

UAW Moves on Companies for 30% Increase

By MARTIN HARVEY

DETROIT, Sept. 24—The second step in the offensive opened by the United Automobile Workers, CIO, against the auto barons to recover losses suffered by the auto workers with the end of the war was made with the filing of a petition for a strike vote at all plants of the General Motors Corporation.

The petition, filed on September 22 by Walter Reuther, vice-president and GM director of the union, will result in a strike vote being taken after thirty days at the 96 plants of the company, employing over 200,000 workers. A strike vote demand is expected within one week for the Chrysler Corporation and within two weeks for Ford, thus covering the Big Three of the auto industry.

The chief demand against GM, which will serve as the pattern for the whole industry, is for a thirty per cent wage increase. This increase will include corporation-wide equalization of wage rates, provision for a social security fund for GM workers and a blanket wage increase.

The immediate reason for the thirty per cent wage increase is to recover the loss in weekly pay resulting from the ending of overtime work. With the ending of Saturday work, auto workers have had their pay checks reduced from fifty-two hours' pay to forty hours' pay, a reduction of thirty per cent. This is a minimum requirement if workers are to make ends meet with prices that show no sign of going down. The thirty per cent wage increase does not even compensate the workers for

losses suffered during the war when prices rose over forty-five per cent while wages in the auto industry rose a mere fifteen per cent.

The profit-swollen auto magnates are easily able to pay the demanded wage increases and more without raising the prices of their products. During the war they have coined unheard-of amounts of blood profits, reaching to the hundreds of per cent.

PRESS-AS USUAL

With their usual unconcern for the facts and the welfare of the workers, the spokesmen for the corporations, with the Detroit daily press first among them, have launched an intensive propaganda campaign against the union and its demands. Almost daily, the capitalist papers shed bitter tears for the poor stockholders who will be forced by wage increases to raise car prices and sell fewer cars
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LABOR ACTION

OCTOBER 1, 1945

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

ONE CENT

Business Gets Profits; Labor A Run-Around!

By WALTER WEISS

The august Senate of the United States decided last week that a nation-wide \$25 weekly maximum on unemployment insurance was too much. The formal excuse for this action was that the U.S. government must not interfere with "states' rights." Many of the states have ceilings on their benefits of \$15 or \$16 or \$18.

It is still not generally known that the \$25 proposal of Senator Kilgore was for a \$25 weekly MAXIMUM and for payments lasting NO LONGER THAN 26 weeks in a year (the Senate did approve this extension in the length of payments).

In recommending the Kilgore bill to Congress, President Truman said: "It does not give everyone \$25 a week. Under it an applicant must be ready, willing and able to work and must have earned wages high enough so that the percentage rate (and in most states this is about 50 per cent of recent average wages—Ed.) will yield this maximum figure."

The Kilgore-Truman proposal was itself positively indecent in a country which found it possible to spend \$100 billion yearly on war. If passed, it would have amounted to a maximum payment of \$650 a year for the luckiest of the unemployed.

We are sure that every worker will agree that the proposal in the Workers Party platform for a \$30 MINIMUM for unmarried workers (and extra payments for dependents) over the ENTIRE PERIOD of unemployment is extremely modest and altogether necessary.

It is estimated that the Kilgore bill would have cost perhaps two billion dollars. Compare this with the insurance which Congress—before taking time out for any vacation, by the way—provided for the war-fat corporations.

Business gets, in the form of a 10 per cent refund on wartime excess profits, almost three billion dollars. Earlier this year Congress passed a special measure to hasten these payments, so that the corporations wouldn't "suffer" during the reconversion period.

In addition to these unconditional payments, businesses are insured not only against losses but even against earnings less than their pre-war average for the next two years. For this purpose the Treasury is ready to refund war taxes of the corporations out of a fund amounting to about \$60 BILLION.

Get that! Not 50 per cent of "normal" profits for 26 weeks, but full profits for the full year. A company
(Continued on page 2)

Strike Still Continues at Kelsey Co.

By MARTIN HARVEY

DETROIT, Sept. 22—The strike at the Kelsey-Hayes Wheel Co. has entered its fifth week with the workers solidly determined to stay out until the three union officers who were discharged by the company are reinstated.

Chester ("Moon") Mullins, one of the discharged unionists and a former chairman of the Kelsey-Hayes unit of Local 174, gave this correspondent some of the background to the strike at the union hall across the street from the plant. The dispute began with an attempt by the company to fill a vacancy in violation of its agreement with the union. A job leader's position at the McGraw Avenue plant was filled by transferring a worker from the Plymouth plant despite the fact that the company was required to upgrade a man from the McGraw plant first.

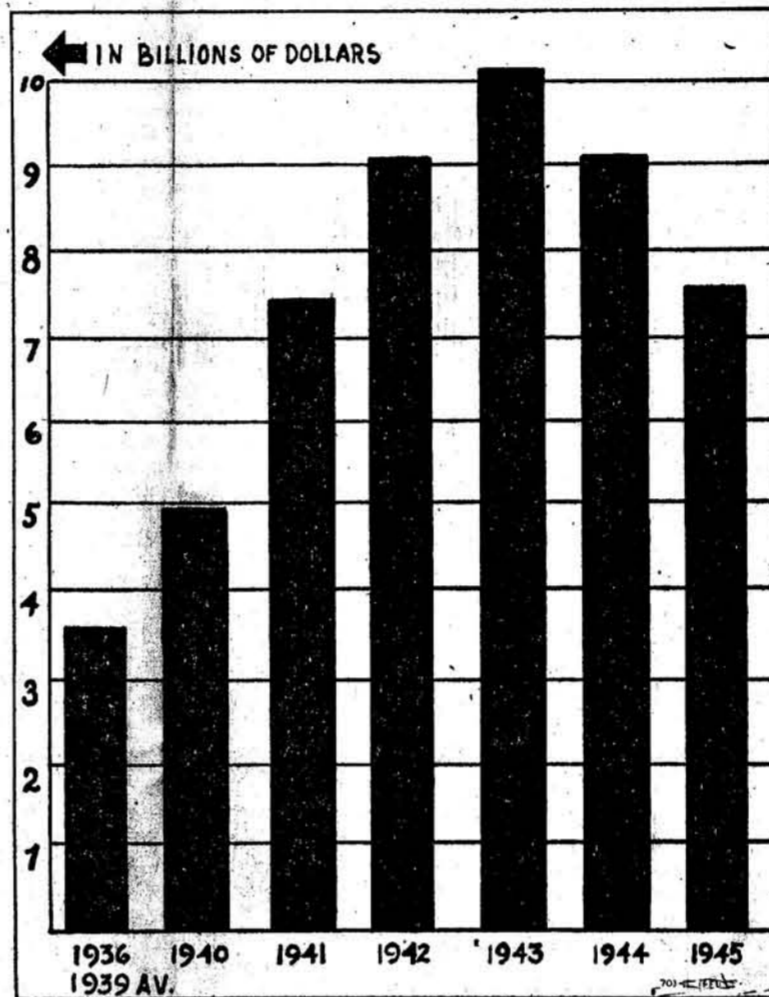
To avoid posting the job in the McGraw plant as the agreement provided, they simply changed the name of the job to "foreman" and thus took it out of the union's jurisdiction. The duties, however, remained the same. The newly appointed "foreman" had no workers under him and was not a part of supervision. The union protested this action and when the company took no action appealed to the worker. Realizing that he was being used to violate the union agreement and that no one would work with him while he did, the worker left the plant voluntarily. The company charged that he was violently ejected.

A foreman was ejected from the plant a short time later but the committee with whom the foreman had had an argument resigned. Using these events as a pretext, the company thereupon fired thirteen stewards and committeemen, most of them not even in the departments involved in the disputes. The War Labor Board, after reaching conflicting decisions (which the company ignored) ordered nine men reinstated and four fired. One of the four had quit at the beginning of the dispute.

The issue was clearly one of protecting the grievance procedure and
(Continued on page 2)

Contrast This - -

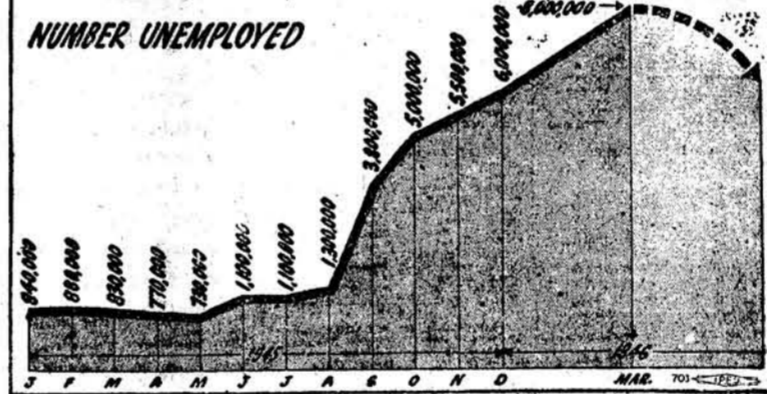
CORPORATION PROFITS AFTER TAXES—14 YEARS' WORTH IN FIVE



- - With This

EMPLOYEE RECORD

FORECAST OF RECONVERSION UNEMPLOYMENT



Chicago Realty Group Incites Race Hatred

CHICAGO, Sept. 17—At a meeting held in the Oakland-Kenwood district of Chicago, the Oakland-Kenwood Property Owner's Association of Chicago administered another injection of their race-hatred venom.

The Oakland-Kenwood district of Chicago runs parallel to and directly east of the largest Negro section in the city. There is in the neighborhood, as exists in other sections of the city, a restrictive covenant prohibiting the sale or rental of property to Negroes or to organizations who have Negroes in their membership. The covenant has been upheld by the Circuit Court of Chicago.

