war..."

"The dictatorship of the proletariat... is the rule of the workers and peasants..."

"Only by militant struggle can the workers and their farmer and other allies protect themselves from the ever-increasing evils of hunger, fas-



### "CAPITALISTS MOSTLY GOOD"

cism and war... They should support the right to strike by fighting against all anti-strike legislation, by repudiating in action the no-strike policies of their leaders."

Thus wrote Foster in March, 1941. Was he to the "left" of Browder? Was his pamphlet "Socialism" a polemic against Browder or against Browder "errors" and "revisionism"? The record is against Foster, for in January, 1941, Browder wrote in his pamphlet, The Way Out of the Imperialist War, as follows:

"Today in the midst of the second imperialist war, we commemorate Lenin by applying his teachings... The Roosevelt Administration is about to enter into military action which cannot be directed against Ireland... The war administration of Roosevelt arrogates to itself the right to enclose the whole hemisphere in its control... This is not democracy. This is imperialism." (Article 3 Next Week)

# Who's Going to Own Gov't War Property?

By V. P. Jensen

So far, on the important problems of post-war economic development and reconversion, we have had from the government only air. To be more precise, two kinds of air—hot and foul. The hot air comes from Congressmen and government higher ups who in countless holiday speeches promise full employment, a break for small business and pie in the sky for veterans, while in reality they are planning nothing and fighting all social benefits to the last ditch. The foul air hits us when an occasional door is opened upon some of the hush-hush agencies where the real post-war future is being worked out. One such case is the recent resignation of Guy Gillette of Iowa as chairman of the Surplus Property Board.

This board is one of the key economic agencies. Its job is to dispose of about one hundred billion dollars of government-owned property and goods. This property ranges from twenty million acres of land and seven billion dollars in new industrial plants and facilities down to shoes, overcoats and cameras. Disposing of one hundred billion dollars of goods is a somewhat larger transaction than selling a pound of potatoes over the counter. What happens to the government-owned plants may shape the industrial future of the country for the coming period. Big business from the start has known what is involved and has kept a greedy hand in this biggest of all grab-bags of the war.

All talk of post-war economic planning is idle without taking into account this tremendous sum of goods and property and how and if the government is to dispose of it—and to whom. What are the alternatives and how do they affect labor?

### ALTERNATIVES

The twenty million acres of land owned by the government offer a means to enable the returning veteran, the underprivileged farm laborer, cropper and tenant to become an independent small farmer—OR—they can be sold to big planters, sugar growers and big corporate farmers, who are interested in an enlarged pool of landless laborers from whom they can harvest cheap farm labor.

The seven billion dollars in industrial plant and facilities kept open by the government can mean increased employment and the breaking up of monopolistic control—OR—sold to big business interests who are able to make substantial profits by keeping plants closed down and charging monopolistic prices and by paying low wages in a period of widespread unemployment.

The billions of dollars of surplus commodities ranging from guns to shoes, can, in the hands of big business, be used to dictate prices and dominate the current of the immediate post-war market when there is a large demand for civilian goods.

From its very inception, the Surplus Property Board has been in the hands of big business, of the Jesse Jones crowd, and they have made it amply clear that only big business is to pick the plums from this gigantic economic pie. When the board was set up in 1943, Will Clayton, the world's greatest cotton factor and pal of Jesse Jones, was named the first administrator. The whole office was peopled with big businessmen. When Clayton was appointed by Roosevelt as under-secretary of state, the deceased president named Sam Husbands, another Jesse Jones man as head of the board. Such a furor arose over this reactionary appointment that Roosevelt was forced to withdraw his nomination and appoint ex-Senator Guy Gillette of Iowa, instead.

