# **UAW Leads in** Labor's Fight to

The post-war battle is on between United States capital and labor, between corporate wealth and poverty, between vested interests and insecurity, between profiteers and wage earners. In the van of the army of capital is General Motors Corporation, described in government reports as the world's "richest and most profitable," opposed by the United Automobile Workers, the largest and most militant of the CIO unions. Last August 18, Walter Reu-



WALTER REUTHER

To buttress the union's demand, Reuther stated that the financial position of the corporation because of its war-made profits was so sensationally good that it could not only pay the thirty per cent increase but at the same time could cut the price of one of its cars (Chev-

ther, head of the GM bargaining

unit of the UAW, presented the

case for the union. The union

wants full employment, full pro-

duction and full wartime take-

home pay, with no increase in

prices of cars. The union's demand for a

thirty per cent increase in pay would

mean merely a maintenance of the war-

time standard which was already being

steadily whittled down by rising prices.

THE POSITION OF THE UAW

more than the pre-war 1936-39 average of \$180,000,000." (New York Times, October 22.) Reuther added: "If GM will pay a thirty per cent increase to its salaried workers also, as we think it should, except for the numerous officials who cut themselves in on the GM payroll for \$40,000 to \$500,000 apiece, it could still cut \$60 off the 1942 prices of Chevrolet and still earn profits some fifty per cent above the

### high GM average of the last ten years.' BOSSES WANT MORE EXPLOITATION

C. E. Wilson, president of the billion-dollar General Motors behemoth, disdaining to meet with the union, has replied to the union's demands with a

His counter-proposal is for a lengthened work week of forty-five instead of forty hours and a raise possibly from five to eight per cent in the hourly rate. As for Reuther's proposal for the thirty per cent increase, which could cut the price of cars, increase wages and still maintain the super-profits of war, a company spokesman called this an "Alice-in-Wonderland theory." The workers want a measure of security-not luxury such as the \$200 an hour that C. E. Wilson boasts-and that is compared to a nonsense tale!

The union asks that wages be raised without raising the prices of cars, because profits will remain large in any case. They were met with the statement of Harry B. Coen, GM labor relations director that: "It's none of your damn business what the OPA does with the price of our cars."

The workers want a 40-hour basic work week, and Wilson asks for a 45hour week which would scrap the Federal Wage and Hour Act and according

to R. J. Thomas, president of the UAW, "throw 100,000 men out of work." Why do the corporations behave in this manner when the workers ask only for the maintenance of their wartime wages which so many returning servicemen found so much lower than they had been led to believe

# PROFITS VS. A LIVING WAGE!

The reason is that the heart, mind and soul of the corporations and their presidents and managers and directors are profits and high salaries for the officials. These are what motivate the industrial giants in depression, wartime and peace-time.

In a depression, the companies don't produce even if people are starving because they can't make a profit. In a war, they don't produce, even if the fighting has started, until their profits guaranteed by the government. Now, in peacetime, they refuse to grant a living wage to the workers because that would cut into their profits. Riches for a few, poverty for the many—this is the real Alice-in-Wonderland society!

In refusing the really modest 30 percent demands of the UAW for a living wage for its members and the demand of the steelworkers for \$2 a day increase, General Motors and U. S. Steel have taken the lead in shouting so that all who are not deaf can hear. We are bankrupt! We cannot afford to pay a living wage to our employees because it will menace our profits! We cannot provide security for workers and their families!

The answer is obvious: If you can't afford to pay a living wage, if you can't provide security for the people, you aren't fit to own and manage the mills and plants of the country. Get out! Let the government take over! Let the workers manage production! Let's produce for human needs and not for profits!

All labor must rally to the firm support of the UAW workers in their fight for security and a living wage against these profit-laden corporations who enrich themselves through exploitation of the workers!

The UAW is carrying the banner for all of U. S. labor.

Nationalize the monopolies! Operate them under workers' control! Build a Labor Party!

Fight for a Workers' Government!

# **Lessons of New York Dockers' Strike**

By WALTER WEISS

The rank - and - file strike of longshoremen in the New York area ended October 18 after seventeen days of hectic action. The daily press had built up a "red scare" of truly tremendous proportions, and under cover of this barrage Dictator Joe Ryan, lifetime president of the International Longshoremen's Association (AFL). succeeded in launching a back-towork movement, to which the poorly organized rank and file finally

It is perfectly true that the trade union bureaucrats and lawyers of the Stalinist Communist Party had, for

their own ends, taken over the direction of affairs at the fop in this virtually leaderless revolt against Ryan, Yet, as Max Shachtman, Workers Party candidate for Mayor of New York, pointed out last week in LA-BOR ACTION, the striking longshoremen deserved the fullest support of all progressive trade union-

The men were fighting for better working conditions - primarily for safe sling-loads and for a guarantee of at least four hours of work, instead of two, on each job for which they were hired. They were fighting for democratic unionism—to put an end to Ryan's dictatorship, his "goon squads," and his secret agreements with the employers. The overwhelming majority of longshoremen clearly supported these demands and there is

(Continued on page 2)

# Peacetime Youth Draft Win Living Wage Prepares for New War

**Compulsory Military Training!** 

Let the People Vote on the Issue of

GM'PRESIDENT WILSON

# \$200-an-hour Wilson Bucks 30% Increase rolet) by at least \$100 and still earn for stockholders "at least \$100,000,000

Charles E. Wilson whose picture appears above is president of General Motors, the corporation which is bitterly fighting the efforts of the UAW to obtain a living wage and security for the 300,000 workers who labor for the corporation. Wilson is the leader of the General Motors wolf-pack of profiteers which refuses to even discuss the union demands with the UAW leaders.

How did Wilson fare during the war years? His fabulous earnings

> In 1941, \$406,890 In 1943, \$502,000 In 1944, \$459,041

Translating these enormous earnings into hourly rates, we find that for a 40-hour week and 50-week year, which is a great deal more than Wilson actually works, he received:

# In 1941, \$203 an hour. In 1943, \$251 an hour.

These earnings for Wilson (and a host of corporation officials) was possible because of the enormous NET income of GM which was:

> In 1941, \$201,750,205 In 1943, \$149,878,091 In 1944, \$170,995,865

If the corporation and its officials cannot provide a living wage and security for labor, let them get out. Let the government take over the monopoly and let the unions operate its plants under workers' control.