CALL FOR "GESTAPO"

The meeting was opened by Mr. Tomis, President of the Association, who explained that the Association had been called upon to "police" the neighborhood against the threat of violation of the restrictive covenant. In an effort to "clarify" what he had in mind, Mr. Tomis later informed the audience that "we must work as the Gestapo, as they called it in Germany, to save all property in our own locality that is being sold or attempted to be sold to undesirables," and advised that "if we work together we can retain this neighborhood as we once had it—a restricted area."

Mr. McKetrick, member of the Association, was the other speaker of the evening. He held the meeting that "this group has no race hatred in its heart regardless of color or creed. We have a restrictive covenant in this neighborhood and we want to see it upheld. We want undesirables kicked out of this neighborhood... there is no need to name the individuals we consider undesirable, we all know who they are."

The meeting had been whipped up to such a frenzy of race-hatred that when a speaker from the floor voiced his views in opposition to what was being said at the meeting, the audience reacted with typical lynch-spirit heckling. It was only after Mr. Tomis had "explained" to the gathering that they were "playing into the hands of the Communists who came with the sole purpose of having it end in a riot," that they were finally able to restore order.

The situation in the area (a middle-class area)
(Continued on page 2)

Some Facts About the Role of the U. S. Army

By JACK DIXON

"Yank Troops Excelled in Looting—Many Officers Lived in 'Silver Foxholes,'" "U. S. Soldiers Futinized in Italy—Conditions More Shameful Than Act," "Men Used as Mine Detectors in Approaching Nazi Defenses." These headlines, and more like them, appeared in the San Francisco Chronicle and other newspapers recently over the by-line of Jack Dixie.

The series of articles, laconically called "The Education of a Soldier," were written by a reporter just returned from three years of European war, where he was on the staff of Stars and Stripes. He now tells a few stories whose exposé Generals Patton, Clark, MacArthur and the rest of their military caste would no doubt prevent if they could.

This, of course, is not to say that the author of the exposés does not offer profuse apologies for the army brass, in accordance with the notions of fairness of the liberal capitalist press. But, shorn of this window dressing, one can see into the social significance of the stories.

The story on American looting in conquered territory provides us with the counterpoint to the theme of German and Japanese looting that has been drummed into our ears for so long now.

"...The American soldier is probably the greatest looter in the world. Nothing uncouth about his

looting, mind you. He never failed to pay for his acquired property—if the owner was about, giving at least a couple of cigarettes for every gift.

"About the only guy who didn't have much time for looting, nor the means of hauling his trophies away, was the infantryman... He fought up to the gates of the big cities and then generally was ordered to 'bypass' them and 'continue your glorious pursuit of the fleeing enemy.'"

"This allowed the generals to enter the cities as liberators, giving their staffs the first crack at luxurious apartments, unopened liquor cellars and 'social invitations.' One of the greatest of all such 'liberators' is that great swashbuckling figure, General George S. Patton, Jr. As an Army commander, it was a long way from his headquarters to the head of his troops but by scrambling fast at the right moment he almost always made it into the city first...."

"The degree of desire and the degree of fulfillment rose according to rank and distance from the combat area. The luxury of military life in the rear area cities of Italy made American life seem comparatively barren and certainly more expensive...."

"Italian military personnel and civilians did all the KP and other 'dirty work' around permanent camps...."

"There were a few attempts to curb the graft, black market and high living, but not many. Everybody was living in his own glass house and so no one wanted to start throwing stones."
(Continued on page 2)

U. S., Russia Main Contenders for War Booty

By MARY BELL

The newspapers continue to headline the meetings going on in London by the Foreign Ministers, James Byrnes, Vyacheslav Molotov, Ernest Bevin, Georges Bidault and Dr. Wang Shih-Chieh as the "Big Five" conference. They err in one respect. There are two dominant world powers which are calling all the tunes: the United States and Russia.

France was a fallen star among the great imperial powers even before the time Hitler was able to conquer her, and the depths to which she has sunk is attested by the recent visit of General de Gaulle to this country to beg for financial assistance. There followed on his heels Lords Halifax and Keynes, also come a-begging the U. S. to bail out the bankrupt British Empire. China's role in the war has been that of a satellite to the United States, and her Foreign Minister in London is doing little other than rubber-stamping the decisions of Byrnes. China, too, is hoping for a two billion dollar U. S. loan for post-war reconstruction.

While Russia is asking financial assistance from the No. 1 world power, she has plenty of weight to throw around, which lies in her military might, backed by her industrial strength, plus her vast extent and resources, made vaster in the course of this war through her imperialist swallowing up of smaller countries

and her share as a victor in the spoils of war.

Now that the fighting is over, now that it is no longer necessary to convince the masses of the people that the war is worth fighting for, and now that the rival German-Italian-Japanese imperialisms are subdued, the conquerors demonstrate callously what they were fighting for. That is the exploited colonies, semi-colonies and small nations that were once under the control of their Axis rivals and as much as they can get from their very allies.

They, the Big Five, dominated by the Big Two, are disposing of the

fate of a dozen nations and the lives of millions over a conference table where sits not a single representative of the exploited masses of the world for whose freedom and independence the war was supposedly fought!

There has been much high-sounding, humanitarian talk about the "international trusteeships" over the Italian colonies. This was never proposed for the colonies of the victor nations, not for India, not for the Dutch East Indies. Nor for the Philippines, nor Martinique, nor French Indo-China, nor any other colony possessed by the victors.

Stalinist Russia, however, who

more than any other country pre-tends to be for the liberation of the exploited and oppressed, asked not for "international trusteeships," but individual trusteeship over the Italian colonies of Tripolitania and Eritrea. Russia, said Molotov, was "extremely interested in the future development of the Mediterranean and Africa and believed with modernization of communications it was fully qualified to undertake this job."

How fortunate, indeed, that "communication" has been so "modernized" that Russia is at last able to emulate the older imperialisms and assume her share of "developing" the backward Tripolitans and Eritreans! Molotov stated that these demands were "logical" also, in view of Russian interest in the Dardanelles. Quite logical, indeed.

The Western powers are finding "international trusteeships" as dangerous a formula as that of the atomic bomb. Anyone may use it. It may be applied by Russia to the colonial countries now under the individual trusteeship of the U. S., France or Britain. But the mills of the gods grind slow, and since Britain, for instance, has had a bare two centuries to civilize the Indians, it is obviously premature for the Russians or the Americans to be invited into a collective trusteeship. Therefore, the Russians can only fall back on the formula of "individual trusteeship."

Yugoslavia also has demands to make of the conference. This country enjoys the refined type of democracy which exists in Russia and the lat-

ter's border states. Its democracy is so refined, in fact, that over 100,000 prisoners jailed by the Yugoslav government (generously aided by the NKVD, Russian secret police) are not yet sufficiently elevated to enjoy it. Yugoslavia put in a bid, vigorously backed by Russia, for Trieste and Fiume, Venezia Giulia, Istria, Gorizia and half a dozen Adriatic inlets and islets. Being a shrewd bargainer, she hoped mainly to get the Adriatic seaport of Trieste, to which both she and Italy, who hopes she has paid for her sins by being a co-belligerent of the Allies for two years, make ethno-log-i-cal claim. Neither, of course, is interested in the strategic location of the port nor that it leads to sources of coal and bauxite, the latter used in aluminum manufacture. Both stand firmly for the triumph of pure ethnology, i.e., racial and cultural affinity.

U. S. PREFERENCES

At the present writing, the United States prefers the ethnological claims of the Italians on Trieste. Too, Italy is in the sphere of that Western bloc of nations that have not fallen under Russian influence. The United States also proposes to give the Dodecanese Islands to Greece. Molotov hasn't said yes and he hasn't said no yet; there may be some opportunity to "develop" an island base there, what with the development of communications, etc.

Aside from which, Greek "democracy" is unfriendly to Russian "democracy." The Greek people enjoy what may be called the "Western type" which bears a degree of similarity to the "Eastern," or Russian, type in that many thousands of
(Continued on page 3)

By JACK DIXON

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By WALTER WEISS

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By M. GORDON

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NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Facts on Role of U. S. Army--

(Continued from page 1) "It was only when the brass had it soft while imposing strict military conditions upon their men that faint odors of protest arose. Such a condition was shockingly apparent at the Caserta Palace near Naples....

"Individual officers' quarters were built throughout the palace grounds, together with luxurious bars, a private 'lake' for officers' swimming, and numerous 'mess halls' for dining with music, with the food prepared by civilian cooks—in one case Field Marshal Rommel's former French chef. The cost of all this would run over a million dollars if one were to place civilian values on all the Army material consumed.

"Meanwhile, the enlisted men ate in what formerly were the palace stables...."

Then there is the story of the mutiny of fifty American soldiers of the 168th Regiment of the 34th Division. In the late fall of 1943 the American Army in Italy was so short of fighting men that infantry divisions were forced to remain in the line 70 to 80 days without relief. A total unpreparedness to equip troops to fight in winter conditions resulted in "trench feet," caused by improper footwear, inflicting higher casualties than the enemy. All in all, morale—that is, the soldiers' belief in the competency of his command and faith in the necessity for its decisions—had fallen to a new low on the Italian front in the late fall of 1943.

HUMAN MINE-DETECTORS

It was the 168th Regiment's turn to spearhead the assault of the 34th Division across the Voltorno River, which would be its third crossing of the river. Directly on the opposite bank from the American positions

was a German mine field, one of the largest mine fields ever laid in Italy up to that time. Since the Germans had complete observation of the field, the attack was made at night, beginning at midnight, November 3.

