War Is Not Hell on $10 to $180 an Hour!

The complete story on enormous war profits and salaries which the big corporations and big business tycoons made out of the war will not be told until the war in the Pacific is over. But there is enough information on hand to show that while labor carried the burden of the war economy, the capitalists reaped a golden harvest.

Every worker and every union member ought to remember the facts about profits and salaries the next time some labor official tells him he must not strike for his rights, for the abolition of the Little Steel Formula, for jobs and a decent standard of living. The big profits made by industries and the huge salaries of the big businessmen was in part due to the fact that labor's wages were frozen.

Examine the list prepared by the Treasury Deparment and sent out in a release by the Federated Press, and you will see why the whole policy of class peace carried out by the labor leaders was so harmful to the workers of this country.

The Rich Enrich Themselves

For instance, there is the Listerine manufacturer, the Lambert Co. which paid a salary of $80,000 plus a bonus of 15 grand to John L. Johnston for a total of $95,000.

And Vick's Vapo Rub sold well enough for the Vick Chemical Co. to lay out $90,215 to W. Y. Preyer and $76,135 to H. S. Richardson in its top bracket.

Then there were 14 officers of the E. I. DuPont de Nemours & Co. who got ove $74,000 in the fiscal year of 1943 just coming to light. Eight of these were over $100,000, with a top figure of $150,000 to Walter S. Carpenter, Jr.

The List Gets Bigger and Bigger

The Diamond T truck business was good enough to pay three officers over $80,000 each: E. A. Bush, S. A. Cook and C. A. Peirce. And Fairbanks, Morse & Co., makers of big scales, etc., wrote a check for $161,500 to Robert H. Morse.

Household Finance Co., which has chains of small loan offices all over the U. S. thought the services of B. E. Henderson were worth $125,038.

Lumbermen's Mutual Casualty Co. prospered in policy sales and laid out $25,000 for James S. Kemper.

Montgomery Ward & Co. presented Chairman Sewell L. Avery with $100,599, and gave C. D. Ryan $84,400, but he didn't get the publicity Sewell did.

For drawing that little fascist-minded comic character, Little Orphan Annie for the Chicago Tribune-New York News Syndicate, Harold Gray knocked down just $94,048, of which $81,049 was in "other compensation," probably from royalties for the sale of the strip to other papers.

Promoting the "Smile of Beauty" and the "Smile of Health" cost the Pepsodent Co. $100,000 for Charles Luckman and $118,333 for Kennth G. Smith.

A struggling textile manufacturer, Packard Mills, Inc., scraped up $96,622 for Ralph K. Hubbard as a year's compensation, while the Chrysler Corporation could do that well to only one of its three officers earning over $75,000. Packard laid out $100,900 to K. T. Keller. B. E. Hutchinson got $90,900 and Fred M. Zedar a mere $85,400.

Union Busting Auto Barons Get Theirs

Ford Motors reported only two men in the top flight: C. E. Sorenson with $230,000 and B. J. Craig at $119,543.

General Motors, however, listed a total of 33 men in the big money topped with Charles E. Wilson's $459,041. Other GM men struggled along on a good deal less: Albert Bradley, 350,432; Charles F. Kettering, $308,117; Alfred P. Sloan, Jr., $200,800; Donaldson Brown, $306,160, and the Fisher Brothers, Edward and Lawrence, got just $259,815 and $164,454, respectively. A total of 20 GM officers got over $100,000 and 12 of these were over $200,000.

Campbell Soup settled with $95,250 to Arthur Dorrance, while Palmolive Soap paid off E. H. Little at $257,405, and gave two others $77,777 and $101,650 each. Sore muscles brought profits to Baume Mengue so the company rewarded Theodore Seltzer with $200,394 in salary and commissions. American Can Co. gave two executives, T. N. Anderson and D. W. Figgis checks for $85,000 each, and rewarded M. J. Sullivan at $153,900.

Walter S. Gifford of American Telephone & Telegraph got $210,350, which was just a bit less than George W. Hill of American Tobacco deposited in 1943—$252,275. Anaconda Copper's books showed $201,186 to Cornelius F. Kelley and $151,161 to James R. Hobbins. Slightly less valuable were the services of Robert Dwyer. Bob got only $96,766. Winthrop W. Aldrich of New York's Chase National Bank got $133,300 from that source, but Aldrich works only part time. His other activities include being head of the International Chamber of Commerce and many details of the NAM.

There's a lot more—but you can get the whole list from the Treasury Department in Washington. It's interesting reading on pay day.

LABOR ACTION

July 30, 1945 — A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR — ONE CENT

CONGRESS GOING HOME—NO PLAN ON JOBS FOR ALL

By STEPHEN PARKER

Better start polishing up the old apple stand. Better start consulting your local architect about plans for building a mansion in shantytown. Mass unemployment is now on the order of the day.

Between June and August of this year, according to the War Manpower Commission, unemployment in the United States increased by 100 per cent. In the two months period an estimated 1,000,000 persons have been thrown out of work.

True, this is only small potatoes when compared to what the figure will be when V-J Day comes. On that day it is now estimated there will be an immediate total of 10,000,000 unemployed. Prospects are that unless something is done about it, the unemployment figures will increase even beyond the rock-bottom depression totals of 1932-1933.

This Congress is adjourning without having done a single thing to ward of this impending unemployment and all the misery that it entails. The House of Representatives has already adjourned. The Senate will adjourn after discussing the World Charter adopted at San Francisco. Beyond some speeches on how many men will be employed making automobiles, refrigerators, washing machines, and radios nothing has been done to insure employment.

CONGRESS DOES NOTHING

What is behind the theory that the war workers thrown out of work, to say nothing of the 12,000,000 prospective veterans of this war, can be absorbed by the demand for civilian goods? This theory is that millions of war workers have accumulated millions of dollars in savings, that they are just dying to spend on automobiles, radios, etc. This is not true.

The enormous bulk of savings is not held by working men and women, but by the rich and the war-bloated corporations. And the very modest savings of the workers will not be spent on automobiles, radios, etc., especially when every worker will not know where his next dollar is coming from.

Although Congress has done nothing to see to it that every worker that wants a job is provided for, or that at least he is adequately taken care of while unemployed, when it comes to taking care of bankers and industrialists it is on the ball. Long ago at the urgings of big business it passed a surplus-profits rebate bill which fills the needs of the industrialists during the period of reconversion.

But what could be expected from a Congress composed of Democrats and Republicans who are always sensitive to the needs of the rich, and contemptuous of the needs of the tens of millions of workingmen and women?

THERE IS A WAY OUT

Organized labor must awaken to the dangers that mass unemployment holds for them, and begin to fight for a real program that copes with the problem.

(Continued on page 3)

Big Three Plan a Super Versailles

By JOHN STEWART

On July 20, "plain-spoken" President Truman delivered himself of a one-minute speech which stated the "public" policy of the United States in the super-Versailles being enacted in Potsdam: "Let us not forget that we are fighting for peace and for the welfare of mankind. We are not fighting for conquest. There is not one piece of territory or one thing of a monetary nature that we want out of this war."

Mr. Truman's statement was a little too "plain." It had to be immediately and delicately corrected, or rather, interpreted, by his supporters. For in the war against Japan, we are committed to the seizure and holding of many former Japanese island bases. Australian Foreign Minister, Herbert Evatt, for instance, said at San Francisco, he did not see why the United States bothered with a trusteeship system that would give us almost complete control over the islands, but declared the U. S. should say directly we had conquered them and wanted to keep them for "security" reasons.

SECRET DIPLOMACY

The day after Truman made his "no territories, no money" speech, it was disclosed by Bert Andrews in the Herald Tribune, that a part of the secret Yalta compact among Roosevelt, Stalin and Churchill—and Truman is Roosevelt's inheritor—was to split a reparations pot supplied by Germany of $20 billion! This is the second revelation of the secret deals at Yalta, as the Tribune points out, the first being Russia's award of three delegates instead of one on the United Nations Council.

Secret diplomacy is part and parcel of the system of imperialism. Vacuous, idealistic-sounding declarations for the masses of the world, who fight and pay for the war; secret negotiations by the capitalist representatives to conceal from the masses their real aims.

Whether Truman exacts for the U. S. any territorial and monetary reparations or not, he is party to the division of the spoils now going on. The U. S. is not so interested as the other powers concerned in reparations per se, because the U. S. can more than hold its own in the trade war which the military hostilities are being transformed into.

Meanwhile, according to Harold

(Continued on page 2)

The Layoff is the Payoff!

New Leadership Is Needed in URWA!

U. S. Rubber Strike

By LAWRENCE SMITH

DETROIT—The union wrecking tactics of S. H. Dalrymple, president of the United States Rubber Workers Union, and his Communist allies in Detroit local 101 headed by John Marmon, local president, caused a complete shut down of the Detroit plant of the U. S. Rubber Company. A strike, begun by 300 tire builders gradually won the support of the entire working force of 5,500 so that all production had ceased by Tuesday.

An injunction restraining the leaders of the strike from picketing was defied by the strike supporters throughout the week and as this is written the plant is solidly down.

CAUSE OF STRIKE

The immediate cause of the strike was the firing of 12 men by the company upon demand of the International Executive Board of the URW which claimed that these men were attempting to replace the URW in the shop by the Mechanics Educational Society of America, a small independent union. These men, hitherto members of the U.R.W. had been expelled from the union by the In-

(Continued on page 2)

Akron Aftermath

By BILL FORD

AKRON—Latest government agency to tangle with Akron rubber workers is the local War Manpower Commission, which has refused to permit Goodrich Local No. 5, United Rubber Workers of America, to reduce women's working hours from 48 back to 36 in order to prevent laying off 300 female workers.