What would happen to the officials of General Motors? They might go to work on the assembly line and earn

# **Thousands Picket** Smith's Meeting

LOS ANGELES, Oct. 20 - A mass picket line variously estimated at ten to twenty thousand in number surged outside the Polytechnic High School on Wednesday, October 17, as the answer given by Los Angeles labor to Gerald L. K. Smith's attempt to hold his first comeback rally in this city.

The would-be fascist fuehrer, who has been trying to build a base for his anti-labor, anti-Semite and anti-Negro poison propaganda movement on the West Coast since last June, managed to hold his meeting inside in the face of a heckling audience, with the help of a detail of policemen stationed through the hall and of a representative of the Board of Education. About 1500 listened to him, of whom at least one-third were antagonistic, most of the rest being duped followers of the Ham and Egg organization whose leaders are sponsoring Smith's activities.

Inside, Smith railed that "the Communists and Trotskyites organized the picket line" and that it was backed by "the rich revolutionists of Hollywood," by which he apparently meant the liberals of the Mobilization for Democracy, a united front of several hundred civic organizations, who had jumped on the bandwagon for the picket line two days before the demonstration after several of the largest trade unions in the area had started calling their members out for it.

But the big show was outside. It was probably the largest anti-fascist demonstration over held west of New York City. The picketers marched in a tremendous loop for almost the whole length of the Washington Bou-In 1944, \$229 an hour. levard block on which the entrance faces, and around the block to the side entrance: in front of the school. the inside line curved inward to brush by the main entrance and the doors to the auditorium, where the passing demonstrators booed and chanted and sang loud enough to be heard inside.

A cordon of cops lined the entrances and the rest of the police formed tight ranks along Washington and diverted all traffic from passing the school.

# UNIONS IN PICKETING

Along the picket line a forest of placards and banners denounced Smith as a native Hitlerite, strikebreaker and Jew-baiter, inciter of race hatred and enemy of labor, with the injunction to "Drive Smith out of Los Angeles." Most of the placards

were supplied by the UAW-CIO and Local 9 of the Shipyard Workers. The large red circular banner blazoned "Workers Party" stood out prominently in the sea of placards, heading a part of the WP contingent. Large numbers of Negroes were

Three or four sound trucks stationed at different points addressed the crowd throughout. Some of the unions represented besides the two mentioned were: Longshoremen and Warehousemen. Rubber Workers. CIO Steel Workers, the International Association of Machinists, Conference of Studio Unions, American Federation of Musicians and the International Ladies Garment Workers. While the CIO predominated, several AFL organizations were out

Although Smith's hate-fest was not scheduled to start until eight o'clock, the picket line already numbered in thousands by six o'clock, Picket captains from various unions were assigned and patrolled the lines. The attitude of the police was highly "cooperative"; just about the last thing the Bowron city administration wanted was a clash between its cops. and the anti-fascist picketers. It had been elected as a "liberal" administration but its credit in Los Angeles has been disappearing in direct ratio to its length of stay in office.

A wave of disappointment swept the picket line when at nine o'clock, Phil Connelly, head of the CIO Council and well known Communist Party line-toer, mounted a sound truck to order the crowd to disperse, "get out of the area and go home." The demonstration had not diminished in size and the thousands were all set to say good-bye to Smith's audience. Connelly, however, who had not wanted a militant mass picket line in the first place (as reported in LABOR ACTION last week and who had hurriedly flip-flopped only after the largest CIO unions had already decided to get behind the action, and who barely caught the street car in time to announce that he was the conductor of it-this same Connelly used his generaliship to call it off at its height.

The following morning several thousands of good people of Los Angeles rubbed their eyes with amazement as they thumbed through their copies of the Los Angeles Daily News looking for the story of the historic

(Continued on page 2)

The message to Congress by President Truman, three months after the end of World War II, to enact legislation to force all youth from the age of high school graduation to twenty years to undergo a year of military "training" is a confession of (1) the failure of capitalism to solve the problem of war and (2) an announcement of preparations for World War III.

From having opposed peacetime conscription when he was a senator and somewhat closer to the people, who have always been opposed to such a scheme, Truman now says: "We can in-

sure...peace only so long as we remain strong." But this war was supposed to have been caused by the ag-

D. A.'s Office

Stalling in

Tresca Case

NEW YORK CITY-Charges that As-

sistant District Attorney Louis Pag-

nucco, long in charge of the Italian

end of the Carlo Tresca murder in-

vestigation, was closely associated

with Fascists in the past, received

honors and awards from them, and

has fulsomely praised Mussolini's re-

gime, have just been made public

here by the Tresca Memorial Com-

mittee, headed by Norman Thomas.

Pagnucco's record is set forth in a

report of an inquiry to learn why, in

this case in which Fascists have been

under strong suspicion from the start,

the authorities apparently have made

no headway toward finding the slay-

signed the report, issued in a pam-

phlet entitled: "Who Killed Carlo

Carlo Tresca?" They include John

Dewey, Oswald Garrison Villard, An-

gelica Balabanoff, William Henry

Chamberlin, Frank Crosswaith, Va-

rian Fry, Aron S. Gilmartin, Amer-

ica Gonzales, Sidney Hertzberg, John

Haynes Holmes, Sidney Hook, Harry

Kelly, Liston M. Oak, A. Philip Ran-

dolph, Sheba Strunsky, M. R. Wer-

ner, Edmund Wilson and Bertram D.