There was no time for reconnaissance or mine-clearing operations. The men themselves were ordered to act as mine-detectors.

"Some of them cracked under the strain after once starting through the mine field. They went berserk, lunging madly ahead, pawing and stamping the mine-sown ground, cursing and howling for the unseen enemy to 'come out and fight.' Eventually their challenge would be accepted. A 'jumping Betsy' mine would spring up, explode, kill."

But an estimated 200 men of the 168th refused to go into the mine field. Most of them drifted up to their outposts after a path had been cleared. Fifty men flatly refused to even pretend to obey the orders. They were court-martialed.

Lined up in a bare field a few days later, the fifty were told by an officer that a few of their number had already gotten ten years and a dishonorable discharge, and that unless the remainder returned to the attack, this time against the main German defenses, they would not get such "soft" treatment. Fifteen recanted. After a "sputtering attempt at persuasion from an officer," two more recanted. The rest, standing firm in their spirit of rebellion, were given "stiffer" sentences.

Some of the fifty had been awarded the Silver Star, which is awarded only for combat bravery. Many had been previously wounded. And who is it that condemns these men for cowardice? Sputtering officers?

The press relations of the Army and application of "military" censorship and "security" regulations naturally was a large factor in this war reporter's education. The high command attempted to hold a tight lid on what the soldier could read (and, consequently, think), all the way from the Stars and Stripes Mail Call department, which published letters from soldiers, to stories appearing in the Stars and Stripes on the Polish question, not to mention the only too-willing cooperation by American military authorities with the British authorities in killing news out of New Delhi and Cairo, or the willingness of the brass to have stories appear in the Stars and Stripes on the smallest of labor disputes back home (a factor which, unfortunately, Folsie does not mention).

Last March, the American command in Italy apparently thought that the Stars and Stripes should exercise "discretion" in repeating the expressions it received from the soldiers. Anyway, the high command decided that it wanted to see no more letters published like that from an infantry sergeant who offered \$20,000 for the capture of Lieut. Gen. Mario Roatta, "in memory of the nearly 20,000 American soldiers who have been killed in the Italian campaign." The Italian government had put up only half that sum. In other words, soldiers could have freedom of speech, as long as they express the right thoughts.

The civilian population here at home might have the impression after reading the daily press for three and a half years that the war has been fought primarily by Generals Clark, MacArthur, Admiral Halsey and a few other brass. This impression has been liberally fostered by

those individuals. The Fifth Army Public Relations Office, for instance, had what was unofficially called the "three and one" rule. In every news release issued by that office it was mandatory that the name of then Lieut. Gen. Mark W. Clark appear three times on the first page and one time each on every succeeding page. "Lieut. Gen. Mark W. Clark's Fifth Army," "Gen. Douglas MacArthur's Headquarters," "With Admiral William F. Halsey in Japanese Waters" are examples of the satisfying of personal ego which has built up the brass in the public's eye, but, as far as the war effort is concerned, "undue publicity for the top brass does have its effect on the men who are doing the actual fighting; you don't like it."

As for the brand of democracy practiced by our heroic military leaders here at home, let the following words speak for themselves:

"A Twelfth Naval District public information officer accused The Chronicle city editor of being 'anti-Navy' when the paper insisted upon giving full coverage to the Negro sailors' side of the story in their mutiny trial for refusal to load ammunition following the Port Chicago explosion."

Further proof that an army reflects the class structure of the society which creates it is clear from a recent Labor Press Association dispatch from Pittsburgh. The dispatch exposes the training by the Army of MP's for strike-breaking duty. The crushing of workers by the Army is an inherent part of the kind of state under which we live. Only when the workers form their own party and take the reins of government into their own hands will their freedom become possible.

Labor Notes From Buffalo

By JOHN BARNES

Government Should Operate Buffalo War Plants

There is no longer any need for the thousands of former Curtiss-Wright workers of Buffalo to wonder and worry about the jobs they lost on and before V-J Day. Neither is there a need for the local labor bureaucrats and the so-called Civic Full Employment Committee to grope blindly about, in the hope that some white angel will give Curtiss-Wright the contracts that are necessary to bring life to the now almost empty plants. All this has been taken care of in a very forceful, definite manner.... Curtiss-Wright has announced that it is moving out of Buffalo.

Yes, within eight months, says Curtiss, all company operations, aside from the research laboratory, which employs only a few hundred, will be located in Columbus, Ohio.

Why is Curtiss leaving a city that is recognized as an industrial center, that offers a large, experienced labor force, that already has an ultra-modern plant alongside the airport and that is located, near the heart of the nation? The official company explanation is that the Columbus plant is more suitable, more comfortable—and cheaper to operate. That's it; there will be more profit for Curtiss in the Columbus plant. So the Buffalo plant, erected by the government at a cost well over ten million dollars, will not do.

Now, what will become of this plant? As yet no one, not even the Chamber of Commerce, has dared to tackle this hot-potato issue. The Curtiss-Wright Corporation is not at all concerned. Curtiss did not pay for the plant, it did not assume responsibility for it. So it treats the massive building just as it treats its workers; it has used it for bloody profits and when it is no longer fit to produce profits it is cast aside.... And this procedure is sanctioned by the gov-

What will happen to the workers themselves? Again Curtiss is not perturbed. Business is business. After all, if a plant costing millions of dollars is expendable, then certainly some thirty thousand human beings are of no account. So says Curtiss. So says capitalism.

VETERAN SENIORITY

This Curtiss move takes on special significance in light of what has happened here in the past week regarding veteran seniority. A test case of the GI Bill of Rights has been planned on behalf of a former Curtiss worker who, on returning from the war, found that his seniority had long been passed and that there was no job for him. In reality this condition applied to over fifteen thousand ex-Curtiss workers. This case was to get a ruling which would determine whether this Bill of Rights meant something or was to be filed for Fairyland along with the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms.

On hearing of this suit, which would most certainly prove that the company is not the savior of the veterans it pretends to be, Curtiss issued the statement that it could not possibly rehire these fifteen thousand men since it employed, all told, less than one-third of that number. ...Really an open and shut case!

But now, will there even be a case? What good can it possibly do? How can veterans get jobs back from a company that, as far as Buffalo is concerned, no longer exists? Evidently (and we of LABOR ACTION have been pointing it out all along) the GI Bill of Rights does not have mere loopholes that allow the bosses to escape—but full-fledged, gold-lined tunnels!

And there you have a composite picture of the scene that Curtiss-Wright leaves behind. Thousands of workers and worker-veterans are jobless. There is no talk of "plant reconversion" for them. The tremendous Airport plant itself stands as a monument (the biggest and most expensive monument you've ever seen)

to the waste, greed and futility that is capitalism in war and to the crisis and decay that is capitalism in peace.

There is only one thing for the workers of Buffalo to do—not only ex-Curtiss workers but ALL workers. Through the unions and the other labor councils and organizations the demand must immediately be made that the government take over and operate the Airport plant! Manpower is available, material is available, goods are needed and jobs are needed—the plant must be put into operation! Private capital has demonstrated that it is unwilling and unable, therefore the government must act.

We say ALL Buffalo workers because, in effect, the fight for the Airport plant is the fight for many another Buffalo plant. There is no telling when other companies will follow the Curtiss lead and shift to cheaper production areas. Already one large Bell plant has been reduced to a storage depot. Who can be sure if all of the Chevrolet plants will reopen—and so on?

The workers of Buffalo must not allow one single plant, which housed production miracles for war, to lie idle and worthless for peace. The government must be forced to re-finance plant operation in each and every case. There, and there alone, do you have one of the keys to the treasure chest of full employment.

Bethlehem Strike

As this is written two thousand Bethlehem Steel strip mill workers have struck their plant in a dispute which began over a cut in bonus rate to the workers of one department. Union officials are not supporting this action. They have already made one statement to the effect that the men are going back, but as yet no settlement has been reached. What is more, there is the possibility that this strike may spread, in sympathy, to the bar mill and throughout the shops.

Labor Gets the Run-Around--

(Continued from page 1) can decide to be "idle," as the newspapers express it in talking of unemployed workers, and still do very well.

Besides this, it is an absolute certainty that there will be reductions soon in business taxes in order to stimulate "free enterprise." As to that everybody who counts, from Senator Taft to Henry Wallace, agrees.

We have not told the whole story yet. Because of huge wartime profits the value of industry (after allowing for debts) grew over 30 per cent in five war years, and working capital (ready funds, such as cash and government bonds) increased 100 per cent.

WAR PROFITS GREW

Who says this happened? The War Production Board, composed of big business men, says so in a report of September 5.

Why did it happen? Because, during the war, profits before taxes rose 350 per cent and profits after taxes rose 120 per cent (that is, more than DOUBLED), according to the War Production Board.

And why did that happen? Because the government (Congress and the

President and all the government agencies), while freezing wages, insured that profits would grow tremendously. To quote the big business New York Times:

"The report (of the WPB) gave considerable credit to the federal government for the expansion of industry, first by its willingness to provide most of the fixed capital (that is plants and machines) and much of the working funds (that is, cash for materials and wages) required for war production, and, second, by the way it has 'initiated, guided and controlled' the development."

Believe it or not, there is still more to tell, but we shall add only one more item. The OPA INSURES by its price ceilings that companies will earn AT LEAST the same percentage on their "net worth" as in 1936-1939. But, because of government-insured profits, the net worth (value) of corporations, as stated above, has risen over 30 per cent. Consequently, ceilings are fixed to INSURE as a MINIMUM not the same total in dollars as in 1936-39 but the same percentage of a base figure which is over 30 per cent higher—in other words, a considerably higher total in dollars. Why does this happen? The liberal

press and the labor leaders give us a variety of answers:

1) "We haven't sent enough telegrams and letters to Congress and the President. Or, we haven't paid them enough personal visits." But who, after the recent activity of the unions along these lines, believes this any longer?