Developments surrounding this situation are at present at the top of the workers' list of "government-troubles" locally. Goodrich Local prior to the war had a standard 36 hour week in its contract, and fought to the last ditch against the WMC order installing the 48 hour work week. The WMC finally prevailed, superseding the union contract, with the understanding that the union's contract would go back into effect whenever lay-offs were threatened.

Now the WMC has welched on its agreement and insists on maintaining the 48 hour week and getting the 300 women laid off. Intense opposition to this has been building up within the union and came to a head at the membership meeting last week.

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L. A. Anti-Fascist Meeting; Workers Party Showed Way

LOS ANGELES—Following the initiative taken by the Los Angeles Branch of the Workers Party, which held two picket-demonstrations in front of meetings held by America's No. 1 fascist, Gerald L. K. Smith, an overflow mass meeting, sponsored by the community and joined in by the CIO, AFL and minority political parties, including the Workers Party, was held on July 20, to demonstrate against Smith's fascist drive in Southern California. The meeting was attended by 12,000 people in Olympic Auditorium and was held at the same time that Smith held his own meeting of 3,000 in the Shrine Hall.

This united front action in which the labor unions took a leading part is an example of what can be done with united labor action against Hitler's disciples in this country. There was only one drawback to the meeting. It ended with no specific actions planned for continuing the campaign to drive Smith out of Los Angeles and to nip the fascist campaign in the bud.

This meeting, the Los Angeles Branch of the Workers Party pointed out, should be regarded as only the first step. "It needs to be extended by permanent united front action," said one of its spokesmen," and by the organization of anti-fascist labor guards to defend the labor movement against fascist hoodlums."

The Workers Party participated actively in this meeting and sold two thousand copies of an anti-Smith pamphlet which it printed especially for this meeting. A complete report of the meeting will appear in next week's issue of Labor Action.

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The fight against Gerald L. K. Smith's fascist activities in Los Angeles has a little history which contains some important lessons for the political and union movements of labor. When Smith first invaded Los Angeles and began to hold his meetings, the Workers Party of that city took the initiative in an attempt to organize united front picket-demonstrations as a means of struggling against fascism. (See Labor Action of July 16 and 23.)

It sent letters to the union organizations and political parties of that area including the Socialist Party, the Industrial Workers of the World, the Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Workers Party. From each of these parties it received a blank refusal to consider any joint or individual action against Smtih.

OTHER GROUPS ABSTAIN

Each organization had its own special reason for abstaining for some form of demonstrative action against Smith. The Socialist Party said it could not accept joint action with "bolsheviks." The IWW still adhered to its time-worn theory, "no politics!" The SLP professed the same

(Continued on page 3)

Belgians Repudiate King

By J. PRENTISS

Six months ago the Belgian workers ousted the reactionary Premier Pierlot from the government. Now the Belgian workers are continuing their struggle against the exiled King Leopold who, despite the opposition to him by the majority of the people has refused to abdicate. Belgium has thrown into an acute political crisis over the maintenance of the monarchy, which is the symbol of reaction and Nazi collaboration. Unwilling to accept Leopold's return to Belgium, the Belgium Chamber of Deputies, under pressure of the masses of workers, voted to "freeze" him in exile until the situation has eased itself out enough to call him back to the throne.

Lined up with Leopold and in favor of his immediate return to the throne are the right-wing Cath-

(Continued on page 2)

Statement of Workers Party Candidate on Ben Davis Case

Bulletin: Political pressure and the demand of its Mayoralty candidate O'Dwyer, forced Tammany Hall to drop its endorsement of Davis' candidacy even though Davis is a member of a Democratic club.)

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NEW YORK — Max Shachtman, Workers Party candidate for Mayor of New York, today made the following statement concerning the Tammany endorsement of Communist Benjamin J. Davis, for re-election to the City Council:

"The uproar among politicians and in the daily press about the Davis case is no help at all to the Negro people in deciding what attitude they should take. The Republicans and those Democratic politicians who want to grab control of the Democratic Party from the inner Tammany ring howl that Davis is a 'Red' and an enemy of religion.

"The Liberals, who have attached themselves to the Republican machine and who are nominating Benjamin F. McLaurin, well-known Negro labor leader to run against Davis, add to this that Davis opposed the war and Roosevelt until Hitler attacked Russia and then suddenly became a great patriot.

"The Workers Party says that it would be a serious mistake for the Negro people to support either Davis or any other candidate, who is tied up with the Democrats or the Republicans. However, we don't think that most Negroes will be very much impressed by the charges so far made against Davis, although some of them are true.

"The real case against Davis and the Communists is that for years they have not put up a genuine fight for Negro equality and are not doing so now, in spite of some big talk.

"The Communist Party pays no attention to the needs of the common people but only to the orders of Joseph Stalin. For example, these pose now as the greatest defenders of the Fair Employment Practices Committee. But they were the bitterest enemies of Randolph's March-On-Washington organization, which

(Continued on page 2)

Rankin's Union-Busting Bill

By SUSAN GREEN

Not only does the capitalist system inevitably cause wars with all their horrors; it benefits the capitalists with enormous war profits. Even that is not enough. When the soldiers return home, certain sections of the ruling class begin to think up ways and means for using those soldiers to break unions and to weaken the working people. In this category is the Rankin bill, sneaked through the House Veterans Committee on July 6th in the absence of a majority of the members.

The union-busting bill is proposed "to help veterans get jobs." It would exempt them from union membership, regardless of contract conditions in the plant, regardless of closed shop agreements. One would think that what is keeping the returning GI's from jobs is union dues that they can't afford to pay.

The fact is that pretty nearly every union has special provisions for returning GI's. The fact is that if veterans can't get jobs it's because the private profit system hasn't got them to offer. But the ranking, panting member of the House, Rankin, cares nothing about these facts. He speaks for the capitalist contingent wanting to make scabs and union-busters out of soldiers.

No bones are being made that this is the purpose of Rankin and those with him and behind him. The New York Sun's Washington reporter started his piece of July 9th: **"A bill to use veterans for breaking defense plant strikes was being pushed rapidly toward congressional consideration today."** Rankin himself has

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NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Ship Workers and Reconversion

By SUSAN GREEN

It is astonishing to read in the CIO News of July 2 that in its plans for jobs the CIO Marine & Shipbuilding Workers Union demands **"a first class modernized Navy,"** according to reporter Helen Kay. The same reporter quotes union president John Green as calling, among other things, for **"the experimental part of a naval program."** If this means anything at all, which it does, it is tantamount to a proposal for a constantly improving United States navy.

This point in the ship union's program hits one between the eyes even more forcefully because the first page of the July 2 issue of the CIO News is devoted to **"Ships for Peace"** and the inside article by Helen Kay is also entitled **"Ships for Peace."** Is building a navy second to none, the ship union officials' conception of ships for peace?

The plan calls also for merchant shipping of 20 to 25 million deadweight tons of first class efficiency, which means scrapping old tubs and building far beyond present capacity. But the union planners do not expect even their 400,000 union members of the 1,722,500 war-peak shipyard employed to get jobs building ships for peaceful trade. So without more ado, they call for ships for war, however, still calling their plan "Ships for Peace."

FALLACY IN SHIP PROGRAM

In this there is grave danger for the labor movement. It means that union leaders are getting on the imperialist bandwagon heading straight for militarism and the next war.

The capitalist spokesmen for peacetime universal training want military regimentation of youth—of course, to keep world peace. The brass-hat advocates of an all-powerful airforce and an unbeatable navy also, of course, do so in the interest of world peace. And all the groups who favor the San Francisco charter, cover up its plain implications by shouting loudly that the armed might of the Big Three will be used for peace, not for war.

It is sad to see that the CIO and AFL have officially given their endorsement to the San Francisco charter and have joined the supporters of capitalist "armed peace." They have succumbed to the siren song of American imperialism, that, in the words of the New York Times: ". . . the United Nations have now **organized themselves to harness force to the interests of peace."**

Certainly union president Green should know better. In the old days John Green was a socialist. He should remember from the teachings of Marx and should have learned from the facts of life, that when rival imperialist nations are armed to the teeth, sooner or later they will resort to arms to settle their disputes over power and profit. Who can doubt from the unconcealed rivalry of the Big Three, with the contentious little nations in the background, that not human, but imperialist interests are behind all their actions?

In spite of the transcendent question of employment no worker in his right mind will support a program of war preparedness for the sake of jobs, **if the case is put to him squarely and not camouflaged with the words "Ships for Peace."**

Let it not be forgotten that Hitler gave jobs to over six million unemployed German workers—gave them jobs making the death-dealing instruments for World War II. At the same time he was staging tremendously impressive "peace demonstrations" to delude the workers into a sense that, after all, they were not producing war materials for war—but for peace.

This object lesson should be learned by all workers everywhere. Armies, navies and air forces, by their very nature, and by nature of the capitalist-imperialist nations which have them, sooner or later serve the purpose for which they are built. To build navies is to produce ships for war—for World War III.

REAL SHIPS FOR PEACE

There are, of course, other peacetime uses for ships of every kind. How about replacing antiquated boats that ply the rivers as ferries? How about scrapping the unseaworthy excursion boats that cause so many accidents and deaths? How about replacing these and building "a first class modernized" pleasure fleet for the people to enjoy the beautiful rivers and lakes that nature has given them? How about also building a "navy" of ocean liners for quick and inexpensive travel so the human race can intermingle in enjoyment and friendship, instead of in fire and blood?

But try to get the capitalist private profit system to build ships for such "unnecessary" uses! Why, even the urgent need of the people for ordinary houses does not bring an adequate building program from the capitalist planners!

Then what about jobs?

