

STOP STALLING ON WAGES

Strike-Breaking Role of the War Labor Board

AN EDITORIAL

If there are any workers in this country who still slumber in the naive belief that the War Labor Board is an impartial government agency for just and equitable settlement of disputes, those workers certainly should know better now.

If there are any workers who doubted that labor leaders should come off this board, then these workers must certainly have changed their minds in the past few weeks. For this War Labor Board, in the case of the rubber strikers, the newspaper routemen and the typographers, has certainly demonstrated beyond a shadow of doubt that it is a government agency for the protection of the interests of capitalist business enterprise.

The Workers Party, in LABOR ACTION, has held over and over that this WLB, appointed by Roosevelt and continued by Truman, is a committee for holding wages down, while profits go up. It is a committee for aiding employers to get more production from labor by approving only wage increases which come from an increase in the hours of work while keeping a ceiling on the hourly rate of wages.

Not to be outdone by the WLB and the OPA, the cops of the War Manpower Commission were on the firing line keeping the workers shackled to the factories where the WLB was "holding the line" on wages and resolutely enforcing the Little Steel formula.

The FBI, Army and Navy intelligence and all the secret police of the federal government were also on the job. Strikers, or any other workers who resented being kicked in the teeth by the corporations, or who refused to crawl on their bellies before any little anti-labor foreman, could be "reclassified" and ordered off to make the world "safe for democracy" in the jungles of the islands of the Pacific or to participate in the "liberation" of Europe.

RESPONSIBILITY FOR WLB

All of these agencies of the federal government received their authority from Congress, from the representatives of the sovereign people. These representatives of the people, who govern only "by the consent of the governed" added their bit to the well-being and happiness of the working-class. They passed the Smith-Connally anti-strike act.

All these agencies are part and parcel of capitalist society, the "system of free enterprise," engaged in waging imperialist war. "Free enterprise" with its capitalist government, with its commander-in-chief, the President of the United States. One time it is Hoover, then Roosevelt, then Truman. At the top of the heap sits the ruling class: the capitalist employers, big business and the financiers of big business.

This is the only way even to begin to understand the recent acts of the WLB against the workers in the rubber, printing and newspaper deliverymen's unions. Big business and the big banks have their own men in every branch of the federal government in the decisive positions. This includes the Congress and the various government boards and commissions. They are in the WLB and this agency like the others is an outer sentinel halting any and all who seek to raise the standard of living of the masses, to lower the profits of, or in the slightest degree challenge the power of the capitalist ruling class.

This is the meaning of the recent acts of the WLB against the rubber workers, the printers and the New York newspaper-truck drivers. They want to break the unions, primarily for the purpose of getting wages down and hours up.

There is no need for us of the working class to moan and wail over what the WLB (the government) does to us, to labor, to the workers. The working class must be made of sterner stuff. Ours is the need to organize and to fight. To organize our industrial unions, bigger and bigger. To embrace the whole country, every section of industry, every man, woman and working youth. Organize and fight. Fight to remove the labor representatives from the WLB. Fight against the "reconversion" stupidities and machinations of the capitalist ruling class and its government. Fight against wage cuts, long hours and unemployment.

Fight against that anti-working class monstrosity, the no-strike pledge. Fight anybody, inside or outside the labor movement, who dares stand before labor and defend that brazen betrayal of labor.

Organize and fight. Above all, let us organize politically, in our own party, freed from the political prison of the capitalist Democratic and Republican Parties.

Let us start now. Turn the PAC into the Independent Labor Party of the working class in the U. S.

Rubber Unionists Learn WLB Lesson

By BILL FORD

AKRON, July 15 — Militant rubber unionists here are now slowly absorbing the lessons they have learned in the course of the big strikes they have conducted against Firestone and Good-year. And out of the new understanding gained in the course of these battles, a new and more consistently progressive program of action for the rubber workers is bound to emerge.

Yesterday, in the thirteenth day of their strike, members of Firestone Local No. 7 voted 3 to 1 to return to work. This did not occur because of the back-to-work propaganda skillfully drummed up within the local before and during the strike by International Vice-President Buckmaster, but simply because the membership could see no possible successful conclusion to this strike in the face of the horde of reactionary agencies aligned against them.

THE HATED WLB

They were threatened by the War Labor Board with immediate loss of their night shift bonuses, liberalized vacation program and maintenance of membership. Further continuation of the strike would have meant also taking over of the plants by the Navy, as had occurred the previous

week at Goodyear, with attendant curtailments of the union's already-curtailed freedom of action.

Their sell-out international officialdom was consciously conspiring with the hated WLB to disunite further the union's ranks. And support from the ranks of labor elsewhere had not matured sufficiently or promptly enough to counteract the offensive of the rubber capitalists and their varied stooges.

Reports from their leaders told the story of their appearance before the show-cause hearing of the WLB in Washington, where the union officials demanded that the company be forced to settle the thirty-seven rejected contract proposals and thirty-four grievances of a year's standing. Chairman Taylor delivered them a sermon to the effect that the American working class in wartime has

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Program of the Workers Party For the New York City Elections

1. Jobs for All at a Guaranteed Annual Living Wage!

The government must guarantee a minimum annual wage of \$2,500 to every single worker and a minimum annual income of \$5,000 to every family.

2. Clear the Slums!

For a \$1 1/2 billion, five-year housing and public works program in New York City, as part of a national \$250 billion program to provide decent housing, schools, hospitals and recreational facilities.

3. End the Black Market in Food!

Smash the black market at its source by nationalizing the big food companies, the packing houses and chain stores. Place distribution of food under the control of trade union and housewives' committees.

4. End Discrimination Against Negroes and Other Racial and National Minorities!

Make anti-Negro and anti-Semitic practices by employers and landlords a criminal offense. End high rents and prices in Harlem by enforcing the right of Negroes to live in any section of the city at equal rents. Withdraw building rights from landlords and real estate companies that bar Negroes or Jews.

5. Jobs and Full Opportunities for Veterans!

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

6. Raise the Money by Taxing the Profiteers!

A 100 per cent tax on all war profits above a five per-

cent maximum on invested capital; a \$25,000 ceiling on individual incomes; and a tax on all accumulated capital over \$50,000. No tax on incomes of \$5,000 and under. No sales tax on everyday needs and comforts.

7. Nationalize Big Business!

The huge industrial plants, mines, transportation and communication systems, banks and chain stores and the land should be nationalized and operated under workers' control in order to provide jobs for all and produce the goods needed by the people.

8. For a Democratic Peace!

Against peacetime military conscription of American youth! For a truly democratic peace which means no land-grabbing under any pretext; no reparations and no slave labor. Complete independence for all colonies and subject peoples and the right of all people democratically to decide their own future.

9. For a Genuine Labor Party and a Workers Government to Carry Out the Above Program!

Break with the capitalist parties and their politicians and candidates. The above program cannot be carried out without labor's own party. In the place of the government of the monopolists, bankers and war profiteers, a workers' government to serve the interest of the common people.

10. For a Socialist United States of America with Plenty for All!

Make the machines that now produce only for war and capitalist profits produce for the needs of all the people!

By WALTER WEISS

Just as in the period immediately before and immediately after the Presidential election last fall, workers are being treated to all kinds of rumors about the Little Steel formula.

Drew Pearson, who is supposed to have all the "inside dope" about the government, claimed in his radio broadcast of July 8 that the public members of the War Labor Board have secretly recommended a general fifteen per cent wage boost to President Truman. Wow!

Don't count the money yet. On July 1 the same Drew Pearson "revealed" that Philip Murray, CIO head, was going to explode some kind of political bombshell within a week. Did you hear any bombshell? Or even a firecracker?

Of course, Murray has informed us for the thousandth time that the Political Action Committee isn't tied forever to any one party.

Don't count the money yet. What worker can forget that famous statement of Brother Murray's before the convention of the United Auto Workers last fall, in which he said that the Little Steel formula was going to be broken soon, "as sure as I'm living"?

Brother Addes, secretary-treasurer of the Auto Workers and another famous prophet, has joined the chorus of those singing the sweet new rumors. In the July 15 issue of the union's paper he says:

"Changes could be made in the government wage and labor policy which would quickly do away with much of the present unrest.... We predict that these changes will be made.... We believe that the WLB will shortly recommend that it (The Little Steel formula) be revamped so as to permit a substantial wage adjustment."

He goes on to predict that the auto and aircraft workers will get their share of the gravy, too.

Why all these predictions now? As Addes indicates, because the workers are restless. They are getting out of the control of the leaders of their internationals. New local leaders are arising. Murray, too, at the last auto convention, was faced by a restlessness that had reached the point of outright revolt. So he "predicted" in the very strongest language.