Asking: "Could the Fascists, or the

Stalinists, have killed Tresca?" the

committee declares both groups had

reason to be hostile to him. For years

he had been an implacable foe of

both Fascists and Stalinists; in his

journal, Il Martello (The Hammer)

and in speeches he had bitterly as-

sailed Generoso Pope, Italian news-

paper publisher, as Mussolini's lead-

ing propagandist in this country, and

Enea Sormenti, alleged secret agent

for Russia; and he fought stubbornly

to keep CPers and ex-Fascists out of

(Continued on page 2)

SUSPICION CAST

Nineteen well-known individuals

gressive actions of the "criminal, bestial, totalitarian, war-loving nations." It was supposed to have been won by the "democratic, peace-loving nations." And since the "peace-lovers" had presumably learned the lessons of the last war and how to prevent the "aggressor nations" from ever making war again, this was to be a "war to end all wars."

# **AGAINST WHOM?**

Germany lies prostrate under the heel of the victors and we are told that her war-making potentialities are completely destroyed. The same process is taking place in Japan. Against whom, then, are we arming and training our youth to fight? Against whom are Britain and Russia, our "peace-loving" Allies, training their young men in the latest methods of warfare? All of these "peace-loving, democratic" nations which have destroyed the war powers of the Axis nations, love peace so dearly that they are transforming the world into an armed camp to preserve the peace!

Truman gave the clue to the wherefore of this militarization when he said that until peace machinery functions adequately, the U.S. "must relentlessly preserve our superiority on land and sea and in the air."

So say the British leaders. So says the Russian leader.

But where is the theory that war is the act of "criminal, aggressor nations" and the scorn of "peace-loving" nations? Unfortunately, this theory is a lie, a lie deliberately fostered to dragoon the genuinely peaceloving peoples who have no stake in the profits and plunder of war into support of imperialist nations in their struggle for domination of the world.

Truman and other Allied leaders openly admit this when, in the face of the domination of the world by the Allies, they engage in an armaments race, a struggle over the secrets of atomic power and a program to militarize the youth of the world.

(Continued on page 3)

# Indonesians Battle for Their Independence

By STEPHEN PARKER

The fruits of Allied "liberation" are being witnessed today in the Dutch East Indies. There the struggle of the people for national liberation is being crushed by a ruthless imperialism that is uniting in the face of its common enemy-the fight of an oppressed colonial people to achieve its own freedom. Only yesterday the Dutch and British were fighting the Japanese. Today this is already forgotten and Dutch, British and Japanese troops are being used against the Indonesian movement for national liberation.

The Indonesian people are weary of "liberators." For years this lucrative island was a prize colony of Holland. Its Dutch masters extracted enormous profits from the richness of its soil. The living standards of its native peoples were among the lowest in the entire world. The people chafed under the rule of the Dutch and looked forward to the day of their freedom.

When the Japanese imperialists conquered Indonesia in the early stages of the Pacific war, they promised the people freedom as part of the "Greater East Asia" bloc. Instead of freedom, the Indonesians found presses its solidarity with these colo- are attempting to restore in the

tion as severe as that of the Dutch. They discovered that the substitution of one imperialism for another offered no solution to their aspirations.

the war, the Indonesians in their overwhelming majority proclaimed their island a republic and asked for the removal of the armed forces of all the imperialist powers, both Allied and Japanese. Instead they have discovered that all the powers united to crush their republic. The imperial- lished, it was attacked by the Dutch ist powers have united in a campaign and the British as a tool of Japanese

themselves shackled to an exploita- of vilification against their republic, imperialism. This falsehood was so report states further that most of the against their motives and against their leader, Dr. I. R. Soekarno.

which promised national freedom to With the defeat of the Japanese in oppressed peoples, have long ago forgotten their promises. These promises were appropriate when the island was under the control of the rival imperialist, Japan. They looked fine on paper. But the moment Japan was defeated, they were torn up.

When the republic was first estab-

transparent that even the makers of this lie were forced to retract it. How The signers of the Atlantic Charter, can it be a tool of Japan, it was asked, when most of the troops being used to crush the republicans are themselves Japanese?

> Then Soekarno was declared to be a Japanese puppet.

> Even the American correspondents couldn't stomach that one. The correspondent of the New York Herald Tribune, in commenting on this accusation, says that Soekarno is a "high principled, idealistic man." The

stock-worn device of a "religious war against the Dutch infidels and unbelievers." This line will also be a failure because it is also a lie. The

time since 1933 he has been either in

Since that line has failed, the

Dutch news agencies are using the

jail or in exile!

Indonesians are only motivated by a desire for national liberation. BRITISH ASSIST DUTCH RULERS The British have used another of

their old bugaboos to account for their unwanted interference into the

In a disgraceful speech to the House of Commons, Attlee denied the

affairs of the Indonesians.

British policy in the islands: "His Majesty's

government does not desire to be unnecessarily involved in the administration of political affairs of non-British terri-

tories, and their object is to withdraw all British troops as soon as circumstances per-

(Continued on page 2)

# **Detroit WP Holds Indonesian Rally**

DETROIT, Oct. 22 - Support of the nial people now fighting for their national revolutionary movement in freedom. The right of independence Indonesia was expressed today in a and self-determination is an elemenresolution adopted by the Detroit tary democratic right. Branch of the Workers Party, which announced that it was calling a pub-, ly from the statements of spokesmen lic rally in sympathy with the war for freedom of the Indonesian Re- leged right of Dutch sovereignty over

The resolution reads in part: "The Workers Party, Detroit Branch, hails the movement for in-

"We dissociate ourselves completein Washington recognizing the al-Indonesia. Such statements must be condemned just as we condemn the whole system of imperialist domination and exploitation which the comdependence in Indonesia and ex- bined Allied-Japanese armed forces

The resolution concludes by pointing to the war in Indonesia as a proof of the "imperialist character" of Allied war aims before, during and after World War II. PROTEST RALLY

The protest rally will be held on Sunday night, November 4, at 8:30 at the Labor Action Hall, 3773 Gratiot. Speakers will include Ben Hall, organizer of the Workers Party, and Martin Harvey of the LABOR AC-

# NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

# Steel Demands and a Labor Party

be glad to grant the two-dollar in-

crease requested by the union. Now

Bittner is an old man and it might

seem a little disrespectful to char-

But in this case it is a necessity.

acterize him as being somewhat naive.

Bittner's above statement is naive.