2) "Truman is a good man (see his recent message to Congress), but there are too many bad congressmen." Unfortunately for this view, it has come out recently that a personal representative of Truman's, a certain George Allen, informed the Senate Finance Committee secretly that the \$25 insurance proposal was "desirable" but not "indispensable."

3) "Truman (despite the endorsement he received from labor leaders) has turned out to be less friendly than Roosevelt. So what we need is another Roosevelt—somebody like Wallace."

But last year, when Kilgore's bill (at that time providing a \$35 maximum) and various compromises on it were being knifed by Congress, Roosevelt maintained a deadly silence. Finally he told a press conference, when pressed by a reporter's question, that he wasn't familiar with the various proposals.

These "good" individuals, even if they are "friendly" to labor, depend on and must submit to capitalist political machines. Privately, they may tell labor leaders that their hands are tied, that they must be "practical." "What," they say, "can we do?" Labor must have a government which will INSURE and GUARANTEE security to the common people—a workers' government instead of the present capitalists' government.

The capitalists maintain and finance two big parties in order to deceive the workers and to keep the government in their own hands. The working people need one great party of their own—an independent Labor Party—as the first decisive step toward securing a government that will insure the security and the plenty that we can and must have.

Jim Crow--

(Continued from page 1)

class residential one) is highly explosive. Negroes, over-crowded in the run-down, rat-infested Jim Crow area, their numbers increased by the influx of war workers, are sorely in need of additional housing facilities. Their needs are met with (not housing facilities—heaven forbid!) such actions as that of the Oakland-Kenwood Property Owners' Association and its Jim Crow poison.

This same group just a few months ago protested the stationing of Negro Wacs in the area. The Wacs had been assigned to Gardner General Hospital and had been housed in tents in the locality. In the "interest of preserving racial harmony," the Association protested their presence.

Workers in the neighborhood, especially through their unions, will have to be on the lookout for this gang of self-styled "Gestapo" agents, and answer them with the strong, thunderous voice of a labor force as much against an American Gestapo as it was against its German counterpart.

Kelsey-Hayes and Kept Press

By J. Swift

The shameless arrogance and hypocrisy of the capitalists is exceeded only by their insatiable greed for profits. They try to cheat the worker into accepting a discredited social system. They try to camouflage the sordid facts of capitalist war and unemployment in order to quiet the working class into grateful submission. A case in point is an editorial on reconversion that appeared on September 6 in the newspaper of the large corporation mogul, the Detroit News.

The hypocritical fury of the coolie-editorialists was provoked by the Kelsey-Hayes strike of 4,000 workers which had caused Ford to lay off 20,000 more men due to a shortage of parts. In the course of the editorial which admonished the labor leaders that it was their "duty" to take the role of strike breakers and to keep the men at work if reconversion is to be quick and successful, there appeared this pearl of capitalist distortion. "Today the union's 'duties to society' are to keep as many men at work as the factories can provide for."

Let every worker ponder over this gem of capitalist philosophy!

When Mr. Moneybags decides he wants some workers to sweat out his profits for him, why then the union must behave properly, in the interests of "society," and scurry up gratefully with the required number of wage slaves. Strike? Oh, no, you mustn't strike. Don't you know, there's a reconversion going on?

(For the past four and a half years, the bosses sang the song, "Don't You Know There's a War On?" in order to smash unions and increase profits. Today the same choir boys sing a different tune but for the same purpose.)

Defense of unions, fight for better working conditions and higher wages? The union's duties is not to do this, say the hirelings of the capitalists, if it cuts in on the bosses' profits, that is if it shuts down one of the factories that the capitalist has decided to keep open.

FACTORIES AND JOBS

But what about the other side of the coin, Mr. Union-Busters? Why is it not the duty of the capitalists "to society" to keep as many factories open as there are men to work in them? Why is it that a handful of greedy, profit-soaked capitalists who constitute less than 1% of "society," have the power to decide how many factories are to stay open? By what standard of justice or humanity should a tiny minority of the people be able to decree conditions of misery and unemployment upon millions and millions of human beings?

That point the News skirts around. It may talk about "society" but it is interested in union-busting and profit-building only in the interests of a minute fraction of society.

A million casualties of capitalist war followed by millions of casualties of capitalist unemployment are better educators than lying editorials. No lie can eradicate this deep-seated truth.

In its clumsiness, however, the News has given away the game. For consider the above quoted sentence once again and you will see that, understood properly, it states the complete truth. It is the duty of the unions "to keep as many men at work as the factories can provide work for." Indeed, it is their bounden duty, 1000 times over, to do this.

But how many men can the factories provide work for "today"? Were 15 million unemployed in 1932 because the factories couldn't provide work for them? Were there 10 million unemployed in 1940 (after seven years of the New Deal) because factories couldn't provide work? Is there mounting unemployment today because the factories cannot provide work?

Not at all, not at all! Proof! For four and one-half years, everybody worked, in fact had to work, in the very same factories that "cannot" provide work today. It is not the "muscles" of the factories that incapacitates them. The productive "muscles" of America are great enough to employ every person able to work.

WHY NO WORK NOW?

It is not that the "factories" cannot provide work, it is simply that the owners of the factories, the capitalists, deliberately and planfully refuse to let them provide the work and the goods the people need. It is simply that in the capitalist system the owners of the factories operate them for profits and not in the interests of society. During the war, guaranteed profits meant guaranteed jobs. Today no guaranteed profits mean no even guaranteed unemployment insurance!

What the Detroit News really meant to say is that the union should keep as many men at work as the capitalists need for their profits at any particular time. To say that that way would have exposed too clearly the fact that it is a handful of capitalists who dominate the lives of millions of working people.

STRUGGLE NECESSARY

It is the duty of the union to keep as many men at work as the factories can provide for, for the factories can provide work and plenty for all. It is the union's duty to fight for precisely that. Yes, in the interests of "society," for whom does this society consist, if not the millions of laboring men and women, those in white collars as well as those in blue work shirts?

But the union leaders must fight for this goal. Not as the News would like by breaking Kelsey-Hayes strikes, but by supporting the struggle of the workers against the bosses to the hilt, by battling uncompromisingly on the economic front, by organizing the tremendous political might of the working class in an independent Labor Party and striving toward the establishment of a workers' government. Only under such a government will all the muscles of production be used and any factory which "cannot" provide work will be used in history books to teach a new generation about the insanity of capitalism.

Kelsey-Hayes Test Case--

(Continued from page 1)

the elected representatives of the workers. As Mullins put it: "We haven't lost a steward or committeeman all through the war and we don't intend to start losing them now."

That the men were solidly behind the strike was also clear. Mullins pointed to the fact that a picket line wasn't even necessary to keep the plant closed down. "No one is going to walk back in until this grievance is settled," Mullins said. This was evident from the deserted street in front of the plant. About twenty people were talking in front of the union

hall but no one had any concern about the solidarity of the workers in the strike.

An interesting feature in the strike was the part played by the International. When the local union had first voted to strike in a membership meeting, it appealed to R. J. Thomas, International president, for the support of the International. Thomas replied that the International would back them but first they must hold a constitutional strike vote by secret ballot. This the local did and the strike was upheld by five to one.

Ignoring his earlier promise, however, Thomas, with the unanimous

support of the Executive Board, declared the strike "unauthorized" and demanded that the men return to work.

The Ford Motor Co. has tried to crush the militancy and aggressiveness being displayed by the auto workers, of which the Kelsey-Hayes strike is the outstanding example, by locking out 40,000 workers in the Rouge and Highland Park plants. In an open and vicious attempt to split the ranks of the UAW, Ford charged that the shutdown was made necessary because of unauthorized strikes in plants that supply parts for Ford cars.

Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor ...

To the Editor of LABOR ACTION: In an editorial in the issue of August 27, reference is made to Philippine collaborators of the "Japs." I am certain that the use of this derogatory term was entirely accidental, but I think the error should be made known to the readers of LABOR ACTION.

As a paper which stands firmly for the international solidarity of the workers of all nations and for the national liberation and independence of all peoples, LABOR ACTION has been consistently opposed to the lumping together of the oppressed workers of Germany and Japan with the imperialist rulers of those countries and the castigation of both as war criminals or "inferior." The derogation of any nationality is merely a form of the completely fascist idea of "inferior" peoples or nations.

Just as the working class is divided against itself by propaganda against foreign-born workers in the United States, using such derogatory expressions as "hunkie," "dago," "kike," etc., so the workers are separated from their class brothers in Japan by the use of the word "Jap." There are no "Japs." There are the Japanese warlords and imperialists who must be overthrown and eliminated; and there are the oppressed Japanese workers and peasants to whom falls the task of overthrowing their rulers, native and foreign, and establishing a free, socialist Japan.

The quotation to which Comrade Harvey makes objection is "General Manuel Roxas, Philippine politician and one of the leading collaborators under the Japs, has been named president of the Senate."

We think Harvey's objection is well taken. The term "Jap" is not

Move on Auto "Big 3"--

(Continued from page 1)

—for, after all, their profits must be maintained. They talk threateningly of higher wages forcing auto companies to move their plants from Detroit to other areas—conveniently ignoring the existence of national wage agreements and the demand for equal wage levels for all parts of the country.