WAGE RAISE BID—AGAIN

Oh, yes, the top union leaders are very, very confident. So confident that the CIO executive board at a recent special meeting passed a resolution—another resolution—calling on Truman to give the WLB authority to raise wages, for any of the three following causes:

1) To aid in the effective prosecution of the war.

The WLB already has this power and also has a policy of practically never using it. Why should they NOW? The war seems to be getting along very well, and you don't hear much talk about a shortage of labor, do you?

2) To eliminate substandard wages. The WLB already has this power, too. The substandard level was boosted way up to 55 cents—after the Textile Workers Union took a strike vote, which was backed by leaders of the union. And, more recently, Economic Stabilizer Davis has indicated what the government considers "substandard" by recommending a law for a 50-cent minimum.

3) To assure a continued high level of purchasing power for the maintenance of full production and full employment.

Now, this actually would be an entirely new power for the WLB. It sounds good, doesn't it? But, apart from the deeper question of its possibility under the capitalist system of "free enterprise" for private profit, consider the following:

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Big Three Divide Spoils of War at Potsdam

By MARY BELL

"A triumvirate of truly global dimensions, which commands virtually all the effective power on earth, meets in Potsdam... to lay the cornerstone for a new world."

Thus a New York Times editorial described the meeting of the Big Three. Truman, Stalin and Churchill, sitting in imported comfort and luxury in the former shrine of militarism, surrounded by the ghosts of sixty million military casualties of the Second World War, meet rather to lay a tombstone on the aspirations

of the peoples of the world for freedom, security and an end to war.

They meet to divide further the booty of conquest.

In each successive Big Three conference, from Teheran to Potsdam, the military might based upon the industrial and financial power of the Big Three has determined the strategy of the war and the division of the world into spheres of influence.

The closer the powers come to complete victory and cessation of the present war, however, the more the exigency of unity for winning the war is subordinated to the centrifugal national tendencies based upon imperialist rivalry for the markets of the world. The old slogans of the Four Freedoms and the democratic principles of the Atlantic Charter for which the peoples of the world were

mobilized behind the Allies are buried deeper.



That the course of the war with Japan will be one of the major points involved in the discussions was only highlighted by the summoning of Admiral Land by Truman to the conference. Here arise difficult problems. The United States has bigger stakes in the Far East than in Europe, but the other powers also have vested interests. They don't want to see the U. S. "monopolize" the war against Japan. There has already been some complaint by Britain that the U. S. is not sufficiently utilizing British ships in that area.

If the other big powers do not come in for a good share of the responsibility for the military victory, they will have no moral basis for a claim to the Far Eastern spoils. Russian participation requires a settlement of the Chiang Kai-shek dispute with the Chinese Communists.

Of key importance to both Russia and the Anglo-American powers is the disposition of Germany. There appears to be extreme skittishness on both sides, not merely because of the significance of Germany's power, but its location as meeting ground of the big powers, separated up to this point by their buffer states, puppet régimes, protective boundaries and spheres of influence.

The dual policy of Russia on the one hand and the Anglo-Americans on the other will have to be solved. Russia, while calling for the maintenance of "free enterprise," has been enterprisingly carrying off machinery and industrial equipment to incorporate into the Stalinist empire. Nor does she allow much leeway to the business men who remain. A Jewish publisher, for example, a genuine

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NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Antics of the Buffalo War Labor Board

BUFFALO, July 15—The Regional War Labor Board performs in the best traditions of a well trained circus troupe.

Meeting here two weeks ago to rule on thirteen cases, the board members played their assigned parts with nary a flaw. In interviews graciously granted to press, the industry members warned of the dangers of inflation through wage increases, the "public" members shook a heavy finger at those who would disturb national unity and the labor members steadfastly maintained in a sing-song monotone that general wage increases must be granted.

Then, the formalities over, the members automatically plumped themselves around the "bargaining table" and heard the conflicting arguments in each case. After two days of this session closed and the board members returned to New York, there to give further careful study and consideration to the mountains of data accumulated.

WHAT THE BOARD GRANTS

The members evidently slaved day and night, for decisions on thirteen cases were handed down one week later. The decisions varied in minor respects but were completely uniform in one very major respect—naturally, no general wage increases were granted. The other points, and there were many, were a tribute to the tactical ingenuity of the board. They raised a minimum here, drop-

ped a minimum there, gave a semblance of holiday pay in one case, refused it in another, and so on and so on and so on.

They gave what the union either already had, didn't ask for, didn't need or didn't want. All in all, workers reading the results were quick to agree that labor received nothing but the decisions!

Affected were: Local 1286, International Longshoremen's Association (AFL); Local 123, International Association of Cleaning & Dye House Workers (AFL); Local 2580, 3145 and 2694, United Steel Workers of America (CIO); Local 13, International Molders & Foundry Workers Union of North America (AFL); Local 576, International Association of Bridge, Structural & Ornamental Iron Workers (AFL); Local 34, Amalgamated Meat Cutters & Butcher Workmen of North America (AFL); Local 23735, Food, Flour & Cereal Workers Union (AFL); Local 19184, FFCWU (AFL); and Locals 23700 and 23701, Federal Labor Union (AFL).

THE OLD, OLD STORY

According to past established procedure, the labor members of the board "strongly dissented" in each case, went down to customary defeat (outvoted eight to four) with colors flying—and readied themselves for another chapter of the same old act in the cases to come.

Tip to vaudeville fans: Why waste money at the movies? For a polished,

professional bit of entertainment drop in at the next meeting of your Regional War Labor Board. See the glamorous stars of industry, "public" and labor in that great illusion entitled "Labor Gets a Square Deal" or "No Complaints from Industry—Heaven Bless the WLB."

BUFFALO—As this is written, the Mead Senate Investigating Committee is en route to Washington, its briefcases bulging with a few odds and ends of evidence, pro and con, concerning the charge that the Curtiss-Wright Corporation is guilty of malpractice in aircraft inspection.

While we reported in LABOR ACTION some months ago that it was safe to assume that these charges would be quietly buried, we did not figure on Senator Langer of North Dakota, who for some reason (patriotism or publicity—take your choice) has made a practice of blasting Curtiss-Wright on the Senate floor, making investigation mandatory.

Hence the committee spent the greater part of a week here, in session afternoons and evenings, hearing sworn testimony from Army inspectors, Curtiss inspectors, Army officials and Curtiss officials.

INSPECTORS THREATENED

We will not attempt to recount the testimony. As reported in the daily press, it ran page after page—literally. Two parts of the tremendous out-

pour did strike us however: In the first place, the company spent most of the time in decidedly hot water as one after another Curtiss inspector told of management threats and interference when inspection procedures conflicted with production schedules and company profits. To all this the company presented a series of negligible rebuttals.

Secondly, the head of the Army Air Force, a full colonel if we remember correctly, turned out to be a former stock broker who knew absolutely nothing about aircraft and inspection procedure. Needless to say he spent some uncomfortable moments on the witness stand.

The recommendation of the committee and the eventual outcome of the entire shady mess cannot be predicted. According to the testimony given it would seem that Curtiss-Wright is liable to charges equal to criminal negligence. In this connection we recall the fate of one Curtiss worker who smuggled some small tools out of the Curtiss plant. When caught he received a six months jail sentence and was barred from holding any other job in any war plant.

How this angle will be resolved and the company "punished" or "cleared" will make further interesting reading. We have no fear that any top ranking Curtiss officials will be imprisoned. It just wouldn't be capitalist cricket.

THEY SAY — AND WE SAY

Hoover, Surplus Properties

According to an Associated Press dispatch of July 11, Lt. Col. Edward H. Heller, member of the Surplus Property Board, told a news conference that Western businessmen ought to form a corporation to buy and operate the government's \$200 million Geneva steel plant in Utah. Head of such a corporation, he added, should be a man in whom the West has great confidence, somebody like—Herbert Hoover!

Remember in the depression how Hoover used to advise us just to have "confidence"? Now Heller makes this slogan a little more ridiculous by changing it to "confidence in Hoover."

We vote "no confidence" in any of these capitalist "confidence" men and stick to the Workers Party program: The government must not sell or lease any of the plants to the capitalists but keep and operate them at full blast UNDER WORKERS CONTROL.

Willow Run

On the closing of the huge \$96 million government-owned Willow Run bomber plant, Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney pronounced the following funeral oration:

"The question of what to do with the tremendous capacity to produce which the Government has created is wholly unanswered."

Here's an answer, Senator: Let the government itself operate Willow Run and all the other plants, under workers' control, to produce the good things of life

that the common people of this country need.

