

WP Again Leads in Fight Against G.L.K. Smith

LOS ANGELES, Oct. 14—Gerald L. K. Smith—America's No. 1 fascist, strike-breaker, anti-Semite and Negro-hater—has come back to Los Angeles. He was driven out of here last July after his rally at the Philharmonic was met with a mass picket line organized by the Workers Party and his rally at the Shrine was overshadowed by the "Mobilization for Democracy" of 12,000 at the Olympic Auditorium.

Fuehrer Smith's second try is getting the hottest reception yet. He has announced a

series of meetings in Los Angeles, Long Beach and Pasadena. The city Board of Education gave him a permit to use the Polytechnic High School on Wednesday evening, October 17. Protests, telephone calls, letters and wires have poured in. The city government is on the hot seat. At a special hearing this Monday, the Board will decide whether to lift his permit.

UNIONS JOIN IN

By now several unions have decided for a mass picket line if the meeting is held.

Smith's high school permit was granted Thursday and reported in the press Friday morning. By Friday evening a leaflet calling for a mass picket line, signed by the Workers Party and LABOR ACTION, had come off the press; a letter for the same had been

sent to 250 trade unions and organizations, and a press announcement to the local papers. The Los Angeles Daily News carried the Workers Party call on Saturday morning, as did several radio news programs. The leaflet was distributed through the city, including to the film strikers, who greeted it with enthusiasm.

By today the following unions have decided to organize a picket line at the Polytechnic on Wednesday: UAW-CIO District Council; Local 9 of the Shipbuilders; Warehousemen's Local 1-28; an ILGWU local and several studio unions. If the Board of Education lets Smith speak, that would-be fascist leader is going to wish he had stayed in the Middle West.

At this writing the "Mobilization for Democracy"—an association of several hundred civic organizations—has not yet decided what to do on Wednesday. This time it is LABOR that is taking the lead. This is a great advance over last July.

On Friday the Los Angeles CIO Council met. Its head is Phil Connelly, who follows the Communist Party line. When a delegate of Local 9 proposed mass picketing of Smith's rally, Connelly called him a "Trotskyite" (as all union militants are called around here) and informed him that the CIO would wait "and see what the Mobilization for Democracy does."

But the ground-swell for a mass picket line was growing. Even the Stalinist stooges in the CIO were forced to fall into line or get left way behind. On Saturday night at the mass meeting for the film strikers at the Olympic Auditorium, the audience came in with the Workers Party leaflets calling for picketing Smith; by this time the Socialist Workers Party had a leaflet, in line with their peculiar policy of calling for a picket line only after at least one union had done so.

At this meeting, Connelly himself (as one of the scheduled speakers) got up on his hind legs and

called for a mass picket line on Wednesday against Smith, even though the Mobilization for Democracy had not yet acted! (He had to change his line overnight to keep up with those Trotskyists!)

And then this Stalinist hatchet-man dared to follow his announcement with a slanderous red-baiting attack on the Trotskyists as "disrupters"—because of the two leaflets against Smith!

Incredible as it seems, Connelly has rarely before exposed so completely whose factional representative he is in the labor movement. To the rank and file, however, the facts speak for themselves.

Special Wire to LABOR ACTION

BULLETIN—A Board of Education meeting on Monday upheld the permit given to Smith to hold his meeting. For the first time, the Mobilization for Democracy Committee endorsed mass picketing of the Smith meetings.

Workers Party Organizer in Los Angeles is arrested along with 300 pickets in the Hollywood movie strike. Read a picket line dispatch of the strike on page 2.

LABOR ACTION

OCTOBER 22, 1945

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

ONE CENT

SECURITY AND A LIVING WAGE

That Is What Labor Is Striking For; Big Business Refuses It

Nationalize the Monopolies! We Need A Government That Can and Will Guarantee Labor's Legitimate Demands!

A STATEMENT ON THE STRIKE WAVE BY THE WORKERS PARTY

Hundreds of thousands of workers all over the country have already poured out in the first big post-war strike wave. The strikes are not confined to a single industry or a single locality. They reach from coast to coast. They have already affected the auto industry, oil, marine transportation, building service, moving pictures and a dozen others.

These strikes are nothing but the beginning. Before long, they will extend from industry to industry. The workers, faced by the arrogant and provocative attitude of the employers, will find themselves compelled to exercise the strike weapon more and more in order to gain their ends.

What do the workers want? How can they get it?

In every case of a strike, in every case of negotiating new contracts, the workers have put forward the demand for an increase in wages. In every case, the employers, swollen with war profits, present matters as if labor is a terrible leech, as if its demands are exorbitant, as if industry would collapse if these demands were granted.

The fact of the matter is this:

In nine cases out of ten, labor is not even really demanding an increase in wages. With war production dying out, overtime work has been almost completely cut out. The result is that in practice millions of workers have taken what amounts to a heavy wage cut. The hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions, who are already unemployed, must try to subsist on miserable unemployment insurance. Millions still working now have a take-home pay that is considerably below what they earned, with overtime, during the war. The cost of living, meanwhile, is not only not being reduced but is, in some cases, rising to new heights. Under these circumstances, what most of the workers are now demanding is nothing more than the take-home pay they received up to recently.

Actually, however, the strike wave, and the other labor demands that produced it, go much deeper.

Big Business Speaks Up

The workers of this country want, above all other things, SECURITY and A LIVING WAGE! These are the things that are really behind their demands.

The workers are fighting for their unions and right to organization; they are in practice wiping out the no-strike pledge which has so seriously hampered the labor movement during the war. In the face of a struggle for life, the workers understand that this struggle cannot

even be fought effectually without a strong labor movement.

They no longer have any confidence in vague and empty promises. They have seen the amazing spectacle of war production. American capitalism was able to crush all its foreign foes under the sheer weight of the materials which poured out of industry as they never had poured out before.

The workers remember, also, that for years before the war began, industry was either prostrate on its back or, at best, limped along on one leg, while millions of workers who were willing and anxious to work had to remain in the ranks of the unemployed. They saw that industry reached an unprecedented height of production and employment for all ONLY when it was called upon to produce the weapons of death and destruction.

Tens of millions of workers therefore ask themselves and everyone else this fundamental question, this key question:

If industry could be organized in such a way and on such a scale for wartime, why can't it be done for peacetime? If we could produce the way we did to maim and kill and destroy, why can't we have full production and full employment in order to live and build and prosper?

Big business and the government, with which it is inseparably linked, have not answered these questions and cannot answer them. But they are the questions that the workers want answered and must have answered. They are the questions in the minds of the workers who have launched the first strike wave and of those others who are also thinking of their problems.

The workers want full production because that means to them full employment. They want full employment because that means to them security, an end to the nightmare of insecurity, the curse of unemployment, of relief instead of wages, of doles instead of a living wage, a decent family life, self-respect and human dignity.

How can security be obtained?

Right now, workers are striking for a wage increase by which they will get the same take-home pay with the shorter work week that they got during the war with the longer work week. But that is not all. Millions of workers throughout the country have adopted the basic demands:

A guarantee of a year-around job for all those willing and able to work.

A guarantee of a minimum annual wage.

The gaining of these two simple, fundamental demands would really open the road to security and prosperity for the workers.

The big corporations, however, are not concerned with the security and prosperity of the workers. They are concerned with one thing and one thing only: their profits, bigger profits and still bigger profits. They have

a plan. They have organized a campaign of their own, backed by all the power at their command. They want to take advantage of the "reconversion" period, of the growing unemployment, in order to smash the labor union movement and to cut down the living standards of the workers. That is the road to security and prosperity for them. The lower the wages, the higher the profits. The weaker the unions, the stronger the monopolies and trusts. All of them understand this. That's why they all react the same way to the simple demands of the workers.

There is the choice before us:

Security and prosperity for the tens of millions of workers in this country who produce the nation's wealth by their labor—or security and prosperity for the tiny handful of profit-bloated trusts and corporations, the bankers and monopolists, the economic royalists and parasites of the country!

Is there anything wrong with the demand of the workers that they enjoy security? Is there anything wrong with their demand that this security, this year-around job, this minimum annual wage, be guaranteed?

Yes, it is wrong—say the big corporations!

A year-around job cannot be guaranteed, they say. A minimum annual wage cannot be guaranteed, they say. We cannot even grant the modest wage increases the workers now demand, they say. Industry cannot provide the one or guarantee the other.