The steelworkers of this country have

done much more for the bosses than

Bittner states above. They have

through their sweat and blood made

them rich. They have given them

comforts and luxuries that stagger

the imagination of the average per-

And what have the big bosses al-

ways given the workers in return?

They have given them low wages,

dangerous sweatshop working condi-

tions, the clubs and bullets of hired

thugs and militiamen when they

strike for better conditions and many

other things too numerous to men-

tion. Will they be glad to grant the

two-dollar increase today? They have

never been appreciative for the many

By ROBERT HARRIS

The little city of Terre Haute, Ind. (62,000 souls), played host to the District No. 30 conference of the United Steel Workers of America on October 13 and 14. Banners reading: "Welcome CIO" were hanging across the streets and on store fronts. The Mayflower Room of the Terre Haute House (the city's largest hotel) was the scene of the conference. It was a nice setting.

The people were friendly, the town was attractive and the food was good. But, alas! the conference was pretty hum-

District Director James Robb opened the conference with the usual: "Glad to see you, happy to be here" good will speech.

The mayor of Terre Haute was then introduced and gave out with the amusing "welcome speech" expected of him.

Then the conference got down to business. Brother Bobb spoke of the cutbacks in the steel industry and of the increase in the cost of living. These he spoke of in relation to the two-dollar a day increase at present being demanded of the big steel corporations by the union.

This demand was the theme of the conference. Speech after speech was made about it, and how to get it. The union leaders urged the membership to become more interested in this demand. They urged the rankand-file to devote more and more attention to the political aspects of the question, i.e., to the Political Action Committee. They strove in their muddled way to prove that the only way the union movement could attain this and other concessions, was by getting "good" politicians into office. They said that the PAC was not tied to the coattails of the Democratic party but rather that it was a truly non-partisan committee. They talked and talked until they ran short of breath and tired their listeners.

### VAN BITTNER SPEAKS

The honor guest of the conference was Van Bittner, right hand man of Philip Murray. Bittner as usual made a very stirring speech. But let us examine just how sensible this stirring speech was, in light of the present problems confronting the union movement. Bittner said that because of the services rendered the country by the United Steelworkers of America (production during war, buying of war bonds, contributions to War Fund, etc., etc.), the country should

in the past, and they won't be generous to the working class for producing, buying bonds and furnishing soldiers for their war just ended!

Bittner made some other statements. He said: "The USA at this time is not talking about strikes." He said that the leadership of the USA believes that the case of the steelworkers is so good and the demands so fair that they will be settled without strikes. He deplored wildcat strikes as being against the interest of the union. He said that we must have discipline in our organization.

He finally stated that "If things should shape themselves so as to necessitate strike action, we want a real honest to God strike!" After this statement there was much applause, indicating the good sense of the workers.

In light of the statement preceding the one about "a real honest to God strike," i.e., the one in which he mentions the "good" and "fair" case of the steelworkers and the fact that the leadership believes that the demands can be attained without a strike, it is permissible to assume that he didn't mean the "real honest to God strike" statement at all. But he rather threw it out to the actionhungry workers as a soothing poultice for their many wounds suffered from the loss of the strike weapon things the workers have given them of self-defense.

Bittner called for many other things, among them the guaranteed annual wage and the 30-hour week. He said in reference to the annual wage that: "We've got to plan for it." The question might be asked: Is the CIO planning today?

The leadership is planning for it in this way. First they find a "good" politician who is a member of either the Democratic or Republican parties( preferably Democratic); who makes solemn promises on many bibles that he will support the program of the CIO. Then the leadership makes a big campaign among the workers for support of this shining example of political purity. The shining example is then elected by ballots cast by workers. He takes up his abode in Washington and does as he must do in a capitalist society, i.e, he holds hands with the big bosses and forgets all about the workers.

The only way to get a decent (by decent we mean enough to provide for all necessities and luxuries for workers and their families) annual wage, is to drop this stupid and dangerous idea of company union politics. The only way to attain such a thing is to start thinking and acting in terms of working class politics. The independent Labor Party (independent of capitalist politics) is the starting point in the realization of an adequate annual wage and all the other good things that life can

The idea of an independent Labor Party was not mentioned at the conference. And it is the key to the door of the room in which all the good things mentioned above are locked. The union movement must get that key! It must stop fooling around with boss politics. It must unlock the door to working class security and comfort! The Labor Party is the beginning of the solution! Until the union movement stresses independent political action, it will be in a political blind alley, at the mercy of the big bosses!

The conference adjourned. The banners have been taken down. The city of Terre Haute can rest peacefully. District No. 30 is on record in favor of the official policies of the CIO. District No. 30 and all of the union movement will have to follow a radically different line if it hopes to reach the ultimate destination of the workers-working class control of govern-

# LEFT JABS By SHAW

The U. S. has asked Turkey to permit warships in the Dardanelles. To protect our Atlantic seaboard, no doubt.

The association of railroad owners has opposed the sixtyfive-cent minimum wage proposal which is before Congress. They are already paying the overwhelming sum of fifty-seven cents an hour (a big \$22.80 a week!) and contend that raising the wage to sixty-five cents would-so help us-lead to unemployment, cut aggregate purchasing power, wreck price control, be highly inflationary, etc. Smacks of communism too, huh

. . . Headline in N. Y. Times: "TRU-MAN CONDEMNS DAR NEGRO BAN; President Compares Refusal to Let Hall to Hazel Scott with Nazi Racial Policy; BUT WIFE ATTENDS TEA." The First Lady musta been hungry....

. . .

Short short success story: LOUIS BUDENZ QUITS COM-MUNIST PARTY; ACCEPTS POST AS PROFESSOR AT NO-TRE DAME: WILL MAKE NA-TIONAL TOUR LECTURING AGAINST COMMUNISM. Budenz left the working class movement ten years ago to join up with the Stalinists. He shortly thereafter became one of the editors of their daily newspaper. Now he changes allegiance again and moves up another step.

. . . The Russian press had a series of articles extolling their electoral system as the only truly democratic one. You see, let me explain it to you this way, comrade. You have the completely free, secret, democratic right either to vote for the candidate we put up or not to vote at all. Of course, comrade, I'm sure you'll understand that if you don't go to the polls some people might misunderstand it and there might be talk about your being dissatisfied and so on. Need I say more?