No profit, you say, in turning out plenty of what the people need?

Right! You represent the capitalists who have no plans for peace and plenty — only for war and profit.

The workers need their OWN independent LABOR PARTY to elect their OWN representatives as a step toward a WORKERS GOVERNMENT, which will be able to answer the all-important questions of full employment and full production.

\$70 Per Day Is Enough!

At a time like this, when workers are being laid off and downgraded and having their overtime payments slashed, the big business Journal of Commerce (July 13) writes an editorial on "Unwise Salary Limitations."

This paper complains that steamship companies, which receive government funds so that they can compete against foreign lines (and, by the way, so that they can make juicy profits—Ed.), are not allowed to pay their officers more than \$25,000 a year.

Because of high American labor costs (in the Merchant Marine, 34 1/2 cents an hour is base pay—Ed.), U. S. lines need the very smartest managers. And, adds the Journal of Commerce, you can't hire the best men for \$25,000 (which equals roughly \$70 a day).

The Workers Party program has a solution to this little problem. Reduce ALL incomes to a top of \$25,000 a year.

That has no place, answers the Journal of Commerce, in a private enterprise (capitalist) system.

We say: Neither do government subsidies (that is, cash gifts to the corporations). The fact is, as anybody can see, that the days of free private enterprise are gone forever. The question now is: WHOSE government will it be, the capitalists' as at present, or the workers'?

\$53-an-Hour Wilson

Top salary and bonus "earner" in 1943, according to the Treasury, was Charles E. Wilson, president of General Motors. He received \$459,000, which equals \$1,275 a day, and \$53 an hour for a TWENTY-FOUR HOUR DAY! If you are paid as much as \$40 a week, you could make in about 225 YEARS what Wilson makes in one year.

But, as big business Associated Press itself remarked on June 24, "The annual lists issued by the Treasury do not pretend to be a complete picture of the huge incomes of this country. They do not show income from stock dividends, interest on bonds and the like. Moneyed giants like Ford, Rockefeller and Morgan never appear on them."

When the Workers Party program calls for a maximum income of \$25,000, it means income from ALL sources, not just from salaries. Anybody can manage to get by on \$25,000, if he's a good manager. If he's not a good manager, he obviously doesn't deserve \$25,000 a year.

Rubber Strikers Ponder WLB Lessons --

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more obligations than rights." The militant officials walked out of the hearing when the WLB permitted C. F. Richmond, a Buckmaster stooge in the local, to make a statement that the union leadership was not offering proper guidance to the membership. Richmond was subpoenaed to appear, the militant union men charged, in order to "foster the appearance of dissension within the union." The local's attorney, Max Johnstone, is quoted by the Akron Beacon Journal as saying: "The whole damn CIO hierarchy and the WLB" are conspiring against the local.

UNION LEADERS, PAC

International Vice-President Buckmaster had sent a letter to each member of the local, denouncing the strike as being led by "a little band of self-seeking politicians, aided by certain subversive elements who want to solve the workers' problems by bloody revolution" and a great deal more of such tripe. All of Buckmaster's vicious lies were nailed in a reply by the Local's Executive Board and Negotiating Committee members. Buckmaster scheduled a special meeting of the local to be held under international union auspices for the day following the meeting at which the return to work was voted—this just in case the regular meeting did not bring the results the international wanted!

In view of all this reactionary pressure from all angles, not forgetting that of PAC-supported Governor Lausche, who made several back-to-work pleas and a radio address to the strikers, there is no wonder that the Firestone workers found it necessary to call off the strike. Their leadership made no recommendation at all and the international stooges in the local took full advantage of the besieged rank and file.

As in the Goodyear strike, the Firestone workers experienced no trouble on the picket lines at all, the latter even keeping office workers and top company executives out of the plants for a week. The entire field of action of the strike events took place in the POLITICAL arena—in relation to the War Labor Board and the international union bureaucracy. Behind the skirts of these two strike-breaking forces the company officials had only to sit tight and watch their servants do the dirty work.

From this all-important fact many necessary conclusions are now being drawn by the workers. First of all

is that any possibility of future success against the company lies in changing the program of the international union and clearing out forever the craven Dalrymple - Buckmaster leadership, along with its insane no-strike pledge. As one good union man said: "If we had an international union which declared that no rubber worker in the country would work so long as we did not get a satisfactory contract from the

Stop the Stalling on Wages --

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1) The CIO tops are asking, according to their own resolution, that wage raises be granted only if they "will not substantially affect the cost of living." It's easy enough to prove—and Walter Reuther does it again in the July 15 issue of the UNITED AUTOMOBILE WORKER—that the corporations can well afford sizable wage increases without raising prices.

But did Roosevelt ever admit that? Does Truman admit it? Do any of his underlings? Does Congress? Just the reverse. They always insist that higher wages mean higher prices, terrible inflation. They insist that they



REUTHER DOES EASY THING

have really helped the workingman by keeping wages down. And, of course, they have at the same time allowed prices to go up and up.

2) No responsible government official has even promised anything lately, except a few cents more in textiles and the other lowest-paid in-

company, we wouldn't have to worry about the WLB."

From the point of view of the rubber corporations, Chairman Taylor of the WLB was correct in saying: "The whole basis of the industrial relations program in America is a voluntary no-strike pledge." That is why the WLB and the top international labor-skates fought so viciously to put down this strike and recklessly hurled against the strikers the

accusation of trying to change "our form of government" itself, because they dared to scrap the pledge and defy the WLB in attempting to bring the company to terms.

Unless the rubber workers build their own national rank and file caucus on a clear-cut basis of once and for all scrapping the no-strike pledge and breaking away politically from the Republican and Democratic Party henchmen inside and outside of their ranks they can count for sure on having their militant strike efforts end up in a blind alley in the future.

NAVY AND GOODYEAR At Goodyear the workers now back in the Navy-controlled plants have received another taste of the pro-company power exerted by their international union. The Navy Capt. Clark in charge has dropped the streamlined grievance procedure he agreed to with the local union to handle current grievances that arise while the Navy is there. This was done by direction of the WLB, which found that in such simplified procedure the international union was not able to get its fingers in the pie and, furthermore, that a previous WLB compulsory decision to install an arbitrator would be sidetracked.

The international officials in this case were worried that the workers might consider the Navy type grievance procedure so much better in terms of speedy decisions that other unions might be happy to strike in violation of the no-strike pledge just to get rid of the old company-WLB arbitration methods of stalling!

Already, however, the long-term results of Navy control at Goodyear under the Smith-Connally provisions are coming to light. Last week fifteen rim-plant workers were suspended pending investigation of allegations that they refused to do work assigned to them, although they did other work. The whole labor movement must watch this case and increase its activities in opposition to the Smith-Connally Act's anti-labor provisions.

Finally, former Goodyear strikers who have been processed for induction into the Army have now had their induction called off by the state Selective Service on recommendation of Capt. Clark of the Navy. This is eloquent testimony to the power of the union's opposition to such strike-breaking methods, an opposition which threw the local draft officials into such an insoluble quandary that they and the Beacon Journal demanded the inductions be cancelled.

West Coast Labor Round-Up

By AL MARKS

Superior Judge Emmet H. Wilson ruled on June 29 that it was not "a nice thing" to have pickets around the studio when foreign delegates were visiting, and signed a temporary restraining order (asked for by Loew's, Inc.) which prohibited pickets around the entire MGM studio.

At Imperial Camp, close to La Habra, Calif., 650 Jamaicans are helping to save the citrus crops (and a lot of wages) for the fruit growers. This is only one of many such camps

in the state, currently employing 3,000 Jamaicans and 33,000 Mexican nationals. The Citrus Emergency Harvest Co. has been set up by the owners to get help from other quarters who would not be used to U. S. standards of living and would work for next to nothing.

Employment in war production jobs in Los Angeles is dropping at the rate of 15,000 a month. What bothers the WMC officials is that these men do not report to USES for other jobs of like nature, at lower wages. This is causing some 40,000 jobs to stay unfilled. One reason is

the housing shortage in Los Angeles. One man tried to get permission to build some courts in a district which was desperate for houses, but was told: "We're sorry, but the Housing Administration is taking care of the shortage."

Refusal to grant wage increases caused a walkout on June 29 from 135 establishments of AFL Retail Clerks. San Pedro business men tried to get a court order forbidding the union meetings, but it was ruled unconstitutional.

Lumber Workers for Strike Referendum

SEATTLE, WASH.—Hundreds of locals of the Lumber and Sawmill Workers, AFL, representing organized lumberjacks, sawmill workers, and workers in cardboard box factories in California, Oregon, Washington, Idaho, and Montana, are asking the Northwest bosses for a straight 20c wage increase for all classifications. The notorious rise in the cost of living for these workers has made this demand so obviously just, that even the more conservative International Woodworkers of America, CIO, is cooperating with this drive by initiating a referendum of its membership on the question of asking for a strike vote.