J. H. Parmelee, spokesman of the Association of American Railroads, told a Senate sub-committee that the railroad companies could not afford to raise their minimum wage rate from forty cents to sixty-five cents an hour. Even at a forty-eight-hour week, sixty-five cents an hour (before deductions) would hardly be a living wage. The railroads, connected with the biggest industries and biggest banks of the country, say they cannot afford to pay a living wage.

Ira Mosher, president of the National Association of Manufacturers, testifying for big business, said substantially the same thing. He opposed raising the legal minimum wage rate to sixty-five cents an hour. He too declares that the corporations and monopolies cannot afford to pay a living wage.

The Texas Oil Co., in a public statement in all newspapers, objected to demands of its employees for a 30 per cent wage increase to make up for the shorter work week by arguing that "it must help avoid disastrous inflation." It says, therefore, that it can give a decent wage to its workers not at the expense of its tremendous profits, but only at the expense of the consumer at large. It, too, cannot afford a decent wage for its workers.

C. E. Wilson, of the General Motors octopus, in rejecting the wage-increase demands of the United Auto Workers Union, made the same reply. It cannot afford these increases. It cannot afford a decent wage without collapsing, going bankrupt.

What are all these spokesmen of the monopolies, these self-styled "captains of industry," saying to the world? They are saying:

"We can afford to make and distribute profits. But we cannot afford to pay a decent wage to our workers. We cannot guarantee a year-around job. We cannot guarantee a minimum annual wage."

This is the declaration of bankruptcy of the monopoly capitalists!

By this declaration, they are saying:

"We, the great organizers and managers of production, are incapable of guaranteeing LIFE for the vast majority of society. We cannot guarantee that you will eat the year around, that you will be clothed and housed the year around, that you will be able to feed, clothe, house and raise your families the year around."

In the face of this declaration, what should the workers do?

Why should the worker be interested in "free enterprise" if it does not provide him with food, clothing and shelter so that he and his family can live like human beings?

Why should the worker be interested in "free enterprise" if it means that the profits of corporations can be guaranteed and are guaranteed, but the life and happiness of the working class cannot be and is not guaranteed?

What Is Labor's Interest?

We are interested in production only to the extent that it provides all of society with the good and decent and comfortable things of life, that it provides them all the time, and provides us all with the opportunity to enjoy them.

If the big capitalists, the monopolists and bankers, openly declare, as they do, that they cannot guarantee the tens of millions with security and a decent living, is it not high time that they were removed from control of production? Is it not high time that these self-confessed social bankrupts were dealt with as bankrupts?

Is it not high time to take big industry out of their profit-loaded hands by nationalizing the monopolies, by nationalizing all big industry? If they cannot and will not guarantee a decent living and security for the

(Continued on page 2)

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Movie Strikers Hurl Back Attacks

By HAL DRAPER

LOS ANGELES, Oct. 14—The battle lines were drawn in the Hollywood studio strike this past week. The producers and their government puppets have thrown almost everything in the book at the strikers in the dirtiest open shop drive against labor that this city has seen in a decade.

But this eye-witness is proud to report that not only have the strikers' ranks held firm as a rock but in fact they have been reinforced by other sections of the labor movement, both AFL and CIO, in and out of the movie industry.

This week has seen the Battle of Warner Brothers Studio. Beginning Friday, October 5, the striking Conference of Studio Unions chose this studio for a showdown and started mass picketing.

It was a good choice. For one thing Warners has tried to give itself a reputation for "liberalism." The strikers and pickets have learned plenty about liberal Hollywood phonies who make with the mouth.

Several hundred pickets closed the gate on Friday. The sheriff's deputies present in force broke out cans of tear gas labeled "Federal" (from the "Arsenal of Democracy"). But a peaceful picket line wasn't in the Warners' scenario.

PICKET LINE FORMED

That morning, without provocation, Sheriff Biscailuz ordered the attack on the picket ranks with tear gas bombs and high-pressure hoses. But on Saturday the picket line was back in force with even greater numbers and determination.

On Monday, when I went on the picket line at 4:15 in the morning, there were over 200 pickets on the spot. An attempt by the scabs to enter the studio before the regular 6 o'clock shift was expected, and the picket ranks swelled as workers arrived. Warners had a different plan. A sinister crew began to assemble across the street at "Scab's Corner."

It consisted of about 200 goons gathered from all studios and professional out-of-state finks including hired strikebreakers from Arizona and Chicago.

The pickets were unarmed. But at that very moment, the presses of the Los Angeles Times and Examiner were running off a front page story lying that the strikers' ranks were bristling with clubs!

THE ATTACK ON THE WORKERS

At six o'clock Warners' private goon army rushed the line swinging chains, pipes, clubs and bottles. They hit the west flank of the picket line and reeled back. The line held. A fellow next to me, wearing the white armband of the strikers, picked up a club dropped by a fallen goon, and returned it to a scab a couple of yards away. The scab failed to catch it. Bloody fighting lasted only a couple of minutes. Then from inside the studio, a squad of sheriff's deputies attacked on the other side with swinging billes. The picket line was split

and pushed back to the sides while the goons ducked through the gate. A cordon of sheriffs and cops kept a lane open into the studio. But even so not enough scabs took advantage of it for Warners to start production. Each hired fink got his fifty dollars of Warners' blood money but the film factory remained closed.

No attempt to break the line was made on Tuesday. The producers turned another leaf in the book of strikebreaking. On Wednesday morning a small army of sheriff's deputies marched up in military formation with tear gas and submachine guns, and a mass arrest of the picket line was ordered. The strikers' loudspeaker told them not to resist arrest, and it was carried through.

ARRESTS OF PICKETERS

With over 300 other picketers I was brought inside the studio and we were herded into a sound stage. While Warners' studio was turned into a public calaboose by the cops, the strikers' attorney was refused admittance on the ground that it was "prior to evening."

From Warners' concentration camp we were taken to the Burbank city jail and backed into the basement cellar without water, sanitary facilities or even a place to sit down, until late in the day. The local judge fixed bail at \$500 a head but since the overwhelming majority of the men and girls elected to stay in jail rather than have the union pay off, they were forced to release us all without bail vate property."

The fighting spirit of the pickets was absolutely unbroken. For one thing it was while we were in the Warners' bastille that the announcement came through of the NLRB decision that meant victory for the studio unions. It came in the middle of an impromptu singing program. A tremendous cheer broke out. The producers were going to be licked.

On Thursday the mass picket line was swollen. Two thousand IAM men from nearby Lockheed marched down the street at seven o'clock with banners flying and the entire street was filled by a picket line that was now a monster parade of the Los Angeles labor movement. For the first time, mass picketing was extended to two other studios, Universal and Columbia. As this is written, the studio strikers see victory in sight. On Saturday evening 10,000 people jammed the Olympic Auditorium in a great city rally in support of the strike. Labor solidarity is winning.

FIGHTING FOR UNIONISM

The issues in the Hollywood studio strike are now much clearer to the people of the city of Los Angeles. The alliance of the producers and the metropolitan newspapers has not succeeded in maintaining the lie that this

is only a jurisdictional dispute between AFL unions. As LABOR ACTION has pointed out, it is not. It is a struggle by the Conference of Studio Unions (AFL) to achieve recognition for bona-fide labor organizations to represent the workers—as against the company-sponsored strike-breaking IATSE, whose affiliation to the AFL is one of the many black marks against the federation.

After seven months of stalling following an NLRB election, the workers' militancy has forced Washington to quit waiting for the producers to break the strike. They have had to come out with their long-delayed decision on that election. Voting by both the strikers and the scabs ("replacements") was permitted in that election. For seven months the NLRB has been supposed to decide WHOSE votes were going to be counted. The producers wanted them to count the

votes of the scabs ONLY, an unprecedented practice which would have made an OPEN farce of the whole NLRB machinery.

The NLRB should have counted the votes of the strikers only. They dug up one precedent for counting the votes of the scabs in addition to counting the strikers'. Even so this has meant the strikers' victory in the election by 55 to 45. But next time any employer can make an NLRB meaningless merely by firing enough strikers. The decision is a victory for the strike in this particular case, but it stores up an anti-labor blow for the future.

The striking Conference of Studio Unions is now certified as the bargaining IATSE. But the strike will not be won until all the strikers have gotten their jobs back. That is why the struggle is still going on.