. . . NO-STRIKE PLAN OFFERED WORKERS. You can skip over this one, boys. What it boils down to is the same old baloney we've been hearing for yearsdon't ask for more money, don't kick about conditions of unemployment, and if the worst comes to the worst, let some 'impartial' board kick your dispute around for a couple of years.

"SPIRITUAL TESTING SEEN BY FORRESTAL," "ERA AHEAD WILL SHOW IF OUR MORALS MATCH OUR TECHNOLOGY."

The only trouble is that even if our morals don't match it, our appetite does. The capitalist class can't keep us on half-rations forever!

William Z. Foster, Communist leader, has accused President Truman of "LEANING toward aggressive imperialism." This is the obvious winner for the understatement of the week.

. . .

Any persons still naive enough to believe that the ending of this war has ushered in an era of peace should read General Marshall's report, recently published in the daily press. In effect, the general insists that we start preparing NOW for World War III, and hints that it is not at all too far off. In connection with that, may we offer a suggestion to Congress. Roosevelt was somewhat put out because we didn't have any fancier title for the Second World War than World War II. Sort of wasn't inspiring enough. He even started asking for suggestions. If we are going to be adequately prepared for the NEXT war, we MUST have a good name ahead of time. Otherwise, nobody might feel like fighting it. If it isn't too early, I'd like to submit my entry now. It's a humdinger. "The War to End All Wars." Inspiring, ain't it?

# A Publisher Speaks the Truth!

"Newspaper Week" is celebrated once a year by the press of this country. It is a period in which the propagandists for exploitation, profit, low wages and long hours indulge in a great deal of self-praise, hypocritical righteousness and repetition of the trite statement that they are "the palladium of our



liberties and protector of the public weal." William T. Evjue, publisher of the Capital Times of Madison, Wis., however, used "Newspaper Week" this year to challenge the contentions of his fellow

publishers with the following indisputable truths: "I am not going to join in the dishing out of this general hokum which is part of Newspaper Week. I have been a newspaper man for forty years and out of that experience I have drawn conclusions that don't exactly match with the self-adulation being proclaimed in American editorial pages this week.

"Out of my experience I have reason to believe that too often, where the interests of the many are on one side and the interests of the privileged few on the other, the newspapers line up with privileged and powerful few.

"Indeed, the press in this country has become the ally of the entrenched economic order that has been built around monopoly cap-

# Indonesian Independence - -

"Meanwhile, not only are we under strong moral obligation to our Dutch allies until they are in a position to assume control, but also to maintain law and order and particularly the safety of several thousand Dutch nationals interned in the interior of the

This disgraceful and shameful attitude was expressed by the Prime Minister elected by the overwhelming vote of the British workers. Attlee is lying on two counts. There would be law and order if the rightful government that represents the people of Indonesia would be permitted to rule as the people want them to rule. It is the Allied interference and their use of Japanese troops that has bred violence.

(Continued from page 1)

the Mazzini Society and the Italian-

Tresca was slain in the dim-out in

January, 1943. At first, the authorities

seemed to be making rapid progress.

They picked up a suspect, Carmine

Galante, paroled gunman, whom two

parole officers aver they saw on the

evening of January 11 enter a car in

which Tresca's killers escaped two

hours later. They found the garage in

which that car was kept, a block from

where Galante was arrested. There

were rumors of early indictments. But

In August, 1944 Morris L. Ernst and

others presented evidence to District

1. Pagnucco was awarded a gold

Attorney Frank Hogan showing,

among other things, these facts:

American Victory Council.

no one has been indicted.

count. The imperialist masters, whose find any. interests Attlee is now representing, have vital interests in the East In-

British interests in oil in the Netherlands East Indies, by means of the Royal Dutch Shell Corp., control over forty per cent of the oil production in the islands. The value of this investment was estimated before the war at twenty-six million pounds sterling. From this they wring superprofits. Is it any wonder that they want to preserve "law and order."

The Dutch now say that they will refuse to deal with Soekarno and his government. They are looking for 'other representatives" of the nationalist movement. What they mean is that they are looking for Quislings.

But Attlee also lies on another It is to be hoped that they will not

The peoples of the world must tell the Allied imperialists to get out of the East Indies!

They must put an end to the crushing of colonial peoples in their fight for freedom!

Over 30,000 Australian workers in a magnificent demonstration of international solidarity went on strike to express their support of the Indonesian people, who are now fighting soldiers of The Netherlands, Britain and Japan. The American workers should be interested in knowing that American arms and supplies are being used to suppress the republic of the people of Indonesia.

# **Business Manager's Corner**

Yes, we are blunt. We come right out and ask all our readers to send us a contribution for the expansion of LABOR ACTION.

We wish we had the ability to put it as candidly as a young lady did in a story we once heard. She placed an advertisement in a big city paper as follows:

Charming divorcee, very lonely, living in Greenville,

collecting We are coin collectors also. How about helping? Send us your donation to the LABOR ACTION EXPANSION FUND. Use the form printed below. Send it before you lay this paper aside.

17	Name -	 	 		 		
	Address	 	 	 	 		``
			100				
	City	 	 	 . State	 	Amount	

there was nothing to say but we have so much news that must get in that we were just squeezed out. Come hell or high-water we are going to have this column every week. New subscriptions and renewals come in every week. We are sure

that with a little reminder to all our agents and readers more will come pouring in.

Here is the list of subs we received for the week ending October

Place		Su
Minnesota '		2
St. Louis		1
Texas		1
Denver		1
N, J		1
Baltimore		1
Kent, O	والمناب والمناب والمنابع والمنابع والمنابع والمنابع والمنابع	3
		16
New York City		3
Streator		2
Chicago		3
		11
Detroit	and the second s	

How about all our agents sending us regularly material we can use in this column? BUSINESS MANAGER.

> SUBSCRIBE NOW TO LABOR ACTION

> > 114 WEST 14th STREET New York 11, N. Y.