The response from the rank and file has been overwhelmingly in favor of militant action to secure these demands. Officials of the AFL union told this reporter that the bosses are almost certain to turn down the demands, and a strike is expected.

The only voice against this drive was raised by the Northern Washington District Council of the IWA, which is thoroughly controlled by the Communist bosses. The Council went on record opposing the referendum vote on the question of a strike vote, and declared that a wage increase is not necessary at this time.

But the very fact that they are opposed to a democratic poll of the membership disproves their contention that the lumber workers do not desire a wage increase. They are afraid, and rightfully so, that a referendum vote would give voice to tens of thousands of lumber workers in their own district, who are by now thoroughly fed up with the Communist policy of straightjacketing all workers' action through the channels of government agencies.

Workers Party, News Strike

NEW YORK—A flying squadron of twenty Workers Party members picketed with the striking news deliverers in front of the New York Times, Herald Tribune and Daily News buildings on Saturday afternoon. Wearing signs supporting the strikers in their fight against the union-busting publishers and urging New York workers to elect a mayor who builds, not breaks, unions, these comrades sold several hundred LABOR ACTIONS and distributed a

statement from Max Shachtman, the Workers Party candidate for mayor of New York, supporting the grievances of the strikers.

Over one hundred striking newsmen signed the petition to put Shachtman on the ballot and expressed their appreciation of Workers Party support. One striker signing the petition expressed the sentiment for himself

and many of his fellow strikers when he said: "This is just the beginning of a big drive in New York on the part of the employers and the WLB to break unions, not only our union, but every union in the city that has won decent conditions for the workers. And Mayor LaGuardia is backing the publishers. It's about time we wised up and elected a fellow who's for labor and won't break strikes as mayor."

News Strike --

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papers, passed a resolution condemning the publishers for refusing to negotiate with the union. A news dealers' union refused to handle papers being struck.

The deliverymen fought a good fight. We hope they have something more in hand than a promise of arbitration, which is never impartial. We also hope LABOR ACTION readers draw the proper conclusion from the behavior of these newspapers, which make "public opinion" in New York and throughout the world.

Their fight against their own employees shows that they behave just as any big business does when it is confronted with the demand for improved conditions on the part of its workers. The news they monopolize, too, is handled from the point of view of business. That is why the labor papers, and particularly a newspaper like LABOR ACTION, are so necessary to interpret the news and tell labor's side of the story.



Members of the Workers Party carrying placards in support of the news strikers and Labor Actions as they joined the pickets and obtained signatures for Max Shachtman, Workers Party Candidate for Mayor of New York City.

Los Angeles Readers: LABOR ACTION FORUM At St. Paul's Church 21st St. and Naomi, Los Angeles July 30— Jim Crow in the Army and Navy FREE ADMISSION Questions, Discussion Welcome

New York Youth: TWO EVENTS "NEW YORK NEWSPAPER STRIKE" First-hand report by a member of the Newspaper and Mail Deliverers Union Questions and Discussion Friday, July 27, 8:00 P. M. SATURDAY NIGHT SOCIAL Dancing - Refreshments Entertainment Both Events at 276 Fulton Street Second Floor SOCIALIST YOUTH LEAGUE

Clevelanders: ERNEST LUND, author of the popular pamphlet, Plenty for All, will speak Wednesday evening, July 25 at 8:15 on American Workers and Socialism Open forum sponsored by the Cleveland Branch of the Workers Party SLOVENIAN HALL 6409 St. Clair Admission: 25 Cents

Akron Labor Action Forum: "Is Strike Action Alone Enough?" SPEAKER ERNEST LUND Well Known Socialist Educator 772 RAYMOND ST. (rear) AKRON TUESDAY, JULY 31, 8:00 P. M. Admission Free

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Workers Party Program for Organized Labor

In the Reconversion and Post-War Period

FOR THE UNEMPLOYED AND VETERANS:

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

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

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

FOR THE POST-WAR:

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

5. A guaranteed \$5,000 annual income to all workers' families by means of a planned rise in

the national income and a thirty-hour maximum work week.

THESE AIMS TO BE ACHIEVED THROUGH:

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

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

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

THIS PROGRAM TO BE CARRIED OUT BY:

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

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

Why the Greek Communists Confess Their Errors, Too

By JIM TANAKOS

The Communist Party of Greece recently held a conference of its leading members and—lo and behold!—discovered that it had made many "errors" during the past year and a half, according to dispatches from Stalinist sources. This conference began on April 5th and lasted for five days, at the end of which a new policy was adopted and the three leading members of the central committee were dropped from that body. The three are M. Porfyrogenis, Zevgos and P. Rousos, all of them part and parcel of the top leadership for many years—but more on them later.

A "COINCIDENCE"

It is interesting that this conference was held at about the same time the new famous Duclos article criticizing the policies of the Stalinists in the United States was beginning to circulate. There was no Duclos article against the Greek Communist Party, but somehow they got the "word" to begin a "self-examination." Another "coincidence" was that the Greek Stalinists, like their American counterparts, have also made public their "self-criticism" and announced the scapegoats.

The timing of these discussions and changes of line in Greece and the United States are obviously part of the Stalinist attempt to blackmail the present conference of the Big Three. The United States and Greek parties were used in this scheme by Stalin for very good reasons. The new line of both parties differs very little from the old line, the only real difference being that it permits easier shifting to a more "radical" program than the old line allowed.

The Communist Party in the United States stands ready to adopt (its convention, interestingly enough, comes after the Big Three Potsdam Conference) a policy against American imperialism if Truman does not see eye to eye with Stalin at the Potsdam Conference.

A threat of this kind by the Communist Party in the United States also means that every Stalinist outfit in Central and South America will start making trouble for American imperialism among people who do not require much agitation on this point.

The Greek Communist Party stands as a threat if Mr. Churchill does not concede that Russia is entitled to her claims in the Middle East. The Greek Communist Party will raise the cry of a "Balkan Federation" to unite all the "neighboring small countries," which means that Greece, geographically and financially a rich tool of the British Empire, should join with Stalinist-controlled Yugoslavia, Rumania and Bulgaria. The CP has considerable strength in strategically located Greek Macedonia, where it may decide to aid Comrade Tito in setting up a "Free Macedonia." When the Greek party threatens to come out against British imperialism, Churchill knows that this is a warning sign by Russia of what can be done not only in Greece but also in the colonial and semi-colonial countries by the Stalinists.

The fraudulence of the discussions of the Greek Communist Party can be seen by their so-called self-criticism. They now say they made a serious error a year ago last spring when they met with King George's ministers at Lebanon and decided to become part of the Royal government. As the Daily Worker writes, "This criticism implies that Greek Resistance Forces should have followed a bolder path, more like Marshal Tito in Yugoslavia."

During the month of March, in 1944, elections were held through-

out Greece, the biggest perhaps ever held under the nose of an invader, for delegates to a conference which set up the PEEA (Political Committee of National Liberation). These workers, peasants and members of the resistance forces recognized that they held the power in four-fifths of Greece and they set up the PEEA to administer that power. The PEEA asked the government in exile to unite with it, on the PEEA program, and threatened if the government in exile did not accept, a few individuals in Greece from parties not represented in the PEEA would be added to the PEEA and it would consider itself the government.

In other words, the PEEA (which the Greek Communists and the Daily Worker do not mention these days, although it was a product of the Stalinist-con-

Another to suffer the same fate was P. Rousos, who officially represented the Communist Party of Greece at Lebanon. The third is C. Zevgos, who was Minister of Agriculture in Papan-dreou's cabinet.

...AND "FOSTERS"

Two of the leaders of the Central Committee who were not purged are Santos and Zachariades. Santos was head man of the party during the entire Lebanon period and certainly was as much responsible for the line taken at Lebanon as anyone else. But Santos was also on the National Committee of the PEEA, the organization of "dual power" and, interestingly enough, he is not purged—a threat to Mr. Churchill that the PEEA may again be revived in full force.

Zachariades has just returned from the Dachau concentration camp and cannot be blamed for the party's betrayals. Whether Stalin trusts him completely or not is a question, but he has him now surrounded with real Stalinist hatchet men and therefore is not worried.