WORKERS OF LOS ANGELES! DRIVE OUT THE FASCISTS! MASS PICKET Against Fascist G. L. K. Smith THIS COMING WEDNESDAY OCTOBER 17 at 7 P.M. POLYTECHNIC HIGH SCHOOL WASHINGTON BLVD. AT HOPE STREET Tell this Strikebreaker, Labor-Baiter, Anti-Semite and Negro-Hater: GET OUT AND STAY OUT! We of the Workers' Party organized the mass picket line at Smith's Philharmonic Auditorium Hate-Fest last July. Now we again call on the people of this city to give him the hottest reception yet! HAL DRAPER, Organizer, Workers' Party

This is a facsimile of the leaflet issued by the Los Angeles Branch of the Workers Party, which again took the initiative in calling for mass picketing of Fascist Smith meetings. Fifty thousand copies of this leaflet were distributed throughout the city.

Stalinists Play Fast and Loose With Electro Workers

By PAUL NEWMAN

CHICAGO—On Sunday, October 17, between 500 and 600 of 9,000 striking Electro-Motive workers met at the Ashland Auditorium to vote on whether or not to return to work. The smallness of the meeting was not due to the lack of interest on the part of the workers, but to the inefficient methods of Local 719 (UAW-CIO) executive board in calling the meeting. Most of those present knew nothing of the meeting until a few hours before it was held.

At the conclusion of a hectic meeting, at which they listened to the pleas of the international representatives and local leaders, the workers, who were overwhelmingly against returning to work at the beginning of the meeting, voted to go back the next day. In so doing they ended their more than week-long strike without gaining one of their twenty-two demands.

STRIKE A MISTAKE

The strike, in view of the corporation-wide GM strike which is to be called soon, was a mistake which was a result of the irresponsible action of the local executive board. Not that we approve of the strike-breaking tactics of the UAW bureaucrats when locals go out on strike for legitimate demands. We agree with one worker who opposed the timing of the strike when he said that he didn't want to see any more Kelsey-Hayes, and that if this is to be prevented in the future some of the present UAW leadership must be cleared out.

However, in the case of the Electro-Motive strike, it is fantastic to think that General Motors will give in to the demands of one local when they know that a corporation-wide strike will hit them soon. At that time all the chips will be down, and that is when GM might be willing to bargain.

In voting on a motion to return to work, the workers left the way open for more of the same sort of irresponsibility on the part of the executive board. The first part of the motion stated that the workers would return to work Monday "with negotiations to begin no later than Tuesday." The wording of the motion itself means nothing. And what if the company does "negotiate" on Tuesday? It costs the company nothing to "talk" with the union once the workers are back.

STALINIST LEADERS

The second part of the motion was an amendment by Harry Pohl, Stalinist member of the executive board. This stated that the executive board be empowered to call out the plant whenever in its opinion negotiations break down. This means, in this case, that regardless of other circumstances, and whether or not the membership is fully aware of the question involved, the executive board can call a strike whenever it so pleases. With this kind of power in the hands of the present Local 719 executive board, which is a "unity group" of Stalinists and workers who don't understand Stalinist tactics, the

making a political speech for the next local elections. It was returned to the speaker only after a vigorous protest from the workers, but he made his motion without further elaboration or explanation. Due to the confusion caused by Vincent's action and the manner in which Vincent stated the motion again to the meeting, the workers probably did not understand the motion, and it was voted down.

Although the EM workers gained nothing concrete from their action, their effectiveness from the standpoint of pulling the strike is above reproach. The workers walked out in complete solidarity. Picket lines were kept operating on a regular shift basis and no one entered the plant. The workers were willing to stay out as long as need be if there was a chance of gaining anything.

The EM workers have demonstrated their militancy and ability to fight the company. Their task now is to see to it that they have a responsible leadership which is capable and determined to fight for the workers' demands. If this is to be accomplished, the Stalinists, who work for Joe Stalin and not for the workers, must not be allowed to hold positions of leadership in the union.

Fascist Smith Rants in Denver

DENVER, Oct. 11—Public Fascist No. 1, Gerald L. K. Smith, devoted much of his recent speech here ranting and raving against the Trotskyites. Referring specifically to members and friends of the Workers Party who had been selling the pamphlet, "The Truth About Gerald L. K. Smith," by Hal Draper, published by the Workers Party, in front of the meeting hall, he denounced the Trotskyists as being "worse" than the Stalinists (Communist Party). With the Workers Party combatting Smith from coast to coast, he was very much concerned with explaining why there was so much to fear from the Trotskyists.

The vision of the mass demonstrations, and militant picket lines which the Workers Party took the lead in organizing against him in Los Angeles and in assisting in Detroit must have been very vivid indeed.

Belching forth in a foul tirade, he heaped vile and despicable insults on the Jews, the Negroes and the organized labor movement. Draping himself in the American flag and without an ounce of originality, he rabble-roused on the theme of "Keep America Christian and White." The familiar Hitler solution was offered as a panacea for the nation's ills.

The Unity Council of Denver, an organization composed of religious, civic and liberal groups, issued an excellent anti-fascist leaflet.

Admitting that he soft-pedaled his line during the war, Smith promised that he and his "Nationalists" would pursue their task with more vigor than ever before.

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Labor Is Fighting for Security and A Living Wage --

(Continued from page 1)

masses of the people, let them make way for those who can and will!

Why cannot and does not the government guarantee security, a year-around job and a minimum annual wage?

Didn't the government guarantee the profits of the corporations during the war—the biggest profits they ever drew in all their rich history? Didn't the government underwrite "cost-plus" contracts, which guaranteed the corporations a profit no matter what it cost them to produce the materials ordered by the government? Didn't the government guarantee them a "post-war reserve" so that they would be assured of the greatest possible wealth no matter how things went after the end of the war? Didn't the government guarantee them handsome returns on their "excess profits" tax in case their post-war profits fell below a certain figure? Didn't the government guarantee them super-profits, in the guise of "reserves"—reserves they are now using as a strike-breaking and union-busting fund?

The question every worker asks is this: If the government can guarantee the profits of the big corporations, who represent a few thousand wealthy parasites, why can't it guarantee a year-around job and a minimum annual wage to provide security for the tens of millions of workers, of producers, in this country?

If the government can come in to every family and take its sons and fathers off to get killed or wounded in a destructive war, because it says the war is necessary for the welfare and progress of the people, why can't it take equally drastic measures for the genuine welfare and the genuine progress of the people during peacetime?

If the government can build plants left and right; if it can freeze wages and jobs; if it can fix prices and rations; if it can intervene in the social and even the personal life of everyone in a thousand different ways during wartime—why can't it act with half as much

firmness during peacetime to assure us all of security and a decent living standard?

The answer to these questions is a simple one. Every worker must understand it if he is to achieve his legitimate demands.

The government we have is a good one—good for guaranteeing profits, good for those who get the profits. The government we have is a good one—good for guaranteeing the regimentation of the masses in a war of death and destruction. The government we have is a good one—good for cutting down the taxes of the monopolists and leaving the taxes on the workers and little people of the country. The government we have is a good one—good for the capitalists, but not for the workers!

To get security, industry must be nationalized. It must be taken out of the hands of the self-avowed bankrupts, of the monopolistic capitalists whose only interest in production is the fabulous profits they get out of it.

The present government will not nationalize industry, of that we may be sure. It will do nothing to break the tremendous social power of the monopolists, because at bottom, it is their government.

What we need is our government, a Workers' Government.

The present government will make all kinds of promises about what it will do—some day. But promises will feed nobody, clothe nobody, shelter nobody. Promises mean neither wage increases nor security, and these are what the workers want and must have.

For A Workers' Government

A Workers' Government, composed of the workers, working in the interests of the workers, would not hesitate a moment in a situation such as exists today. It would not hesitate to nationalize industry and operate it in the interests of the working people. It would not allow

the profit-interests of the monopolists to stand in the way of the life-interests of the people.

The leaders of the Auto Workers Union, for example, are right in saying that if the big automobile corporations refuse to pay a living wage to their workers, it is a confession that they cannot manage and operate the industry in the interests of society.

This is a challenge. It should not remain an empty phrase. If it is to mean something, the organized labor movement must say:

"The monopolists stand in the way of the life-interests of the masses of the people. They are confessed bankrupts. We demand the nationalization of big industry under workers' control!"