One Year Subscription Rate: Sixty Cents New York City and Bronx, Seventy-Five Cents

Name \_ Address \_\_\_\_\_

# Smith Picketing - -

(Continued from page 1)

movement of the night before. It should be explained that the Daily the city-nay, of the West Coast, the morning papers being Hearst's Examiner and the traditionally anti-labor Times. The previous Friday this "liberal" paper had reported the grant of the high school permit to Smith by the Board of Education; on Saturday it had reported the wave of protest against this act and announced the call of the Workers Party for a mass picket line; on Wednesday morning it had carried a half-page ad by the Mobilization for Democracy on the picketing.

But on Thursday, the morning after the night before. THERE WAS NOT A LINE!

All day the city editor explained to callers who tied up the switchboards till night, that the Daily News had (suddenly) decided it was giving Smith too much publicity. Therefore no mention that a picket line of at least 10,000 had existed. It obviously should not have taken place and was therefore censored by the liberal editor, who saw nothing wrong with the Shanghaiing of millions of German workers to Russia on the ground that they were guilty of not fighting

Shachtman which appeared in the

Oct. 22nd issue of LABOR ACTION,

there appeared a subhead reading:

This was an unfortunate error since

it is a completely misleading allusion

to the words communism and com-

Communism is the most noble ideal

of mankind. The establishment of

such a social order would forever

banish imperialism, wars, general

misery and the exploitation of man

In the scientific meaning of the

word, a communist is one who strives

to establish a free communist society

of plenty for all, freedom and secur-

ity for all the peoples of the world.

He is one of the fighters for social

The terms communism and com-

munist have in recent years been

profaned by Stalinism in Russia and

the Stalinist parties which are noth-

ing more than the international agents

progress for all humanity.

"Breaks with Communists."

by man

against Hitler hard enough to suit

News is THE "liberal" newspaper of Daily News printed two other news on of the picket line! Nor did the Daily News report on

Saturday that there had been a picket line against the Smith rally in nearby Pasadena the night before. also sponsored by unions and the Mobilization for Democracy. This picket line was small: the Pasadena paper gave it as 170, an estimate which the Mobilization office upped to 250. It was about the size of the picket line which had been organized against Smith way back last June by the Workers Party alone when Smith held his very first rally at the Philharmonic Auditorium.

So far, in the Bay Area up north, San Francisco, Oakland and San Jose have refused Smith a meeting hall, including schools. San Francisco CIO unions have threatened to call a one-

**An Editorial Correction** 

In the biographical sketch of Max of the bureaucratic régime which

But the very next day this same items regarding the fight against Smith, plus a wishy-washy editorial recording its opposition to Smithism! History of anti-fascism in Los Angeles had blanked out for one day only, that day marking the fact that militant LABOR had swung into action and was using the fighting weap-

day stoppage if Smith speaks there.

rules over the Russian people.

truth, its worst enemies.

backs to that ideal.

VOTE FOR

The average person, when he hears

the words communism and commu-

nists, thinks of Russia and Stalinism,

which are the exact opposite of the

ideals indicated by the words. Stal-

inism and Stalinists do not mean com-

munism and communists. They are, in

The point of the story which ap-

peared in LABOR ACTION was that

Max Shachtman broke with Stalinism

which continues to use the name

communism, to which it has no right.

great ideal of Marxism, but with those

who have profaned and turned their

MAX SHACHTMAN

Workers Party Candidate

for New York Mayor

Shachtman did not break with the

## Italian Financing in the American Market, which dealt enthusiastically

medal by the Fascist Italian Ministry of Finance in 1929 for a widely circulated college thesis he wrote on with the doings of the Mussolini re-

2. In 1936 Pagnucco was one of 14

from a \$5,290 fund collected by Generoso Pope, to which Pope gave \$1,000. "The hour has arrived," Pagnucco said in a speech of thanks, "for the Italians of America to get a place in the sun, as the victorious Duce of New

D.A. Stalls Tresca Case - -

3. Pagnucco was Guest of Honor No. 2 at an Italian "fraternal club" ball in 1939, at which the Fascist Consul General Vecchiotti was high patron and Generoso Pope was Guest of Honor No. 1.

HOGAN DOES NOTHING

The Ernst group asked for Pagnucco's removal from the Tresca case, contending that though he might be honest and conscientious, he clearly was not in a position to examine effectively persons from whom he had received favors or honors.

Hogan refused then to do anything about this. But last October, when he learned that Mr. Ernst and 116 to where it can be obtained shortly.

students awarded cash scholarships other citizens were about to petition Governor Dewey to appoint a special prosecutor, Hogan agreed to launch a new inquiry, with another assistant, Eleazar Lipsky, in charge. That inquiry was supposed to start at once, but Lipsky was kept busy in court, Italy said, and I hope those who are and did not begin calling witnesses benefited today may tomorrow re- until mid-January. In March without ciprocate the good they are receiv- explanation he was assigned to another murder case. "Since then," the committee points out, "a deep fog of official silence has settled over the Tresca slaving."

(NOTE: District Attorney Hogan is running for re-election on both Democrat and Republican tickets!)

The pamphlet "Who Killed Carlo Tresca?," a completely detailed account of the slaying and all the events, personalities and intrigues surrounding the attempt to track down the slayer of the celebrated anarchist anti-fascist, is being published by the Tresca Memorial Committee. LABOR ACTION will give details as

# N. Y. Dockers' Strike

(Continued from page 1) no evidence that they had the slight-

est interest in installing a new dictatorship for the benefit of Stalin's foreign policy. William E. Warren, who finally

emerged as rank and file leader under Stalinist tutelage, is now apparently trying to make his peace with the Ryan machine and has written "confession" for the Hearst press to the effect that he didn't know he was dealing with "Reds" until Westbrook Pegler set him straight. Meanwhile, the Stalinists have come up with some new rank and file leaders, this time presumably from their own ranks.

The rank and file will have to develop a leadership that cannot be bent to the will of either the Stalinist or the Hearst-

Pegler totalitarians. Stalinist fellowtraveler Harry Bridges, who dropped into town briefly to "bless" the revolt against Ryan, was himself a strikebreaker second to

none during the war - outstandingly so during the Montgomery-Ward strikes.

