

Congress Cuts Corporate Taxes, Gives Profiteers a Boost

By WALTER WEISS

Do you have a wife and two children—AND a net income of \$1,000,000 a year? Hardly likely, if you read LABOR ACTION. But just imagine that you were so fortunate. In that case the cruel income tax collector would leave you a paltry \$100,000 as "take-home" this year.

Next year things would be a little better. A joint conference committee of the House and Senate has just decided (and their decision will probably be approved even before this is printed) to increase your (imaginary) share by \$61,150. Instead of struggling to get along on a mere \$2,000 a week, you would have \$3,200. Let's make this clearer: \$800 a week, or over \$100 a day, for each member of your family!

Put it still another way: Congress is going to give you an extra \$1,200 a week—\$300 a week for each member of your family.

Now let's get back to earth. You have the wife and two children—all right, and have been a week during the war—about \$2,500 a year. Your tax this year has been \$160. Next year, it will be only \$95—a saving of \$65.

In other words, a present to you from Congress of \$1.25 a week—or about 30 cents a week for each member of your family.

Of course, this is the story in its simplest form—and in the form MOST FAVORABLE to you. Actually you may not even have a job. And, if you do, your pay will probably be considerably lower. On the average, says the government's Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion, a factory worker who was earning \$50 a week will be down, within the next few months, to \$36. In that case, you will pay no income tax at all under the new law. Saving \$3 a week on income tax in this way, you will simply be \$11 a week worse off.

CORPORATION TAXES

Now we turn back again to the other side of the picture. A large part of most \$1,000,000 incomes is derived from stocks in big corporations.

These corporations have done very well, very well during the war. There was that terrible excess profits tax, of course; but somehow, in spite of it, corporation profits were two and a half times as big as in the pre-war years (official government figures).

Not only that. The Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion says: "The market value of securities on the New York Stock Exchange has risen by a third since D-Day and by 10 per cent between V-J Day and September 30, 1945."

The new tax bill eliminates altogether the excess profits tax (which never eliminated excess profits)—an estimated total for 1946 of over \$2½ billion. It cuts other business taxes as well, for a total reduction of \$3,136,000,000. Result: Despite a very sharp drop in national production and employment, profits are expected to be HIGHER than during the unprecedented war years.

Even Senator Taft (and you know Senator Taft) had to say of the new tax bill that it "makes a larger reduction in taxes than I like to see..."

The millionaires, as you will now understand, don't have to worry that THEIR income tax savings under the new law will be more than offset by a lower income. Quite the contrary. That kind of worry is for you, not for them.

The fact is that economists of the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion have calculated that, on the average, corporations could raise wage rates by about 24 percent and still maintain their war-swollen profit levels. This would be possible because of the end of overtime pay, downgrading of jobs, and the end of

(Continued on page 2)

Army Seizure Netted Ward Union Nothing

By PAUL NEWMAN

CHICAGO, Ill., Oct. 21, 1945—The Montgomery-Ward plants were released from Army control and turned back to the personal direction of Sewell L. Avery on Thursday night, Oct. 18. Immediately on taking charge Avery announced that he would not recognize maintenance of membership, the check-off system, nor would the workers receive the retroactive pay ordered by the WLB.

The next day Avery fired Adolph Loesch, secretary-treasurer of Local 20, and Mildred Cunningham, a union steward. These two union leaders have nine and eleven years' seniority, respectively.

S. L. Avery is back in the saddle and is continuing from where he left off with an all-out offensive to break up the union. What then, one might ask, did the Ward workers gain from the Army "seizure"? And the answer is: NOTHING!

WHAT ARMY CONTROL MEANT

The Army has been in control of Montgomery Ward since last December. During this period the workers received not one cent of the retroactive pay increase of close to \$1 million ordered by the WLB. This WLB directive could not be enforced, says the Army, because the money was earned "prior to Army occupation." Avery and his stockholders, it is interesting to note, however, re-

Los Angeles Labor Stops Smith Again

Los Angeles labor and progressive population has done it again!

The CIO and the Mobilization for Democracy called out a second mass picket line against a Gerald L. K. Smith rally on Saturday, November 3 and again Fueder Smith—"America's No. 1 Fascist"—was left reeling on the ropes as 20,000 massed pickets outside and several hundred inside his meeting demonstrated their will to continue this struggle against native fascism to the end.

This, like the previous mass picketing demonstration on October 17, took place at Polytechnic High School, which the city Board of Education gave to Smith for a second attempt.

While the picket line was not marked by any disturbances, inside the auditorium eighty-three men, women and high school students were arrested by massed police for "disturbing the peace" (Gerald Smith's peace) and at least as many again were forcibly ejected as the Bowron city administration went all-out to protect and shelter the fascists from the wrath of the people.

At 9:00 p.m. the mass picket line adjourned to the Olympic Auditorium a block away, where it reverted into a tremendous mass meeting of anti-fascist protest. The auditorium seats about 12,000.

A COMPARISON

Two significant differences between this mass demonstration and the previous one on Wednesday, October 17, had to do with the conduct of the police and the extension of the anti-fascists' activity to INSIDE the auditorium.

Of Smith's audience of 2,000, about a third were hostile to the fascist demagogue. The first speaker, Willis Allan of the Ham and Egg organization, which is sponsoring Smith, could hardly make himself heard over the boing and heckling. At one point, one section of the audience simultaneously opened up newspapers and began to read. When Smith began bellowing about his GI son (who is his favorite showpiece to prove his "patriotism"), a group of servicemen in uniform demonstratively walked out. The first ten to fifteen minutes of Smith's oration was made in near-bedlam as Ham and Eggers and plainclothesmen in the audience pointed accusing fingers at alleged hecklers and the cops worked like barroom bouncers to eject them.

(Continued on page 3)

LABOR ACTION

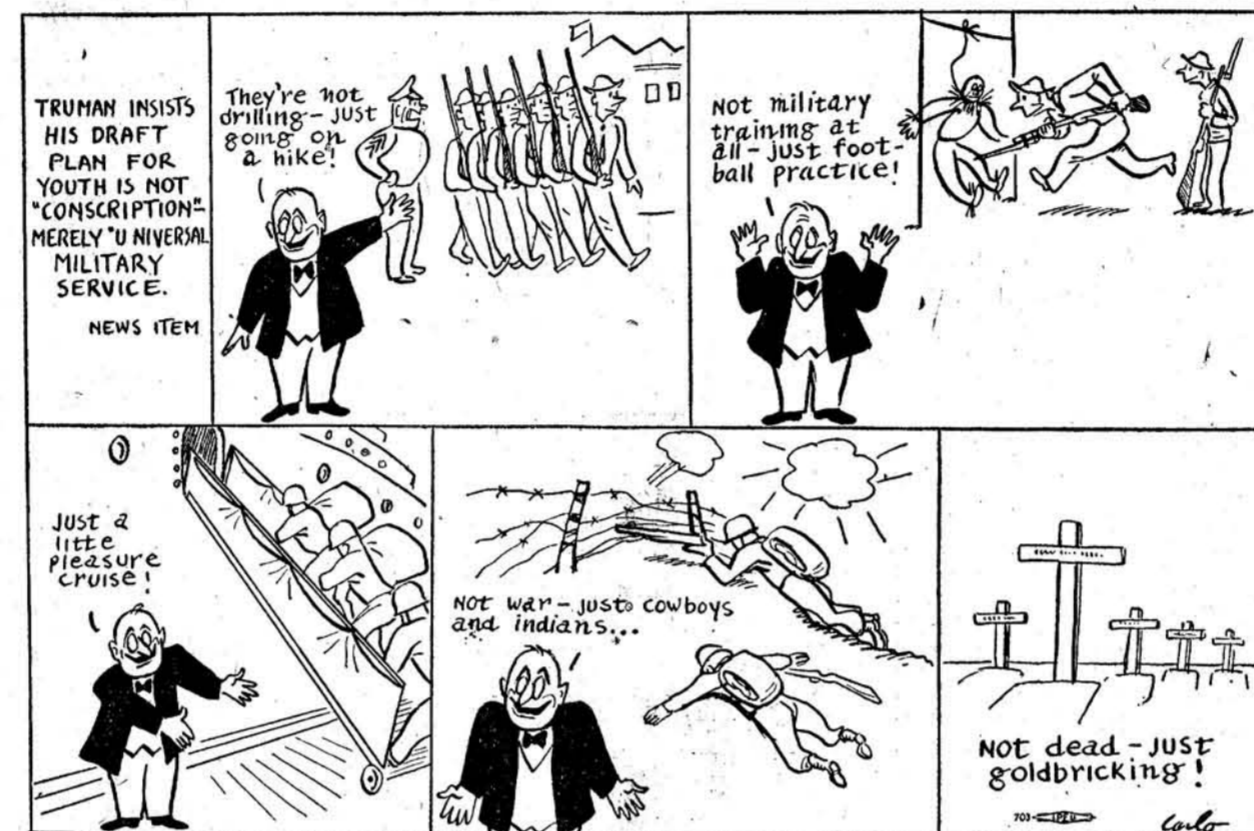
NOVEMBER 12, 1945

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

ONE CENT

LABOR'S DEMANDS WILL BE WON ON THE PICKET LINE!

The Language of Capitalism



For a People's Referendum On Compulsory Military Training!

By SUSAN GREEN

The decision on whether or not this country is to have peacetime universal military training is too important to be left to the politicians, the generals and the admirals. If ever there was an issue that the people themselves must vote on, this is it. This question concerns every youth and every family. It means the militarization of the society we live in. It threatens the continuance of political democracy as we know it, and the freedom of labor's economic and political organizations. Peacetime military training also signifies a definite step in preparing for World War III.