The ship union's demand for the reduction of the work week to thirty hours, is a good one. The demand for a guaranteed annual wage is also basic. Of course, the thirty hour week should be instituted with **no reduction in pay;** and the guaranteed annual wage should be a living wage **of at least $2500 for every worker.**

The CIO reconversion program for all its unions also has many good points, but it doesn't go far enough. For instance, it contents itself with asking for an unemployment insurance maximum of $25 a week for only 26 weeks. Why not $30 for single workers, with upward gradation for men and women with dependents? And why not for the full period of unemployment, not for only 26 weeks?

However, the ship and all workers must understand that economic protection and jobs cannot be secured without changing the status quo. It's the case of the sacred rights of human life against the "sacred rights" of private property. LABOR ACTION and the Workers Party declare that the latter must give ground. To achieve labor's demands war industries have to be conscripted and placed under democratic worker control. The banks, big industrial monopolies and transportation systems must be nationalized and similarly placed under the control of democratically elected workers' committees.

Furthermore, a dent has to be made in the money piles of the ruling class. A 100 percent tax on all war profits above a five percent return on invested capital, will yield money for making adequate unemployment payments to workers and for the public building program. More money for these worthy purposes must be procured by putting a $25,000 ceiling on all individual incomes, and a graduated capital tax on all accumulated wealth over $50,000.

Unless organized labor comes out with a plan for how to achieve its demands, they will remain among the good intentions which pave the way to failure. And it is obvious that such necessary infringements on the "sacred rights" of private property and such overdue taxes on accumulated wealth will never be undertaken by a capitalist government, but only by a workers' government.

From the above it is plain that the question of jobs is a political one involving a break by the workers with the capitalist class and the capitalist government. And this, in turn, can be accomplished only through the initial step of forming an Independent Labor Party, free from all capitalist connections, which will establish a workers' government. For only such a government will make the necessary inroads on the parasitic capitalist class demanded by human needs.

Ben Davis, Tammany - -

(Continued from page 1)

by threatening to demonstrate against discrimination right in the nation's capital forced Roosevelt to establish the FEPC. Do you remember? At that time the Communists claimed that any fight for democracy at home during the war was nothing less than aid to Hitler.

"I AM IGNORANT"

"Read the Communist **Worker** of July 22, and you will see that Davis admits that his attitude to the Negro struggle was incorrect and had "serious weaknesses'. He admits that 'we relied upon the monopoly capitalists responsible for this discrimination (against the Negroes) to wipe it out'. He admits that the Communist Party allowed 'white chauvinism' (that is, ideas of racial superiority) to grow 'even in our own ranks for which we are paying dearly'. This is bad enough but, as many Negroes know, far from the whole story.

"Then, as all the Communist big shots are doing nowadays, Davis proceeds to beat his own breast: 'As a member of the National Board I bear a heavy responsibility for the error. I accepted this false position because I considered it correct. I applied it . . . in the field of Negro work . . . I had ample opportunity to see the incorrectness of the position . . . I did not detect the errors because I was not sufficiently mature and equipped as a Marxist . . .'

"What kind of man is this, what kind of party is this for the Negro people or any other working people to trust? Davis says that he made errors because of 'ignorance'. But these acts of his were NOT merely errors. They were the orders of Stalin, who was proving to the big capitalists how reliable he was. Every Communist, white or Negro, followed these criminal orders—or was kicked out of the Communist ranks.

SHACHTMAN FOR MAYOR

"Now Stalin, for his own reasons, changes his tune somewhat, and Davis and all the rest have to change also and beat their breasts and curse exleader Earl Browder, who led every single one of these 'ignorant' people astray. One week every single one of them worships Browder, the next week they all curse him. This has happened before in the Communist Party. It will happen again—whenever Stalin so orders.

AGAINST BOSS POLITICS

"How do these people act since discovering their 'errors'? Davis now lends his name to Tammany Hall, as dirty and corrupt a political machine as this country knows. Tammany needs the Negro vote, and Davis is supposed to win it for them. This, however, is not his worst crime. He lends his name to the Democratic Party, the party of Jim Crow, the party which allows a small Southern minority to preach race hatred in Congress every day and to sabotage any measure, however small, for Negro rights.

"The Republicans are no better. They usually sabotage by silence, only too glad to let the Democrats do the dirty work, which they really support.

"The Negro people, like all the working people, need a working class party—an independent Labor Party, based on the great trade unions and free from alliances with the corrupt capitalist parties. Since there is no such mass party yet, the Workers Party has nominated me for Mayor, so that the workers of New York, white and Negro alike, may vote for a party that stands firmly against discrimination in all its forms."

Big 3, Super-Versailles - -

(Continued from page 1)

Callender in the New York Times of July 20, "in their zone of occupation the Russians are reported to be taking everything that is loose or movable in the way of industrial machinery and other goods. This wealth apparently also is regarded as outside the general reparations pool." Russia also is reported to consider Polish-occupied Silesia as outside the sphere of negotiation. This area, as well as the Czech-occupied section of Germany, contains much-needed coal.

RESULTS OF REPARATIONS

If reparations become a fact, it will mean the enslavement of the German workers in western Germany, to make them pay for the war crimes of the Nazis and German industrialists. It will mean, if payment is seriously contemplated, the restoration of German industry. Who will supervise German industry? There has been no talk of indicting the industrialists who financed Hitler as war criminals. But if the Allies really mean to destroy German industry, where will the heavy reparations come from?

PM indicates in a London dispatch of July 18 that negotiations have been undertaken by leading German industrialists to "recover sweeping powers of management over the Ruhr coal production and distribution." Listed as nominees for a commission which would take charge of the Ruhr mining industry under Allied control are Ernst Buskuehl, general director of the Harpener Mining Corp. in Dortmund; Herbert Kauert, chairman of the board of the Rhenish-Westphalian Coal Syndicate in Essen; Otto Springorum, general director of the Gelsen-Kirchen Mining Corp. in Essen; Hugo Stinnes, Jr., director of several mining and metallurgical concerns and son of the man who contributed more than any other individual to restoring German nationalism after World War I.

The British 21st Army Group's reply is in essence that Allied control "is to be control only" (PM) and that German management shall be responsible for the output.

While a section of British imperialism is anxious to see a renascent German industry as a buffer against both Russia and France, another section, interested in British coal mines, sees a potential loss of markets to German coal.

The divisions, the spheres of influence, the segmentation, the partitions cutting Europe into a patchwork quilt, irrespective of nationality, tradition, economy, geography, ethnology doom its inhabitants to extreme poverty. The political domination by foreign powers, Russia's outright seizure of German workers, the possible resuscitation of German capitalists, and the heavy reparations doom the German workers to slavery. Starvation stalks the continent.

SOCIALIST EUROPE

The coal famine alone illustrates the need for the abolition of barriers of all kinds and the cooperation of free peoples to produce for abundance. The point was underscored in the comment of the publisher of the New York Times, Arthur Hays Sulzberger, on his return from Europe. "We might as well be honest about what has happened in Europe. We have only beaten the Germans. Our present enemies are cold and hunger. Unless we get clothing, fuel and something to eat to the people in Europe and assist them to re-establish themselves the democratic way of life will be severely challenged."

What Sulzberger means by "the democratic way of life" is the way of life of capitalist democracy. It is now in action enslaving Europe. The challenge Sulzberger and other capitalist spokesmen fear to the capitalist democratic way of life is socialism. The crying need of Europe is for a socialist reorganization of the continent, the elimination of private property and the profiteering that leads to wars, and the establishment of a government of the toiling masses. The struggle for democratic rights of the European masses leads to, and will be completed with, the victory of socialism.

URWA Needs a "Rank and File" - -

(Continued from page 1)

U. S. Rubber - -

ternational Executive Board in violation of the Constitution of the union which provides for the filing of charges within the local union and denies the right of the International to expel members out of hand.

The wave of support for the discharged men from all elements in the plant, those who adhere to the CIO as well as those who support the MESA, proves conclusively that the majority of the membership is completely fed up with Dalrymple's continuing bureaucratic methods.

The strike has its real origin in a $12.50 fine levied against 1000 members of the local last October by Dalrymple. These men, tire builders, had been provoked into a work stoppage by a cut in their piece work rates and were fired because they failed to jump back to their machines at Dalrymple's command. They refused to pay the fines and were suspended from the union by arbitrary decree of Dalrymple. The War Labor Board thereupon ordered the fines deducted from their pay checks plus a union reinstatement fee.

DICTATOR RULES UNION

Hundreds of the men, in the departments victimized by Dalrymple and in others, signed up with the MESA which then appealed to the National Labor Relations Board for an election. Most of the men currently discharged appeared as witnesses for the MESA at the NLRB hearings.

Three incidents gave the International Board the sorry courage to expel these men, a decision that all knew in advance would be resented by the overwhelming majority of the local's membership. The first was the denial by the NLRB of the petition for an election in the plant. The second was the institution of the check-off of union dues by the WLB without any vote by the members of the local. This meant that dues would continue to roll in regardless of the sentiments of the men. And there was the banning of the Rubber Workers Convention by the Office of Defense Transportation. These facts placed the International Board in an extremely favorable position to continue its Dalrymple-Communist inspired dictatorship.

Ninety-nine percent of the men are in sympathy with the demand of the 12 discharged men for their reinstatement. However, most are becoming convinced that it was a terrible mistake to drag in the fiery MESA instead of uniting inside the Rubber Workers Union with all the anti-Dalrymple forces to get rid of the present bureaucratic administration.

The MESA has failed to live up to any of its promises, so glibly made last year. It promised that come hell or high water there would be, should be, and had to be an election in the plant. There wasn't. It promised that the MESA would bring support from all over the city if any of its men were victimized at U. S. Rubber. It didn't. If it is too weak to back up its own promises, how can it be powerful enough to fight the big Rubber monopolies?