'alists for his religious observance of the no-strike pledge and his proposals for permanent "industrial peace" after the war. Not so long ago, his henchmen on the West Coast were that they surrender the basic sixhour day, won in 1934, and go back to the old eight-hour day. Now, because relations between

the Kremlin and its Anglo-American allies are much cooler, the line of all Stalinists, including Bridges, has changed. At present Bridges demands a six-hour day and thirty-hour week at \$1.75 an hour (instead of the present \$1.15), with no night, overtime or week-end work except in emergencies. (See LABOR ACTION of August 20, September 17 and September 24.)

This is a fine program, in accord with the needs and desires of the longshoremen - but not a program that can be entrusted to a gang of leaders which shifts its position every time that Stalin moves. Longshoremen on both the West and East Coast need to fight for a new leadership.

Finally, a word about the Seafarers International Union (AFL) during the New York strike. The SIU, which at one time seemed, because of its anti-Stalinism and fight-He earned the praise of government ing unionism, a hope and guide for

officials and even of great industri- all workers along the waterfront. has recently, because of its Jim Crow policies against Negroes and its inability to distinguish between Stalinist fuehrers and the rank and file, surrendered its claim to leadership. In suggesting to longshoremen there the New York strike the SIU tops could think of nothing better to do, it seems, than to organize a strongarm squad in support of Ryan.

> The picture that we have painted is extremely gloomy. But progressive rank and file groups which may develop in any of the leading maritime unions must be aware of the dangers both of Stalinism and of that blind anti-Stalinism which falls into the arms of Pegler. This is the beginning of wisdom.

**New York Election Pamphlet:** 

HOW TO GET JOBS FOR ALL

Five Cents a Copy from the New York Campaign Committee. Write also for the Program Leaflet to 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.

Vol. 9, No. 44

(Third Floor) October 29, 1945

ALBERT GATES, Editor MARY BELL, Ass't 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

### WORKERS PARTY PROGRAM FOR ORGANIZED LABOR IN THE RECONVERSION AND POST-WAR PERIOD

### FOR THE UNEMPLOYED AND VETERANS

### 1. Full Unemployment Insurance

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

### 2. Less Hours-More Pay

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

### 3. 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.

### FOR THE POST-WAR WORLD

# 4. Jobs For All at a Guaranteed Annual Living

A job for every worker with a guaranteed minimum annual wage of \$2,500 per year. A rising standing of living, by means of government planning to insure the highest national produc-

### 5. A Planned Rise in National Income

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

### 6. For a Democratic Peace

Against peacetime military conscription of American youth! For a truly democratic peace, which means no land-grabbing under any pretext; no reparations; no slave labor. Complete independence for all colonies and subject peo-

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

# 7. Full Social, Political and Economic Equality

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

### THESE AIMS TO BE ACHIEVED THROUGH

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

### 9. Nationalize Big Business

Nationalization of the banks, big industrial monopolies and transportation systems, and no handing over of government-built and owned plants and facilities to private ownership.

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

### THIS PROGRAM TO BE CARRIED OUT BY 11. Workers Control of Production

Control of production by democratically-elected workers' committees.

### 12. An Independent Labor Party and a Workers' Government-For a Socialist America with Plenty For All!

Make the machines that now produce only for war and capitalism produce for the needs of all

# Editorials

# **Bring the Boys Home!**

The failure of the War and Navy Deforces and to bring the boys home months not been declared. This is true. The law battle-hardened soldiers and veterans of after the declaration of duration. The

The point system which was to bring about hundreds of thousands of discharges for the failure to demobilize swiftly is that all the rotten war measures which is not honored. Excuse after excuse is in- the rulers of this country are preparing vented as to why the boys have not been for another war. They want large military brought home. The latest pretext was the forces maintained permanently. They are dockers' strike in New York. This is an- waiting also for the passage of compulother of the anti-labor lies fed to the peo- sory military training bills to insure such ple by the higher-ups responsible for main- a large military force. taining the armed forces at almost the same peak as during the warring months.

daily. They point to buck-passing on the part of high officers, downright inefficiency, empty American-bound vessels and direct refusal of discharges as reasons why sible Administration officials bring the they have not been returned. Many soldiers with eighty points or more have not swift demobilization of the armed servyet been discharged.

Another excuse given for the failure of partments to demobilize swiftly the armed mass discharges is that the "duration" has after the end of the war in Europe and gives the War and Navy Departments the the Far Eeast is a scandal. Millions of right to keep servicemen until six months army campaigns wait around in hundreds longer such a declaration is postponed, of camps in Europe and Asia to be brought the longer the boys can be legally kept in

A more fundamental reason, however,

There is only one way out of this dilemma and that is for all the forces of the The protests of the soldiers increase people in this country to get behind the servicemen in their universal desire to be brought home.

Demand that the brass hats and responboys back home and proceed with the

# **World Trade Union Federation**

The conference of the trade unions from all parts of the world which met in London early this year to erect the new World Federation of Trade Unions, was concluded last week through a meeting of its Continuations Committee in Paris. There was some doubt that the Paris conference would actually take place, since the deterioration of relations among the Big Three threatened to be reflected in the meetings of the trade unions representing Great Britain and the United States and the government bodies called "trade unions" in

The London meeting, however, had gone too far to permit of any turning back. The Russians and the CIO, which was heretofore barred from international organiza- of all countries, they will only strengthen tion by the AFL, were adamant in their the influence of Stalinism in the ranks of insistence that the new body be finally

The criticism we made of the London conference holds for the Paris meeting. tional interests of Stalinism. The World Federation of Trade Unions is more a political body than an international completely devoted to the interests of of working-class organizations. There is nothing wrong with trade unions engaging in political activities. On the contrary, it is the duty of the trade unions to main- sary for all progressive and socialist tain the highest interest in political affairs unions to carry the banner of militant and to participate actively in them. What unionism inside the WFTU.

is wrong with the politics of the WFTU is that its politics is capitalist politics; that is, politics which reflects the conflicting needs of the ruling classes who govern the respective countries.