All this is involved in peacetime military training. Will the people let themselves be railroaded into militarism?

LET THE PEOPLE DECIDE

The fifty million working people who slaved fifty-two and sixty hours a week to turn out the instruments of destruction should have their say. The soldiers returning with and without arms and legs, with and without their friends and pals, should vote on the question. The soldiers still abroad, rotting in social disillusionment and in personal demoralization, should have the chance to say what they think of permanent militarization of the country. The relatives of the more than million war casualties should decide. The parents of the country should choose the kind of society they want their children to grow up in.

Let us go a little deeper into the effects of peacetime military conscription or compulsory training—whichever it is called makes little difference.

Militarism will reach out its bloody hand into every family. It was to escape from this touch of death that many of the European people who built this country, came here. They wanted their lives to be their own, and suffered untold hardships to leave behind them the militarism of their native lands. Forced military training will sit like a ghost of doom at every family board.

And what will peacetime conscription mean to the youth of the land? Military training will hang over the heads of our boys and girls, filling them with doubt and uncertainty. No longer will they base their lives on the pursuit of peace. No longer will they choose their careers as before (within the restrictions of capitalist society).

That year of military training may

well determine their future. There is no doubt that the advocates of military training have two purposes in mind. One is to militarize the whole civilian population by training the youth. But just as important, indeed if not more so, is the plan to get trainees, after the required year, to "choose" careers in the army, navy and air force in the pursuits of war. And plenty of pressure will be exerted to accomplish this end.

WE ARE NOT PACIFIST

Precisely because peacetime military training is aimed for a third imperialist world war and because the militarization of the youth is aimed against labor, labor cannot be pacifist. LABOR ACTION therefore stands for military training only if it is under workers' control.

Therefore, we believe the people should exercise their right to express their "Nay!" on the question of compulsory military training in the bosses' army, through a people's referendum.

The advocates of peacetime conscription talk as if this were not a step toward militarism—as if it will

have no effect on the institutions of the country. History has proved this idea wrong. It is used as a sop to the people who fear militarism. In every country where the military has gotten a footing in peacetime and in the lives of the civilian population, progressively greater military domination in politics and throughout society has followed. The Axis countries are good examples of this obnoxious development. So are the countries of South America, dominated by military dictatorships. Peacetime military training means militarization and is a threat to political organizations of the workers, the farmers, the little people.

Socialists have predicted that the growth of militarism is proportionate to the decline of capitalism. With intensified international conflicts and with deepening rifts at home between capital and labor, capitalist society resorts to the "Big Stick"—to be used in its interests both at home and abroad.

Shall the people stand with folded hands and see this happen? Or should they demand to be heard on the

(Continued on page 2)

Big Business Seeks a New No-Strike Pledge

By P. PRENTISS

The purpose of the big labor-management conference, now in session in Washington, is to wring a peacetime no-strike pledge from labor. Just as during the war, under the threat of anti-labor legislation, big industry was able to tie the workers to a voluntary promise of "class peace," today the same attempt is being made. In the face of the widespread labor unrest and the threatened General Motors and steel strikes, the government waves a big stick. If peaceful collective bargaining doesn't work, the government warns, more stringent regulations for penalizing labor will be substituted for the Smith-Connally Act.

Both management and labor have sent their most prominent representatives to the conference. Delegate Ira Mosher, head of the National Association of Manufacturers, prior to the opening of the conference, offered one of his suggestions for industrial peace to a Massachusetts industrialists' meeting:

"We must outlaw make-work restrictions and undemocratic operations of labor organizations."

Eric Johnston, Chamber of Commerce head, who instigated the "peace pact" fiasco of last spring, is another one of the eighteen management delegates. No mention will be made at the conference of Johnston's C. of C. membership vote last July calling for a fight against the closed shop, for the ending of overtime pay, limiting the right to strike and for a federal law to make strikers

personally responsible for picket line damages.

Negro Vet Segregated In Detroit

By LEE ROBERTS

DETROIT—What democracy means when controlled by capitalist politicians was clearly exposed in the recent hearing of Charles Johnson, 24-year-old Negro veteran, before the Detroit Housing Commission. Johnson, with three years' service in the Coast Guard, is one of those "boys in the foxholes" about whom the corporations and their newspapers expressed so much concern the minute any workers walked out on strike for decent wages and conditions during the war. Johnson is one of "our boys over there" for whom no sacrifice was too great—on the part of labor.

Yet when "our boy" asks for a decent home in which to raise his 13-month-old son, he is told that "racial characteristics of a neighborhood" are sacred, and that his having fought in this "great war for democracy" has no bearing on the matter.

After his discharge from the Coast

(Continued on page 2)

This is management's program for union smashing the not-so-peaceful way. But none of this goes on the conference agenda. The latter has been designed primarily to sidestep the real issues before the workers of the country, namely—wages and jobs.

The two main topics now on the agenda are (1) management's recognition of labor's right to collective bargaining—no word about labor's right to strike to guarantee its demands; and (2) labor's recognition of management's right to manage—no word of the reconversion mismanagement that has thrown millions out of work.

The CIO has been attempting to get the issue of wages on the agenda but so far without success. Walter Reuther, vice-president of the CIO-UAW, which is seeking a 30 per cent wage increase, denounced it as a "national tragedy" that the conference had omitted from its program the key question of wages and prices. He termed the conference "a phony."

The AFL, together with management, has succeeded in out-voting the CIO. The AFL leaders are playing the bosses' game when they side with management in fighting to keep the wage issue from the conference floor. The industry representatives are well aware of the fact that a discus-

(Continued on page 2)

A Socialist Program for the Jews

An Editorial

The sporadic fighting in Palestine between the Jewish population and British occupation forces and the anti-Semitic rioting in Egypt, which turned into a general flare-up against foreign businesses, once more pose in the sharpest form the Jewish problem in the world.

The British overlords in Palestine have answered the Jewish resistance efforts with the establishment of a curfew over the country as their solution to a difficult problem. Meanwhile, the colonial servants of the British Foreign Office continue to make deals with the Arab feudal leaders to prevent any large-scale immigration into Palestine of the homeless European Jews.

We are without doubt dealing with a complicated situation, which, however, is capable of radical solution. The solution depends entirely on the way the Jewish and Arabian populations join hands to solve what is really their joint problem: ridding Palestine of British imperialism.

CONDITIONS OF THE JEWS

The plight of the Jews in Europe has been described many times and is widely known. Almost the whole population has been wiped out in an orgy of planned extermination initiated by Hitler's bloody fascist régime. The German rulers did not invent anti-Semitism, nor did they begin pog-

roms against Jews. They merely extended what was a common practice in Europe into a refined system of slaughter on a grand scale. But the reactionary rulers of Poland, Rumania, Hungary and other Central and Eastern European countries have contributed their fair share in this brutal campaign to wipe out, without a trace, a whole people.

The end of the war finds the few thousands of Jews who are still alive in a horrible plight. They are homeless, landless, jobless. They have no means of re-establishing their lives. What is worse, anti-Semitic outbreaks continue in the so-called liberated countries. In general, for most of the Jews who lived in the countries occupied by Hitler's beasts, future life there is virtually impossible.

They must seek new havens in which to begin their lives again. This is the heart of the problem.

The Allied nations, which used the plight of the Jews as one of the alleged reasons for engaging in the Second Imperialist World War, have revealed their utter hypocrisy on the Jewish question as on all others in the short few months that have elapsed since the war ended. Their pretense of friendship for a "blighted people" has had the last shreds of subterfuge torn from it as it has become quite clear that Great Britain, the United States and Russia are prepared to do nothing to help solve the Jewish problem.

How does the issue of Palestine arise in the first place as the solution to the Jewish problem? The Jews claim it as their homeland because they lived on the land thousands of years ago. The fact that it has been peopled by Arabs for thousands of years since the Jews left Palestine is a factor which too many Jews overlook. However, practical reasons outweigh any sentimental ones for the increasing Jewish desire to return to the land of their fathers.

The practical reasons reside in the fact that the Jews have no other place to go. They had been promised Palestine as a homeland in the First World War. That was guaranteed them in the Balfour Declaration, which the British have proceeded to ignore during the many years since it became their declared policy. There are over a half million Jews in Palestine, the rest being Arab. There is no doubt that Palestine could absorb all the Jews who wish to go there.

At one time the Jews did not wish to go to Palestine. They wanted to remain in the countries in which they had resided for hundreds and even thousands of years. The degeneration of capitalism in Europe, however, has created new conditions. The impossibility of life for many of the European Jews compels them to seek a new place

(Continued on page 3)

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Smith Stopped in Los Angeles --

(Continued from page 1) The new activity of the police reflected a change of front by the Bowron city government. In reporting the October 17 demonstration, this reporter pointed out in all fairness and honesty that the police did not then actively side with the fascists. That phase is over. Mayor Bowron has lined up. Smith himself threw him liberal bouquets from the platform. "In all my travels through the country," he beamed, "there were only two cities where the police have done so good a job—Los Angeles and Oakland. Chief of Police Horrall (Bowron's man) has done the best job of all, in any city." And that includes Detroit, whose cops beat up picketers!