Labor must make good its challenge with this demand. It must declare that we, the workers, are ready to control, manage and operate industry because the monopolists have failed to provide security and a decent living to the millions of working people, because they have avowed that they cannot provide what the people want and need and must have.

The Workers Party is wholeheartedly in support of the workers now on strike, wholeheartedly in support of their legitimate demands, wholeheartedly in support of their longing for security, for a year-around job, for a minimum annual wage.

These demands are the very demands of socialism itself, the socialism which the Workers Party champions as the basic solution of the problems and conflicts of society today.

All that socialism sets itself to do is to achieve plenty for all, peace, brotherhood, security, freedom. As socialists, we of the Workers Party march hand in hand with the workers in every step they take toward improving and strengthening their economic, social and political position. That is why we are unreservedly with the labor movement today and with the just demands that it is making.

That is why we urge upon the labor movement the adoption of a clear-cut, militant program for the realization of what is uppermost in the minds of every worker—security and a decent living, a year around job and a guaranteed minimum annual wage.

Labor: Adopt Our Program

To achieve these ends, the labor movement must demand:

Nationalize big industry under workers' control! Out with the bankrupt monopolists!

To achieve this end, the labor movement must take steps to:

Establish a workers' government, a government of, for and by the workers!

As the first step toward achieving this end, the labor movement must:

Break with the capitalist parties, the parties of monopoly, and form a National Independent Labor Party based on the organized trade unions!

The fight for security and abundance has only begun. Labor will have no difficulty in winning it, provided it relies on its vast superiority in numbers—we are millions, the monopolists are thousands—on its own organizations and on its militancy and righteousness. Labor can win the fight if it marches under its own banner, with its own political party and with the aim of setting up its own government.

The Workers Party, the party of socialism, which calls upon all working-class militants to join its ranks and work with it toward this end, stands pledged to unconditional support of the whole working class in the fight it is making for higher living standards, for full production, for full employment and for complete social security.

National Committee of the Workers Party, Max Shachtman, National Secretary.

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

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IN THE RECONVERSION AND POST-WAR PERIOD**

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- 2. Less Hours—More Pay**
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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.
- 6. For a Democratic Peace**
Against peacetime military conscription of American youth! For a truly democratic peace, which means no land-grabbing under any pretext; no reparations; no slave labor. Complete independence for all colonies and subject peo-

ples and the right of all people to democratically decide their own future.

7. Full Social, Political and Economic Equality for Negroes

Complete democratic rights. The right to vote, to run for and hold any elective or appointive office, North or South. The right to equality in employment; to hold any job, skilled or unskilled. The right to be free from insult, segregation and Jim Crowism; anywhere and in any place, North or South.

THESE AIMS TO BE ACHIEVED THROUGH

- 8. Clear the Slums**
A \$250 billion-five-year program to provide decent housing for all, extensive public works, rural electrification and modernization.
- 9. Nationalize Big Business**
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.
- 10. Raise the Money by Taxing the Profiteers**
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

- 11. Workers Control of Production**
Control of production by democratically-elected workers' committees.
- 12. An Independent Labor Party and a Workers' Government—For a Socialist America with Plenty For All!**
Make the machines that now produce only for war and capitalism produce for the needs of all the people!

Amvets of World War II Hold First Convention in Chicago

By R. FERGUSON

CHICAGO, Oct. 15—The organized labor movement in the coming years will watch with attention the development of a new veterans organization, the AMVETS (American Veterans of World War II), which held its first convention here in the Stevens Hotel Oct. 12-14.

This convention received considerable publicity in the "liberal" capitalist press here, inasmuch as the AMVETS in a turbulent session defeated a labor-baiting resolution by overwhelming vote, and also vigorously condemned the race-hatred of Senator Bilbo.

A small group of delegates introduced a resolution "that no veteran shall be required to join any organization as a condition of employment." This touched off a 45-minute stormy debate, with an Illinois delegate declaring, "This is a direct threat to the union closed shop and we don't want to see that broken by unscrupulous employers. Illinois will have no part of it." National Commander Keel of AMVETS urged rejection of the anti-union resolution on the basis that "we are neither pro-labor nor pro-management. We are pro-veteran."

Later in the day the convention passed enthusiastically a substitute resolution which records the AMVETS as disapproving "in its entirety the utterances of Senator Bilbo referring to any discrimination of race, color or creed as being diametrically

opposed to the principles of our organization." This resolution was in lieu of one calling for the impeachment of Bilbo. One of the several Negro delegates present spoke vigorously for the resolution, and Southern delegates voiced their full approval. In the discussion the revulsion of the delegates against race-hatred in general indicated itself clearly, including protests against the discrimination shown against Japanese-American veterans.

The AMVETS, according to their official figures, now number 20,000 members in 36 states and aim to reach 100,000 by the end of the year. They are aiming to enroll 5,000,000 members, making themselves the largest vet organization in the country. They are utilizing President Truman's statement that "Were I a veteran of this war, I would prefer to have a veteran of World War II looking after my affairs, than a veteran of some other war" as a talking point in their membership drive against their big rivals, the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars.

The competition for membership between these organizations is intense and will continue to grow, with the AMVETS apparently relying heavily on their New Dealish program to attract the veterans of World War II. Their convention showed clearly that at present their membership and leadership are not accomplished parliamentarians, although they deftly succeeded in not going beyond a "lib-

eral" approach to the problems of labor and the masses of the veterans themselves.

In a declaration of principles adopted by the convention, the AMVETS set forth a ten-point program calling, among other things, for international cooperation for peace; non-discrimination between veterans because of rank, service, sex, race, creed or political party affiliation; a housecleaning by both labor and industry to establish mutual confidence; opportunity, not charity, for veterans; necessary military training programs, etc. This program is vague and broad, designed to promote "harmony" among all veteran elements for AMVET recruiting purposes, yet it did not succeed in placating the demands of a member of its national executive committee from Texas, who threatened to bolt the organization since it had rejected the anti-closed shop demand.

This reactionary Texan declared "it is apparent that the AMVETS convention has been penetrated by extremely clever radical left-wing labor union elements who have unconsciously influenced many of the weaker members, with the result that these radicals, whose purpose it is to destroy the convention, have completely dominated the convention."

From the point of view of the Workers Party, the AMVETS program and outlook stand far from being either radical or left-wing.

WORLD POLITICS

By JESSIE KAAREN

Allied Imperialism in Java, Indo-China, Philippines

The Allied occupation authorities are fighting ferociously to drown in blood the national independence movements in Java, colony of the Dutch, and in Indo-China, colony of the French. In view of the weakness of the French and Dutch forces, the British with their long experience in putting down native uprisings, are taking military leadership although American troops have been employed in both Java and Indo-China, and Japanese have been used in Indo-China.

"The situation here is unparalleled in history and the spectacle of the defeated army still being held responsible for the maintenance of law and order is not easily understood and is causing doubt in the minds of the Asiatics as to the future position of the white race in these islands," writes the Christian Science Monitor, commenting on the native reaction to the use of Japanese troops.

AUSSIE, INDIAN SEAMEN

Despite the combined might of the British, American, French, Dutch and Japanese armies and navies, the fight is spreading and the natives of both countries are winning world-wide sympathy. The strike of the Australian seamen in Sydney who refused to load, repair or supply ships carrying Dutch arms and soldiers to Java proved to be of tremendous strategic as well as moral importance to the Japanese. The Indian seamen in Sydney also refused to break the strike, saying, "No Indian seamen will take a Dutch ship from Australia for use against the new republic. If we help the Indonesians now, we look to them to help us later in our struggle for independence."

WHAT THEY WANT

The demands of both the Japanese and the Indo-Chinese are very simple: "We have had three and a half centuries of Dutch colonization and three and a half years of Japanese imperialism. That's enough," declared the newly elected vice-president of the Java republic. "We do not recognize any Dutch return to power and we will not deal with them. Our republican government practically rules the country," stated Dr. I. Soekarno, president of the 47-day-old republic of Indonesia.