The workers in the auto industry have had a long and bitter experience with the union-busting big dailies. Their lies and insults will only serve to strengthen labor's determination to see this thing through. The UAW has taken the lead with a clarion call to all of organized labor to launch labor's offensive against the ramparts of open-shop capitalism. The chief concern of the rank and file in the union is to see that the top leadership, which has not been too anxious to conduct a militant fight in the past, follows through in its present struggle. At the recent Flint meeting of the International Executive Board, Detroit workers picketed the board, demanding that it give

a mere abbreviation. It is a derogatory epithet to denote contempt for what we are told, day in and day out, is an "inferior race." We regret that the editors allowed this expression to slip through. And apparently it has become so commonplace that only one reader discovered the error.—Ed.

support to the Kelsey-Hayes Wheel Co. strike which it had declared unauthorized. They also carried signs calling for a UAW convention this year.

This same demand was raised by the committee of UAW local presidents in Detroit. They place little confidence in the leadership of Thomas, Frankenstein and Reuther and want the opportunity to replace them with a new, vigorous leadership that will truly represent the rank and file and wage an aggressive fight.

These actions are a sign that the pressure on the leadership of the UAW from the ranks is great. It was this pressure which forced the change from the policy of retreat during the war. And it will be this pressure which will make difficult, if not impossible, any retreat by the leadership in the way of substantial reductions in their demands.

Akron Readers: HOW TO GET JOBS FOR ALL Speaker: ALBERT GATES TUESDAY, OCTOBER 2 At 772 Raymond Street (rear) Auspices: Workers Party



A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

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ALBERT GATES, Editor MARY BELL, Ass't Editor

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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 dependancies 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.

NATIONALIST CELLS IN NEW YORK

By SHIRLEY LAWRENCE

The Nationalists, who are organizing to revive and unite the native American fascist movement, held a meeting on September 5 at the Hotel Empire in New York City, typical of hundreds which are occurring throughout the country at an accelerated pace since the war ended.

It was the first attempt in New York to organize pre-war America Firsters, Bundists, isolationists, anti-Semites, Negro-haters, reactionary elements of the pension-planners, money cranks, fundamentalists and labor-baiters, under the banner of former Senator Robert R. Reynolds' American Nationalist Party, with the goal of establishing a totalitarian fascist state in America.

CELL ORGANIZATION

Plans were laid for use of the ten-person "cell" technique devised by Reynolds in his Chicago and Detroit organizations to guard against the enrollment of "unsympathetic" individuals into the party. Those at the meeting, mostly women, were instructed each to organize a "cell" of ten "trusted friends," then to instruct each of the cell members to go forth and organize his or her own little group.

The purpose of the meeting was to lay down the Nationalist propaganda line for the post-war period now that wartime handicaps to fascist utterances have been removed.

Present at the meeting were at least three people now under indictment for sedition. The roster of speakers read like part of "Who's Who" list of American fascism. There was Colonel Eugene Sanctuario, Jew-baiter, still under indictment, who had definite connections with the American National-Socialist League in New York and with other pro-Nazi outfits.

There was Elmer Elmhurst, Bundist, also awaiting trial and also held in high esteem by the Nazi hierarchy of America.

There were minor characters like John G. Scott, editor of "Money," a newspaper dedicated to "a Christian America"; Hudson de Priest, hate writer and seditionist; Charles Smith, Queens Nationalist and party chairman, and Stephen Sylvester, Kings County leader.

Chairman of the meeting was Joseph Nelligen, New York State chairman of the Nationalist Party, whose mail address was given as care of the Daily News, 700 Pacific Street, Brooklyn. He pleaded for money to set up a state headquarters in New York City and supported his plea with a letter from Reynolds saying that "The party had been forced to mark time until the war was over, but now was the time to push full speed ahead, organizing for the 1946 congressional election."

The party platform, on which it aims to elect representatives to Congress in 1946, is designed as a catch-all to combine the mongrel fascist groups. Its catchlines include: "America for Americans," "Deport the Jews and Negroes," "End Immigration into the U. S.," "Dissolve the present economic system and adopt that of the Congress of Monetary Organization" (a crackpot outfit which recently met in Detroit) and "Bring Home the Boys."

This is all too reminiscent of the old fascist technique: promise pie in the sky, denounce the labor movement, slander the Jews, bait the Negroes, exploit the resentment of millions made jobless by war cutbacks and capitalize politically on the emotions of the gold-star families.

The stories to be released as "authentic" news intended to show that the Jewish international bankers and movie moguls set up scientific private espionage agencies to spy on nationally prominent isolationists to frustrate efforts to "keep us out of the war." This propaganda offensive is merely part of the strategy prepared by the Nationalists as the first step in their revival.

The literature distributed at the meeting specifically quotes the Daily News (their big-time press) as approving their aims in the following editorial words: "For our part, the boys can't come home and form a Nationalist Party too soon." This was cited as proof of a "nationalistic trend."

The announcement that Upton Close, the Hearst writer and former radio commentator, was organizing a third nationalist party (Reynolds' "Nationalists" and Gerald L. K. Smith's America Firsters are the other two) caused some consternation until it was explained that it was Close's intention to unite his gang with the others.

HITLERESQUE METHODS

The pious words of these fascists should fool no one. Hitler too promised everything to everybody, denounced the Jews and accused them of leading Germany into the First World War. Hitler was laughed at but condoned.

The aim of these fascists is to "divide and conquer." It would be decidedly dangerous to dismiss them as mere crackpots. It was said about Hitler that he would not last, but look at the chaos he left behind him!

Organized labor and all anti-fascists must build a broad united front of action and militantly oppose the Nationalists and their satellites, must oppose the vicious lies and hatreds to which the fascists are dedicated. The Nationalists are attempting to unite all of the dissident fascist sects into one party and are bidding for congressional seats. The working class must organize its own independent Labor Party to combat their propaganda effectively and launch a program of its own with demands embodying the real needs of the people.

WORLD POLITICS

By ERNEST LUND

"Free Press" in Germany

One of the "Four Freedoms" to which American editors have attached great importance is freedom of the press. At present the American military commanders in Germany are hard at work teaching this great "freedom" to the Germans. As usual it turns out to be "freedom of the press" in the grand old American tradition.

The American Army authorities have authorized the publication of only some twenty-four large dailies in their zone of occupation. The result has been that each of them enjoys circulations that are stupendous by pre-Hitler standards. They run from 400,000 to 1,500,000 each. German journalists claim that these papers between them serve a population that once supported several hundred papers in the Weimar Republic.

This sort of "freedom of the press" is, of course, the development on German soil of a monopoly of the press by a few millionaire publishers that has long prevailed in the United States. Instead of reconstituting an independent political press, as prevailed before Hitler, the Army is concentrating the manufacture of public opinion in the hands of a small group of German Hearsts, McCormicks, Scripps-Howards, Reeds, Sulzbergers and Marshall Fields.

Italian Socialist Struggle

The struggle for the control of the Italian Socialist Party is becoming clarified with the emergence of more clearly defined Stalinist and anti-Stalinist tendencies. At the Rome Conference held on July 29 to August 1st, an open opposition to the pro-Stalinist orientation of Pietro Nenni emerged and received the support of some thirty per cent of the delegates.

The opposition is led by Giuseppe Modigliani, Ignazio Silone and Giuseppe Favarelli. Modigliani is one of the old right-wing leaders of the party who shared the leadership with Matteotti, Turati and Serrati when the hesitant and contradictory policies of the socialists resulted in the final triumph of Mussolini.

SILONE'S ROLE

Silone is the well known anti-fascist novelist who wrote "Fontamara," "Bread and Wine," "School for Dictators" and other novels which have shown a consistent trend away from Marxism and toward some sort of libertarian, humanistic, mystical brand of socialism. Silone has made a name for himself as the avowed enemy of all forms of totalitarianism, including Stalinism, for which he coined the phrase "Red fascism."

However, upon his return to Italy from exile he became a close associate and supporter of Nenni, the leader of the pro-Stalinist orientation in the party. It now appears that he is once more linked with the anti-Stalinist forces. Favarelli is a legendary figure who emerged to prominence in the pre-war underground in Italy. Little is known of his politics at present. He was arrested by the Vichy police and turned over to the fascists early in the war. A fascist court sentenced him to thirty years' imprisonment, from which he was liberated with the fall of Mussolini.

Nenni is driving hard for the fusion of the Socialist and Communist Parties. He has secured much support for this proposal among socialist workers with the argument that it was the division of the working class into two parties that permitted fascism to conquer in 1921-24. The bulk of the Italian workers, having lived for twenty years under the fascist blackout, still think of the Communists as a working class organization dedicated to socialism; what is more, to the ideas of Lenin and the Russian Revolution.

In the face of the opposition of the Modigliani forces at the Rome conference, Nenni chose to delay the question and moved to postpone to "a more appropriate time." The opposition opposed this on the ground that they were opposed to fusion with the Communists on principle and substituted a proposal for unity of action on specific questions. The opposition has drawn much strength from the Labor Party victory in Britain, hoping that the Labor government will be a counterweight to Russian influence in Italy.

SOCIALIST PARTY ROLE

The fusion of the Socialists with the Communist Party would be a catastrophe for Italian labor. As everywhere else, the Stalinists will corrupt, disintegrate and terrorize all opposition in the united party and transform it into an enlarged apparatus for the carrying out of Russian aims. Those who remain intransigent in their opposition will finally be framed up, slandered and driven from the ranks. Stalinism is bureaucratic tyranny, monolithism, totalitarianism.

Whatever the policies and practices of the Italian Socialists and the trade unions they lead, they still remain a product of the Italian working class, they are still part of the free labor movement which needs democratic rights in order to exist.