But one thing is certain—if it is a mistake to bring in the MESA, the reason why this is a mistake is because it is not an effective way of combatting Dalrymple. It is Dalrymple and his Communist allies in local 101 who have framed-up union militants for years and who have provoked the members into this error.

Akron Strikes - -

George Bass, militant leader of the rank and file movement against the sell-out policies of the Dalrymple International URWA leadership, proposed to the Goodrich membership that the local union immediately put into effect its contract provisions of the 36 hour week in order to keep the 300 women on the job, and in face of the WMC edict to lay them off.

Goodrich local president, John Saylor, considered by progressive unionists as a secret stooge of the International union bureaucrats ever since he conducted and won a slanderous campaign against Bass for the presidency of the local last fall, ruled Bass's proposal out of order immediately on the basis that it would violate the contract, which formally states that WMC agreement must be secured to abandon the 48 hour week.

Appealing from the decision of the chair, Bass won overwhelming support. Saylor then bureaucratically and arbitrarily adjourned the meeting, amid cat-calls from all over the floor.

Rank and file unionists, however, are not going to be thwarted in their desire to keep these women and other workers working in the shop on a 6-hour day basis, in spite of the rising cut-backs in production.

WMC DICTATOR

Harry Markle, WMC local director, has earned the contempt of the whole labor movement for his dictatorial handling of the WMC and is accused by labor of collaborating with the rubber corporations in order to prevent the restoration of the standard pre-war 36 hour work week.

Markle wants to force the 300 laid off women into doing soda-jerking, laundry and personal maid jobs against the preference of the women to stay in the factory. Markle brutally stated that after they get laid off, they'll be glad to take his type of jobs "when they get hungry enough!"

Also at this meeting of Goodrich local membership, Saylor's executive board tried to refuse to renew the local's contract for the coming year with Attorney Max Johnstone, who has been the militant legal adviser of the Goodyear and Firestone locals in their recent strikes under the Smith-Connolly Act. Saylor was sharply rebuffed by the membership for his intemperate and slanderous attacks on Johnstone and the membership of these two sister locals. In this case too, Saylor acts as a stooge for the International union and top CIO officials nationally, who desire to cripple the Akron anti-no-strike pledge movement of the rank and file by cutting off its militant legal adviser.

Belgians Reject King - -

(Continued from page 1)

olic Party representatives who have resigned in a block from the cabinet because of the vote of the Chamber of Deputies. British imperialism, too, is anxious to restore Leopold to the throne with the aim of maintaining the monarchical system in Europe. For Belgian capitalism is within the British "sphere of influence." They intend to use the King as a weapon to beat down the growing resistance of the workers and to strengthen their own hold over Belgium's industry, markets and advantageous geographical location. Since Germany lost the war, Leopold is quite willing to return to his British friends, especially since that is the only way left for him to retain his power.

Prime Minister of Belgium, Achille van Acker, a so-called socialist, after much hesitation, came forth with accusations against Leopold that have long been public knowledge. Van Acker succumbed to the feelings of the workers only after he had first tried to bring Leopold back to Brussels. He listed as "errors" of the King, his active collaboration with the Nazis and his inability to carry on a war against the fascists. Van Acker describes Leopold's bloody crimes as "very troubling." Still more troubling to this "socialist" however, has been the endless agitation of the Belgian workers.

VAN ACKER, "SOCIALIST"

Their feelings against the return of the king who "sold them out" has been so strong that the government issued orders against public gatherings as a means of preventing "demonstrations or disorders." Last week Van Acker ordered a strict ban on all public congregations of more than four people and it is not to be relaxed until the question before the nation is soved. Van Acker wants to make sure that the question is not solved in the streets. For how can he be certain that his government of "socialists" — "socialists" who solve unemployment by labor drafts —"socialists" who break strikes—"socialists" who head a capitalist government — "socialists" who practice capitalist politics, will not be swept away with the rest of the rotten structure?

The present Belgium government shares the fears not only of Leopold and the British imperialists but the rest of the capitalists all over the world. That is, the kind of socialism the working class of Belgium and the other countries is capable of establishing.

Rankin Anti-Union - -

(Continued from page 1)

openly labelled his measure **"a blow at closed shops."**

The strong opposition of organized labor has produced a minority report. But this minority report is by the majority of the House Veterans Committee, the majority having been absent when the Rankin measure slipped through. The minority report considers the Rankin recommendation premature; it says the necessity for such a measure to get jobs for GI's is not established; it says that the measure is not shown to be in the best interests of the veterans; it calls for hearings on the subject.

WHAT BILL WOULD DO

Now there are before the House both the Rankin union-busting bill and the minority report of the majority. There is also in the offing the Knutson bill dealing with returned GI's. The latter has not received too much publicity as yet. But it also has a provision exempting veterans from union membership, however limiting the time to one year. Except for the time limit, this is like the Rankin provision. It is the nub of the whole question.

There you have it. Rankin, democrat from Mississippi, and Knutson, Republican from Minnesota. Both would like the soldiers to act as scabs and union-busters. The capitalist press, notably such sheets as The Daily News raises its voice for the cause of "helping the veterans."

However, the Rankins will have to go some to fool the veterans. There are in the armed forces several million union men. Many more are unorganized workers either of hand or brain. Millions of army young men would have gone into the mines, mills, factories and offices of the country, if the army had not got them first. Any weakening of the unions would hurt these men in the armed forces as much as the workers who remained home on the job. All workers are helpless without their unions.

Th fact that workers are ex-servicemen will not stop the profit-seeking employers from exploiting them ruthlessly.

What colossal gall on the part of the industrial barons of this country to call on the ex-servicemen to help break up the organizations which alone can give them protection against unrestricted exploitation!

What lying hypocrites to claim they are doing this to help the GI's!

INSULTS VETERAN

What these "friends" of the soldiers really think of them was demonstrated by Rankin. When a veteran, Reuben Schafer, of Long Island City, who served three and a half years in the infantry, called at Rankin's office to talk to him about the bill, Rankin had the veteran arrested, after first insulting him by calling him insane.

Rankin is reported to have shouted at Schafer, **"Get out of here—this is private property."** In answer to Schafer's request for a polite conversation, Rankin exploded: **"I'm taking care of veterans' legislation, not you."**

Schafer reminded Rankin that pushing people around was OK in Nazi Germany, but not here. Whereupon Rankin called the cops: **"Take this man away—he's insane."** We'll let our readers judge who was insane.

The veterans are hard-headed enough to see through the Rankins. The unions — not the Rankins — are the protectors of their interests.

BUFFALO READERS:

Reva Craine

Organizer of the Workers Party

Local New York

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WILL SPEAK ON

Reconversion and Jobs

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Labor Action Hall

639 Main St.—2nd fl.

Wednesday, Aug. 1, 8:15 p.m.

"HE USED TO CALL HIS SON A BOLSHEVIK"

One correspondent writes:

"You would be surprised at experiences I have had with changed attitude on the part of pretty reactionary workers and farmers after they read our paper for a while. One miner was telling how much his father, a farmer, has changed since he first read Labor Action in February. He used to call his son a "Bolshevik" but now admits that paper sure has got a lot of good stuff in it. The only drawback is that Labor Action doesn't get into enough hands anywhere in the country, and we have got to find ways and means of seeing that it does."

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Workers Party Program for Organized Labor

In the Reconversion and Post-War Period

FOR THE UNEMPLOYED AND VETERANS:

1. Full unemployment insurance beginning with $30 a week for single men and women and graduated upward for dependencies to all workers for whom government and industry do not find jobs.

2. Absorption of all workers thrown into unemployment during reconversion by reduction of the work-week with no reduction in weekly take-home pay.

3. Two years' base pay grant to all demobilized veterans, with the option of trade school and higher educational facilities at government expense, guarantee of adequate family maintenance and guarantee of decent jobs.

FOR THE POST-WAR:

4. A job for every worker with a guaranteed minimum annual wage of $2,500 per year. A rising standard of living, by means of government planning to insure the highest national production and income.

5. A guaranteed $5,000 annual income to all workers' families by means of a planned rise in the national income and a thirty-hour maximum work week.

THESE AIMS TO BE ACHIEVED THROUGH:

6. A $250 billion five-year program to provide decent housing for all, extensive public works, rural electrification and modernization.

7. Conscription of all war industries; nationalization of the banks, big industrial monopolies and transportation systems, and no handing over of government-built and owned plants and facilities to private ownership.

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

THIS PROGRAM TO BE CARRIED OUT BY:

9. Control of production by democratically-elected workers' committees.

10. An independent Labor Party and a workers' government.

Editorials

For A Labor Vet Organization

The efforts of big business and its political servants in Washington to pit the returning veterans against labor is reaching alarming proportions. Big business is not alone, however. Alongside the efforts of the union-busting corporations and the anti-labor Senators and Representatives are the outright fascist movements of Gerald L. K. Smith, Ex-Senator Reynolds, and others. The general aim of all these defenders of profit and exploitation is to destroy the labor movement, its union and political organizations.

A CAMPAIGN OF LIES

It goes without saying that the campaign against labor was constructed of lies. There never was a shortage of material for the sodiers. There was faulty organization of supplies for which the military authorities in charge were responsible. But the biggest lie of all was the one which spoke of the enormous riches the workers were getting out of the war. One of the reasons why this lie was fostered was to take attention away from the real truth about the war, namely, that big business was having a profit orgy, in which it enriched itself beyond all expectation.

Now the returning soldiers are finding out the truth about jobs and wages. They know by experience that the stories told about high wages of labor were lies. They are beginning to understand that whenever labor went out on strike, it was fighting for the right of the returning soldier to a job at decent living wages.