Stalinist CP machine) of throwing labor's political strength to phony "liberal" capitalist politicians instead of using that strength to build an independent party of labor. Of course, the Stalinist newspaper, the Daily People's World, is now yelling at Bowron, "We were betrayed." Labor has been betrayed by "good" and "lesser evil" capitalist politicians for the last two hundred years. It's a fight like the campaign against Smith that brings out over and over again the lessons that socialists have been hammering home. The mass picket line in front of the school again surged over two blocks—along Washington Boulevard and around the corner to the west entrance on Flower Street. Traffic was stopped for blocks around. A solid steel-helmeted elbow-to-elbow line of Mayor Bowron's storm troopers formed a cordon around the entrance and a lane crossing the street. Tear gas equipment (left over from the studio strike ruckus) was clearly in

put it through among the students, including the Socialist Youth Club. On the picket line, a number of students held placards reading, "I was jailed for fighting fascism." This time, unlike two weeks ago, no attempt was made by disruptive Communist Party-liners to molest the red banner of the Workers Party. The pamphlet published by the Workers Party, "The Truth About Gerald Smith," sold over 400 copies in a couple of hours, which is the one-night record since last July's Olympic Auditorium rally, when 2,000 copies were sold on the first night of its publication. It is an interesting fact, incidentally, that our pamphlet is STILL the only full-length exposure of Smith's fascist record in print, though this campaign has now been going on for over five months. Thousands of copies of LABOR ACTION were also distributed at the school and at the Olympic.

Friday, as did the CIO Executive Board. The Harbor Area unions' anti-fascist committee, including Shipbuilders' Local 9, Longshoremen & Warehousemen, started preparations Saturday. The Studio Unions, Machinists, Musicians and ILGWU (all AFL) were out again, as were the CIO Rubber Workers and Steel Workers. The Mobilization for Democracy held a general meeting on Wednesday and endorsed the picket line and mass meeting combination. It was announced there that 20,000 leaflets were being issued for the use of the 500 organizations in the Mobilization, while the CIO was issuing 25,000 for its unions. Each organization was urged to put out its own leaflets if possible. That same night, members of the Workers Party were themselves distributing 10,000 leaflet calls to picket. Mobilizations were held for this purpose at the shipyards and other plants, in several Negro and Jewish sections of the city (especially Boyle Heights, Central Avenue and Beverly-Fairfax) and downtown. All distributors reported a marked increase of interest, awareness and militancy on the part of the people.

ARRESTS AND JAILINGS

Alleged hecklers were not merely ejected—they were viciously pushed, shoved, thrown and mauled, whether they resisted or not. If a Ham and Egger accused an offender, the cops descended on the victim without question, just as if each Ham and Egger were a legally deputized officer of the law. Most of those arrested were taken not because any cop saw them do anything but because somebody pointed a finger at them. Brutal and unnecessary violence and mauling was the rule, not the exception. Smith had his storm-troop that evening, salaries paid by the people.

The sixteen women, forty-two men and twenty-five students arrested were taken to the city jail later in the evening and given the same "hospitality" as drunks, common criminals and prostitutes. They were told that they would have to stay there over two nights till Monday morning instead of being arraigned immediately. Bail was set at \$500 but later reduced to \$50. It was not until five in the morning that all were bailed out.

The girls were told by one of the prison matrons that, EVEN BEFORE THE MEETING STARTED, they had been told to "expect" an influx from Polytechnic High School. Members of the Workers Party who were among those arrested, as well as other "prisoners" whom I interviewed on their release, told me that they were merely arbitrarily picked out for arrest though doing nothing at the time. Several were arrested as they were quietly walking out of the hall.

"FRIEND OF LABOR" MAYOR

The payoff is this: This same Mayor Bowron, who well merited Smith's praise for giving him the most extensive police support of any city in the country, this same man was re-elected only last year with the full support of the PAC, the CIO and also the Communist Party as a "good man" and a "friend of labor!" And don't believe that the picketers don't remember this detail! Many an anti-fascist is wondering today about the PAC policy (fully supported by the

A Lesson in Tolerance

Those who defend Gerald L. K. Smith's rights to free expression can learn a few lessons from Gerald himself.

Several Antioch College students tried to distribute literature of the National Farmers Union at one of his meetings in Celina, Ohio. Guess what happened?

Smith called his goons together. They worked over the students and drove them away. Smith himself—poor, persecuted Smith—punched one of the students.

Of course, things are different in the large industrial cities with a powerful labor movement. There the fascist scum is too busy hiding behind the police lines to beat up the anti-fascists. Let's keep it that way.

Those who preach free speech for Smith would have us grant him "time to organize his forces." They would let him decide when HE is ready to attack us.

evidence. A platoon of 100 more reserve cops were held in readiness nearby.

PREPARATIONS MADE

During the previous week, especially at three East Side high schools, hundreds of students had gone out twice on strikes to picket the offices of the Board of Education, protesting the city government's hospitality to Fascist Smith. The previous Thursday, a number of them had been expelled from school as the authorities viciously struck back. This movement, while it spontaneously struck a chord of enthusiasm among the students, had been stimulated by a call to such action in an East Side neighborhood newspaper and by Jewish women's organizations who had raised the idea some weeks ago in the Mobilization for Democracy. The Mobilization had rejected it then after the Los Angeles organizer of the Communist Party, Sparks, denounced it as "super-militant" and others opposed it for lack of time to prepare. Many school clubs and their members

Labor-Capital --

(Continued from page 1)

way paralyze the militancy of the labor movement. President Truman hit the crux of the matter when he stated that the "whole system of private enterprise... depends on finding the answers to industrial strife." The fact that labor and industry have two irreconcilably opposing answers to this problem will not be dealt with across the round table.

Actually, the conference is nothing more than a show, an oft-rehearsed farce put on for the public. Despite its tremendous build-up and the national publicity given it, the spotlight really belongs elsewhere. It should be shining on the picket lines that will be surrounding the auto plants and the steel plants and the coal mines, where the real-life issues will be decided.

Conscription --

(Continued from page 1)

A NEW WORLD WAR

But the matter goes even deeper than the kind of society we will be living in. It goes to THE fundamental: existence itself. The hearings before Congress and the arguments of the proponents of peacetime conscription, make no bones about its being in preparation for the next war. Without batting an eye, the makers of World War II are mixing the brew for World War III. And what kind of war will it be? Scientists assure us that any city in the world can be turned to rubble in fifteen minutes. Scientists tell us that forty million Americans—or Russians or any other people—can be annihilated almost before you can say Jack Robinson. The outcome of the dispute whether an army will or will not be necessary or useful in an atomic-en-

ergy war, is not important. The point is that the kind of war for which the powers are preparing menaces existence itself and threatens the continued civilized existence of man on this earth. Peacetime military training is undoubtedly a step in this direction.

Shall we allow the "war specialists" to decide this all-embracing issue? Or shall we give our own clear answer?

The demand by the American people for a referendum on peacetime military training will act as a clarion call to the peoples of the world. It will be regarded by the war-weary masses as a genuine move toward international peace.

Labor can take the lead. Labor has to take the lead.

Labor must counter all plans for the militarization of youth. It must demand a referendum on the issue.

How a Detention "Home" Hardens Young Inmates

By YOUTH REPORTER

DETROIT—The conditions and events I am reporting here didn't take place in the Dark Ages or even in a Nazi concentration camp, but in the Detroit Juvenile Detention Home in 1945.

This home was built allegedly to hold young boys and girls temporarily for any of three reasons: (1) until parents arrive, (2) while awaiting trial, (3) while awaiting transportation to some state institution.

But boys and girls are often held there for months. One young Negro boy was taken by police from his home at 2:00 in the morning. The police did not have a warrant. That morning, after having spent the rest of the night in a chair, he was stripped and told to take a shower. He received for clothes a pair of rough coveralls with no underwear, rough socks and a pair of gym shoes. For three days he was not allowed to see his parents, a lawyer, or even learn on what charges he was held. Upon demanding to see his parents, he was put in solitary confinement in a dark damp room with only a small hole in the door for light. An innocent young boy treated like a hardened criminal!

Another told me of the lavatory facilities. The only toilet he had was a pail, a breeding place for disease. For soap they were given a powdery substance which was as effective as sandpaper and just as painful. Four

combs made of stiff paper were given to a group of twenty or more.

CRUEL PUNISHMENTS

Others told me of the punishment inflicted on some of the youths by the guards. One, for complaining about the quality of the food, was forced to walk up and down the corridor 500 times while his hands and feet were bound, so that he could walk only 6 inches at a time. Another, for talking back, was forced to stand on a red line about six inches wide with his arms crossed, for eight hours, three days in a row. Every time he moved, he was hit viciously with a strap. I heard many other stories of needless brutality which show beyond a doubt that the men who run the hellhole are incapable of handling youth.

The meals, containing mostly starch, cause serious dietary deficiency among inmates—the same diet constantly without variation. Food is set out on tables hours before eating, causing it to become rancid.

There are no real educational and recreational facilities. Officials in charge follow the harmful practice of rewarding boys with cigarettes for good conduct. The lack of a program to keep inmates active shows that the administration of this institution is unfit to control it.

How long must this waste of youth prevail? How long must these brutal conditions continue?

LEFT JABS B HAW

Non-partisan government is a political luxury, declares one of the leaders of the Rumanian Communist Party. The Stalinists and all other fakery are for democracy only when it doesn't endanger their rule. After that, democracy becomes a "luxury."

Many people fail to realize that this country is a democracy not by virtue of any innate superiority of the American political system but because we (editorial "we": read "they") are a wealthy country and can permit the working class the luxury of "democratic" elections, free press, etc. Watch how fast the capitalist class will make onslaughts against even this limited democracy the moment things get really bad.

to appease public opinion back home. Don't take it too seriously. Outer Mongolia voted about 500,000 to NOTHING for "independence." Independence, that is, from China—dependence on Russia. The vote indicates that the Russkys have no sense of humor. Whom do they expect to believe that fantastic vote with not one NAY? What person beyond the mental level of an idiot can help but laugh? Even Frank Hague would never pull anything as raw as that.