The leadership of Modigliani and Silone, the one old hand at compromise, the other a brilliant writer but unstable politician and theorist, will not defeat the Stalinist menace to the Italian working class. This task requires a revolutionary Marxist party, founded upon the program that made the Russian Revolution possible and united in firm and disciplined ranks that will prove more than a match for Togliatti's bureaucratized machine. Such a party will find numerous adherents in the present ranks of the Socialist Party. But its ideas, its leading cadres, and the initial steps in the building must come from our comrades of the Italian section of the Fourth International. In the last analysis, it will be they who will prove the decisive force.

Editorials

Hershey, Seniority, Closed Shop

The latest directive on the knotty question of veterans' seniority, contained in the handbook just issued by Maj. Gen. Lewis B. Hershey, head of Selective Service, reaffirms the anti-union position of his former interpretations of the Selective Service regulations. While he makes some vague efforts to straighten out the ridiculous situation accruing from the former interpretation whereby a senior veteran of World War II could replace another veteran of World War II with less seniority on the same job, Hershey still places the responsibility for veteran employment on the unions.

(1) The Director of Selective Service reaffirms the principle of "super-seniority" whereby a veteran may replace a civilian employee, however much seniority the latter has, or even a veteran of the First World War.

(2) Also, says Hershey, "Union membership or other conditions not enumerated in the law may not, therefore, be required of a veteran as a prerequisite to his reinstatement."

The first principle above—that of "super-seniority"—breaks union rules to replace civilian workers with veterans. The second principle—abrogation of the closed shop agreements which many unions have—breaks union rules to permit veterans to work without joining the union.

Thus, the Administration "guarantees" jobs to veterans by flouting hard-won union principles. When the unions—by whose struggles alone the veterans are guaranteed any sort of decent working conditions—raise an outcry, the onus is put on the unions for the failure to guarantee jobs to veterans.

The only loopholes that the regulations provide are for the employer. While union rules may not "stand in the way," the employer may haggle over whether the position of the returning veteran was "temporary" or whether he completed his "period of training." Then there is a cover-all loophole, big enough for a herd of elephants to go through, that says the veteran will be employed if:

"...the veteran's position was in the employ of a private employer and the

employer's circumstances have not so changed as to make it impossible or unreasonable to reinstate the veteran to his old position or to a position of like seniority, status and pay." (Emphasis ours.)

Thus the ruling gently deals with employers, who, if they don't want to give the veteran his job, will have in this period of reconversion the excuse of any number of changed "circumstances" they desire.

When the unions fight to uphold the seniority system, as they should, they are upholding the right to a job of the veteran union-builders, a right which, if sacrificed, would lead to the destruction of all rights of organized labor. The policy of the Selective Service Director is to whittle away those rights, and by focussing attention on seniority rules, to say to the veterans: "The union would try to keep you out of a job by its seniority restrictions. We are seeing that you get a job through 'super-seniority.'"

"Super-seniority" is a capitalist panacea for a capitalist crisis: unemployment. While it weakens the unions, it does not solve the basic problem of jobs for all the unemployed, veterans as well as civilians. It merely would place a veteran in a civilian's job, and divide the sympathies of civilian and veteran worker.

The basic problem is that of jobs for all, and where jobs do not exist, full unemployment compensation. Private enterprise, which waxed fat on government orders throughout the war, is undergoing reconversion unemployment. Congress has given the coup de grace to the already disgracefully low "\$25 for twenty-six weeks" of Truman, apparently with the latter's blessing.

LABOR ACTION urges that organized labor press for its program for veterans contained in the program box on this page. Furthermore, if labor is to go forward and not be beset by intra-class warfare—between veterans and civilians, Negroes and whites, men and women, skilled and unskilled, foreign and native-born—it must press for a genuine, all-around labor program, backed by a genuine, independent Labor Party which will win the allegiance of the entire working class.

The Editor's Midwest Tour

CHICAGO—On Friday night, September 21, Albert Gates, editor of LABOR ACTION, spoke to an audience in Chicago's Loop on "Reconversion and Jobs" in which he outlined the Workers Party program for achieving full employment in the post-war period.

"SIXTY MILLION JOBS"

In a lucid analysis of the inability of American capitalism to provide anything near full employment, Comrade Gates pointed out that it is not just "reconversion unemployment" that the workers face, but permanent unemployment. The capitalist government has no plans whatsoever to provide "full employment."

Commenting on Henry Wallace's book, "Sixty Million Jobs," Comrade Gates stated that although Mr. Wallace explains very clearly the problem of unemployment, he offers not one concrete proposal for its solution. And for good reason: Mr. Wallace knows that "free enterprise" cannot provide full employment, and Mr. Wallace is no socialist.

"Full employment can only be achieved, Comrade Gates said, provided the workers take the problem into their own hands. And this means that they must organize themselves into an independent Labor Party

based on a program of the real needs of the workers.

"This does not mean," said Gates, "that we want the kind of labor party that the British Labor Party is, in which the leadership is acting like little Neville Chamberlains and Winston Churchills."

Comrade Gates' talk was met with enthusiastic response from the audience. Questions were asked and were fully and clearly answered by the speaker. Contributions of money to the Workers Party from many of those present were very gratifying.

STREATOR, ILL.—Albert Gates, editor of LABOR ACTION, revisited this town and addressed a meeting on "Jobs for All" called by the Workers Party. After a detailed description of the present situation in this country, the speaker discussed the various plans offered to solve unemployment, beginning with Wallace and closing with the program of the Workers Party.

"Stressing the need for independent political action by labor, Gates pointed out how the formation of a Labor Party could advance and defend the interests of the American workers. In response to questions, the speaker pointed out that, insofar as the Workers Party was concerned, the Labor Party would represent the first

step in the complete emancipation of labor. For that, socialism was necessary.

The Workers Party supports the movement for a Labor Party because such a movement would hasten the main tasks of revolutionary socialists to bring about a lasting social change.

DETROIT—A well attended and enthusiastic meeting heard Albert Gates, editor of LABOR ACTION, speak on "Reconversion and Jobs for All." He presented the reconversion program of the Workers Party in the new, enlarged Detroit headquarters on Gratiot Street. Questions and discussion concluded the meeting.

BUFFALO—This local of the Workers Party welcomed Albert Gates, editor of LABOR ACTION, now on a national tour, at an open meeting Saturday, September 15. Comrade Gates delivered an interesting and comprehensive address on "Significance of the British Elections to the American Working Class." That the meeting was a success is proved by the fact that the question and discussion period carried almost into the midnight mark. The comrades and sympathizers in attendance contributed generously toward the LABOR ACTION Fund.

U. S., Russia, War Booty--

(Continued from page 1)

ELAS-EAM fighters against fascism must be imprisoned until they are educated to enjoy it.

As for the position of the United States on the African colonies of Italy, Libya and Eritrea, she proposes international trusteeship and independence in ten years. Some cynics tell you to look at a map and say that the application of the principle of internationalizing the colonies here puts the United States in good position in relation to the oil routes to Syria-Lebanon and Iran, as well as on the Red Sea route to India.

Where the two forms of "democracy," Western and Eastern, cause the most conflict among the sparring ministers in the Balkans—Greece, Rumania, Bulgaria and Hungary (although the latter is not, strictly speaking, a Balkan country). This area, alternately called "the powder keg of Europe," a "melting pot," or "Europe's deep South," is a strategic area where East and West fuse, almost wholly agricultural, but with a few valuable industrial resources and industries.

RUMANIA, BULGARIA

Provisional régimes have been set up in Rumania and Bulgaria, not wholly filled with Stalinist-Communists, but wherein, in order to educate people with their customary missionary zeal, the Communists have made sure to control the Departments of Interior. Backed by an internal army of a hundred thousand or so in Bulgaria, the process of re-educating the Bulgarians has been speedy indeed. The lady Communist,

Tsola Dragocheva, now heads that government, while Petru Grouz flits between Moscow and Bucharest.

Every time the Western democrats point to these Balkan states, Molotov shouts: "Greece! But Churchill and Stalin, with Roosevelt's blessing, agreed at Yalta on the division of Greece and Rumania into British and Russian spheres of influence, respectively. However, the war was still on then, and agreement was urgent.

Now, while Byrnes and Bevin shout for free elections in Bulgaria, Rumania and Hungary, Molotov replies that there is more democracy in those countries than they have ever had before (he could have added: "As much as exists in Byrnes' poll-tax state of South Carolina, too"). This is the

employee and literate male Rumanians over thirty could vote (nearly fifty per cent of the population is illiterate) and only government candidates were allowed. During the Nazi occupation, no one voted. In Bulgaria, no parties were permitted, the Cabinet being responsible only to the King.

It seems that France and England have some interests in addition to their style of democracy in these countries. Here were their pre-war interests: "The French control Yugoslavia copper and lumber industries, Bulgaria's banking and Rumania's bank-

ing, iron works and cement factories. The British control the Yugoslav lead and zinc mines, the Rumanian oil industry and the Greek nickel mines and public utilities. The Belgians control Bulgaria's mining and public utilities." (From "Spotlight on the Balkans," Foreign Policy Association pamphlet.)

Now, most, if not all, of these properties have been nationalized by the Russian puppet régimes. It is a paradoxical note that it is Bevin, standing on the British Labor Party program of nationalization of basic industries in England, and the minister of de Gaulle, who promised to nationalize French mines, who are protesting the nationalization undertaken in Rumania, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. While LABOR ACTION desires nationalization of all industry, this is a graphic example that nationalization in and by itself is no guarantee of a progressive régime without workers' control. The question of who is in control of the political régime which nationalizes the property is of paramount importance.