Because big business fears the reaction of the veteran who is learning the truth, it is organizing a new campaign of union-busting and doing all it can to make the veteran believe that his troubles are due to the fact that the unions keep him from getting a job. They want the veteran to believe that the way he can get a job is by busting the unions, abolishing union seniority and security, while big business organizes a post-war economy based on mass unemployment and low production.

Big business wants to direct the attention of the veteran away from the fact that capitalism is a rotten social system which cannot and will not provide for the well-being of the people. So it fosters congressional resolutions and reactionary movements that will create conflict among the mass of people, pitting worker against unemployed, the veteran against the working class as a whole, labor against the farmer, the factory worker against the "white collar" worker.

DEFEAT THE ANTI-LABOR CAMPAIGN!

It is necessary to defeat this campaign at once before it is geared in high. One of the most important ways of doing it is by organizing the veteran of the Second orld War into a labor veteran organization. The labor officialdoms are extremely short-sighted and self-defeating in their failure to take this elementary step of uniting the veterans and labor.

Labor begins this fight under a handicap. All the sources of education, propaganda and organization favor big business and its servants. Big business is conscious of its aims. It knows what it wants and how to go about getting it. Only the labor movement, the powerful trade unions, seem to be standing still. They offer the absolutely untenable argument that the organization of a labor veterans organization would split the veterans! But this is pure nonsense. The veterans are already split up into many organizations. This is what really suits the interests of reaction.

A labor veterans organization would embrace the overwhelming majority of ex-servicemen. It would create a solid unity between the worker in the factory and the worker in uniform. It would teach the soldier that his enemy is not the worker who is himself faced with declining wages and joblessness, but capitalism which cannot and will not guarantee employment and a high standard of living.

Defining Stalin's Imperialism

This is the season for great speculation about Russia's demands on those nations adjacent to her borders or those of her satellite states. The capitalist journalists, if they are supporters of their own national imperialism, write indignantly about "Russian imperialism"; or they write sympathetically, even if their argumentation is utterly false, in favor of Stalin's expansionist policy if they are Stalinist supporters and fellow travelers. The recent Russian demands on Turkey are a case in point.
and Europe.

RUSSIA A BIG POWER

The standard argument now given in defense of Russian imperialist expansion is that such a policy is thrust on Stalin by anti-Russian feeling among the other powers. Russian expansion, therefore, is a defensive measure against any and all future attacks. That Russian expansion violates the national independence, sovereignty and freedom of other countries is deplored, but justified on the ground that Russia is a strong power while the victim nations are generally weak and powerless.

These arguments are at one and the same time a defense of imperialist policy as such, and a most powerful condemnation of the war just won in Europe. They confirm the opinions of revolutionary socialists that the war had nothing to do with democracy, self-determination or freedom, but was imperialist, a struggle between rival powers.

As a final "decisive" argument in defense of Stalin, it is said that, after all, the Kremlin oligarch is merely seeking to re-establish the old Czarist borders and spheres of influence. This argument in no way strengthens Russia's position. It is only added emphasis to the argument that Stalinist policy in foreign affairs is imperialist, this time in the interest of Russia's new ruling class, the bureaucracy.

(Continued on last column)

International Labor Solidarity for

Socialism and World Peace

By ERNEST LUND

For over two months the foremost statesmen of the big and little nations of the world have conferred and connived at San Francisco at the task of setting up a world organization to maintain peace. They have now ended their labors. Delegates from the giant powers, the medium powers and the midget powers have all marched up to the table amid the grinding of newsreel cameras and the flashing of photo-bulbs to affix their signatures to the document which the entire capitalist press assures us will be historic, epoch-making, etc.

But the common people of the world can do well to remember the words of the ancient prophet, "Peace, peace—but there is no peace." And we can add—nor any prospects of peace. On the contrary, the world is full of war and the rumors of war.

How could it be otherwise? Did the San Francisco Conference settle a SINGLE one of the causes of war? Did it even mention, much less seriously discuss, the causes of war? Was a single session devoted to analysing the factors that gave rise to World War I? Was a single sub-committee appointed to investigate the causes of World War II? Perhaps these questions are quite unfair to the gentlemen who worked so hard in San Francisco. They hardly had time for such studies of past wars. They were much too busy jockeying their nation into the best possible position for World War III.

LABOR ACTION has devoted any number of articles to the maneuvers among the powers at San Francisco. But we Marxists do not rest our case against the new world organization upon a criticism of this or that feature. We are not primarily concerned with its framework, its rules and procedures, and its allotment of votes. We attach no fundamental importance to whether the Big Three have veto powers, whether the Argentine fascists are invited, or whether Molotov blew his nose during a speech by Stettinius. When the signatures were affixed to the Versailles Treaty and the League of Nations was born, Lenin, hundreds of miles away in Moscow, stated in his matter-of-fact way to a foreign correspondent who was interviewing him that "the gentlemen in Paris have just underwritten the next world war." We judge the Sa nFrancisco Conference from the same point of view as Lenin judged the Versailles Conference.

WHAT CAUSES WAR?

Like Lenin viewing the League of Nations in 1919, it is necessary that we also sweep aside the heavy smokescreen of lies and hypocrisy with which the statesmen cover their actions. We must deal with the heart of the matter. We begin from these fundamental propositions:

1. Modern wars are part and parcel of the capitalist system.

V. I. LENIN

2. Capitalist economy must continually expand or the nation suffers from depression, unemployment and internal revolt.

3. Each capitalist nation is continually driven to seek new markets, new sources of raw materials and new areas for investment .

4. The capitalist need to expand continually makes of each industrially developed power an imperialist aggressor — whether it is Japan or Britain, Germany or the United States.

5. There can be no end to imperialist war without an end to capitalism.

6. Permanent peace is only possible when planned production for use has taken the place of competitive production for profits. Planned production for use on an international scale means a World Socialist Federation.

It is on the basis of these fundamental propositions that we Marxists state that the new world organization is as hopeless and helpless as a means of preserving peace as was the old League of Nations.

But we Marxists are not the only ones who realize this. The diplomats, statesmen, politicians, admirals, generals, industrialists and bankers who comprise the ruling classes of the world know it just as well. None of them took the San Francisco show too seriously. It was just so much eye-wash for the people. It is supposed to "prove" to the maimed veteran, the bombed-out family, the conscript in the Pacific and the widow at home that "their" governments have done all that is possible to make this the last war. And if another war does come, "Well, you see, our government at least tried to prevent it. Therefore, we must support our government against the new aggressor."

PREPARATIONS FOR NEXT WAR

If the rulers of the world took the new organization seriously, then why all the frantic preparations for future wars? Why is it necessary that the United States establish peacetime conscription and have a large standing army? Why do our admirals want to hold all the Pacific islands that have been taken and fortify them? Why does Britain grimly hang on to every last bit of its empire and prepare to defend it against movements for colonial independence? Why does Russia make new demands upon Turkey in the name of "national defense"?

The rulers of the world do not place their trust in the "historic" document they signed at San Francisco. They place their trust in armies and navies, strategic frontiers and fortified islands.

Let the working class be equally realistic. Let it likewise trust only its own organized power. The international solidarity of labor is the only world organization that can block the preparations of a new world war.

The establishment of a World Socialist Federation is the only guarantee of lasting peace.

Anti-Smith Meeting - -

(Continued from page 1)

lack of interest as the above two organizations. As for the fourth organization, the Socialist Workers Party, which makes up for its many lacks by unrestrained boasting—we shall deal with them in a moment.

The Workers Party Branch of Los Angeles decided that, since none of these working class organizations would join in the fight against Smith, as was their bounded duty, it would go ahead on its own. It organized two picket demonstrations and meetings against Smith on June 25 and 28. These first actions against Smith, which were joined in by many workers and commented on favorably by the press, and many unions, awakened the labor movement to Smith's activities and the necessity to do something about them.

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

The conduct of the Cannonite Socialist Workers Party was disgraceful, but quite in keeping with its bureaucratic structure and practices. When first approached for united action a whole week before the Smith meeting, it had not yet taken the matter up officially, but unofficially it stated that it would not join with the Workers Party in this fight. "Whom do you represent?" and "who do you think you are?" were the remarks made by their representatives.

No, they would wait until "mass organizations" did something. And if they did nothing, well, the SWP would do nothing! Officially, on June 24, one day before the rally, they said that if anything was to be done, they needed "more preparation!" But on June 23, two days before the Smith meetings and one day before their refusal to the Workers Party, they had addressed themselves to . . . the Stalinist-Communist Party of Los Angeles for a united front!!!

This fact became known from a leaflet they issued condemning the Communist Party for not accepting their proposal. One week was not enough time to act against Smith, but two days, providing the Stalinists joined them, was sufficient. What duplicity!

A leaflet of the Workers Party says: "Only July 1, the Workers Party again pressed the SWP for united action. We propose a joint planning of a campaign to draw the trade unions and the widest circles of labor into this fight." No response from the SWP.

THEY LIE!

Now in their Militant of July 21, they report the projected meeting at the Olympic Auditorium. Having failed to do their duty in the first place, the SWP misrepresents the whole situation in Los Angeles by saying their call for a united front "was the first . . . for a united front of the labor movement against the fascist menace . . .

"Although the CIO commented at that time on Smith's meetings, this is the first concrete step taken to combat his movement."

This is, of course, untrue. The first steps taken were by the Workers Party when it issued a call for a united front. The second steps taken were the picket lines which the Workers Party organized. It was only after this was done, that action was forthcoming from other organizations.

In its editorial of the same issue, the Militant talks about the need for the picket lines around Smith meetings! It failed to explain, however, that there were picket lines around Smith's meetings and that the Socialist Workers Party absented itself from those picket lines.

And when the Militant editorial says: "The Los Angeles CIO has started the defense of American labor against native fascism," it is guilty of misrepresentation of the truth and prepares to disarm the workers of the rest of the country.