### EVEN GILLETTE OBJECTS

Now Gillette has resigned as head of the board complaining that the practices of the board "might lead to monopolistic practices." Gillette is hardly a wild-eyed radical—as a matter of fact, Roosevelt once "purged" him as an enemy of the New Deal—and we may be sure that when Gillette feels cramped in the Surplus Property Board, the big businessmen have really got the works tied up in knots. Most of what is done in the board is very hush-hush but when Gillette left he opened the door just long enough for a peek at the workings.

At the same time that Gillette resigned, General Counsel Wesley Sturges, who also was somewhat more favorable to the pleas of small business, resigned too, after the arrogant big business crowd, tired of listening to his protests, had barred him from meetings of the Board.

One of the best illustrations of the influences of big business is the affair of the Aluminum Corporation of America. Alcoa, which a federal court has just discovered to be a monopoly, like all the other monopolies, has been profiting enormously under war orders. The government loaned some of its best machine tools to Alcoa. Under the terms of the Congressional act setting up the Surplus Property Board, the Board is given discretion to refuse to sell goods to any monopoly.

Attorney General Biddle asked that Alcoa not be permitted to buy the valuable machine tools and thus strengthen its monopoly on aluminum. But the Board refused to name the company in the order withholding machine tools. So Alcoa finds that the names that a Federal Court calls it won't hurt so long as its big business friends on the Surplus Property Board see to it that its monopoly won't be disturbed.

The Board is in a great hurry to dispose of the government-owned machine tools, so anxious that it has offered the big companies reduced prices and a chance to reject tools they didn't want; terms much easier than even the original option terms which turned no corporation owners' hair gray.

### TRUMAN APES FDR

That nothing more is to be expected from Truman than from Roosevelt was made quite clear with his appointment of W. Stuart Symington of St. Louis as chairman of the Board. What may be expected of Symington can be gauged from the fact that he was once cited by a federal judge on violation of the Sherman Anti-trust Act.

One of the Surplus Property Board members, Robert Hurley, told the Senate Military Affairs subcommittee that in his opinion a great deal of the property in war plants should simply be regarded as "junk" and disposed of as sweat. Workers have paid for this "junk" in blood and sweat and taxes; workers have seen this "junk" bring in enormous profits for capitalists; workers for the first time have been enabled by this "junk" to have full employment by producing for the war machine.

These workers must not permit the plants and facilities to be sold for a song to greedy, profit-swollen corporations, who can shut them down at their will to maintain monopoly profits. They must insist that the government hold these idle war plants and their "junk" and under the control of the workers, make them work to provide jobs and goods for the benefit of the people of the country as they once provided huge profits for their capitalist masters.

# NEW YORK ELECTION CAMPAIGN

The New York City CIO Council has endorsed General O'Dwyer, Democratic candidate for Mayor.

Why? Because "O'Dwyer has won the confidence of all good government forces that he would continue the splendid pattern of independent, fearless and clean administration given to our city by Fiorello H. LaGuardia."

This belly-crawling statement was made less than a week after LaGuardia used the city's radio station to call a slowdown of terribly underpaid bus drivers dishonest and un-American. Yes, and less than a week after LaGuardia almost wept because he couldn't think of any strike-breaking method to use against this "new technique" of the bus drivers.

Worst of all, this statement was made by Mike Quill, president of the bus drivers' own union.

As for General O'Dwyer, labor's new "friend," he kept very quiet about the bus situation.

Max Shachtman, candidate of the Workers Party, says: "It's time to end this ruinous company unionism in politics. Labor needs its own INDEPENDENT Labor Party and its own candidates. The so-called American Labor Party and the Liberal Party are only tails to the Democratic and Republican kites. The workers, CIO and AFL, together with their families, have the numbers for a truly great party of their own."

When you vote for Shachtman in November, you vote for the idea of an independent Labor Party. You vote for a labor government and against

the continued rule (whether clean or dirty) by capitalists and bankers.

Campaign for labor by campaigning for Shachtman in your shop, in your club, and everywhere you go.

Workers Party Campaign Committee  
114 West 14th Street, New York 11, N. Y.

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

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