The negotiations for the super-Versailles drag on. Bulgarian elections, desired by Russia, have been postponed in response to British and American pressure. Russia opposes immediate elections in Czechoslovakia, where Bevin's foreign policy speech was supposed to have had an influence, while she is indifferent to them in Greece, since not Russian, but British, troops are there. The preparations of World War III are in the making.



HEAR Two Broadcasts by Workers Party New York Mayorality Candidate

1—Friday, October 26, 8:30 P. M. Over WHN, 1050 on Your Dial

2—Sunday, October 28, at 12:45 P. M. Over WQXR, 1550 on Your Dial

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By

JOHN BARNES

Labor Action Correspondent

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Workers Party-Socialist Workers Party Letters on Unity

SHACHTMAN WRITES ON BASIS FOR UNITY

LABOR ACTION has already published the resolution of the minority of the Socialist Workers Party calling for unity, with the favorable response of the Workers Party. We print herewith the reply of Cannon and Shachtman's letter.—Ed.)

September 15, 1945.

James P. Cannon, Nat'l Sec., Socialist Workers Party, New York, N. Y.

Dear Comrade: Our Political Committee has discussed your letter of August 28 on the question of the unification of the Socialist Workers Party and the Workers Party, and wishes to place before you its views on the matters dealt with in your communication.

We have taken note, first of all, of your statement that you are in favor of a discussion on the question of unification of the two parties and will so recommend to the next Plenum of your National Committee. We have no doubt that such a discussion, carried on with the candor and seriousness to which you refer, and animated by a mutual desire to reach speedily the solid basis for unity which we believe exists, can result in the consolidation of a strong and healthy party of the Fourth International in the United States, with stimulating effects upon the movement in every other country. The reasons for this conviction have already been stated in a general way in the Resolution on Unity adopted by our National Committee and sent to you on August 22.

AGREEMENT ON FORMULA

To us, the central question to settle is the basis for unification, which, in the concrete case, is the question of the basis for the revolutionary Marxist party. You state in your letter that the Socialist Workers Party has "always proceeded from the point of view that programmatic agreement on the most important and decisive questions is the only sound basis for unification." As we have understood this conception, which applies not only to the basis for unification between two revolutionary organizations but in general to the basis for existence and functioning of a revolutionary party, we are able to subscribe to your formula. In the present case, however, the concrete meaning of the formula is not sufficiently clear to us. The ambiguity to which it lends itself is heightened in our minds precisely because of what you call "the split between us and the formation of your own organization five years ago, and... the deep differences which have separated us since."

If, by "programmatic agreement on the most important and decisive questions," you refer to agreement with the fundamental principles of Marxism and the basic program of the Fourth International as worked

out in the whole period, that is one matter. In that case, any preliminary discussion between us could only establish the fact that on this plane, the plane of basic program and principle, the two parties are close enough in their positions to require and justify immediate unification, on grounds similar to those which made their membership in one party possible and desirable in the period prior to the split. We are quite prepared to engage in such a discussion, but our knowledge of the similarity of position of the two parties on this plane, as revealed in their public documents, causes us to regard such a discussion as a formality.

SUFFICIENT AGREEMENT EXISTS

In other words, we feel, for our part, that an extensive discussion for the purpose of establishing "that we are approaching agreement" on such basic questions is not essential. On these basic questions, sufficient agreement already exists to warrant unification, and a discussion could only record that fact.

If, however, "programmatic agreement" refers to agreement on those theoretical, political and even organizational questions that have divided us in the past, that seems to us to be a different matter. The differences between the two parties on these questions are not less well-known than the points of agreement. They relate to such questions as the class character of the Russian state; the slogan of "unconditional defense of the Soviet Union," the application of the Leninist theory on the national question to the world today, in particular to Europe; aspects of the military policy of the revolutionary party; application of the principle of democratic centralism and the question of party régime; and a number of questions of lesser prominence and significance.

In some instances, these are differences between our party and yours; in others, it has not always been clear whether our differences are with positions taken by the Socialist Workers Party or only by individual party representatives. But even if in every instance the specific differences were between the two parties officially, that would not, in our view, rule out unification. Our position on this point has already been set forth with sufficient clarity in the resolution of our National Committee. We reiterate it here:

The differences that do exist between the two parties are not, singly or severally, of a nature that is impermissible within the framework of one revolutionary Marxist party. It is possible for the two parties to unite now into one, despite these differences, because, as our resolution states, first, there is a sufficient fundamental agreement in principle between them, and second, the main political difference which engendered the original separation into two parties, namely, the question of "unconditional defense of the Soviet Union," does not now have the same acuteness or prominence that it had at the beginning of the war, according to

the declarations of the Socialist Workers Party.

These facts, too, we believe, could only be recorded by a more detailed discussion between representatives of the two parties. From that standpoint, such a discussion would be profitable. By means of a discussion, to be sure, the character, scope and means of regulating (eventually disposing of) these differences could be established more precisely. But in view of the lengthy period over which these differences have developed, and the vast documentary material presented on them by both sides, it is, of course, most unlikely that they could be eliminated in one, or even two or three such preliminary meetings, and a completely common point of view worked out.

The fact cannot be ignored that we have the same firmness and depth of conviction about the views we hold on a number of theoretical and political questions as comrades of the SWP have of their views. It is not to be denied, either, that these views relate to significant and important questions. Furthermore, we are the last to minimize the importance of political and theoretical questions and of taking a correct position on them.

We do not regard this as a hindrance to early unification, however. As all of us in the movement have held, a "monolithic" party is neither possible nor desirable. In the history of the Fourth International, there have been, and still are, sections in which the differences on certain theoretical and political questions were greater than those which today

CANNON REPLY TO WORKERS PARTY UNITY BID

August 28, 1945.

Max Shachtman, National Secretary, Workers Party, New York, N. Y.

Dear Comrades: Your letter of August 28 with the enclosed statement of your National Committee "On the Unification of the Workers Party and the Socialist Workers Party" has been received and discussed by our Political Committee. We especially note your declaration, in Point 5 of your statement, that the Workers Party is "prepared to discuss the question of unity with the Socialist Workers Party." We are in favor of such a discussion and will so recommend to the next Plenum of our National Committee.

In view of the sharp conflicts which resulted in the split between us and the formation of your own organization five years ago, and in view of the deep differences which have separated us since, we believe that the National Committee's consideration of the question will be facilitated if you will indicate more precisely and more concretely your view of how the unification is to be brought about and what form it should take.

We have always proceeded from the point of view that programmatic agreement on the most important and decisive questions is the only sound basis for unification; and that,

when divergences of opinion occur, unity can be maintained only by the scrupulous observance of the democratic principle of the subordination of the minority to the majority and strict discipline in public activity and action. If, in the course of the discussion, it appears that we are approaching agreement on the most important political questions, as well as upon the organizational principle referred to above, and that unification is a realistic perspective, then systematic joint consultation and plans for the cooperation of the two organizations for the carrying out of practical work pending the formal unification would follow as a matter of course. But to attempt to begin with such practical cooperation, prior to a definite approach to unification, would seem to us to put things upside down and lead to a sharpening of conflicts over secondary questions rather than to their moderation. In our view, "the practical possibilities of living and working together harmoniously" flow naturally and inevitably from a basic agreement on the fundamental questions, not vice versa. Friction and conflict arise from political disagreement rather than from personal incompatibility. In the long run, the latter is always subordinated to the former.

AGREEMENT ON EVERY QUESTION UNNECESSARY

These views, if we may repeat, make up our conception of the basis for unification and the basis for the revolutionary party in general. If your views are the same as ours on this score, or similar to ours, we would consider that very little remains for the achievement of unity beyond the discussion and settlement of practical organizational steps. Moreover, agreement on this would dispel any impression that the indispensable pre-condition for unification of two revolutionary Marxist groups is an agreement on every theoretical, political and organizational question. However, if your conception differs in any important respect from ours, we are prepared to discuss it with the necessary objectivity. A precise formulation of your views would make it possible for us to express a precise opinion.

There remain three points which are dealt with in your letter. To the statement quoted above, you add: "...when divergences of opinion occur, unity can be maintained only by the scrupulous observance of the democratic principle of the subordination of the minority to the majority and strict discipline in public activity and action." To this point of view, too, we subscribe. We have maintained this view throughout the existence of the Workers Party. We would of course continue to maintain it within the united party. To this view, we join the view, likewise well-established in the revolutionary Marxist movement, that a minority has the right and even the duty to disseminate and defend its special point of view in the party, and that the majority—precisely because it is the majority and therefore mainly responsible for the leadership and integrity of the organization—has the special obligation to protect the rights of a minority as a function of its obligation to preserve the rights and interests of the party as a whole.

UNITY POSSIBLE Having these conceptions, we believe that a "genuine unification on a firm and long lasting basis" is possible. It goes without saying that we share the view that a "unification followed by a sharp faction fight and another split would be highly injurious to the party." No serious comrade could contemplate a unification of this kind. A faction fight of any sort, much less a split, following the unification, would compromise both the party and those responsible for such lamentable consequences of the unity. In any case, it seems to us, the unification must be discussed with complete frankness and seriousness. The aim must be to effect a genuine unification on a firm and long-lasting basis. We, for our part, believe that unity would be a good thing if it is firmly based and leads to the strengthening of the party and the building up of the party. On the other hand, a unification followed by a sharp faction fight and another split would be highly injurious to the party. The views set forth above are designed to give a concrete basis to the preliminary discussions between us. Naturally, we are perfectly willing to hear and consider any different form of preliminary approach which you may wish to make. If you think that any exploratory verbal discussion would facilitate the preparation and organization of the agenda for a thorough-going consideration of the whole problem of unification in all its aspects, a sub-committee of our BC is prepared to meet with you for such a preliminary discussion. Such a meeting can be arranged on short notice by a telephone call to Comrade Stein, Organizational Secretary, at the National Office of the SWP.