The Socialist Workers Party displayed bureaucratic pride and smugness when it failed to join the WP in the first manifestations against Smith. Instead it tailed the Stalinists in Los Angeles, just as it often does in other circumstances and places. When it pays a gratuitous compliment to the Stalinist-led Los Angeles CIO Council, it fails to mention that this same body abstained from any action until it could no longer do so and that to rely upon Stalinist misleaders for the organization and leadership of the fight against fascism, means to disarm the anti-fascist struggle.

UNITY OF ACTION NEEDED

How is this possible for an organization which prides itself in being a "Trotskyitst," that is, a revolutionary socialist organization? False politics, semi-Stalinist views, bureaucratic practices and organizational arrogance, plus downright misrepresentation of truth when it suits the smug leadership of the organization.

In the Los Angeles situation, working class parties, no matter what their size, had a duty to act against Smith, providing any action was possible. It is clear by what has happened that action was possible. The Workers Party of Los Angeles did what it believed was correct in face of the fact that labor unions, the Socialist Party, the IWW, the SLP and the Socialist Workers Party withdrew from the fight, or had done nothing up to that point. Only after the initiative taken by the WP, was attention directed to Smith's campaign and the mass meeting held as reported on above.

This fact has been pointed out by such an observer as Carey McWilliams.

Congress Goes Home - -

(Continued from page 1)

First there is the problem of providing jobs for all who want to work. This calls for realistic and not half baked measures. If jobs can be found when a war takes place, then they can also be found in times of peace.

It is ridiculous to speak of private enterprise finding jobs for all. Private enterprise is much more concerned with "controlling the labor market." What is required is a 250,000,000 dollar government program of Public Works and Housing, to provide jobs and decent homes for all.

At present there is no adequate bill caring for the needs of the unemployed. Unemployment insurance is a matter left to individual states and not the federal government. And there is not a single state that makes adequate provision for its unemployed. Unemployment benefits vary in the different states, usually at figures like 15 to 18 dollars a week for a specified small number of weeks.

Acting under the pressure of mounting unemployment figures after V-E Day, President Truman introduced a bill in the House. This bill is known as the Doughton bill after its sponsor, a Southern Democrat from North Carolina, which in itself is a commentary on the bill.

TRUMAN BILL INADEQUATE

This bill is wholly inadequate. It provides for a maximum of $25.00 a week for a maximum of 26 weeks. After that the worker is left on his own resources. And not all workers are to get the maximum figure. Granted that a worker is fortunate and obtains the full sum it means that he has to support a family on a meager 25 dollars a week.

Even this inadequate pittance bill hasn't been acted upon by the present Congress. And this is the best that can be offered to us by the present administration.

What is required is full and adequate employment and unemployment provisions for all veterans of this war. There must not be a cleavage established between war workers and veterans.

To take care of the needs of the people labor must enter the political arena with its own program and party. That is where the problem can be solved.

NEW YORK ELECTION

The Workers Party Fights for Socialism

(The following is another excerpt from the pamphlet, "Jobs for All," written by Walter Weiss, staff writer for LABOR ACTION.)

We believe that almost every worker will agree with us that the Five-Point Program presented above is both possible and necessary.

POSSIBLE—because America's productive machine has proved in the war that it would be easy to turn out plenty for all.

NECESSARY—because working people face an either-or proposition: EITHER a program like this OR an unemployment crisis unparalleled in history.

Yet that is only one part of a still greater "either-or."

You may be saying to yourself that the capitalists will not accept the Five-Point Program. That's right, they wont. Not even if a majority votes for it in elections! No, not even then.

In fact, the capiltalists don't accept present wage standards or working conditions, do they? As the bloody but golden war contracts are lost, the corporations—with the help of their government—are driving towards lower ("normal" is their word) wage rates, fiercer speed-ups, and higher prices, aren't they? Their motto is: "Human beings may suffer. Profits must not."

They are already planning the next steps after these: new wars, the destruction of unions and all other labor organizations, the enslavement of the workers. That is the meaning of their feverish campaign for peacetime conscription of every American boy. That is why Congress and the state legislatures have been flooded with anti-union laws. That is why Roosevelt pushed so hard for a slave labor ("national service") act, when the war was already drawing to its close.

Above all, that is why the capitalists give money to support the union-busting, Negro-hating, Jew-baiting bands of would-be American Hitlers—Gerald Smith, Joe McWilliams, Robert Reynolds, and the rest. Henry Ford's strong-arm man, Harry Bennett, has admitted his contributions to the notorious Smith. He has confessed openly what many other capitalists have done in secret and what many more will do in the days to come.

The capitalist system cannot furnish peace, employment, and democracy. To maintain their profits and their power, the capitalists see no other choice before them but a permanent system of wars, slave labor, and fascism. Their leadership can only mean a return to the Dark Ages for all humanity.

Either—Or

There you have, in a few words, the basis for the greatest either-or crisis in all history.

EITHER the capitalists lead America and the world back to barbarism—

OR the working men and working women lead humanity forward to a new age of peace, plenty and the fullest democracy.

This new age in human history, when freedom from want and freedom from fear for all people—whatever their race or nationality—will become living realities instead of deceitful slogans, we call the Age of Socialism.

The WORKERS PARTY believes that the struggle for our Five-Point Program, so clearly necessary to meet the immediate needs of the working class, is a struggle that will usher in the Age of Socialism.

The WORKERS PARTY says to every reader of this pamphlet:

Whether or not you now know about and believe in socialism, our election platform raises and answers the problems that face you today. It is a platform which we seek at all times, elections or no elections, to make the possession of the whole labor movement. It is the only platform worth voting for this November.

If you are not sure about socialism, we are confident that our platform will inspire you with the desire to learn why the Workers Party, in the face of endless abuse and lying by the well-paid propagandists of capitalism, openly and proudly proclaim itself a party of revolutionary socialism.

In the course of this campaign, in our literature and in our meetings, the candidate and the other members of the Workers Party will explain socialism, answer your question about it, and invite you to join the WORKERS PARTY in the great struggle for the Age of Socialism—a struggle that enriches with new meaning the life of every man and woman who seriously shares in it.

(Continued from 2nd column)

Czarist Russia had enslaved millions and millions of national minorities and sought to enslave hundreds of millions more. The old capitalist ruling clas sof Russia was not satisfied that it had ruled over Finns, Letts, Lithuanians, Ukrainians, Poles, White Russians, Georgians and millions of others. It sought to conquer the Balkan Slavs, to enslave Turks, Iranians, Chinese and other Asiatic peoples.

REVOLUTIONARY RUSSIA

One of the strongest sections of Revolutionary Russia's program, the program of Lenin and Trotsky, was that it denounced the national oppression of minorities, granting to all national minorities their unconditional freedom. The Russia of Lenin and Trotsky cared nothing for Czarist territorial borders and imperialist aims. Interested only in the freedom of all humanity, they put their principles into practice by liberating those whom the Czar oppressed, and renounced any and all expansionist aims the old Czarist régime had advocated.

Stalin does not carry out the policy of Lenin and Trotsky. A Great-Russian nationalist, an enemy of true international socialism, he follows in the footsteps of his imperialist predecessor, Czar Nicholas II.

Vet Insurance: How Soldiers Are Swindled

By Mary Bell

Many of our overseas veterans have been found fit for combat but unfit for army insurance!

Yank, the army weekly newspaper, has carried a series of letters from overseas veterans, some of whom have been in combat, who register this complaint.

BILL OF COMPLAINTS

"Government insurance . . . was disapproved because of physical disability. Yet I have already been on the front lines. Is it true that if the Government won't approve insurance for me I should be discharged? Also the Veterans' Administration in Washington won't approve."

"Upon my arrival in the China theater I received notice that my policy was rejected because of a previous case of syphilis before entering the Army. . . . I have a wife and four children who are depending on me for support. If I were killed they would be left alone without support."

"I lost my right eye in an accident a year before I was inducted into the Army. At the time of my induction I was informed I was in limited service and wouldn't leave the States, so I only took out $5,000 insurance. I filled out an application for an additional $4,000 before leaving the States but received a letter from the Veterans' Administration informing me that it was turned down because of my eye. Incidentally, when I was given my overseas physical, the vision of my glass eye was registered as 20/40(!)."

So go the letters.

Yank also prints the reply to these complaints by Veterans Administrator, Frank T. Hines. Hines defends the policy of the Army and the Veterans' Administration on the grounds that the acceptance of "substandard risks" would cause "impairment of the equities" of other veterans. Beneath the jargon of insurance lie these facts:

All soldiers pay for their own insurance. It is not, as commonly believed, any sort of "gratuity" on the part of government to the men who have risked their lives or died. The life expectancy tables show that so many men will die in battle, and hence so many insurance policies will have to be paid. This is "term," or "mutual" insurance. Those matured policies are paid out of the premiums taken out of the soldiers' meager pay. Life insurance costs the government nothing.

Now, Hines means that literally there would be added expense to the "other policy holders" if "substandard risks" were also given the usual $10,000 policies. It is true that men with more than ordinary physical disabilities are likely to produce more casualities.

Then, one must ask, why were these men sent overseas in the first place, and why were some of them sent into combat in the second?

And the question of all questions is: **why does the National Service Life Insurance not give protection to all the wives and children of all the men in the service who are in danger of losing their lives?**

Soldiers would not have deducted $6.70 a month from their pay for life insurance for the protection of their families in the event of their death if they did not fear a great insecurity. The widespread use of insurance, aside from enriching the great insurance trusts who prey upon fear of insecurity, testifies to the widespread existence of fear of poverty.

The very least that the government could do for the handicapped men it sends into war to protect the very investments of the insurance businesses among others, is to provide the insurance for the families of those soldiers!