The Annamites of Indo-China are equally direct: "All men are born equal; nature has given them sacred rights—the right to be free, the right to look for happiness. Yet for more than 80 years, France refused us all liberty, thrust upon us inhuman laws and planned to set up three different administrative régimes in the north, center and south to prevent our national unity. France built more prisons than schools, executed without mercy men whose only crime was that they loved their motherland, suppressed in blood all efforts at independence, strangled public opinion, muffled news and used opium and alcohol to exhaust our race. . . . Troops coming with ideas of aggression will be torn to shreds. . . . French imperialists, do not return!"

"The Annamites feel they are sufficiently educated, both technically and mentally to take over now. They feel that any compromise now would be a defeat and if they fight and suffer casualties they will be morally right in the eyes of the world. . . ."

The People's Army of Java has made an open declaration of war on any army which threatens their independence. In the face of an order for martial law in Java issued by the Allied commander, a British Major Gen. D. C. Hawthorn, the Javanese native Army has called for a general strike of the population and seizure of all private property in Java. Among the foreign-owned properties, says a New York Times dispatch, are the General Motors assembly plant, the British American Tobacco Company's plants in various Javanese cities and the Goodyear Dunlop plant.

In Indo-China, too, the British are leading a vicious attack against the republican movement. According to the Christian Science Monitor report, the new republic is a loose coalition of at least two main elements—an Annamite Nationalist Party and the Communists with the support of the Moi tribesmen. Their program stands for independence and agrarian reforms. Latest news accounts say the fighting is being led by Royal Air Force units aided by Japanese soldiers. Thus the Japanese are now in the position of being the saviors of their former enemies, the Dutch.

PHILIPPINES SMOLDER

Coming closer to the United States, the Filipino masses are also seething with discontent over the shameful way they have been treated by the returned American authorities. To the men of the Filipino Army, the Filipino guerrilla fighters and the masses who resisted the Japanese, the huge toll of Filipino casualties leaves a very bitter memory. For their sacrifices and their loyalty, they have had a "business man's régime" which is almost entirely composed of Japanese collaborators, imposed on them by MacArthur. "Food is bitterly short; clothing is lacking and the black market flourishes. Filipinos who fought in the hills for more than three years—men who were not opportunists and who knew how to fight but cannot express themselves now that the fighting is over—are desperately in need." (PM—October 13)

The Filipino cabinet is dominated by Andres Dariano, a Franco supporter and a man who was a leading figure in the Japanese puppet régime. During the civil war in Spain, he collected large sums of money for "the cause."

It is little known in the United States that MacArthur's Bataan army of eighty-five thousand men consisted of seventy-five thousand Filipino troops, many of whom died in Japanese concentration camps and that the masses of Manila suffered almost complete annihilation in the bombing of that city. The job of rehabilitation in the Philippines has not even been touched. An American officer describing Manila in PM, writes, "This modern city of 650,000 people is a junk heap. Public buildings are gutted, burned, leveled, a pile of brick and stone. The water is infected. Sewage is inadequate. There is no electricity. The streets are littered with debris of all kind. The city stinks with filth, death and decay."

It is very likely that the independence struggles in Indo-China and Java will have a concrete effect in stimulating Filipino revolt. It may result in either pushing the newly formed Democratic Alliance to the left or if that group proves inadequate to the task, in the reformation of the guerrilla units as a revolutionary movement.

The myth of colonial dependence on the "white" races is exploded. The independent action of the Indo-Chinese and the Javanese in forming disciplined armies, in drawing up programs and in taking over industries, proves to themselves and to the rest of the world that they are capable of running their own countries.

Editorials

The Imperialists at London

The meeting of the Foreign Ministers in London ended a total and abject failure. After more than three weeks of wrangling, the conference broke up without even being able to agree on the minutes of its own sessions. Reports filtered through the closed doors to the effect that Bevin called Molotov a "Hitlerite," that Molotov told Byrnes that the United States has as much to say about the Dardanelles as Russia has about the Panama Canal, that Byrnes jumped as if stung by a bee when Molotov proposed that Russia share in the control of Japan, and that other similar unpleasantnesses were exchanged by the gentlemen in the striped pants.

All this has caused the liberal press no end of unhappiness. Those who once so boldly called upon the sons of America to die in a war to build "One World" now emit a chorus of groans and moans over the debacle at London.

We, however, neither groan nor moan. We had no faith in the imperialist rulers of the world and their pretensions to organize a world without war. Having had no faith, the failure at London leaves us without disappointment.

As Marxian socialists, we hold that capitalism is the source of modern wars. Like World War I, the war just ended was fought to re-divide the world among the big powers. The victor powers, however, cannot agree over the division of the spoils. Like a band of successful bandits they are now having a falling out over the division of the loot. It was the latter that made up the agenda of the London conference.

Though the press spoke of the "Big Five"—Britain, Russia, the United States, France and China—the important business of the conference was handled exclusively by the "Big Three"—Russia, Britain and the United States. However, there were actually only two really big powers present—Russia and the United States.

RUSSIA'S NEW ROLE

Russia is not a capitalist nation. It does not have private owners of the factories, mills, mines and other means of production. However, Russia is ruled by a bureaucratic class of exploiters who maintain a totalitarian dictatorship over both the government and the economy. Like every ruling class, they are interested in the power, prestige and revenue that come with expansion and the exploitation of increased millions of subjects.

In addition, the closed-off, state-owned economy is beset by many contradictions and difficulties which arise from its isolation from world economy. Access to new territories, with new raw materials, new sources of labor, new outlets for certain surplus commodities permits the Russian ruling class to ease off the tensions upon their sealed-off economy.

Russia is, therefore, everywhere pushing its boundaries and spheres of influence to the utmost limit permitted by British and American imperialism. Finland, the Baltic states, Poland, half of Germany, the Balkan states, Hungary, half of Austria, parts of Iran, Korea, Manchuria, Mongolia, southern Sakhalin and the Kuriles islands are already occupied by Russian troops. Russia is eager to make further grabs. It already presses upon Turkish Armenia, the Dardanelles, the Dodecanese islands, and even asks for the former Italian colonies of Tripolitania and Eritrea in Africa.

In the Far East it asks for a share in the occupation of Japan and through its Chinese puppet armies makes great inroads in northern China. The new ruling oligarchy under Stalin is building an empire such as even the most ambitious of the Czars never dreamed of.

The United States emerged from the war as the most powerful nation of the capitalist world. Its industries, alone of all the industrial nations of

the world, remained untouched by the devastation of war. On the contrary, its plant capacity was vastly expanded during the war. Its production of aircraft has dwarfed that of all rivals. Its armed power overwhelmed its opponents by the sheer weight of equipment. Its navy has truly reached five-ocean proportions. Its control of the atomic bomb gives it the power of life or death over other peoples.

TOWARD WORLD WAR III

American imperialism is using its new world power to "organize" the world. American capital, American products and American food dominate the industry, finance, commerce and politics of the world. Statesmen in Paris and Rome, Tokyo and London, Rio de Janeiro and Ottawa, Brussels and Seoul scrape and bow before the representatives of the mighty American dollar. American imperialist power carries all before it up to the boundaries of the Russian spheres.

The world that has been shaped by World War II is dominated by the Russian monster and the American octopus. The aging British Empire is being badly squeezed between them. It hangs on to the ropes and bargains with the American masters for the loans necessary to get by. With the long shadow of "the bear that walks like a man" over vital links in its world empire, England clings to America and hopes for a solid anti-Russian front.

The London conference was a failure because the Russian monster and the American octopus checkmated each other. All the explanations that base themselves upon voting procedure and such other secondary matters are just drivel. The ambitious Russian robbers proved obstinate and their bandit rivals proved unyielding.

Let the war-weary peoples of the earth take full note of the failure at London. The logic of what happened there leads—not to "One World"—but to World War III, the war of atomic horror that calls into doubt the very ability of civilization to survive. The rulers of the world of capitalism and the rulers of the world of bureaucratic-collectivist slavery have plainly revealed where their policies will lead. Unless the working masses of the world take things into their own hands and build a socialist world, the brotherhood of man, our generation will yet live to experience Hiroshima and Nagasaki on an international scale.

Lynch-Law and Lynch-Mind

Two events last week sharply focused attention on the problem of Jim Crow and oppression of the Negro. Jesse James Payne was lynched in Florida. Hazel Scott was barred from performing at the DAR Constitution Hall in Washington, D. C. One of the events was a cold-blooded murder, the other the exclusion of an artist, but both were two different aspects of the same underlying condition. White ruling class America, through terror and discrimination, tries to keep the Negro in subjection and to divide him from his working class white brother.