Says the Times: NO PROTEST LIKELY ON ARGENTINE COUP; U. S. EXPECTED TO CONSULT LATIN REPUBLICS AND EXPRESS "REGRET" AT DEVELOPMENTS.

The N. Y. Times, referring to Truman's plan for one year military training: "Mr. Truman stressed that his training plan was not to be confused with 'military service' or 'peacetime conscription.'"

DEPT OF UDDER CONFUSION: The same correspondent reports that the excuse the Russians give for stealing all the cattle from the Polish farmers and peasants is that these are German cattle rather than Polish.

U. S. FOR "OPEN DOOR" IN MID-EAST TRADE. What's an open door, Mommy? An open door is something you're for when you want a bigger piece of pie than you've been getting.

U. S. FOR "OPEN DOOR" IN MID-EAST TRADE. What's an open door, Mommy? An open door is something you're for when you want a bigger piece of pie than you've been getting.

OFA TO END PRICE CONTROL ON FIFTY-TWO FOOD ITEMS. Well, if the cost of food gets too high, we'll just have to get along without it....

The only time our government objects to fascism or reaction is when it hurts the pocketbooks of our bankers and industrialists—BUT if and when the fascists and reactionaries are willing to be good boys and play ball with us economically, why then fascism becomes merely a matter of taste, and if we rebuke you fellows, you'll understand that this is only

MacArthur's drastic order for the diplomatic isolation of Japan is another step in the plan of American big business to rid itself of a rival on the world market. As the market shrinks, international capitalism becomes more rapacious, more determined to become a more and more exclusive group.

The only hope for humanity lies in building a socialist world which will dispose of these gentlemen in a manner becoming them.

Vets Segregated in Detroit --

(Continued from page 1)

Guard, Johnson applied for a home in a housing project. He was told that there were no vacancies, despite the fact that white applicants were being placed before his eyes. Although this has long been an accepted practice in Detroit, and is one of the factors contributing to the intense housing problem here, the young veteran courageously protested this treatment. In a letter to the Detroit common council, he accused the housing project managers of giving him the run-around, and demanded a hearing before the Housing Commission.

show no discrimination. I returned home hoping to find the freedom I had fought for. Now I am back in Detroit and can't even find a decent place in which to live and bring up my son.

mission also recognizes that in matters of racial policy its functions are limited to what it believes to be the wishes of the majority in the community.... Therefore, the Detroit Housing Commission reaffirms its policy of not changing the racial characteristics of a neighborhood and will continue to do so until such time as in the opinion of the Housing Commission the majority of the population in Detroit requests them to do otherwise.

At the hearing, according to the Detroit Tribune, Negro weekly paper, Johnson was subjected to a line of questioning which clearly indicated the anti-Negro attitudes of the members, such as "Why do you object to living among your own people?" He replied that he had no objections to living anywhere in the city, but that he did object strenuously to being forced to live in any segregated district.

The Housing Commission gave its answer to Charles Johnson and to all those who think they should have a right to live in a home of their own choosing, in the form of a resolution adopted with only one dissenting vote, that of Rev. Horace White, Negro member of the commission.

The city government thus maintains the system of segregated housing and "restricted" neighborhoods which is so profitable to large real estate concerns. City officials, trying to pass the buck to the "majority in the community," help to foster the prejudice which keeps Negro and white divided. In this city of the tragic race riots of 1943, not one serious attempt has been made by all the committees and inter-racial groups appointed by the mayor, to attack one of the prime causes of racial tension—miserably inadequate housing for Negro workers.

SEGREGATION WINS The resolution stated: "The Detroit Housing Commission recognizes its responsibility to the citizens of Detroit in making every effort to bring about a solution to our congested housing problem. The Com-

mission also recognizes that in matters of racial policy its functions are limited to what it believes to be the wishes of the majority in the community.... Therefore, the Detroit Housing Commission reaffirms its policy of not changing the racial characteristics of a neighborhood and will continue to do so until such time as in the opinion of the Housing Commission the majority of the population in Detroit requests them to do otherwise.

The city government thus maintains the system of segregated housing and "restricted" neighborhoods which is so profitable to large real estate concerns. City officials, trying to pass the buck to the "majority in the community," help to foster the prejudice which keeps Negro and white divided. In this city of the tragic race riots of 1943, not one serious attempt has been made by all the committees and inter-racial groups appointed by the mayor, to attack one of the prime causes of racial tension—miserably inadequate housing for Negro workers.

Taxes Cut for Profiteers --

(Continued from page 1)

the excess profits tax. The estimate of these government economists was made BEFORE they realized how large the corporation tax cuts were going to be.

higher the tax, just as in the case of income taxes.

If the government which we have won't take the necessary steps—and it won't—the Workers Party says: This merely proves that we need a different kind of government—a WORKERS' GOVERNMENT instead of a capitalist government—to guarantee full production, full employment, and plenty for all.

Yet these corporations say that they can't afford wage increases without price boosts. They say that they can't guarantee jobs and a minimum annual wage. Government experts expect unemployment of 8 million early next year WITH NO DROP IN WARTIME PROFITS.

(2) ON WAGES. A guaranteed job for every worker and a guaranteed annual wage of \$2500 for single persons and \$5,000 for workers who have families to support.

The first necessary step towards a workers' government is obviously a political party of the working class, an independent Labor Party.

In the face of this situation, General Motors' president Wilson proposes that the standard work week be raised to 45 hours, with overtime allowed only after that. In return for such concessions by labor, he would be willing to increase wage rates by 6 (six) percent.

The corporations won't or can't agree to such a program? Then let the government nationalize the monopolies under workers' control. The war has proved that the Workers Party program is altogether possible, so far as productive capacity and labor are concerned.

The first necessary step towards a workers' government is obviously a political party of the working class, an independent Labor Party.

BUSINESS MANAGER'S PRESS ACTION BY PAUL BERN

Big business has been carrying on a high pressure advertising campaign: "Runaway inflation must be avoided."

We can assure you that selling subs will not create inflation. In fact we are told by some economic experts that the buying of more and more subscriptions to LABOR ACTION is one sure way of preventing a cheaper dollar. What is more important, it is the best way of introducing economic sanity.

Of course, the real campaign of big business is against labor. We must get many more thousands of workers to read our weekly paper, to read our program for labor as the best an-

swer to all this propaganda. Get another subscription today. We have received the following subs this week:

- Wisconsin 2
Ohio 1
Illinois 1
Pennsylvania 2
Michigan 1
Detroit 8
New York City 11
Los Angeles 4
Missouri 8
Washington 6
Total 44

Let's see if we can hit one hundred subs per week!

LABOR ACTION SUBSCRIBE NOW TO— LABOR ACTION 114 West 14th Street, New York 11, N. Y. NAME ADDRESS CITY ZONE STATE Enclosed is \$ for LABOR ACTION, to be applied as follows: Subscription Price: 1 year, 60c—6 mos., 35c Manhattan, Bronx and Foreign: 1 year, 75c—6 mos., 40c Contribution \$

DETROIT READERS: AN ANALYSIS OF THE DETROIT ELECTIONS Speaker: Martin Harvey SUNDAY, NOV. 18, 8:30 P. M. LABOR ACTION HALL 3773 GRATIOT AT MT. ELLIOTT

New York WORKERS PARTY SCHOOL Schedule of Winter Session November 16 to December 21, 1945 Classes for the First Semester will be held on Friday Nights at Labor Temple, 14th St. near 2nd Ave. I—Program of Workers Party INSTRUCTOR: PAUL BERN 7:30 to 8:45 P. M. II—Historical Roots of Bolshevism (First Part) INSTRUCTOR: ERNEST ERBER 7:30 to 8:45 P. M. III—Post War Problems of Labor Movement INSTRUCTOR: DAVID COOLIDGE 9:00 to 10:15 P. M. IV—The World Today INSTRUCTOR: STEVE PARKER 9:00 to 10:15 P. M. V—Seminar: Capital Vol. I INSTRUCTOR: F. FOREST 9:00 P. M. You may register for one or more of the above courses at Workers Party Headquarters, 114 West 14th Street, or at the first two sessions of the school. Registration closes on November 23rd. The fee is \$1.50 per course. For complete description of each class and further information about the School, write to THE WORKERS PARTY SCHOOL 114 West 14th Street New York 11, N. Y.

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

Published Weekly by the Labor Action Publishing Ass'n 114 West 14th Street, New York 11, N. Y. CH. 2-9681 (Third Floor)

Vol. 9, No. 46

November 12, 1945

ALBERT GATES, Editor MARY BELL, Asst. Editor

Subscription Rate: 60c a Year; 35c for 6 Mos. (75c-40c for Canada, Foreign, New York City, Bronx) Re-entered as Second Class Matter, May 24, 1940, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. Under the Act of March 3, 1879

Editorials

Truman Doubletalks on Wages

President Truman refused in his recent radio speech and at a later press conference to set a percentage for wage increases. It was possible during the war to freeze wages under the Little Steel formula, but now each case is completely "individual" and must be settled by collective bargaining—yes, sir, by genuine collective bargaining.

ference opened, Truman was interviewing delegates and warning them that American domination in world affairs absolutely required industrial peace. In other words, some kind of arbitration set-up, which might differ somewhat from the War Labor Board but would serve essentially the same purpose.

Statement on Jewish Problem--

(Continued from page 1) to live. Since they cannot go to England, Russia or the United States because these powers refuse them the right of entry, they can turn only to Palestine. But here too they run into many obstacles.

STUMBLING BLOCKS Only by unravelling the tangled skein of British imperialist interests, Arab nationalism, reactionary Zionism, U. S. oil hunger and Russian expansion is it possible to understand the Palestine situation. Palestine is the hub of the Middle East where Great Britain has enormous oil interests and colonial possessions.