The standard, everyday milking of the civilian worker by insurance companies, through various insurance schemes ("endowment," "twenty-year life" and other appealing policies) which cause the "beneficiary" to pay over and over again for his insurance benefits, is bad enough.

Swindling the soldier who suffers a physical disability which fits him for combat but not for insurance, is even worse.

LET GOVERNMENT PAY

If the soldier had any feeling that he was returning to —or, rather, since there was no guarantee that he would return, that his family would live in—the "century of the common man," and a peaceful, abundant society of plenty for all, he would not have the fearful anxiety he does about security for his family.

In an equitable society, in a reasonable society, in an abundant society, which everyone admits is possible, but which only the socialists have some idea of achieving, the insurance racket would not exist. The breadwinner of a family would not have that gnawing doubt —which makes him victim of the insurance business— as to what would happen to his family in case of his death.

Socialists advocate that the government do the least it should: pay for the insurance of the handicapped soldier without raising the premiums of "other policyholders."

Fit enough for combat, fit enough for insurance!

How Social Security Works in Out Life

A government publication, the Social Security Bulletin (April, 1945), gives some interesting case studies of what social security amounts to under capitalism—in case you don't already know.

First there is the case of Mr. A., a stock worker in a department store, who was laid off on reaching the age of 65. His monthly insurance benefits amounted to $13.93 a month. Not able to support himself and his wife on this, he applied for old age assistance as well and got it—$26.07 a month. Grand total: $40 a month. He had no savings.

The war was a godsend to Mr. A. He got a job as a hotel clerk at $65 a month. Of course, all payments from the government were suspended, so Mr. A. took on some odd gardening jobs for $10 a month. Grand total: $75 a month. So Mr. A's income was almost doubled. Isn't war wonderful? Isn't social security wonderful?

On the other hand, there is Mr. C. He used to be a corporation attorney and retired of his own free will at 66. His monthly old age insurance benefits amount to $18.50. Mr. C. would have a pretty hard time supporting himself and his wife, if it were not for the fact that he has a yearly income of $12,300 from real estate, stocks, and bonds.

Capitalist demogogues often claim that under socialism no man could have his own wife for himself. The real situation is that under capitalism Mr. C. can afford several wives, while Mr. A. really can't support even one. We socialists want a system of plenty for all that will make a decent, comfortable family life the rule than the exception.

More Confessions by CP Misleaders

By ALBERT GATES

The current discussion in the Communist Political Association carried publicly in the Daily Worker is indeed a revelation of the depth of the corruption of what was at one time a revolutionary socialist party.

It is many years since the socialist goal was the reason for the existence of the Communist Party. Today, in its deepest degeneration, the Communist Party (Association!) is totalitarian, utterly lacking in principle, devoid of any socialist character, and is simply the American section of Stalin's international battalions. Its main purpose of existence is to defend the bureaucracy in Russia and to represent its interests in this country.

The current discussion among the Stalino-Communists does not reflect a dispute over principle, over whether Browder or Foster is a better socialist. On the contrary, the dispute arises over the changing needs of the Stalin bureaucracy in Russia. So long as the war against Germany was still being fought, and Russia required the assistance, industrially and militarily, of the United States and Great Britain, the line followed by Browder was not in question. Only at the end of the war, when the difficulties among the Big Three over the division of the spoils in Europe became a real and concrete problem, did the Stalinist line change in this country. Why?

PAWNS OF STALIN

To enforce his demands of his allies, Stalin needs assistance in the form of the Communist organizations in the United States and England as well as in the rest of the world. The "new line" is a warning to the British and American ruling classes: grant me my demands or I will make it difficult for you.

Browder had no doubt carried out the line of class peace and class collaboration too well. What is meant by that? Merely that he took an unnecessary step in dissolving the party which Stalin might find necessary again. In all other respects his line up until yesterday, and Foster's line reveal no fundamental difference in theory and practice. They are both reactionary, anti-socialist, class collaborationist and anti-labor. As between Foster and Browder, the latter has logic on his side. He says, in effect, if you follow the Foster program, you are really following the program I advocate, only you wish to dress it up a little better to make it look nice. You are really dishonest, says Browder to Foster. As a matter of fact, however, Foster is the better Stalinist. He understood why the party should have been maintained as a blackmailing instrument.

The fact is that Stalin tolerated Browder's line (the real difference is whether the party should have been converted into an association) so long as it was useful. It was clear to that master of intrigue in the Kremlin, that any change in line could not have been effected by Browder, who had gone out on the limb too far and had to be made the scapegoat in this situation.

BUREAUCRATIC CONFESSIONS

But the most revealing thing in this discussion, as we have already pointed out, is the manner in which the leading members of the National Board of the CPA, all of whom supported Browder slavishly and without any question, have suddenly seen the light. Their "self-criticism" is really a study in self-debasement and immorality. They reveal their fundamental dishonesty and disloyalty. They reveal, above all, the effect that a totalitarian party and totalitarian ideology has on the individual. He loses all self-respect, dignity and elementary honesty, becoming transformed into a hack, a machine man utterly incapable of independence of thought and action.

Most important of all, the party and its leaders reveal how in misleading the workers in general, they misled the average worker member of the party, who thought he had joined a working class party devoted to the interests of socialism. They are the victims of a corrupt gang of bureaucrats who regard the rank and file of the party as so many cattle to be led wherever their bureaucratic interests direct.

Here is Exhibit No. 1 of the totalitarian leader of the Stalinist School. Mr. Gil Green, member of the National Board of the CPA, President of the New York State CPA, a "promising" young bureaucrat who sold out his dignity and self-respect many years ago. Listen to him confess how he misled his party:

"Had I personally been guided by this approach (Leninist) I would not have written some of the articles that I did. . . . I however, never questioned the validity of the basic line as such. . . . I made a basically false estimate of monopoly capitalism. . . . My own share of responsibility (for the false line) I consider particularly great. I did not follow blindly—I was firmly convinced that the main line was correct. . . . In fact, in seeking theoretical justification for our policies, I was one of those who contributed to the further revision of our basic body of Marxist-Leninist principles. Unable to make the line fit the theory, I began to reshape the theory to fit the line. Such errors cannot be considered as small ones. . . ."

They Prattle On

Now comes Exhibit No. 2, Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., member of the National Board, misleader of the Negro people, and recently Tammany-endorsed candidate for the New York City Council:

"I applied it(the Browder line) in all my work, and most specifically in the field of Negro work, with resulting serious weaknesses in that work. . . . I did not detect the errors because I was not sufficiently mature and equipped as a Marxist, an inadequacy brought sharply to my attention by the impact of the Duclos article. . . . It is my opinion that bourgeois ideology influenced all on the Board who bear responsibility for the error."

Then we have Exhibit No. 3, Israel Amter, member of the National Board and long time leading Stalinist:

"There has not been an atmosphere of comradely discussion also at National Committee meetings. This has been absent to such an extent that a comrade, at a recent National Committee meeting declared this was the first time in the whole period that he has been a National Committee member that he has dared to speak freely and without fear of being slapped down. . . . Above all there has been a lack of democracy in our organization. There was and is as yet no stimulation but rather a bureaucratic stifling of initiative, independent thinking and criticism in our ranks.

"Together with all the members of the National Committee, I consider myself equally responsible for the present situation. . . . I became conditioned to swallow the whole bourgeois liberal line that he (Browder) developed. In spite of my 44 years in the Marxist movement, I threw overboard all experience and Marxist training."

Exhibit No. 4, Roy Hudson, the trade union director of the CPA, admits:

"I went along because my inadequate grasp of Marxism prevented me from understanding that something was fundamentally wrong."

This doesn't exhaust the list by any means. What these totalitarians call "self-criticism," is pure and simple bureaucratic confessing. What an utter lack of conscience that they can come before workers as leaders and ask their support after admitting that they are "ignorant," "inadequately educated in Marxism," (the only theory and practice which can emancipate the working class), have "misled workers," succumbed to "bourgeois (capitalist) ideology" and committed the gravest of errors against the working class.

The spectacle is indeed illuminating. But it carries with it a lesson.

Workers! turn your backs on these conscienceless misleaders and betrayers of labor. Worker members of the Communist Party! Quit this totalitarian organization of bureaucratic misleaders who use you as pawns in their own self-interest, as well as the interests of the Russian bureaucracy. There is no more socialism or workers' democracy in Russia than there is in your own party. Join a truly revolutionary socialist Party. Join the workers Party.

Part VI: Capitalism and City Planning

SOCIALISM AND POST-WAR HOUSING

By MARIAN GOULD

For two decades now, far sighted architects and engineers have been working on the problem of

Constructing a wholesome, efficient and beautiful environment for people—one which will express, and realize, the technical and social possibilities of the 20th Century.

These men, Mumford, Gropius, Geddes, Le Corbusier, F. L. Wright, the CIAM, are the Utopians of today. Their ideas and plans, with which we socialists can often fully agree, can get circulated by the capitalist press, universities and foundations, in a way that LABOR ACTION'S plans never do.

Because they abstract the problem completely from the economic and political realities of Corporation Management, Real Estate Lobbies, and the Steady Flow of Profits from Slum Investments. There is no bridge between their plans and real life.

It is left to us scientific socialists to show why their plans are unsound and visionary, and to lay down certain practical, down-to-earth FIRST STEPS based on life as she is lived today, to start the ball rolling toward mass housing and city planning.

The French architect, LeCorbusier says, "It's either Architecture (he means city and regional planning) or Revolution."

We say, it won't be one, without the other. That is, we won't get mass housing, city planning or regional planning—modern architecture, without socialism.

Here's why.

The Utopian architects say: the economic problem of Land Use must be solved before any other improvements, even slum clearance, are possible. Dwellings, roads, cities, must all be planned in terms of population, industry, agriculture, transport, terrain.