To break the leadership of the Greek Communist Party in particular was a rare pleasure for Stalin. This leadership had refused to follow Comintern orders when Italy declared war on Greece. The Hitler - Stalin pact was then in force, but the Greek Communists supported Greece in the war against Italy. N. Zachariades, imprisoned by the dictator, Metaxas, wrote a lengthy appeal to the Greek people to fight against Italy. Metaxas had this appeal printed in the Greek papers while the Stalinist press all over the world, including the Daily Worker, the New Masses and the Greek Stalinist press in this country claimed it was a forgery and that the CP of Greece was not supporting the imperialist war.

The editor of the Communist newspaper, Rizopastis, which is published in Athens, now in this country, writes in the Sunday Worker of July 15: "And when Mussolini launched his cowardly and unprovoked attack, Zachariades made an ardent appeal from his prison cell to all Greeks to defend the country inch by inch. Metaxas, faced with Mussolini's attack, published photostatic copies of the Zachariades appeal in all newspapers." (The editors of the Daily Worker had better be more careful or they will be joining Browder and Porfyrogenis.)

Another part of the conference "self-criticism" is the civil war of last December. The Stalinists hurdle the point of whether they should have participated or not—if they think they were wrong, they don't dare say so as the masses would cut them to pieces. The only evaluation of that period that they make is that their errors were of a "leftist character" mainly due "to underestimating the reactionary forces both in the interior and abroad."

A LESSON IN BLACKMAIL

This prepares the basis for a new line, if necessary. The reactionary forces abroad are obviously Great Britain, and those in the interior are the Greek agents of Great Britain. The conclusion can easily be reached that the struggle is against Great Britain and that the allies of the Greek people are the Russian-controlled countries.

But the direction to the new line of the Greek Communist Party will come from the decisions reached at the Potsdam Conference—and certainly NOT from the wishes, desires and needs of the Greek people.



GENERALISSIMO STALIN DICTATES CONFESSIONS TO GREEK CP, TOO

trolled EAM and ELAS) followed a bolder path—"more like Tito in Yugoslavia."

When Greece was handed over to Churchill at Teheran, as even Bevin himself admitted last winter, Stalin ordered his Greek party to enter the Royal government at any cost. The Lebanon conference was arranged and the Stalinists arrived as delegates of their party, the PEEA, and the resistance organization, EAM. The Stalinists were docile while Premier Papan-dreou lashed out at their previous action, and then with him they condemned the Near East army and navy mutineers who had staged a sit-down for the pre-Teheran "national unity" formula of the PEEA.

It is now history that the underground refused for over three months to accept the agreement reached at Lebanon by the Stalinist leaders and the Royal government. Even Russian emissaries were rushed to the mountains of Greece to persuade the guerrillas to accept the Lebanon agreement. After that the Stalinists entered the government and eventually returned to Greece, bringing with them the reactionary ministers, man by man, to the various parts of Greece and posing them as "friends of the people."

But the people of Greece are asking questions. They know they had power in their hands and that it was taken away from them by their leaders. The Stalinists, of course, have found a few scapegoats on whom to blame the whole thing, hoping that the people will forget the Russian emissaries and everything they were told about the spirit of Teheran and the party line of that period.

GREEK "BROWDERS"...

The first scapegoat to be removed from the Central Committee of the Communist Party at the recent conference was M. Porfyrogenis. He was the general secretary of the EAM, its delegate to Lebanon, and later the Minister of Labor in the Papan-dreou government. He has been for many years one of the top leaders of the party and a former Communist deputy.

NEW YORK ELECTION

Guaranteed Annual Living Wage

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

Government planning provided goods in unheard-of quantities for a destructive war. Government planning can provide as much and far more for peacetime abundance and security.

It is now possible for every American family to live in comfort. There is no excuse at all for allowing one-third of the nation (the true percentage was higher than that) to go ill-clothed, ill-housed and ill-fed.

A writer in Readers' Digest of May, 1945, states: "Already there are discharged veterans who are saying: 'The country could feed me and give me clothes and furnish medical care, so long as I was fighting. We can provide jobs for everybody while the war is on—why can't we do the same thing in peacetime?'"

The government has guaranteed profits both during the war and (by tax refunds and subsidies) for several years after the war to the big corporations and the big farm interests.

The Workers Party Says:

The government must now guarantee, without any strings, the very modest annual wage of \$2500 (\$50 a week) to all who want to work, to veterans and non-veterans, to men and women, to white workers and to Negro workers.

This is a minimum wage. The CIO union of shipyard workers has already demanded a HIGHER minimum in its industry for first-class mechanics—\$3,000 a year.

The Workers Party says further:

The government must guarantee an annual income of \$5,000 to every family.

For the Unemployed and Veterans

For the immediate period ahead, while working men and women are being laid off, the Workers Party demands:

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

2. All workers thrown into unemployment during the reconversion period should be absorbed into industry by a reduction in the work week with no reduction in weekly take-home pay.

3. All demobilized veterans should receive a two years' base pay grant, with the option of going to trade schools or institutions of higher learning at government expense, while their families are guaranteed adequate maintenance. All veterans must be guaranteed decent jobs.

Can It Be Done?

Of course, the capitalists and their politicians say that this can't be done—right now. What they mean is that they and their profit system can't do it.

"Scrap the ships," they are saying. "Close the plants. Get back to normal. The government will stop buying. Who else can buy?"

The workers would like to buy? That's quite a joke. Let the business editor of the New York Times speak:

"Business men have learned that the huge wartime savings are pretty well concentrated in the hands of a few thousand and cannot be averaged up for millions of consumers. This takes a lot of bloom off the market rose."

The capitalists don't see how they can guarantee any wage, let alone \$50 a week. Still these hard facts remain, and the paid agents of Morgan and du Pont can't get around them:

1) Production more than doubled between 1939 and 1944—rising from \$88 billions to \$195 billions—over a one hundred per cent increase.

2) BUT the working force increased by less than 25 per cent. That means: Five workers in 1944 produced as much as eight workers in 1939.

3) AND eleven million of the ablest workers were in the armed forces.

The lesson is plain to see. The guaranteed annual wage, which will mean plenty for all, AND A MAXIMUM THIRTY-HOUR WORK WEEK AS WELL, are at hand—

IF we do not allow the capitalists and their profits to stand in our way.

IF we do not allow the capitalists to control the government.

The pamphlet from which the above is taken can be obtained by sending this coupon to the Election Campaign Committee, 114 West 14th Street, New York 11, N. Y. Five cents a copy; special bundle rate of three cents a copy for ten or more.

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Editorials

Last Rites for the FEPC

The Fair Employment Practices Committee has been killed in Congress. The entirely inadequate appropriation of \$250,000 is less than half the amount requested by the committee and far less than it needs to function with any effectiveness. The bill that grants this magnanimous sum includes a clause ordering the agency to liquidate.

The Democrats and Republicans joined together to defeat an investigating agency, one which didn't have any powers of enforcement in the first place. When Republican Leader Joseph Martin was reminded of the fact that the national program of the Republican Party called for the establishment of a permanent FEPC, he crudely presented his defense: since the Republicans lost the election they are not bound to carry out a program, even though those Republicans who were elected were presumably elected on that program.

Only an independent Labor Party that bases itself on the trade unions and which is responsible to these same unions can be counted on to support and carry out the wishes of its constituents.

Senator Eastland of Mississippi joined the Bilbos and Rankins in using the podium of the Senate to spout the most reactionary race, religious and union baiting. He centered his attack on the Negro soldiers, whom he accused of raping women in a Stuttgart subway. (It has since been pointed out that there is no subway in Stuttgart!) Lying and deceit are common among the lawmakers—and anything goes. That is, anything that serves their purpose. In this case, their purpose is clear: to intensify the cleavage between Negro and white workers, between Negro and white soldiers and between soldier and civilian.

Eastland doesn't hesitate to incite to violence. He has an aim and adopts a program to serve it. He knows that the organized labor movement in this country and its increasing interest in political action

will mean his defeat in Congress. Eastland's intention to set white against black and veterans against labor is revealed in his statement, "... that by agitation, by the raising of the racial question and by pampering labor racketeers, the soldiers had been let down. There is a deep and great fire burning to correct that situation when they get back home."

In his attack on the FEPC, Eastland centered as much of his furor on labor unions as on the Negroes. His purpose is to break up the union movement. It is a threat to him and to the profits of the bosses he really represents. His crude defense of capitalism includes those old outworn concepts that are anathema to a healthy, vital trade union. He defends the right of property owners to choose their own employees. The trade unions, on the other hand, fight for the rights of workers to have closed shop contracts in which the unions reserve the right to supply union men to any plant that needs workers and in this way, through this kind of organizing, they are able to maintain union standards, conditions and wages.