The story of Jesse James Payne is the all too familiar one. He was taken from the jail at Madison, Fla., and lynched. Sheriff Lonnie Davis reported the county jail was unguarded and that "he had no evidence who did it." Payne had pleaded innocent to the charge of assault with intent to rape.

This lynching, as all lynchings, was not accidental. It didn't just happen. Lynchings serve a twofold purpose

for the bosses. First, through murder, they attempt to keep the sharecroppers and tenant farmers "in their place" and to prevent the unity of Negro and white for better conditions. By using the Negro as a scapegoat—just as Hitler did with the Jews in Germany—the bosses hope to divert the attention of the white worker from his real problems.

THE DAR CASE

The discrimination against Hazel Scott by the DAR likewise has a familiar ring. They declared that their tax-exempt property was for "white artists only" in line with the prevailing custom. In an attempt to justify their position they quoted a ruling of the U. S. Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia that "separate schools are established for the white and colored races in the District."

In answer to a letter from Representative Powell, Miss Scott's husband, President Truman likened the DAR's policy to that of the Nazis. But at almost the same moment that

the President was condemning discrimination against artists because of color, his wife was attending a tea given by the "for whites only" DAR. By this action Mrs. Truman demonstrated how empty are "official" pronouncements when compared to what is actually done.

Mrs. Truman was joined by Negrotizing Bilbo, head of the Senate's Committee on the District of Columbia. He attacked Powell's announced intention of taking action to end Constitution Hall's tax-exemption as a "damn big fuss about nothing."

In the nation's capital Negroes are systematically and officially Jim Crowed every single day of their lives. In the South the white ruling class uses the poll-tax, intimidation, terror and murder in an effort to keep Negro and poor white alike in subjection. The lynching of an unknown Negro and the discrimination against a famous Negro artist both clearly reveal the basically rotten condition that must be cut out root and branch.

One-Tenth of the Nation

Problems of Negro Uets

By J. R. Johnson

There is a problem for labor in the returning veterans—all of them. But there is another problem—a special one—the problem of the returning, NEGRO veteran.

Here is the recital of one of them, an individual experience, but so characteristic of their attitude that it acquires a significance far beyond the modest, sober, but determined demeanor of the narrator himself.

He drove a military truck and his company reached England so early in the war that they were lodged in an English camp, had English rations and Englishmen to cook for them.

They noted the peculiar behavior of the Englishmen, the hesitant way in which they spoke to the Negroes, the doubting and incredible manner in which they listened to Negro replies. Finally it came out. The Englishmen had been warned by white American officers that the Negroes were all right if left alone but that they were primitive, savage and dangerous if aroused.

"BLACK YANKS"

By degrees the Englishmen learned that Negroes were just "black Yanks." Their response was extraordinarily friendly. Because of this the Negro soldiers were thereafter confined to barracks. Night after night the Englishmen met them by prearrangement, took them into neighboring towns, introduced them to wives and families, gave them a good time and then brought them back to the camp in the early morning.

The Negro soldiers finally got permission to go officially into the town. One night they went to a dance at which there were present some white American officers. These American officers had been teaching the English girls to dance American dances. Four American Negroes started to dance, two men together. In two minutes the general dancing had stopped and the whole hall crowded around to watch. When they were finished, the Englishwomen made a rush to these wonderful dancers, begging to be taught. This happened more than once and one night an American officer remarked loudly that the place

was not big enough to hold him and these N.—rs. A fight began. Men were killed, five whites and two Negroes. Some of the Negroes are now serving thirty-five years in prison, some of them twenty years, some five years, etc.

JIM CROW EXPORTED

The veteran noted two regular occurrences. First the English people had generally been told the ugliest tales about Negroes and had believed them. Then when they discovered that these were premeditated lies, they showed a violent revulsion of feeling in favor of the Negroes and against their deceivers.

There were many taverns in England where Negroes were preferred. If it had been possible, there would have been a "Jim Crow" against American whites in a number of taverns. The reason was simple. The Negroes came in, drank, and troubled no one. But the white Southerners were always ready to start a fight with a Negro. Many tavern keepers therefore preferred not to have them. This, for our veteran, was a remarkable and illuminating experience.

The second regular occurrence was the organized "disciplining" of white troops by Negro troops. Everywhere the Negro troops met a body of white troops for the first time they fought them, until the whites learned that the Negroes were going to stand, no nonsense. Sometimes men were killed, some went to jail for long terms, others for short. But the Negro troops

took it as a matter of course that they had to establish respect for Negroes among all their fellow Americans. Before going abroad, this Negro had lived in Harlem and had not concerned himself over-much about asserting his independence and self-respect. The feeling, however, had returned with him to civilian life. He didn't know what to do about it. He felt rather lost without his fellow Negroes in his regiment. But he was a different man from the man who had gone abroad and none knew it better than he!

Perhaps his most significant and most bitter reflection was due to his international experience: He repeated over and over again that only the American army was a segregated army. The British army was not segregated. The Canadian army was not. You saw many Negroes in these armies.

And Germany? He laughed sardonically. He reached as far as Munich. He met no prejudice at all. The people seemed rather frightened of all Americans. They seemed to believe that Americans would eat them. When they found that Americans were human and not what Hitlerite propaganda had made them out to be, they welcomed them and made no distinction.

"THEY" LIE

The veteran's final conclusion was amazing. "They," he said, referring to some evil people, his natural enemies, "they tell everybody lies about 'us.' They do that to keep control."

So there he is—a man awakened, trained to fight in the capitalist war and trained by his own efforts to fight dangerous and costly battles for his own dignity. He is ready to struggle. He WILL struggle, in his own way. He has a special problem—but his special problem is only one of the general problems of organized labor. If labor gives him a strong but flexible and sympathetic lead, all the passion and resentment stored up in these hundreds of thousands can be made to serve their own emancipation and the emancipation of American society from the grip of capitalism.

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A Speech by

MAX SHACHTMAN

Workers Party Candidate for Mayor
Of the City of New York

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New York Municipal Merry-Go-Round

By Straphanger

New York's mayoralty campaign is going into its last round, with a registration figure of 2,190,666, a drop of over 200,000 from the last mayoralty registration, marking a widespread apathy on the part of the city's voters and indicating a victory for the Tammany-ALP-Communist candidate, O'Dwyer.

The papers comment that there was no such influx of "independent voters" as has characterized previous elections when these "independents" came out to push La Guardia into office. The campaign itself is a dead and colorless one. Goldstein and his Republican and Liberal bedfellows bellow again and again that the issue in this campaign is "good government" and keeping the city out of the greedy paws of Tammany and the Communists. This ex-Tammany hack thumbs again and again through the well-worn pages of the Tammany Domesday book (skipping those pages on which he featured as a moral and financial contributor) to reiterate the sordid story of his crimes. Aside from this, the only time Goldstein shows signs of life is when pricked by some utterance of Newbold Morris, his rival as standard bearer of the "good government" group.

ALL ARE CAPITALIST POLITICIANS

Morris has the annoying habit of reminding people that Goldstein is just a thwarted Tammany politician who negotiated pretty desperately for the Democratic nomination. Even more annoying is the excellent possibility that Morris will garner a substantial number of the "good government" votes. Goldstein has been howling that Morris' candidacy is just a plot, engineered by La Guardia, who is really the boss of the ALP, just to split the Republican-Fusion-Liberal vote.

Newbold Morris, the civil-servant-minded wealthy political playboy, is avowedly running on no platform except to promise "clean, efficient" city administration. Issues are a mere bag of shells for Morris and his running mates. Even on so minor an issue as the question of the five-cent fare, No-Deal has nothing to say. Morris is against raising the five-cent fare, he says mildly in answer to a Citizens Union questionnaire. His running mate, Joseph Levene, in answer to the same questionnaire, answers that he thinks the fare will have to be raised. What does it matter, so long as Tammany is kept out and the spittoons in City Hall kept polished?

Morris has tried to picture his candidacy as a result of the protests of thousands of outraged and indignant citizens who are offended by the stench from the two corrupt regular machines. That stench, to be sure, is unmistakable and has even reached the august editorial room of the New York Times, which has come out in support of Morris.

DRESSING UP O'DWYER

And so, more or less by default, the election will probably go to O'Dwyer, the Tammany-ALP candidate, his votes obtained through the combined efforts of the regular Tammany machine and ALP-Communist rallying of the labor vote.