Yours fraternally,
J. P. Cannon,
National Secretary,
Socialist Workers Party.

unity would have to be followed by a period of intensive common activity in the class struggle, during which—while the opinions and rights of any minority would be respected and protected—factionalism, mutual recrimination, and judgments of the old division would be abjured.

On the basis of the foregoing, we have no difficulty in meeting your request that we indicate more precisely and more concretely our view of how the unification is to be brought about and what form it should take.

Once it is agreed that there is sufficient accord in our positions on the fundamental principles of Marxism as to make possible and justify unity; once it is agreed that the differences we do have (which we do not wish to conceal) are of a nature that may exist within the ranks of a single revolutionary party—the only important point left is the discussion of the practical organizational steps for fusing the two parties into one.

If the comrades of the Socialist Workers Party feel that a preliminary exchange of opinions, especially on controversial questions, would make for a better and more fruitful understanding of the respective views among the membership of the two parties and would contribute to a smoother passage to a healthy unity, we are ready to consider the publication under the joint auspices of the two committees of a discussion bulletin open to both organizations. If this measure is considered superfluous, and the Socialist Workers Party is of the opinion that discussion of controversial questions is, under the circumstances, better held after the unity, the decision is in its hands. In that case, representative committees of the two parties could, as is customary, arrange the details of the fusion. A National Committee could be set up subject to review by the first convention of the united party; similarly in the case of officers of the party. The question of merging the two theoretical and popular organs could also be settled by the two negotiating committees.

In our case, as we suppose, in the case of the Socialist Workers Party, all these proposals, if agreed upon by the committees of the two parties, would be subject to the preliminary approval of a national convention. One further point, in conclusion. We find that we do not agree with your statement on the possibility or expediency of practical collaboration in a number of fields, to be carried on between now and the eventual union of the two parties.

You say that "to attempt to begin with such practical cooperation, prior to a definite approach to unification, would seem to us to put things upside down and lead to a sharpening of conflicts over secondary questions rather than to their moderation."

PRACTICAL COLLABORATION We call your attention, first, to the fact that it is not practical collaboration that we are beginning with. Both organizations have already begun with the question of unification,

the Workers Party by its resolution in favor of unification and the Socialist Workers Party by its decision in favor of discussing unification. The fact that both parties envisage unification as a practical possibility—and unless they did, further discussion would be superfluous or deceptive—creates, in our view, the basis for considering, now, agreements for practical collaboration in specific, concrete fields of work. Second, it is difficult for us to see why such collaboration would necessarily, or at all, lead to a sharpening of conflicts.

On some questions there are, it is true, differences in theory. But we have always held that it is precisely in those cases where there is a difference in theory or program between two proletarian organizations, and not contrariwise, that practical collaboration is necessary and possible—provided, of course, that the two organizations have a similar standpoint or aim in the practical step. Such collaboration is not less indicated between organizations with a similar program. It is certainly ten times more warranted in the case of two organizations, which, have already commenced to discuss the question of unity between themselves.

Naturally, when there are specific political disagreements on actual tasks, tasks of the day, practical collaboration is not possible between the organizations involved. For example, we cannot today have practical collaboration between the parties on the question of the election in Detroit. But the two parties can, even now, be convinced, reach a high measure of fruitful collaboration in such matters as a joint fight, or joint consultation in the fight, for those slogans and aims which we put forward in much the same way in the trade unions. Similar practical collaboration is possible and desirable in the case of the New York municipal elections; in the case of united action against fascists like Smith and Winrod; in the case of joint efforts on behalf of our comrades of the Fourth International abroad, etc., etc.

For these reasons, we request that you reconsider your position. We have set forth our views on a number of questions as plainly as we can, with the aim of clearing all obstacles off the road to unity and without concealing our differences in general or our differences, to the extent that they exist, on the question of unity itself. It is quite possible that we have failed to express ourselves in all questions with the necessary clarity, or have failed to deal with all the questions of importance. If that proves to be so, in your view, we are prepared upon request to elaborate our views on any point germane to the question of unification. We are ready to deal with any such points in further correspondence, or orally in a meeting with the sub-committee appointed by your Political Committee. Meanwhile, we await your reply to the present communication.

Yours fraternally,
Max Shachtman,
National Secretary,
Workers Party.

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Elevator Strike--

(Continued from page 1) same take-home pay." This strike will undoubtedly be followed by others all over the country in the next period for the same demand.

LABOR ACTION supports fully the modest demands of these strikers for a forty-hour week with forty-eight hours' pay. Since it appears the bosses wish a knock-down, drag-out fight, every New York worker should give this action his sympathy and active support. Already, many unions are protesting La Guardia's strike-breaking tactics. On the pretext of a "health emergency," the "liberal" administration is rounding up some "trained elevator operators" and La Guardia promises as "many thousands as we need" of additional operators, who would be drawn from the fire, police, public works, sanitation, marine and aviation departments. In addition, the "liberal" administration, supported by labor officialdom and called the "friends of labor" in the last city election, is giving police protection to scabs in certain buildings. We presume that is what La Guardia's "health emergency" really means. Police protection for the strike-breakers against those struggling for a bare minimum wage!

LABOR ACTION INTERVIEW

In an interview with a LABOR ACTION reporter on the first day of the strike, Thomas Young, Secretary of 32-B, commenting on the city administration's strike-breaking policy, declared: "The administration's policy of protecting scabs is the same old politician's job all over again. Protecting property means protecting the landlord, the boss. The time is here for independent labor political action. Working people should not depend on the two old parties."

Asked to comment on the strikers' demands, Brother Young said: "Like all workers, we are striking for decent conditions, but specifically, our demands in the loft and office buildings are for forty hours with the same take-home pay. The public supports our demands because they are aware of what these workers are

up against. The regional WLB has reduced their pay by \$2.50 per week. That's why we had to strike. La Guardia asked us to mediate but we've been doing that for seven months and it's gotten us nowhere. Our strike has national significance. We would be traitors to the labor

"Let Us Prey"

"What? Does this mean the flailing fingers of forty-nine nations dipping into our inheritance?" — Ex-Prime Minister Winston Churchill's utterance at Yalta on the trusteeship proposal.

movement if we didn't set the proper precedent in striking to maintain the same take-home pay with shorter hours."

Brother Young stated at the end of the interview that he was glad to be able to issue a statement through a paper which fights for the liberation of the working people.

The Workers Party Program States:

"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."

Vote for
MAX SHACHTMAN

WORKERS PARTY CANDIDATE
FOR MAYOR OF NEW YORK

Shachtman Statement on N. Y. Elevator Strike

NEW YORK, Sept. 24—Max Shachtman, Workers Party candidate for Mayor of this city, today issued the following statement about the building service workers strike, which before the day was very old had tied up about 1,600 buildings in Manhattan:

"The developments in this strike show once again the need for an independent Labor Party and a labor government in New York City.

"Here are workers who have been receiving \$30.15 for a forty-six-hour week. This applies to one group of workers, but the figures for others are not much different. A panel of the regional War Labor Board recommended that they continue to receive the same sum for a forty-hour week. That would mean an hourly wage of seventy-five cents—a figure not likely to bankrupt the rich real estate interests.

"But the regional War Labor Board proceeded to trim down the figures of its own panel by \$2.10 a week to \$28.05. The New York Times has the gall to describe this as a 'slight reduction in income.' Income they call it. Anybody can see that the papers

serving big business have a fine appreciation of what losing \$2.10 out of a measly \$30 means. That's a seven per cent cut.

"Here's a gem of which La Guardia delivered himself: 'Perhaps the strike



is being instigated. Perhaps you don't want to strike.' What is this but the old gag of strike-breaking employers everywhere at all times? The workers would, of course, be perfectly satisfied with that wonderful \$28 a week, but 'outsiders' or 'reck-

less leaders' are forcing them to strike. This is an outright insult to the intelligence of the building service workers.

THE OTHER CANDIDATES

"Yet it is a straight fact that most of the city labor leaders were willing to back La Guardia for another term. Some of them actually begged him to run. Most of them are now backing General O'Dwyer, some of them Judge Goldstein. But who expects that either of these fine-talking gentlemen would behave any better than La Guardia, if as well? "O'Dwyer and Goldstein are ready to make fine speeches on a thousand subjects, but on all these important strikes they have been as silent as tombstones. Don't the workers deserve \$30 a week? They actually de-

St. Louis Readers:
Hear
ALBERT GATES
Editor, Labor Action
JOBS AND RECONVERSION
TUESDAY, OCTOBER 2
8:15 P. M.
ITALIAN FRATERNAL HALL
Delmar and Vandeventer

Los Angeles Workers:
ALL OUT
TO CIO RALLY
For Higher Wages
And Jobs For All!
WEDNESDAY, OCT. 3, 5 P. M.
AT CITY HALL

serve far more. Then why don't the candidates of the Democratic-American Labor Party and of the Republican-Liberal Party combine say so? "The Workers Party is not neutral in this strike. As candidate of the Workers Party, I am not neutral. We stand squarely on the side of the vast majority of the people of this city—the working people. "We say that the workers need

their own political party and their own candidates. A vote on behalf of the Workers Party and my candidacy is a vote in favor of the idea of establishing a real Labor Party in this city and in the nation as a whole. It is a vote in favor of a workers' instead of a bankers' government. It is a vote in favor of a government that will actively defend the interests and living standards of labor."

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VOTE FOR
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