The position of the Eastlands, Bilbos and Rankins is clear. At a time when unemployment is facing the workers, when returning soldiers will be searching for non-existent jobs, it is at such a time that these boss representatives present their program to divide the working class into many sections that will fight each other and lose sight of their real enemy—the boss class, the profit system.

It is the profit system, the capitalist system, the system of free enterprise that cannot supply jobs for all. The bosses run their factories for profit and for profit only. When their profits aren't guaranteed they close their factories and the workers can starve.

If Negro and white worker and Negro and white veteran join hands, to provide jobs for themselves, the needed goods for their families, it will be tough on the factory, mine and mill owners.

"Suffering" Due to News Strike

One day early this week we saw a copy of the New York World-Telegram (Scripps-Howard) in a trash basket—which is a very good place for the Telegram.

However, we picked it out, curious to see what this labor-hating rag had to say about the strike of the newspaper deliverymen.

Needless to say, it was full of the usual bull. But it did contain a very interesting list of the people who were suffering for lack of their daily papers.

- 1) The housewife, who didn't know what bargains the big stores were offering. Bargains? Have they started to offer bargains again since this strike began?
2) The race follower, who felt lost without information about weights, jockies, etc. Do we have to comment on that?
3) The night club proprietor (what nice words—race "follower" and night club "proprietor"), whose business fell off. It gets sadder and sadder.
4) The renting agent, who got hardly any 'phone calls.

This poor fellow is being deprived of the pleasures of telling frantic homeseekers that the cheapest apartments are now \$100 a month or so.

Well, there's a lot more of the same. We were surprised to find omitted (1) fathers, who miss the joy of reading the comics to their kids (Mayor LaGuardia, when not busy strikebreaking, reads the comics over the radio), and (2) mothers, who are desperate for some paper to line the garbage can with.

Railroad Workers Strike in So. Chicago

Special to LABOR ACTION

CHICAGO. Tel.—One hundred narrow gauge railroad workers stopped steel production in the Carnegie-Illinois' South Chicago plant July 6 in a strike to protect seniority rules.

This strike followed close on the heels of a six-day walkout by a number of motor maintenance workers over another violation of seniority rules by the management.

In its campaign to break the steel union, the giant U. S. Steel Corp., of which Carnegie-Illinois is a subsidiary, has concentrated on the issue of seniority rules. In negotiations with the union on seniority provisions to be included in the contract signed in March of this year, the company proposed what amounted to a complete abrogation of all the gains the steel workers had made in the establishment of seniority rules since the CIO came into the plant.

Union men in the second largest steel plant in the world are aware of the company's campaign and also of the tremendous fight which the union will have to enforce any kind of seniority when the layoffs begin.



New York Readers, Attention!

OPEN AIR ELECTION RALLY

Max Shachtman

Workers Party Candidate for Mayor

SPEAKS ON

"How to Get Jobs for All"

Saturday, July 21, 8 P. M.

161st Street and Prospect Avenue

Bronx, N. Y.

India: No Solution Made At Simla

By Kenneth Masters

It was officially announced that the Simla conference has been terminated—and it has not brought the Indian masses one step closer to independence than did the Cripps proposals of 1942.

Field Marshall Lord Wavell, Viceroy of India, originally called the conference at Simla in an attempt to ease the political tension aroused over the issue of Indian independence. By freeing many of the nationalist leaders, who had been imprisoned without trial in 1942, and offering the prominent Indian political leaders positions in the Executive Council, the British hoped to weaken the revolutionary movement for real Indian independence.

Though they offered to change the personnel of the Council to include more Indians, the British offered no change in the stranglehold powers of the Viceroy. And what immense powers they are. He can overrule the decisions of his Executive Council. He and the British government have exclusive control over the "Indian" army. He alone is responsible for all the dealings with the native Indian States in which 90 million people live. He controls taxation, police and civil service. There is little reason to wonder that the "new" proposals have gone the way of the old.

REASONS FOR BREAKDOWN

The official reason given for the breakdown of the Simla conference was that the differences between the Congress Hindus and the League Moslems seemed irreconcilable. Ali Jinnah's reactionary Moslem League, representing less than one-fourth of the Moslems in India, on a religious basis, demands that its organization represent all Moslems on the Council. On the other hand, the All-India Congress, a political party, representing the nationalist-capitalist interests of India, regardless of religion (but predominantly Hindu because two-thirds of the population of India are Hindus), demands representation on a political basis. The British, of course, are playing up these differences for all they are worth and creating the false issues of Moslem vs. Hindu to justify their control of India.

The two sections of the Indian nationalist leadership have shown one thing in common, at least. That is their desire, at this time, to work with the British. Nehru, former president of the All-India Congress Party, just recently released from jail, commented on the breakdown of the Simla conference.

"The Congress Party will show the same cooperation and friendliness that we have displayed at the Simla conference if the Wavell plan is revived in the future."

MASSES MUST FREE THEMSELVES

What more is needed to prove that the nationalist leaders are incapable of struggling for real Indian independence? Tied hand and foot to the native capitalist interests who are not entirely free of the native interests as well, the nationalist political leaders are willing to sell out when necessary—and it becomes especially necessary when a real cry for Indian freedom rends the air. Nehru is fearful of this when he states at a press interview on July 15th that he fears that demoralization among the people, administrative breakdowns, and eventual revolts would result from the continued failure to reorganize the government.

Nehru and the other national leaders realize that splits in the ruling classes in India, the inability of the administration, both British and Indian, to establish a "stable" government and to pass it off as a "popular" one to the masses of the people will lead to only one consequence—the independent action of the masses themselves. It is precisely upon this—the independent action of the people of India, led by the working classes, that the freedom of India depends.

Within India itself, there is a revolutionary socialist party, the Bolshevik-Leninists, whose program calls for genuine independence of India through independent working class action. It is the duty of the millions of workers and peasants of India to support such a program to rid themselves of British imperialism. Neither the plans of Viceroy Wavell, nor those of the grovelling nationalist leaders will ever succeed in accomplishing this end. The task remains with the masses.

What's Wrong in India.

Baedeker on Indian labor: Indian industry has benefited by the war; profits have risen from 200 to 900 per cent in the various industries. Labor has not done as well: the cost of living has tripled and doubled, reducing the real wages of the workers by 40 or 50 per cent, according to the All-India Trade Union Congress.

An agricultural worker receives an annual wage of about \$11.60... 83,000,000 textile workers receive about \$2.60 a week... the jute workers \$1.60 a week. On the tea plantations in Assam men receive \$2.70 a month, women \$1.80, and children \$1.50.

In the mines, women and children work underground... men receive 75 cents a week, women 60 cents.

However, the government of India has provided a system of maternity benefits for women miners during the late stages of pregnancy. This Mines Maternity Act helps defray the cost of confinement and burial when necessary. The Act also allows certain sick benefits, since ill-health is common among the poorly-fed pregnant women who dig in the mines.

Child labor for all those UNDER TWELVE YEARS is prohibited.

There is no minimum wage-and-hour law in India. There is no system of national unemployment insurance or social security in India. Some private companies "shower such favors" on their employees.

A recent typical labor dispute in India involved the following charges against the company: (1) deduction of 'two days' wages when a department is closed because of repairs to machinery or other cause; (2) numerous illegal suspensions and discharges; (3) non-payment of compensation to injured workers and wholesale chiseling on compensations that were paid; failure to provide workers with pass-books necessary to collect unemployment benefits from a fund to which the workers had already contributed; (4) assaults by company guards on protesting workers.

The All-India Trade Union Congress, largest union body, with a membership of over 500,000, is agitating for a nation-wide program of unemployment insurance and medical care. The program envisioned would provide from forty to sixty cents a week unemployment insurance and would introduce medical care to workers and their dependents suffering not only from acute but also chronic diseases such as tuberculosis, leprosy and venereal diseases.

Many Indian workers are employed under the contract system whereby the company lets a contract to a labor contractor at a flat rate.

In India there is no compulsory compensation for injured workers. (New Leader, July 14)

SOCIALISM AND POST-WAR HOUSING

By MARIAN GOULD

Seven million slum buildings in the U.S.A. in 1940—

Over 18,000,000 substandard housing units in the U.S.: by conservative estimate, more than half the population living in unsanitary, indecent homes—

Great stretches of the total area of our cities and the surrounding countryside blighted and unfit for residential purposes.

That, LABOR ACTION readers, is the real "American Way of Life." Not the way THEY show it in the movies, newspapers and home magazines.

If "A Post-War Home for Every Housewife" is to mean anything at all, it must mean FIRST the ending of these conditions, and the replacement of these units by homes planned to meet the people's needs, for sunlight, fresh air, privacy, sanitation.