The ex-District Attorney and swivel-chair general has been trying hard to dress himself up as a horny-handed son of labor and bearer of the democratic and progressive torch. Citing the admittedly poor record of the Republican state régime's cooperation with New York City, he insists that New York's problems cannot be solved without Federal and State cooperation, which as any fool (save Goldstein) can plainly see. Then O'Dwyer continues by linking himself up with the administration of Roosevelt and Truman, and asking labor to support him as part of these administrations and their policies.

Since the end of the war, the Democratic administration has shown that it cannot and will not cope with any of the real post-war problems facing labor. Corporations have been given tax relief while the full employment bill has been emasculated in Congress and adequate unemployment compensation has been denied. The strike wave of protesting workers throughout the nation and not least of all in New York is ample evidence that labor has no faith in the activities of the Congress and administration which are supposed to be planning the brave, new post-war world.

Certainly there is no reason for New York workers to support O'Dwyer. It is unnecessary for O'Dwyer to remind labor, as he did at a recent ALP rally that he will "fight just as hard for the rights of industry as I will fight for the rights of labor." (This surely in the workingman's view is the No. 1 understatement of the mayoralty campaign.) Nor should they be taken in when, safe in New York, appealing for the large Jewish and Negro vote, O'Dwyer denounces his brother-Democrat, Senator Bilbo. He has announced himself dependent upon the Democratic administration and that administration is in turn dependent on the Southern democratic régimes, of which Bilbo is a prize example.

VOTE FOR MAX SHACHTMAN

New York labor wants and needs exactly what labor throughout the nation wants and needs—guaranteed jobs and a decent standard of living, homes and job opportunities for returning servicemen. Neither O'Dwyer, Goldstein nor Morris are running on such a platform, nor can these capitalist candidates solve these problems.

New York workers can indicate that they are tired of the machine politicians of the capitalist parties and that they want real, working-class solutions to the pressing post-war problems by casting their vote for a working-class candidate and a working-class party, by going to the polls November 6 and voting for Max Shachtman, Workers Party candidate for Mayor.

Workers Party Election Radio Broadcasts

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 26, 8:30-9:00 P. M.—Station WHN, 1050 on Your Dial—Max Shachtman speaks on the Workers Party Program of Jobs For All

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 28, 12:45-1:00 P. M.—Station WQXR, 1550 on Your Dial—Max Shachtman speaks on the Issues in the Election

MONDAYS, OCTOBER 15, 22, 29, NOVEMBER 5, Between 10:00 and 10:30 P. M.—Station WNEV, 1130 on Your Dial—Four-Minute Speeches by the Workers Party

SATURDAYS, OCTOBER 20, 27, NOVEMBER 3, Between 9:00 and 9:30 P. M.—Station WNEV, 1130 on Your Dial—Four-Minute Speeches by the Workers Party

PRE-ELECTION

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Workers Party Candidate Demands End to Discrimination in New York

Record of Max Shachtman

The New York labor movement has particular reason to remember Max Shachtman, the Workers Party candidate for Mayor of New York. In February, 1938, when the Nazi Bund flagrantly and arrogantly defied the pro-labor sentiment of this city and called a meeting at Madison Square Garden, Comrade Shachtman was one of the organizers of the mighty anti-fascist demonstration of 50,000 New York workers outside the Garden that memorable night of February 22.

Max Shachtman

Previous to this campaign, Shachtman ran on the Workers Party ticket as a candidate for the posts of City Councilman and Mayor. But the Workers Party candidate is not a man whose activities for labor's cause are confined to pre-election speeches. Comrade Shachtman is the National Secretary of the Workers Party and is known to workers throughout the country for his fearless oratory, his biting pen and his devotion to the cause of labor and the principles for which his party stands.

BROKE WITH COMMUNISTS

In 1928, when the fight against Stalin's bureaucracy in Russia and in the Communist International came to a head, Shachtman unflinchingly took his place on the side of the revolutionary opposition lead by Leon Trotsky. When the forces of the opposition were expelled from the Third International, he became one of the leaders of the new "Trotskyist" party in this country. As pupil and co-worker of Leon Trotsky, he strove from that point on to build in this country a party based on the revolutionary principles of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky. Some of Comrade Shachtman's most valuable and brilliant contributions to revolutionary theory have been on the subject of Russia, from the exposure of the mass frameups of the Moscow Trials to the formulation of the theory of Russia as a "bureaucratic-collectivist" state.

A YOUNG SOCIALIST

Unlike his capitalist opponents, Max Shachtman is no product of the corrupt political machines. As a youth, he joined the revolutionary socialist movement, where for over a quarter of a century he has continued to function in a leading capacity.

Shortly after his entrance into the revolutionary movement, Comrade Shachtman became active in the ranks of the Young Workers League

(later to become the Young Communist League) where he became editor of that organization's newspaper, *The Young Worker*. In the nineteen-twenties, the Communist movement in this country was still the outstanding revolutionary force and in 1925, Comrade Shachtman went to Moscow as a delegate to the fifth plenum of the Communist International.

He returned to this country to become active in the then newly-founded International Labor Defense. His outstanding activities there were in connection with the famous Sacco and Vanzetti case that was stirring the indignation of the labor and liberal movements all over the world. Comrade Shachtman was the author of a stirring pamphlet, "Sacco and Vanzetti—Labor's Martyrs," which was circulated widely on behalf of the doomed anarchists.

REAL LABOR PROGRAM

With the war ended and unemployment growing apace, the Workers Party has put forward a comprehensive program for full employment in the post-war period. It is upon this platform, printed elsewhere in this issue, that Max Shachtman is appealing to the workers of New York. The candidate of the Workers Party is no election-time "friend of labor," but a revolutionary socialist, a full time fighter for labor's rights and its proper place in the sun. New York labor has the opportunity this fall to take the lead in the fight for post-war security with a vote for Max Shachtman, the Workers Party Candidate for Mayor.

From the foundation of the Workers Party in 1940, through the difficult war years, Comrade Shachtman has toured the country many times and expounded the Workers Party program for American labor through articles in *The New Internationalist*, which he edits and *LABOR ACTION*. He has exposed the assault on American labor's standard of living and trade union organizations during the war. Pointing out the reactionary nature of America's imperialist war, Comrade Shachtman opposed the No-Strike Pledge as an attempt to weaken and break trade unions. Exposing the anti-labor nature of the War Labor Board and other government agencies, as well as the anti-labor activity of Congress and the Democratic administration, Comrade Shachtman has been a consistent advocate of the formation of a Labor Party and a worker's government that would utilize the tremendous potentialities of American industry for the benefit of the working-classes and the "little people" instead of for the benefits of the monopoly capitalists.

WORKERS PARTY ENDORSES LOUISE SIMPSON FOR CITY COUNCIL POST

In a special session of its executive committee, the Workers Party of Local New York has announced its support of Louise Simpson, candidate of the Socialist Workers Party for the City Council in the present election campaign.

Louise Simpson, a young Negro trade union militant, is running on a militant platform of a revolutionary socialist party. While the Workers Party has important differences with the party Miss Simpson represents, it believes that the cause of the working class and all the people of New York City can best be served by voting for a candidate who is anti-capitalist and stands four-square for labor's interests.

The Workers Party therefore asks all workers to vote for Louise Simpson, candidate for the City Council, by marking her ballot No. 1.

QUESTION: Shouldn't old-fashioned truant officers be done away with and a smaller staff of trained social workers, at less cost, be hired to take their place?
ANSWER: I am against the whole reactionary system of truancy officers of any kind, which files in the face of the best concepts of modern education.
QUESTION: The Board of Education hires custodians for school buildings, pays them a lump sum and allows them to hire and fire their own workers. Do you favor the abolition of this indirect system, and the substitution of civil service procedure?
ANSWER: In favor of abolishing the indirect system and substituting hiring through regularly established labor unions at union wages.
(Editor's Note: Hasn't the CU heard that the city has such educational problems as oversize classes, ancient school buildings, insecure and underpaid substitute teachers, and a Board of Education (appointed by the Mayor) which doesn't include a single, no, not one—representative of labor?)

We Support the Dockers' Strike

Max Shachtman, Workers Party candidate for Mayor of New York City, gives whole-hearted support to the longshoremen (ILA-AFL) of the New York district now on strike for the third week.