Musa Bey knows that Great Britain won't accept any Jews. He knows that the United States will not open the doors to Jewish immigrants. He knows, too, that Russia, falsely hailed as a "socialist" fatherland, will not take any Jews into its borders. He knows that Zionism only strengthens the Arab position by the Zionist-imperialist attitude toward the Arabs.

The fact of the matter is that Zionism is in league with British imperialism. It fosters an imperialist policy of its own which is aimed at depriving the Arabs of their rights in the country which is by centuries of possession and residence theirs.

What should be the attitude of the Jews in this situation?

FOR A DEMOCRATIC PROGRAM

1. They should approach the Arab masses on the basis of equality and as the outstanding fighters for democracy. This means that the Jews must demand the end of imperialist rule in Palestine. This means that they must pursue the kind of policy which could unite the Arab and Jewish people in a common struggle for the independence of the nation.

2. The Jews should be the champions of the struggle against British rule by fighting for the independence of the country through the establishment of a constituent assembly of the Jewish and Arab population based on universal suffrage and majority rule.

3. In order to accomplish the above, the Jews should champion the slogan of "land for the peasants" as a means of breaking up the feudal land-holdings.

If the Jews became the advocates of such democratic demands in Palestine they would win the support of the Arab masses and create the conditions for a genuine reconstruction of the nation and of peace between the two peoples. They would demonstrate in practice that they are the friends of the Arabs and not their enemies and not agents of imperialism.

When Zionism demands a Jewish commonwealth in Palestine it means to disfranchise the Arabs.

When the so-called socialist Zionists demand a bi-national state, where the two unequal populations rule jointly and postpone the demand for a genuinely democratic state to the time when the Jews are in the majority, they thereby alienate the Arab people and put off at the same time the solution of the Jewish problem. No matter what the disguise, this program calls for Jewish domination of the country.

When Jews say that they will "industrialize and civilize" the country, they are echoing, however faintly, the "white man's burden" concept by which so many older and more powerful imperialisms developed.

None of the Jewish leaders or organizations has come forward with a forthright demand for the democratic right of self-government in Palestine, for complete and unequivocal democracy for all the inhabitants.

THE REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST POSITION By its policies, Zionism is the gravest enemy of the best interests of the Jews and aggravates the extremely delicate situation in the Middle East.

It goes without saying that, as revolutionary socialists, we are against all bars, quotas and restrictions on immigration. LABOR ACTION and the Workers Party demand that the big powers open their doors to the homeless Jews and to all other peoples who have suffered the ravages of war and destruction. We demand that Great Britain, the United States and Russia admit Jews into their countries. We demand unrestricted immigration to Palestine.

We are for full rights for these hapless Jews. But we are also for full rights for the Arabs. We are for a democratic policy in Palestine. That means: Out British imperialism, establish universal suffrage and a national constituent assembly based on majority rule.

If the Jews would adopt this policy they would be on the way to solving their problems in the Middle East and in the rest of the world. Anything short of this is sheer hypocrisy. There is enough of that emanating from Parliament, Congress and Stalin's hand-picked governments.

REPLYING TO A READER:

ON THE BRITISH LABOR PARTY

By BRITANNICUS

D. E. has written to the editor on the question of the Labor Party. His letter states one perplexing aspect of the question so clearly and concisely that it is valuable to print it in full.

"Your paper's attitude toward the question of forming a Labor Party in the country seems inconsistent. You hailed the victory of the British Labor Party, for instance, but nowhere referred to the British government thereafter as a workers government in accordance with your program. On the contrary you call Bevin, Morrison, etc., "little Churchills and Chamberlains."

You apparently do not approve of such a labor party for America. Yet you nowhere show how a better can be built. You cannot have much success in your project unless the trade unions back it. But these, as everyone knows, are far from Simon-pure or even honestly constructed bodies and this would undoubtedly reflect upon the new party.

It is conceivable that John L. Lewis, for instance, might attempt to forward his thwarted political ambitions by becoming chieftain in a newly formed labor party. But it is inconceivable that such a party could be any better than its British inspirer.

What guarantees can you offer, or even what reasonable supposition, that an Independent Labor Party in this country (could it be built) would really be what its name implies?"

The letter is perfect in that it says completely what it means. Thereby what it does not say stands out only more clearly.

It hasn't a single word to say about the working class.

What stage of development have the workers reached? What do they think is the next step? What means can the Workers Party most successfully use to assist them in their development toward revolutionary socialism? Not a word. D. E. considers the problem exclusively from the point of view of Bevin, Morrison and John L. Lewis, trade union leaders who are not Simon-pure, etc., etc. That is not only the wrong way to approach this problem. It is the

wrong way to approach any political problem.

Let us agree with D. E. at once that the Labor Government in Britain is not a workers government. The kind of workers government that the workers need and that the Workers Party aims at is a government composed of representatives of the workers elected on the basis of factories, small farmers, railroad and other transportation units, unions of white collar workers, soldiers' committees, etc. The Russians, who first developed this TYPE of representation, called them Soviets.

In this national body political parties will put forward program and policy and the actual administration will consist of a party which gains the most support, or a coalition of parties. We need have no fear that by the time the workers reach the stage where they form such councils, the parties which they will listen to and support may have serious differences but will agree on one thing—the abolition of capitalist society. That is what we want. We want it because the workers need it.

But the workers, the vast millions, the only ones who can create the possibility of such a workers' government have to know this, must feel the necessity for it, come to the conclusion that this type of government is the only one that can solve their problems.

In Britain, despite many decades of political activity, they have only this year reached the stage where they have put a Labor-Government in power by the traditional democratic means.

Now suppose D. E. had been in England in June, 1945. What would he have done in the election campaign? I hope I am correct in saying that he would have voted for the Labor Party and done his best to defeat Churchill. If the workers were disgusted with the Labor Party, if they felt that their own power in the unions, factory committees and workers councils were the only power which could give them a new Britain, then the revolutionaries would have carried on a vigorous campaign to boycott the election, to repudiate both Churchill and Attlee, to seize the power. If

But the British workers and the

middle classes who went with them had not yet reached that stage. So we, with them, worked to put the labor leaders in power.

We know the bankruptcy of those labor leaders. The Workers do not. We must be patient. The workers will learn the truth about the labor leaders only when these have complete power—and do nothing with it.

PUSH SOCIALIST PROGRAM

But, and this is the key, we do not subordinate our program and our ideas. We say what we think. We go with the workers but make it clear that our ideas, our expectations are not theirs.

And if we have a little influence in any area we put up our own candidates, even against the labor candidates. During the election and after we call upon the labor leaders to carry out their promises.

In the United States today we follow the same principle. Murray, Green, Hillman, Reuther, Dubinsky, they are always promising the workers benefits and security under capitalism. The workers believe them. The workers must sooner or later lose confidence in these fakers. How to accomplish that? That is the revolutionary problem. The only way is to put them in power and prevent them blaming General Motors, and blaming Ford, and hiding behind Truman. If even they denounced socialism and swore that capitalism would give sixty million well-paid jobs, we would still support them, if they formed an Independent Labor Party based on organized labor.

The difference between D. E. and ourselves is that we from first to last are concerned with the development, the education, the political consciousness of the workers. We maintain our own independence, our ideas, our program. That is why we organize a Workers' Party.

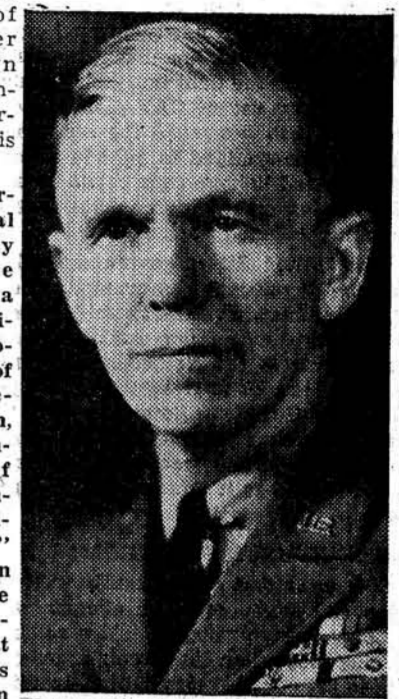
As long as the labor fakers are leaders of working class organizations we have to respect what the workers think of them. That is the genuine proletarian democracy. Proletarian because there is one line that we do not cross. If the workers insist on voting for Roosevelt and the Democratic Party, then we do not go with them. But D. E., I am sure, knows that.

MARSHALL REPORT What Kind of an Army Gen. Marshall Wants

By WALTER JASON

Compulsory military training is the key question around which the entire Marshall document revolves. For everything in his military program rests on acceptance or rejection of this fundamental issue. Unless the brass hats can find a way to force its adoption, the peacetime army will not be the big instrument of class power and foreign policy contemplated by Marshall and his colleagues.

The American General Staff finally has come around to a public recognition of the profound truth of Von Clausewitz's dictum, "War is a continuation of politics by other [i.e., forcible] means." Marshall even misquotes the German theoretician to that effect. And this same criterion is applied to the question of military training. "The timing of our decision on the question of military training is urgent. The officials of the State Department have been strongly of the opinion that a decision in this matter prior to the final peace negotiations would greatly strengthen the hand of the United States in securing acceptance of genuine organization to handle international differences."



GENERAL MARSHALL

Compulsory military training, therefore, is to be, first of all, a club in foreign policy. Small wonder that some newspapers refer to Marshall's program as a plea for a "Big Stick" policy. Marshall expresses his cynicism about any world conference and peace treaties, and certainly the London Conference should help remove any illusions about the "United" Nations and the "peace" of tomorrow. For the world today is only in a state of armed truce! And everywhere oppressed millions in India, the Indies, China, Africa and other countries are trying desperately to revolt against their tyrants and foreign rulers in Washington, London or Paris. General Patton's phobia about a war with Russia is not unshared among the American brass hats.