But HOW? The above is a list of evils rooted deep in the fabric of our social and economic forms of organization, as we showed last week. The one factor mentioned above that we haven't treated fully yet is BLIGHT, which is an important complication in the housing problem.

Blight, I might explain for those of my readers who haven't gotten around to the "latest sociological terminology," is an impersonal, scientific word for those areas across which encroaching slums cast shadows before them.

Blighted areas are unfit for residences because of new factories, train tracks, stores, heavy traffic, etc. They are areas where "property values are on the downgrade," to use the common expression.

Slums developed early in the history of cities and have stayed with us. Blight came later as these cities developed nobility.

Blight first appeared when overcrowding by

the influx of factory "hands" ruined old residential districts. The "Old City" sections of Europe's capitals and the "old sections" of American cities are examples.

Jerrybuilt tenements followed these first slums. New York's "old law" tenements are typical. In 1885 the city pronounced them "foul, unsanitary and unfit to live in" yet they still house 2,000,000 people today, in this year of Our Lord 1945!

The growth of American cities (which the land speculators and banks thought was going to continue forever) took the form of that familiar and chaotic pattern:

Overcrowding, slums, suburban development, new blight, new congestion, new slums and new suburban development still further out.

This constant shifting of land values and usage was always subordinate to and dependent on the location and relocation of industry at will within and without the city area.

Cities followed factories, remember! Most of the malformations of the cities of today proceed from the poor distribution of industry, says Jose Sert, expert city planner. And, he adds, they cannot be eliminated without industrial zoning, i.e., the elimination of "laissez-faire" and free competition. (!!!)

Blind economic forces, serving only the private profits of a few, continue to change and worsen the living conditions of the millions of city toilers. I will list a few of these forces so you can see the TYPE of things that have to be CONTROLLED and CHANGED before we can replace those 18,000,000 substandard units:

1. Better transportation plus mechanization of agriculture brought another mass migration to the city in the twentieth century.

2. Increased mobility brought with it the

inhuman and UNNECESSARY traffic and transportation ills that curse our modern cities: truck traffic on industrial and commercial routes passing through residential districts; the ever-mounting congestion and nervous strain of daily mass-movements back and forth on street cars, subways, els, busses and interurban trains.

3. New technological developments (such as the production LINE, use of electric power far from its source, etc.) plus rising land costs and taxes in the cities, have caused industry to relocate in remote suburbs and rural areas: decentralization of the economy has begun.

BUT:

Yesterday's high valuation of centrally-located city land has been frozen into the capitalist financial structure

through private investment in real estate, through ill-judged bank loans and mortgages on property, through vast private capital outlays in utility, communication and transportation equipment, as well as in commercial enterprises (stores, movies, etc.), and through municipal bond issues floated to build schools, super-highways, water and sanitation systems.

Yes, LABOR ACTION reader, for most Americans, getting a post-war home isn't just a question of "making up your mind as to what is possible as a way of life for you"—as the Ladies Home Journal advises.

LABOR ACTION echoes the cynical "Oh yeah?" of the average worker to this propaganda and we urge you housewives not to be taken in by it. Next week, we'll substantiate our "Oh, yeah," by examining some of these schemes.

COMMUNIST NEW TURN--V

By DAVID COOLIDGE

Among the horrible things contemplated by "American Big Business," according to the "new turn" resolution of the Foster (Stalin) faction in the Communist Political Association, is the prevention of "a truly democratic and anti-fascist Europe in which the people will have the right to freely choose their own forms of government and social system... Washington together with London is pursuing the dangerous policy of preventing a strong, united and democratic China; while they bolster up the reactionary, incompetent Chiang Kai-shek regime...."

The Foster resolution says that Washington and London act in the manner they do because they are under the influence of "American Big Business." That's true. That's why the war is being fought: to establish the domination of "American Big Business," the ruling class in the United States, over Europe and the rest of the world. Throughout the course of this Second Imperialist World War, the Workers Party pointed this out to workers, week in and week out in the columns of LABOR ACTION. The Workers Party said that this is not a war for democracy, it is not a war against fascism—it is an imperialist war. An imperialist war between two groups of imperialist nations: Anglo-American capitalist imperialism on one side and German-Japanese fascist imperialism on the other. The Workers Party said that Russia was engaging in the war in one of the imperialist camps: the Anglo-American camp.

What was the Workers Party basing itself on when it made this anal-

ysis? The WP was basing itself on the principles of revolutionary socialism: primarily on the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin. The WP was basing itself on the teachings and writings of Leon Trotsky, co-organizer with Lenin of the October Bolshevik revolution, organizer of the real Red Army. (Not the present-day Stalinist Russian Army.) It was this Red Army under Trotsky which defeated all the Russian reactionaries as well as their supporters from the outside, led by Great Britain and the United States.

CP ATTACKS TROTSKYITES

What did the Browder-Foster Communist Party say about the position of the Workers Party on the war? It is all summed up in a pamphlet by George Morris entitled: "the Trotskyite 5th Column in the Labor Movement." This pamphlet was issued January 1945. What was a "5th Columnist" according to the Browder-Foster (Stalin) line of six months ago? The Trotskyites "Oppose the war... Oppose national unity... Oppose labor's wartime no-strike pledge... Concentrate fire chiefly upon President Roosevelt and the other 'Big Three United Nations leaders....' The Workers Party called for "nationalization of all industry" under "workers control." The WP said that Roosevelt was "a spokesman for 'Wall Street' and 'American imperialism.'"

The Foster-Browder Stalinists disagreed with all of this. They supported the war. (After June 1941.) They acted like a vast spy agency, like secret police in support of the no-strike pledge. They supported and fought for the speed-up with their

"incentive pay" program. They supported the WLB, scabbed on the Montgomery Ward strike, called for the guarantee to England that she would not lose her foreign trade, demanded that even in the post-war period labor should agree not to strike.

These are the people who are talking today about what "American Big Business" is doing and planning to do. The Foster group, just as Browder, supported big business and imperialism throughout the war. They were concerned about big business profits and England's foreign trade. They wanted labor, to guarantee this by submitting completely to Roosevelt and the big business which he represented. They have been doing everything in their power during the war to guarantee that the peoples of Europe will be under the domination of "American Big Business" and the GPU of Stalin.

The Foster program pretends great concern over the fate of China. "Washington" and "London" are preventing a "united and democratic China," they "bolster up the reactionary... Chiang Kai-Shek." Is this anything new? Haven't Washington and London always been enemies of a united and democratic China? Did not Foster know this when he was going into one tail-spin after the other about support of the war? Of course he did.

HYPOCRISY ON CHINA

Furthermore Foster evidently believes that we have very short memories or that all the written records of history have been destroyed. Who is chiefly responsible for Chiang Kai-Shek being in power in China today?

Stalin and his yes men in the Communist parties of the world. During the Chinese revolution of 1927-28 it was Stalin who ordered the Chinese Communist Party, right on the eve of the victory of the Chinese workers over their oppressors, to liquidate itself into the Kuomintang of Chiang Kai-Shek.

In the months following, Chiang Kai-Shek butchered and murdered hundreds of Chinese communists and revolutionary workers. And now Foster steps forth dripping with the blood of the Chinese working class to tell us that "London" and "Washington" support a reactionary Chiang Kai-Shek. We say that their blood is on the head of Foster because he did not oppose this monstrous policy of Stalin. He went along with it just as did Browder and Minor and all the crowd that today is yelling for the scalp of the weasel-worred Browder.

Stalin sold out and betrayed the Chinese workers just as he sold out and betrayed the Spanish workers during the Spanish Civil War and the working class in the United States during the present war.

The Foster resolution tells us that "Reactionary forces—especially the NAM and their representatives in Congress—are planning a new open-shop drive to weaken or smash the trade unions...." Since we are at the end of our space we will take this up next week. It is necessary to remark, however, that no mention is made of the United States Chamber of Commerce. We suppose that the C of C and its president, Mr. Eric Johnston, represent what Foster calls "the good capitalists."

Big Three Meeting in Potsdam --

(Continued from page 1) "free enterprise" of the House of Ullstein, which was confiscated by the Nazis during the Hitler régime, was refused the management of his business by the Russians for being "too Western minded."

The vaunted "democracy" and "fraternization" in the Russian area of Germany, coming through censored news dispatches, conceals the ruthless suppression of serious democratic opponents by the NKVD (Russian secret police), the utilization of the made-in-Moscow puppets of the "Free Germany" committee, etc.

But Russian policy, emanating as it does from a totalitarian régime that permits no opposition, is easily carried through. That of the United States, for example, is confused and uncertain. There are proponents of the restoration of German industry to take care of civilian needs for Europe, and proponents of the Morgenthau-Baruch school which would raze industry and agriculturalize Germany.