Candidate Shachtman said to this reporter: "The longshoremen are fighting a double battle. They are out to get better working conditions from the ship owners. They are also rebelling against the power of a labor bureaucrat of the first order, namely, \$20,000-a-year President-for-Life Joe Ryan. The strikers are right on both counts."

The Workers Party candidate said further: "In the contract he negotiated with the bosses' New York Shipping Association, on behalf of the International Longshoremen's Union, Ryan ignored demands made by the rank and file of his union, nor did he submit the contract to the locals for their approval."
"Besides asking for a lighter sling cargo load, the longshoremen want guaranteed work for four hours instead of two for each job, double time

for meal hours worked, and similar demands. Another very sore spot is the 'shape-up,' which has been thoroughly discredited throughout the country. The men favor the hiring-hall system and want it instituted to eliminate the abuses of the 'shape-up.' Apparently in closer collaboration with the bosses, than with his men, Ryan did nothing to satisfy his members on these demands drawn up a month ago by Local 791 and endorsed by sixteen other locals. A rank and file rebellion against Dictator Ryan and his bureaucratic machine has been long overdue."

Asked for his opinion on the claim that the strike is holding up troop ships, Candidate Shachtman said: "As was to be expected, this hue and cry is being raised by the anti-labor shouters. The delay that can be attributed to the strike is negligible compared with the delays due to official red tape, inefficiency and lack of consideration of human values characteristic of the Army. On the other hand, every successful strike for better conditions and to rid the unions of disloyal bureaucrats is a victory for GI's who will be returning to the life of civilian workers."

"I have also noticed the attempt to discredit the strike by labeling it 'Communist-made.' This is the familiar red herring. While it is true that the Communist Party poachers on labor are again preparing to 'wage the class struggle' here on behalf of Stalin's foreign policy, the real blood-and-bone grievances which the longshoremen are fighting for cannot be explained away!"

Watch for a Special Announcement on the New York Election Mass Meeting to be held on Friday Evening, November 2nd.

Our Candidate's Stand on Election Issues

By WALTER WEISS

The Citizens Union, which describes itself as an organization "for the purpose of securing the honest and efficient government of the City of New York," has asked candidates in the coming election to express their views on various city problems. LABOR ACTION is presenting here several of the questions asked by the Citizens Union and the answers made by Max Shachtman, candidate of the Workers Party for Mayor.

We know that these answers are not to the taste of the CU, which has endorsed Judge Jonah J. Goldstein, ex-Tammany Democrat and now candidate of the Republican and Liberal parties. Working people, however, will be interested to see the difference between Shachtman's views on city problems and those of O'Dwyer, Goldstein and Morris, the capitalist "friends of labor."

The Subway Problem

QUESTION: Do you believe that the cost of constructing and operating the subways should be shared by the rider and the city as a whole?
ANSWER: Cost of construction of

new subways should be borne by a progressive tax on large real estate holdings with rigid prohibition against passing on these costs to tenants in the form of higher rents.

QUESTION: Do you believe that the city should retain control of the subways?
ANSWER: Yes, unconditionally. The Workers Party stands for city ownership of all transportation systems under the management and control of the workers who operate them.

QUESTION: Do you believe in retention of the five-cent fare?
ANSWER: Yes. (Editor's Note: Judge Goldstein, favorite of the Citizens Union, is also for the five-cent fare, and he believes that the cost of construction and operation should be "shared by the rider and the city as a whole.")

This may sound good to a reader not used to political trickery, but actually it is a weasel-worded formula, which would permit such devices as La Guardia's proposal to tax tenants and small home-owners to help pay for subway costs.

The City's Radio Station

QUESTION: Radio Station WNYC operates on a budget of about \$110,000 a year. It has proved its value as a non-commercial civic enterprise in many ways. By means of it, the people of the city are brought into closer touch with their government. ... Will you oppose efforts to abolish Station WNYC?
ANSWER: Yes, with special emphasis on free access by labor organizations in the drive to make New York a 100 per cent union city, and in general to give them unrestricted opportunity to present labor's point of view in defense against the anti-labor and anti-union propaganda systematically conducted by the bulk of New York's newspapers.

(Editor's Note: Workers, who have had a bellyful of La Guardia's strike-breaking over WNYC in the bus, newspaper delivery and elevator strikes (to mention only a few) will appreciate the importance of this answer. It is a fact that commercial stations, anti-labor as they are, were forced by federal regulations to give the union as well as employers radio time in the news delivery strike, while La Guardia, speaking as the "workingman's best friend," used WNYC exclusively in the interests of the employers.)

And, by the way, how is the city's

station carrying out its task of presenting, for the education of its listeners, the various candidates in the present election? Utter silence, so far as we have heard.

City Manager Plan

QUESTION: When the war is over do you favor the submission of the city manager plan to the electorate? (Ed.—This is a plan under which various cities have had their city councils hire an "efficiency expert" instead of having the people elect a mayor. The Citizens Union and various other "good government" and "economy" groups favor such a plan.)
ANSWER: If there is a serious demand for it, we have no objection to a referendum on the question. We ourselves are emphatically opposed to the city manager plan, because all so-called municipal efficiency schemes, experience has shown, are usually carried out at the expense of labor and decent living standards. Besides, we are for ELECTING chief executives of the city.

Education

Under this heading the CU found only two questions worth asking. To save space we present them in our own words:

YOU, as a worker in the city of New York, can make YOUR vote count in the New York City mayoralty election this November 6th. You can make it count as a vote to END DISCRIMINATION AGAINST NEGRO AND OTHER RACIAL AND NATIONAL MINORITIES by casting YOUR vote for Max Shachtman, candidate of the Workers Party.

* Jim Crow is an ugly word that means discrimination against and persecution of Negroes. Anti-Semitism is an ugly word that means discrimination against and persecution of the Jewish people. These are ugly words and they are ugly FACTS. Both exist in the City of New York.

WHO IS THE WINNER?

There are those who profit from this discrimination. Landlords and employers—THEY profit in higher rents and lower wages by seeking to divide you, the working people of New York, into hostile groups based on color, religion or national origin. It serves their purpose but it does not serve your purpose, for whether you are Negro or white, Jewish or Gentile, Italian or native-born, your interests as workers are identical. Jobs, decent housing, a living wage—these are the needs of all. An injury against one is an injury against all.

The subjection of any one section of labor means the subjection of all labor. If the employer can depress the wages of the Negro worker, he, in turn, will depress the wages of the white worker. If an employer can discriminate in employment against the Negro or Jewish worker, the job of any worker is less secure. Only by standing together for our common interests as workers, whether we be black or white, Jewish or Gentile, can we engage in effective action for our common good.

It is a known fact that in Harlem rents are scandalously high and housing conditions scandalously poor. It is a known fact that a check of the United States Employment Service records reveals that two Negroes have been fired for each white worker that has been fired. It is a known fact that medical schools discriminate in the admission of Negro, Jewish or Italian students. It is a known fact that many employers refuse to hire Jewish workers. It is a known fact that in so-called restricted neighborhoods landlords refuse to rent to Jewish people.

These are not new conditions. They have existed for many, many years and they exist in all parts of the country. The administration of Mayor La Guardia has done virtually nothing to abolish discrimination in New York City. Will his No Deal Party or its candidate, Newbold Morris, do more? We think not. Words accomplish little. La Guardia has had the opportunity to act and he has not. No more, if as much, can be expected from the Democratic and Republican machines and their candidates. They are committed to the capitalist system which thrives on the extra profits and higher rents to be derived from discrimination.

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WORKERS PARTY PROGRAM

The Workers Party candidate, Max Shachtman, campaigns on a platform that would make anti-Negro and anti-Semitic practices by employers and landlords a criminal offense.

This platform demands an end to the high rents and prices in Harlem by enforcing the right of Negroes to live in any section of the city at equal rent.

This platform demands that building rights be withdrawn from landlords and real estate companies that bar Negroes or Jews or any racial or religious minority.

This platform demands that slum-clearing projects, which are a vital necessity in New York City, be freed of the Jim Crow policy such as that governing the proposed Stuyvesant project.

Vote against Jim Crow and anti-Semitism!

Vote for Max Shachtman, candidate of the Workers Party.

(For more information, write to Workers Party Campaign Headquarters, 114 West 14th Street.)