To accept compulsory military training is to give the American brass hats the go-ahead signal in preparation for a Third World War, which they believe is inevitable! It means also to support the use of armed power to extend and retain the gains of American imperialism on a world scale, be it oil lines in the Near East, rubber plantations in the Indies, the markets of Europe or the raw materials of South America. It means to support the desperate efforts of American capitalism to prop up a dying capitalism in Europe and a host of reactionary régimes throughout the world, dedicated to the same purpose.

Turning to the domestic or military questions involved, there is little time wasted in Marshall's report on the alleged blessings of compulsory military training. Marshall knows that too many citizen-soldiers know that talk of education in the Army is just plain bunk. One year's compulsory technical school or university training for American youth would provide ten times the benefit of any Army "educational" course.

A higher standard of living for the American people would do more for the health of the youth than any army program. The reports of the selective service boards show that. And the reports of the Surgeon General's office show what army life does to the health of an individual. No longer does the Army center its recruiting around the slogan, "The Army Builds Men." Too many millions have been living on Armychow and under Army conditions to believe that nonsense now.

THE GIs' ANTI-MILITARISM

Certainly the neatest intellectual performance of the year is Marshall's rebuttal to the argument that compulsory military training might militarize the youth. "I submit the evidence of our present armies," he replies. Yes, the Army certainly is antimilitary, but not because the brass hats wanted it so. Rather, all the efforts of the brass hats to indoctrinate the citizen-soldiers into a love of the military failed completely.

But not through lack of effort: it was the bitter experience of the GIs in this ruthless organization in which the enlisted man was forever at the mercy of the officers that brought the anti-military feelings to the surface among millions of soldiers. The GI campaign against slow demobilization is an expression of this hatred of the military. The blasts at MacArthur and Patton by returning veterans speak volumes on this score. The popularity of Bill Mauldin's cartoons is further evidence.

The "domestic" purpose of conscription is twofold: its adoption would be a deadly blow at democratic rights and traditions of America because it would give dictatorial control to the brass hats over an important segment of the population; and it would furnish the means by which the big wartime military bureaucracy would entrench itself permanently and remain a powerful vested interest in American politics.

The deadly disease of militarism would become an inherent feature of American capitalist society. The instrument for retaining class power, for military machinations, for providing fertile soil for fascist plotters would be created.

The adoption of the Marshall program would be a signal to the world that the U. S. has taken the road to permanent military life and it would be a challenge for a world armament race. It would hang around the necks of the American people the curse and yoke of militarism. It would be a vote of approval of the ruthless imperialist policies pursued throughout the world.

It should be rejected in total.

SWP Evades Unity Proposal Made by the Workers Party

The meeting of the full National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party which had before it the proposal made by the Workers Party for fusion into one united party, as well as the proposals on its own behalf by the minority members of the National Committee of the SWP, finally adopted a resolution which fails to accept the unity proposals of either the Workers Party or the proposals of the minority, which were made along the same lines and in the same spirit.

The meeting of the SWP National Committee was held following two negotiation sessions at which a delegation from each of the two parties had met in order to discuss the question of unity. At these meetings the delegation of the Workers Party had reiterated the proposal it had made in a previous resolution and in letters to the SWP in favor of unity. The SWP delegation declared that it was not authorized to make any proposals in view of the fact that the Political Committee of the SWP had not even voted whether unity was desirable.

The Workers representatives informed the SWP Party delegation that a plenary session of the full National Committee of the SWP was being called in order to take a decision on the desirability of fusion and the terms under which it might be accomplished. However, the resolution

adopted by the SWP Plenum does not declare itself on either of these questions.

The only decision made by the SWP Plenum as revealed in its resolution is to have a discussion of the political differences between the two parties. As LABOR ACTION readers know, such a discussion has been going on for over five years. This decision fails to meet the point emphasized by the Workers Party and the SWP minority that the two organizations have sufficient in common on basic programmatic questions to warrant unity, and that the political differences which do exist between the two parties are permissible within the ranks of a single revolutionary party, unless the opinion is held that a revolutionary party must be built on a "monolithic" basis, i.e., that it must be a party in which serious differences of political opinion are not desired or tolerated.

The Plenum not only refused to accept the proposals for unity of the Workers Party, but also rejected those made by its minority.

MINORITY STATEMENT

A statement issued by the minority declares, among other things: "The resolution of the majority of the SWP is designed to prevent unity. What is reprehensible in the... resolution is its refusal to answer any of the questions which are central to the unity proposal... It should be obvious to any political person that the absurd basis on which the dis-

cussions are left—on no basis except the whims of the SWP discussers to drag out the talks endlessly—may soon prove unacceptable to the WP. With none of their proposals accepted, with no alternative proposals offered, with nothing decided by the Plenum, the WP may very well conclude that there is no point in continuing such formless discussions. The resolution appears aimed to test the patience of the WP negotiators to the breaking point by an endless series of pointless meetings. In a word, it is calculated to throw responsibility for disruption of the discussions on the WP, whereas the reality, is that the course set by the resolution must inevitably lead to disruption of discussions. We brand this as trickery and declare that if this resolution becomes party policy the responsibility for disruption will be on the shoulders of the Plenum."

In order to afford the SWP the final opportunity to make clear its position in detail and without ambiguity, the Workers Party has just addressed a long communication to the SWP asking in detail for a concrete and precise formulation of its opinion on the possibility and prospects of unity. Excerpts from this letter will be made available to the readers of LABOR ACTION in an early issue.

(Readers interested in a full account of the unity negotiations may obtain it in the September, October and November issues of The New Internationalist.)

How British Persecute Greeks

On Christmas Day of 1941 Panos C. escaped from Nazi-infested Greece determined to fight for the liberation of the country. On Christmas Day of 1944 he and 48,000 Greek soldiers were in British concentration camps.

Panos C. could have stayed in Greece and become a collaborator; or he could have gone to Germany as a slave laborer. He chose to fight instead for what he believed to be an ideal, democracy, and the highly publicized "Four Freedoms." He fought with the Greek Army, under British command, in North Africa and in Italy. Other Greeks like him manned British ships alongside the sailors of His Majesty's Navy. No mention has ever been made of their exploits and sacrifices. That was not important. They were fighting, we must not forget, for that ideal!

The hopes of Panos C. and his fellow idealists are now being realized in British concentration camps scat-

tered throughout North Africa. Panos C. is in Abyssinia, others are in Eritrea. Their heinous crime? They refused to return to Greece in December of 1944 to kill their brothers.

Civil war was raging in Greece. Nothing would have delighted the British imperialists more than the opportunity to pit Greek soldier against Greek revolutionary. It would have made excellent propaganda to discredit the revolutionaries and would also have saved the skins of a few Britishers. But the Greek soldier, after three years of fighting for "democracy," was in no mood to dance to a British tune!

Panos C. writes: "We are here (in Abyssinia) because there is no transportation. Fortunately for our great 'friends,' however, there is ample shipping space for barbed wire to keep all the Greeks 'safe.' Anyway, the British have heard that we have never had the opportunity to travel,

so they are conducting special tours through Africa. When we have finished here, there is still all of Asia.

Are there any unexplored jungles in America? All that we know, my dear cousin, is that the day of reckoning by the masses will come, and that these men of darkness will themselves fall into the pit which they are digging for us!"

Next Week:

Labor-Management Wind-Up

Results of the New York Elections

Indonesians Struggle for Independence

By Jessie Kaaren

The fight of the Indonesian people for the independence of Java from Dutch colonialism continues unabated. Two months ago the first "incidents" occurred when British forces were landed in BROTHERLY help to the Netherlands, which does not have sufficient armed strength to reimpose its domination on the country. In the name of their newly formed republic, the Indonesians resisted these landings. Thousands of natives have been killed in the fight but their resistance has only been stiffened. The use of RAF planes and heavy armaments by the British has made the resistance movement more than ever determined to fight to a finish. The fighting is now reported to have gone beyond the control of the conciliatory leadership of the President of the Indonesian Republic, Achmed Soekarno.

The United States government gives full support to the British military commander, who bears the title of Allied commander. Liberty ships unload large quantities of uniforms and other American supplies, which are turned over to the Netherlands colonial representatives. Recently, the U. S. freighter Cape Spear brought stores from New Guinea to Batavia (Java). The American government prefers the role of silent partner, but the combination of British troops and American dollars is just as murderous as if American soldiers were manning the guns.

INDEPENDENCE FOR WHOM?

The arms that only recently were used to shoot Germans and Japanese in an alleged "war for democracy" are now being turned against a colonial people who ask nothing more than that foreign governments and foreign armies get out of their country. In this fight, the Indonesians are learning that "democracy" is reserved for speeches and for the now defunct Atlantic Charter. How true this is can be illustrated by a small incident in London.

In his recent talk on foreign policy, President Truman advocated self-government for all peoples who are prepared for it, finishing this idea with the statement: "This is true in Europe, in Asia and in Africa, as well as in the Western Hemisphere." This last line was deleted from the British rebroadcast of the speech. The comment of the reporter is very apt: "This could have applied to India, Burma, Malaya, etc." (New York Times.)

Even the truce entered into between the President of the Indonesian Republic and the Dutch Governor was repudiated by the Dutch home government as being too lenient to the Javanese. With the British army on the spot and the mighty American backing, the Dutch figure this is the best time to drown out all ideas of independence by Asiatic colonial peoples. Since the Dutch government is too weak to have an independent political line, this reflects the joint sentiment of the Allies.