While the Russians hoist picked and safe anti-fascist parties into power and here and there an ex-Nazi who is willing to exchange the Nazi insignia for the hammer and sickle of the Communists, the Americans have barred anti-fascist parties in Bavaria and openly supported outright Nazis in administrative posts.

Meanwhile the economic problems that beset Germany, flowing in no small measure from its tripartite division, are acute. The heavily industrialized American zone is cut off from the breadbasket, which is in Russian hands. This problem, in min-

ature, is the problem of all Europe, split up into artificial zones, divided by tariff walls and political barriers.

ITALY, MIDDLE EAST

Italy has recently declared war on Japan as a bid to become part of the United Nations and to effect the settlement of her status. Yet there is some reluctance, even on the part of Italian leaders, to make public at this late date the terms of the armistice, which are undoubtedly severe. This will bring up immediately the disposition of the Italian Empire and consequent squabbles among the big powers.

France may make her bid for Tripolitania to add to Tunisia. Britain would find Italian Somaliland a convenient neighbor to British Somaliland. Greece would like to stake a claim to the Dodecanese Islands. The Italian port of Trieste, seized by Stalin's Marshal Tito in a "unilateral" action and claimed by Italy, is up for solution.

The question of the Middle East, a pot pourri of oil imperialism, strategic ports and inflamed national sentiments for liberation will be up for bargaining among Truman, Stalin and Churchill.

There have already been military clashes between the Levantine states and French soldiers, with Britain magnanimously recognizing the demand for independence of these people because of her own interests in the area.

Of foremost concern is Russia's demand on Turkey, made unilaterally and now in the hands of the Big Three, for a change in the status of the Dardanelles, Russian outlet to

the Mediterranean, plus perhaps a demand for Turkish European territory for one of her Balkan satellites. She also backs Turkey's demands of Britain and the United States for Iraq oil. This Turkish demand arises as a result of Russian monopolization of Rumanian oil through reparations and commercial agreements.

At the other end of the Mediterranean, Tangier hangs as a counterweight to the Dardanelles. France appealed to the British and Americans, in a sort of trilateral action excluding Russia, to internationalize the area opposite Gibraltar, forming the lower lip of the western entrance to the Mediterranean. Britain and America proposed British-American-Spanish-French control—at which point Russia stepped in. If the fate of the Dardanelles is to be decided by Big Three arrangement, so will that of Tangier.

How the great powers chafe under the bonds of the "United Nations" and how they struggle to make separate agreements!

SPECIAL BULLETIN

As we go to press we are informed by London cable of the arrests of ten or more Nigerian Trades Union Congress leaders, suppression of two newspapers supporting the general strike of 150,000 Nigerian workers, and the threat to banish Nnamdi Azikiwe, General Secretary of the National Council of Nigeria.

The 150,000 Nigerian workers on strike include all the railroad men, coal miners, civil servants and others. Their present pay averages two shillings a day, the equivalent of about 50 cents.

There are 64 trade unions in Nigeria, combined in the Nigerian Trades Union Congress which held a convention in August 1944. This body adopted resolutions calling for industrialization of the country and nationalization of important industries, unemployment and health insurance, and improvement of housing and educational facilities.

Reason for Hate Campaign Against Nisei

By P. Prentiss

There is a campaign of terrorism being directed against the Nisei, American-born citizens of Japanese descent, who since the wartime exclusion order was lifted, are returning from the relocation camps to their homes on the West Coast. Since January more than twenty incidents of gunplay, fire, threats and hoodlumism have occurred throughout the states of California, Oregon and Washington. Local authorities have not arrested or convicted any of the culprits who are guilty of everything from issuing "get out of town" warnings to firing guns through the windows of homes. There have been fifteen of the latter cases alone; yet none of the perpetrators has been punished.

This attempt to scare away the Nisei by burning, dynamiting and shooting at them is not merely the work of hoodlums but is the result of the mass race-hatred propaganda that is presented daily in the capitalist press.

RACISM AND PROPERTY

William Stegner in an article in the New Republic points out that most of these acts of terrorism "occur where land or businesses are involved." We can take Secretary Ickes' word for it when he stated that the purpose of the acts of terror was "to establish an economic beachhead on the property of the evacuees they vainly hoped would sell out or run out."

Among others, the California shipper-grower interests, organized into the Shipper-Grower Association, have a big stake in keeping the Nisei out of California. These are the same groups that lobbied in Washington for evacuation of the Japanese-Americans four years ago. At that time the big produce interests saw the opportunity of taking over the Japanese-American holdings which were valued at more than \$200,000,000 at that time. These were very high stakes. When the evacuation program actually went into effect, the government, as was to be expected, failed to set up any system of property custodianship. The Japanese-Americans were forced or pressured into disposing of their holdings quickly and in a haphazard fashion, taking losses amounting to millions.

Today the shipper-growers are not ready to relinquish their gains to the returning Nisei. Through their old reliable propaganda machines they are once again spewing forth the fascist ideas of race hatred and white supremacy. There are no innate feelings of race hatred among the people of the West Coast. For years they have lived and worked together peaceably. Whatever prejudice exists today has been manufactured for economic and political purposes. In the forefront, as usual, are the Hearst papers, the Los Angeles Examiner and the San Francisco Examiner, printing daily the Hitler race supremacy theories. The Native Sons, an anti-Oriental organization, and the American Legion work hard at keeping these Nazi ideas burning and alive.

These types of organizations and propaganda machines are not, of course, confined to the West Coast or directed against one minority alone. All over the country we see the capitalist press geared to the theory of white race supremacy. The most glaring example of all is the treatment of the Negro, who is constantly pictured as "slow, stupid and lazy."

The capitalists cash in on the differences in the physical aspects of men. By constantly posing dark skin against light skin, Caucasian against Oriental, the capitalists find that race hatred is the easiest way of keeping the workers separated. Race hatred has long been a favorite tool for disrupting the organization of the working class.

Many of the Nisei, who were fast growing pauperized in the relocation camps, have gone into the beet fields to work. It is only among other workers whose interests they share, regardless of ancestry or color, that they will find the methods with which to combat the abominable white race supremacy theories of the ruling class.

AN EXAMPLE OF SOLIDARITY

Just as the other evils that exist in present-day society can only be overcome by the independent action of the working class, race hatred is no exception. In this particular aspect of the question, the Canadian woodworkers are showing the way.

Japanese workers, who make up ninety-five per cent of the employees at the Bessette Lumber Mill at Kamloops, B. C., Canada, have been organized by the International Woodworkers of America, CIO, according to a report in the Vancouver Sun of May 23, 1945.

The report goes on to tell of the organization of other Japanese lumber workers in the mills to the north of Kamloops. The Japanese workers are expected to hold membership in the newly organized Kamloops Local of the IWA together with the other Canadian workers.

The action of the Canadian Woodworkers in organizing their fellow workers of Japanese descent shows the way for all of American and Canadian labor in overcoming the racial hatreds stirred up among workers by the capitalist press. When Canadians of Anglo-Saxon descent and Canadians of Japanese descent work together in the same mills and fight together for their common aims in the same union local, it will be pretty hard for newspapers and propaganda newsreels to convince us that the Japanese workers are part of a race of "savage apes."

This alone is the first effective step in the direction of overcoming race hatred and the terrorism that springs from it.

"Fascism Is a Matter of Taste"...

Marshal Tito, Stalinoid leader of Yugoslavia, has appointed a full-blown fascist as Ambassador to London, Dr. Luba Leontitch.

From the London Time and Tide of June 23 on Leontitch:

"He is a Croat and a lawyer... the founder of the Yugoslav fascist organization—fascist not in any vague or generic sense, but in a precise and specific sense—known as 'Orjuna.' Leontitch assumed the title of 'Veli-Ki Chelnik' (Grand Fuehrer). The organization, founded after Mussolini's march on Rome, was a copy of the Italian fascist original—it even adopted the black shirt as its uniform. It was used to break up meetings and strikes and had a special body of storm troopers, who perpetrated deeds of violence. They would disperse Communist and Socialist meetings, often with bloodshed. They did much to embitter relations between the Serbs and Croats. Leontitch went over to Tito after the collapse of Italy. He has now been fittingly rewarded for his past services."

From the New Leader of July 14:

"One of Tito's staunchest henchmen in Trieste before he was forced to evacuate that city was Bruno Wucksoo, a fascist of Hungarian origin, alias Bruno Della Motta, La Parola reveals. He was a Squadrista in Fiume, collaborator of Host Venturi, an officer of the fascist militia there, took part in raids against anti-fascists and praised Hitler's 'Holy War Against Russia.'"