To get Scientific Land Use, you have to do these four things, with these results:

1. Slums must be eliminated, congestion ended (a blow at rentier and finance capital).
2. Heavily over-built areas must be cleared for green-belts to make the rest of the city liveable (real estate boards, property owners associations, mortgage holders hit).
3. Industry must be zoned and controlled to keep heavy traffic out of residential areas, and stop blight. Free competition in terms of more advantageous location and cheaper labor supply must be eliminated. (A knock-out blow to the solar plexus of capitalist economy.)
4. Utilities and Transportation must be rationalized, and all land-wasting duplication of facilities eliminated. (Another knock-out to the powerful utilities lobbies.)

Not only could no such **program** be carried out short of socialism, it's even doubtful if any one of those steps could be taken without a profound change shifting ownership of property from the hands of a few to a Workers Government of all the people!

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By our socialist standards—human welfare and happiness—the new concepts of planned mass housing, planned communities, city planning, and even regional economic planning to integrate the cities, rate as necessary and indispensable as the next step to raising the standard of health and comfort of the American people.

Here is an interesting example of how important social problems affecting the welfare of millions of citizens are actually worked out in the pull and tug of PRIVATE interest.

Rentier Capital

Howard E. Green, former president of the Chicago Mortgage Bankers Association, is now Chairman of the Chicago Post-War Planning Committee, which is working for slum clearance, city and regional planning.

The Municipal Housing Council, representing big property owners in the city, is also for city planning. These gentlemen have taken this broad, social approach to the problem because they want to **socialize their losses** (putting it on the backs of the people). They favor state intervention and planning to help them recover money lost or threatened by bad property investments.

Behind these two organizations stand a goodly number of Insurance Companies, Savings and Loan Co'.s., Banks and Mortgage Co.'s.

So long as slums just wasted and ruined human lives, but were profitable, these gentlemen weren't concerned. Now that the ravages of this social disease have reached the epidemic stage, and threaten PROFITS, "we" must organize to fight for slum clearance and city planning. As any liberal minded, philanthropic citizen can plainly see!

Rentier and financial investments in today's cities are in danger because the EXPENSE OF SERVICING THE SLUMS has thrown city budgets into the red. City governments must provide increasing numbers of hospitals, jails, courts, juvenile courts, police, doctors and social workers to handle slum-bred problems. The slums don't pay taxes, and the steady exodus of tax-payers (including industry) to the suburbs continues.

It is clear to the students of "Real Estate Economics," and to the financial interests who sponsor them, that city property values and rent must be stabilized. Shifting land values, and urban decentralization must be stopped to regularize investments and profits.

Congestion must be maintained. Of course, congestion is characteristic of bad land use—but, alas for the utopian city planners, it is also the best guarantee of big volume of profits on low-rent housing.

So what happens?

The rentier capitalists take up the new **techniques** of city planning to maintain precisely the fundamental essentials of bad land use the whole idea was devised to change!

Vs. Industrial Capital

The attitude of America's industrialists toward our cities is fundamentally opposed to that of the rentiers.

Industrial capital is ultra-reactionary, but at time **technologically** progressive.

Monopoly profits depend on further decentralization of our economy. But the corporations oppose bitterly any centralized regional economic planning to guide this decentralization in terms of general public welfare.

The war has stimulated technological advances. Better machines and new processes are substituted for human labor: the productivity per worker increases and the Rate of Profit falls.

The key to economic (and therefore, urban) decentralization lies right here.

Super-efficient, wide-spread, one-story factories must be built on cheap land. Cost of truck vs. rail, water or air transportation must be carefully weighed and factories located at the most economic spot in terms of the nature and sum of raw and semi-finished materials used. At all costs, time-wasting congestion of city traffic centers must be avoided—it's cheaper to build factories in the fields and run roads to them. Economic decentralization has begun. wherever there are jobs.

A return to low wages, and a good-sized unemployed reserve (to break up the labor movement that fights against low wages), are necessary to Industry's plan for keeping profits up in the Post-War World.

Industry doesn't want the government planning for full employment, or adequate housing, or anything else, so long as it can keep its own profits high. In fact, planned housing might interfere with schemes of various monopolies to turn a pretty penny in land speculation on the acreage near their new factories, where

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At present the best that ordinary people can do is to watch the situation and hope for the best—good, abundant mass housing—**UNLESS** We workers and housewives decide to speak up in our own defence in both City Hall and Federal Government, by organizing an Independent Labor Party to fight for a Guaranteed Annual Family Wage of $5000,

And a $20 billion government construction and housing program. Then we could begin to exercise some control over our own destinies.

Home-Grown Fascism at Work in U. S.

By Shirley Lawrence

It is about time the people of this country sat up and took notice of the pernicious and reactionary native fascist groups in their own country, instead of allowing all their attention to be directed to foreign brands of fascism. Fascism is not a local phenomenon, but has an international character; it feeds on economic chaos, and since capitalism cannot guarantee economic security, freedom, or peace, the danger of fascism is universal.

It is no wonder the people of the United States visualize their country as a land of the free and the brave. Capitalist propaganda tries with all its might and main, through the school, press, radio, movies, church, and other propaganda means to permeate all with its hypocritical and misleading philosophy that the United States has always been in the right, and a champion of the downtrodden and oppressed, that the peoples of this country are free and equal.—Yes, free to be killed in war and to be jobless, and starve and live in slums, in eras of unemployment and depressions. And equal . . . but who does believe that? Surely not those whose crime is that they've been born with a black skin.

Fascism is latent in all capitalist economies. When the owners of the industries can no longer earn profits because of the restrictions and contradictions inherent in capitalism, which creates economic crises and depressions, and which cannot develop any further without planning, they see a way out in fascism. Because under a totalitarian rule, they have a tight grip on wages, hours and working conditions.

HYPOCRISY OF FASCISM

Fascism in all countries has always been financed by big business, although it skillfully disguises itself at first by pretending to be anti-capitalist, even revolutionary. That is how it attempts to gain adherents. It promises everything to everybody. Hitler and Mussolini before gaining power, talked of the workers' right to strike, of workers' participation in management, of the sacredness of trade unions, and the necessity for realizing the basic aims of socialism. Fascist propaganda often sounded more left than that of its mild socialist opponents'.

But the workers are the first to be deprived of their rights. They became regimented under the fascist regimes and lost all of their hard-won gains. Their trade unions were mercilessly smashed. It is a lie that the German workers supported Hitler; he received only 43% of the vote in the Reichstag elections on March 5, 1933, in spite of all the terror methods used to gain support. His vote came from the middle class and reactionary groups. The workers, who hated fascism and wanted to fight against, were betrayed by their leadership, who sought to fight Hitler by "legal means."

The further accomplishments of German or Italian fascism do not need re-telling.

That the United States is not immune to fascist ideology is attested by the bizarre assortment of native fascist parties in this country, headed by such rabble-rousers as Father Coughlin, Huey Long, Gerald L. K. Smith, W. Lee O'Daniel, Gene Talmadge, etc.

We, Labor Action, previously reported on the activities of the most recent sect—the Nationalist movement. At present, Sen. Reynolds' Nationalists and Smith's American Firsters, capitalizing on prejudice and discontent, are embroiled in a fury of recruiting activity, and attempting to unite all of the dissident crack-pot groups on the West Coast into an organization which they hope will become a dominant force in American politics. The Nationalists are preparing to make a bid for Congressional seats in the elections of 1946. With a program of racial hatred, exploitation of labor strife, and glorification of dictatorship, they expect to gather enough strength by 1948 to influence the presidential election.

FASCISM ON THE MARCH

Recent exposures have revealed the activities in Cleveland and elsewhere, of Joe McWilliams (alleged "seditionist" and friend of Fritz Kuhn, former leader of the German-American, Nazi Bund), and of J. Victor Malone, Mr. Reynolds' representative, both of whom are soliciting industrial contributions for the Nationalists.

Evidence has also been accumulated by Eugene Segal of the World Telegram, showing a scheme of operation and organization indicating similarity to the methods by which Hitler's Nazis rose to power. The Nationalists have started a campaign of infiltrating the ranks of groups which may have a real or fancied grievance against the federal administration and its policies.

They have taken over a Midwest farmers' organization —the National Farmers Guild, which is composed of a large percentage of former followers of the Reverend Coughlin.

Their henchmen are moving into key spots in labor unions. Some of them are establishing cells in Detroit auto factories, and in CIO and AFL unoins as well as the United Mine Workers Union.

Foremost among the groups active on the labor front are the United Sons of America, a revival of the old Ku Klux Klan, with headquarters in Detroit, whose members are getting into stewards' jobs in union shops. The organization is moving against Negroes and the unions. With a large number of Negroes working in war plants, Detroit will become a danger spot as the Nationalist movement develops. The United Sons distributed anti-Negro propaganda before the Negro race riot in June 1943.

They have formed two veteran's organization, which are holding out bait to attract returning servicemen.

They have started a youth movement which they claim is represented in seven Midwestern states, and which is called the Christian Youth for America.

They have won the affiliation of certain church groups and have the backing of an old, established theological seminary, which preaches a hate creed in the school's official publication.

Through allied organizations, the party is bidding for the support of small business.

It is making common cause with some American foreign language groups from countries which have been occupied by Russian forces.

Several monetary organizations are associated with Smith and other Nationalists.

Even men under indictment on charges of sedition, were contacted by Reynolds' representatives.

The Nationalists are anti-Negro, anti-Semitic, anti-Catholic, anti-foreigner, as the situations demand, but apparently they will accept any convenient alliance.

(Part II—Next Week)

New York Election Note:

The petitioners have already obtained way over the legal requirement of 7500 signatures to put Max Shachtman on the ballot and are now going on to double that amount to insure his candidacy.