Just the same, it is very difficult for the Allies to live down the Atlantic Charter. In sounding the call for the Four Freedoms, they started something which they cannot control with all the armies and armaments in their possession. Indonesians in New York picketing the Netherlands Embassy carried signs such as: "We fought fascism to bring democracy. What about our democracy?" and "American guns even without U. S. insignia can kill Indonesian people."

SUPPORT THE INDONESIANS!

This movement for independence is worthy of strong support from the American and British labor forces. It is time that they realized that the interests of their capitalist bosses are not the same as the interests of the workers and the colonial people of the world. The action of the Australian dock workers in refusing to load arms for use against the Javanese should be copied in every country. This also goes for the demonstration of solidarity made by the recently reborn Japanese labor movement rally at an International Independence Youth Movement rally in Tokyo called on General MacArthur to keep Netherlands forces from landing in Indonesia and asked him to persuade the French to withdraw from Indo-China.

The American and British labor movements have a particular responsibility in this matter. They can and should check the oppressive actions of their respective governments.

- Remove British troops from foreign soil.
- Stop the shipment of arms and supplies for killing colonial people.
- Give moral and material support to all the colonial masses struggling for independence.

In Memory of Eugene V. Debs

America's Great Socialist Leader

By HENRY SALTER

"There is nothing I would not do, so far as human effort goes, to advance any movement designed to reach and rescue perishing humanity."

These are the words of Eugene V. Debs, one of America's most beloved revolutionary socialists, on resigning his various offices in the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and relinquishing a steady income of \$4,000 a year to become organizer of the American Railroad Union with a dubious salary of \$75 a month.



"GENE" DEBS

Debs was born on November 5, 1855, in Terre Haute, Ind., one of ten children of Alsatian French immigrants. This year is the ninetieth anniversary of his birth.

Debs' career in the labor movement included experience as a union organizer, editor of the Firemen's Magazine, touring lecturer, grand secretary and treasurer of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, five-time candidate for President of the United States, father of the Social-Democratic Party, charter member of the industrial Workers of the World and founder of one of the first industrial unions in this country.

He began working at the age of fourteen in the machine shops of the Terre Haute & Indianapolis Railroad, later becoming a locomotive fireman.

Debs' first connection with organized labor came in February, 1875, when a local of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen was organized at Terre Haute and he was elected secretary. During the next seventeen years he was a tireless worker for the union, serving in various capacities, first in his local lodge and later in the national organization.

But Debs' real dream was the organization of one big union for all railroad men — engineers, firemen, brakemen, conductors, switchmen, trackmen and freight handlers, standing together shoulder to shoulder fighting the common enemy.

"Organize," he said, "in the shop is where the industrial union has its beginning. Organize. Define your capacity. Act together. And when you organize industrially you will learn that you can manage industrially as well as operate industry. You will find that you do not have to take work from them; you give them work to do. You can dispense with them."

It was to fight for the realization of this dream that Debs resigned his posts in the Brotherhood in 1892. In June, 1893, Debs and a few comrades organized the American Railroad Union, one of the first industrial unions in this country. The union attracted immediate attention in a few minor strikes and gained national prominence in April, 1894, when the workers of the Great Northern Railroad walked out on strike. Although the company used all the strike-breaking techniques it knew, the solidarity of the workers could not be broken and eighteen days later the strike was won.

The strike for which Debs is most famous is the Chicago Pullman strike, sometimes called the "Debs Rebellion." Two months after the settlement of the Great Northern strike, the workers of the Pullman Palace Car Co., no longer able to endure living conditions worse than peonage, went out on strike. The ARU joined them with a sympathy strike.

The capitalists were in a panic. All their bribes, threats and acts of violence were futile against the solidarity of the workers. It took capitalism's federal troops to break the strike.

But breaking the strike was not all the capitalists wanted. The strength of working class solidarity had been exhibited and they were afraid. They determined to wipe out the ARU and to get rid of its leaders. Sixty-nine officials and directors of the union, including Debs, were arrested. The trial was obviously a frame-up; the capitalists were so manifestly wrong that they were afraid to take the witness stand and testify. Finally the trial was adjourned with the feeble excuse that one juror was sick.

The court was not to be outdone. Debs and seven other leaders were sentenced to jail for contempt of court.

Debs entered jail in 1895 a militant labor unionist. Six months later he came out a socialist. Of socialism, he said:

"It is as useless to resist it as it is to resist the rising sun."

Debs saw the need for political action by the workers, for a workingmen's party run by and for workingmen, a labor party independent of the two major capitalist parties. In 1897, with the remnants of the old ARU, he formed the Social-Democratic Party.

For the remainder of his life Debs worked to educate his fellow workers to socialism. Five times he ran as a candidate for President on a socialist platform. Never did he swerve from his position as a militant unionist that socialism and the overthrow of the capitalist government was the only solution to the worker's problem.

After working to form the Industrial Workers of the World in 1905, he disagreed with them when one faction succeeded in eliminating the political clause from its Preamble in 1908. Nevertheless, he continued to defend the IWW from many attacks by the reformist elements among the social democrats in his party.

Debs consistently fought against supporting the capitalists in their First Imperialist World War. On June 16, 1918, in Canton, Ohio, he delivered his famous oration against the war. He called upon his comrades not to worry at being labeled traitors by the capitalist politicians, but to be true only to their class.

"And now for all of us to do our duty. The call is ringing in your ears. Do not worry over the charge of treason to your masters, but be concerned about the treason that involves yourself."

For this speech he was arrested and sentenced to ten years in jail. He appealed the case, but on March 10, 1919, four months after the end of the bloody slaughter, the Supreme Court of the United States upheld the decision and Debs began serving his term.

Three years later, just before Christmas, 1921, President Harding commuted his sentence. Debs died in the autumn of 1926, the faithful servant of his class.

"A Monroe Doctrine for Russia"-Byrnes

By Mary Bell

Fresh from the fiasco of the Foreign Ministers at London, which was preceded by a long series of declarations, retractions, maneuvers, "unilateral" actions, re-announcements and back-trackings, in the course of which the Atlantic Charter and San Francisco declarations were crumpled, torn to bits and tossed to the winds, Secretary of State James F. Byrnes came out with a new statement of "principle" on November 1, in the Herald Tribune forum.

Now, says Byrnes, speaking with the atomic production formula in his pocket, the United States grants to Stalin imperialist expansion in Central and Eastern Europe the status of a Russian Monroe Doctrine. That is, just as the United States considers it in her interests to have friendly nations in Latin and South America, so Russia has, according to Byrnes, "special security" interests in Europe.

This latest "principle" to emerge from the big power jockeyings for dominance in the post-war world, comes shortly after both the United States and England have registered their objection to the latest "unilateral" action of Russia, namely, the favorable (for Russia) trade treaty just concluded with Hungary. This seeming contradiction in principles stems from the rivalry among the big powers to dominate the world markets, a rivalry which has not yet been "frozen" in any final peace agreement.

GRANTING WHAT THEY CANNOT STOP

Byrnes' statement is undoubtedly an attempt to make a fresh start after the impasse at London, to try to throw to the Russians Eastern and Central Europe without any strings attached, if Russia will behave and confine herself to Eastern and Central Europe. As for Western Europe and the Far East, that's a different matter. Byrnes is merely recognizing actions that have already taken place in Poland, Yugoslavia, Rumania, Czechoslovakia and the Baltic countries previously incorporated into the Russian Empire, and about which the United States can do nothing.

After recognizing Russian control of the smaller countries in Europe, Byrnes tries to clothe this naked power politics with the following statement:

"In centuries past, powerful nations have for various purposes tried to divide the world among themselves. They failed, and in failing left a trail of blood through the centuries. Such efforts have less chance of success in the modern world, where all nations have become neighbors. Today the world must make its choice. There must be one world for all of us, or there will be no world for any of us."

We can scarcely imagine the great comfort that Russia's "neighbors," the Lithuanians, Poles, Czechs and Yugoslavians, must take in Byrnes' fine words. And, on the other side, his speech must make the Indonesians, Filipinos, Indo-Chinese simply delirious.

WHAT THIS WAR WAS FOR

The real nature of the war just ended is made clearer by the Secretary's remarks. It was a war for power, for the division and domination of the world by the respective powers. If, as the leaders of the United Nations maintain, this was a war for peace, a war between peace-loving nations against aggressors, why is it necessary for them to carry on in this way? Why is it necessary for Russia to acquire "special security interests?" Against the weak Eastern and Central European countries?

If this was a war for freedom, peace and democracy, why does the United Nations Organization find it impossible to really organize a peaceful post-war world? Why is it necessary to grant Russia a special European "Monroe Doctrine" just as America has one for the Western Hemisphere? It is because there is no peace in the world. It is because there is only an armistice which is punctuated by the heavy preparations the powers are now making for the future when, as they expect, a new struggle will break out in an effort to bring about a new redistribution of the world in their respective interests.

Byrnes' speech is an additional indictment of the war which has cost the peoples of the world tens of millions of casualties, loss of homes, starvation and endless misery. This is what the organizers of chaos have achieved in the Second World War.

Behind the Demobilization Slow-Down

By JOE LEONARD

The plan to keep a huge and enormously expensive Army and Navy, in spite of the overwhelming sentiment of the American people, both in and out of uniform, has many parts. It started with the point system.

The point system was presented as a demobilization plan, although everyone knows that it was designed to release only a few men before the end of the war with Japan.

They tried to pass the scheme off as "what the men themselves want." To date no one has found a single soldier who was asked what he thought a fair discharge plan would be. But any way you figure it, eighty-five points means an awful long time, years of blood and misery and daily fear of death. How many vets will think that a criminal sentenced to three or five years is getting a "short" sentence? There were some jokers to the point system, of course. The man had to be declared "unessential." The theater commander had to arrange for the man to be shipped back to the States. The man had to have orders to proceed to a separation center. Result: there are STILL men with eighty-five points who have not been discharged.

The high-point men who have not yet been discharged are used as an excuse to keep from discharging men with lower point scores. No one argues against the priority of high-point men, of course, but the way the point system is being used, it results in millions of men lying around sweating it out. The brass hats, far from using the point system to AID discharges, even went so far as to

order the Eighty-Fifth and Ninety-Sixth Combat Divisions, newly arrived home from Europe, overseas again.

There was such a hue and cry from the public, whom Congress is supposed to represent, over the demobilization scandal that the Administration went into a huddle with its high military officers. As a result, the original figures for rate of discharges have been somewhat liberalized, and the point system is to end this winter.

But they are still not discharging men at anything like the rate they could.

There is no manpower shortage in the Army and Navy. They can set up as many separation centers as are needed in short order. IF they want to Congress pressured the opening of more than one hundred new separation centers within a few weeks, when they became alarmed at their over-stuffed bags of mail day after day. But demobilization is still being dragged out. Why?

General Marshall's report gives us the beginning of an answer. It is a report which urges the continuation of American militarism on a huge scale. The inability of the Army and Navy to attract any considerable number of volunteers, in spite of attractive financial arrangements and guaranteed job security when millions of civilians face unemployment, reflects the will of the American people, in and out of uniform: We do not want a large, permanent or conscripted standing army! Americans know that militarism, its tradition and practices, are a threat to the democracy of the people.

On the home front, things are not so "tight." General Marshall cannot prevent American industry from changing back to peacetime production, or American labor from breaking out of the wartime straight-jacket. But he would like to do both. He warns against being "unprepared." (For what? Could he mean another war?) But for the men who fought, it is different. No reason to "reconvert" THEM too fast. Mustn't let the Army get too small.

JUST OFF THE PRESS:

The Truth About Gerald L. K. Smith

By HAL DRAPER

Price... 5 cents

ORDER YOUR COPY NOW

WORKERS PARTY

Los Angeles Section

P.O. Box 1246

San Pedro, Calif.

How "Practical" Is Capitalism? How "Utopian" Is Socialism?

The following is excerpted from a radio address by Max Shachtman, Workers Party candidate for mayor, over Station WQXR, Sunday October 28, 12:45 p.m.

On November 6 you have an opportunity to make your voice heard.

Your vote does not merely help elect the candidate of your choice. It registers the things you are interested in, the things you want. It registers the way in which you expect to get these things.

Now, what are the things that you and I want? What we want is what the plain people all over the world want. They are simple things.

We want peace, instead of bloodshed and violence and destruction.

We want security, instead of insecurity, the terrible business of not knowing today whether or not we will have a job and an income tomorrow.

We want to be sure that we will be able to raise our families in decent homes and good schools.

We want comfort and prosperity, instead of low living standards, slums, child labor, unemployment, hunger and starvation.

We want democracy and freedom, instead of regimentation, bureaucracy, racial and religious and national conflict.

These are the simple things which you and I and all the plain people everywhere long for, the simple things we have always wanted for ourselves and our children.

But we don't have them. We live in a modern civilization. We have huge industries all over the land. We have undreamed-of natural resources. We have millions of trained and skilled workers. We can produce in one day what it took our ancestors years to produce.

Yet we do not have peace. We do not have security and prosperity.

WHY NO SECURITY?

It is the social system that stands in the way, the system of capitalism or, as it is sometimes called

to make it sound better, the system of "free enterprise."

Under that system, a handful of capitalist monopolists control all the wealth and power in the country. This handful owns industry, banking, mining, transportation. It owns our jobs. Whoever owns all these things, controls our lives, the lives of you and me and tens of millions of others.

One of my opponents told me the other evening that the program of the Workers Party sounded very attractive, but that it was impractical and unrealistic. We live in a capitalistic system, he said, and we must make the best of it. All right, let us see what is the BEST that capitalism offers you, and how practical and realistic it is. We will test how practical and realistic it is in the richest and most advanced country in the world, the United States. We'll test it at its best.

Let us test it for security and prosperity.

The great economic crisis of 1929 broke out under Mr. Hoover. Millions were unemployed. People went hungry, ragged and homeless. Farmers starved in their own fields. Banks collapsed. Factories closed down and stayed closed. "Free enterprise" had every opportunity it needed to show what it could do. Nobody interfered with it, but it collapsed miserably. It couldn't get industry going again. Mr. Hoover's solution was to have the unemployed sell apples to each other.

That was Test No. 1, and capitalism failed completely.

After Mr. Hoover, we had Mr. Roosevelt. I don't deny that things were better under Mr. Roosevelt. But I do claim that he did not and could not solve the problem. He set out to make capitalism work. For the first time on such a scale, people were paid by the government for NOT producing. Farmers were paid for the acres on which they DIDN'T raise food.

Under Mr. Roosevelt, producers were paid to plow under every third acre of wheat, of corn, of rice, of tobacco, of cotton. They were paid to destroy every third steer and hog and sheep and lamb. Are people hungry? All right, let's destroy some of

the food! Are people without clothing? All right, let's destroy some of the cotton and wool!

That's the stage of insanity capitalism reached under the New Deal. After six years, in January, 1939, there were still 12,000,000 unemployed workers in this country.

That was Test No. 2, and again no security and no prosperity.

THE WAR TEST

After the New Deal came the war. And, lo and behold, capitalism performed a miracle! Every factory began working full steam, some of them three shifts a day. Twenty billion dollars were spent in four years to expand old plants and put up new ones. Unemployment came to an end. Everybody was put to work. The United States produced twice as much as it ever did before.

But WHAT was produced? Homes to live in? Decent clothes to wear? Healthful food to eat? Schools for our children? Medical facilities? New automobiles and good roads? No, none of these things.

Instead, we produced the most terrifying means of destroying life, destroying wealth, destroying whole peoples and nations; bullets, bombs, tanks, planes, battleships, artillery and, finally, our proudest achievement, the dreadful atomic bomb.

Why couldn't we have full production and full employment in peacetime? Why couldn't all these plants be used then to produce the good things of life? Why is it that the only time they worked at full steam was when war came?

Because capitalism works very well indeed to wage war, to kill and maim, to destroy and devastate. Capitalism is at its best when it is at its worst. But it is no good for peace, security and prosperity of the people. The war was Test No. 3, and again it failed.

Full production was paid for with the lives, bodies and minds of more than a million American casualties, to say nothing of the ruin and wreckage caused all over the world.

And now we are having test No. 4. The war is

over, and what do we see? Nothing was planned for the peace period. Eight million men will be out of work by the middle of next year. Overtime work is finished, and the take-home pay is cut heavily. The big monopolies, the big corporations, made billions in blood profits during the war.

What about you working men and women? Already you are without a job. Or if you still have a job, your wages have been cut. If you still have a job, how do you know you will have your job tomorrow, or next month, or next year?

The monopolists, the champions of "free enterprise," what do they say about this situation? They say: We cannot guarantee everyone a job; we cannot guarantee an annual wage. That means that "free enterprise" cannot guarantee you security, it cannot guarantee you a decent living, it cannot guarantee that you will be able to raise a family the way it ought to be raised. No job means no income, and no income means no life.

That's the best that capitalism offers you. That's how practical and realistic capitalism is. Aren't these tests enough for any thinking working man? If you test capitalism for peace, you find it is no better, but worse.

There was a bloody war in 1914, which we entered in 1917. We did not have even one generation of peace. The Second World War was a real capitalist improvement over the first. The death and destruction it caused stagger the imagination. We were solemnly promised a lasting peace after the First World War. But we did not get it. We were just as solemnly promised that after the Second World War there would, at long last, be real peace.

But you know and I know that there is no real peace. Why, even before the soldiers are out of the army that fought the Second World War, capitalism is preparing the army to fight the Third World War. We are to have permanent military training, a permanent army, a huge navy. And you know what armies are for. Our wounds are not yet healed and our tears not yet dried. Yet, before our very eyes, the big powers are jockeying for position for the next war.

And what a war it will be! The war of the atomic bombs, the war that will slaughter us off like rats in a trap, the war that will reduce those of us who remain alive to a new barbarism.

Is that what YOU want? Is this what our women are for—to produce war troops?

Is this what our men are for—to live in caves, to be torn to ribbons, or to be maimed or unsettled in mind for life?

ALTERNATIVE OF SOCIALISM

That is what capitalism offers you. If that is what you want, you don't even have to register yourself in favor of it by voting for a capitalist party. You can just stay at home and wait for the doom of civilization.

But we of the Workers Party believe there is an alternative. The alternative to a capitalist government and capitalist bankruptcy is a workers' government and socialism.

We can have security, peace and freedom, if we establish a workers' government, a government controlled and operated by YOU, the millions of American working men and women.

We want to take over the industries built by us — by us and nobody else. We want to take over the wealth produced by us — by us and nobody else. We want to, and we can, run industry to produce for peace, not for war. To produce for us, for the needs and comforts of the people, and not for the swollen profits of the monopolies and trusts.

Without capitalism and capitalist profit, we can put an end to these horrible wars. They are caused by economic rivalry and by the lust of every monopolist to dominate the wealth of the world. Our marvelous machinery performed the terrible miracles of war production. We can make it perform far greater miracles of peacetime production to provide plenty for all, homes fit to live in, comforts and prosperity, self-respect and human dignity.

Those are the things we all want. They are the things socialism stands for. They are the things that we, the Workers Party, stand for.