The WFTU in London and Paris became sucked into the imperialist conflicts which are unavoidable when labor organizations identify their interests and the interests of all workers with the capitalist rulers.

Of even greater danger to the labor movement of all countries is the infiltration of the so-called trade unions of Russia. These bodies are in reality state organizations which rule over the workers. By obtaining an international footbold through the WFTU in the labor movements the workers. Thus they will serve, in addition to the Communist Parties of the world, as agents promoting the interna-

A genuine trade union international, world labor, free of capitalist-imperialist ideology and practice, has still to be brought into existence. It will be neces-

# BEN DAVIS, NO LABOR CANDIDATE

By ALBERT GATES

Benjamin J. Davis, Councilman of the City of New York and a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, is again that party's candidate for the City Council. He is using the label of only his party in the present election because the Democratic Party and Tammany Hall which had put him on their ticket withdrew their endorsement under severe pressure from powerful forces in the local and national organization.

What kind of candidate is Davis? He is represented as a leader of the Negro people, an outstanding Communist who is devoted to the struggle for the emancipation of all who labor and are exploited. The labor movement and the Negro people are asked to support him because he represents the best interests of American labor in general and the Negroes in particular.

If this were true, then Davis would be worthy of the support of all the workers in this country. But the record is otherwise.

### WHO IS DAVIS?

Davis is a leading member of the Communist Party in the United States, a party which is in reality one of the international agents of Stalin and the Russian bureaucratic ruling class. The Communist Party reflects the interests of this ruling class, helps to perpetuate its power, defends its international interests and supports all its crimes against the Russian and, international working

In acting as a servile follower of the Stalinist bureaucracy, Davis has endorsed the most totalitarian régime in the world, a régime which rests on police terror, the concentration camp, convict labor and the cruel exploitation of its own workers and peasants.

Davis has applauded and approved Stalin's imperialist policy in world affairs, which has thus far succeeded in subordinating to Russia's national interests millions of people in Eastern Europe and the Balkans.

In the United States Davis is associated with every crime which Stalinism has committed against American labor. He was a blatant supporter of the imperialist war, exhorting the Negro people to give up their struggle for full economic, political and social equality on the ground that such a struggle would interfere with the war effort.

In return for this. Davis told the big lie to the Negroes that this was a war for "democracy" and the "Four Freedoms" and that the welfare of the race depended on its support to the bloody carnage which saw Negroes discriminated against and Jim Crowed in the American armed serv-

This was only one aspect of Davis' activities. He advocated class collaboration, the incentive pay system, called upon labor to give up its basic interests during the war, supported placed the burdens of the war economy on the shoulders of labor and became a supporter of imperialism.

This same Davis, however, was caught up in one of the numerous "changes of line" which often strikes the Communist Party with great surprise since these changes originate in the Kremlin and come without prior

the upheaval which saw Earl Browder, the party's leader for about fifteen years, practically excommunicated for his faithful execution of the Kremlin's policies, Davis joined the long list of confessors, admitting that:

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



BENJAMIN J. DAVIS

Now this self-confessed betraver of the best interests of the Negroes and the workers in general asks that he should be supported as a representative of labor and the Negroes. This is indeed a grim joke to vote for a self-confessed misleader and betrayer of the interests of labor and the Negroes, a man who supports Stalin's totalitarian régime under any and all circumstances, no matter how terrible are the consequences for all the workers in this country.

Those who say that Davis should be supported because he is a Negro only help to muddy up the water. A vote for Davis is not a vote for a Negro representative or a vote for the interests of the disfranchised, exploited, discriminated and Jim Crowed Ne-

### DAVIS, THE STALINIST

A vote for Ben Davis is a vote for a leader of the Communist Party, a Stalinist, a representative of the Kremlin, a misleader of labor and the Negro people. Davis' allegiance belongs first and last to Stalinism. All clusively on that allegiance, an allegiance to a party and a movement which is communist only in name but greatest enemy of communism, the great social system which would forever banish exploitation, wars, poverty, racial discrimination and racism

Bearing all of this in mind, what can one say about the Socialist Worknotice to the American Stalinists. In ers Party, which endorsed the candilabor and the Negro people.

dacy of the Stalinist Davis because "he is a Negro candidate on the ticket of a working class party," despite his crimes, which they listed in great detail. We do not now have the space to discuss in detail this specious but false reasoning, but the reasons all my work and most specifically in given by the SWP for their support of this Stalinist betrayer are exing serious weaknesses in that work. tremely dangerous to the best interests of the labor movement.

This position has led the SWP onto dangerous opportunist grounds. Immediately after the Socialist Workers Party endorsement of Davis reached the headquarters of the Communist Party and the editorial offices of the Daily Worker, the Stalinist leaders replied by denouncing the Socialist Workers Party as "Trotskyist gangsters" and "agents of fascism," on the theory that the whole world accepts their lies and frame-up methods. The Stalinist hooligans charged the SWP with trying to "split the Negro vote" by its endorsement of Davis.

That was to be expected from the Stalinists. What was somewhat unexpected was the extremely stupid reply of the SWP. Not wholly unexpected, however, since the line it adopted in reasoning out its support of Davis determined the kind of reply it would make.

### TAMMANY'S MAN

In The Militant of October 20, the SWP states, in rejecting the Stalinist charge that they are splitting the Ne-

"The Stalinists are so deeply involved in a shady deal with the bosses of Tammany Hall that they dare not tell the truth."

Elsewhere it states that the Stalinists failed to denounce Tammany "because they are in a shamefaced alliance with the Tammany corruption-

Yet, despite the fact that the Communist Party and its candidate Benjamin J. Davis "are so deeply involved in a shady deal with the bosses of Tammany Hall," and are "in a shamefaced alliance with the Tammany corruptionists," the Socialist Workers Party calls upon the workers to support Davis! They endorse and support a candidate and party who are "up to their ears in a deal with the Tammany ward-heelers!" (All quotations are from The Militant of October 29.)

In taking up the denunciation of the Stalinists, that the SWP endorsement of Davis aims to "split the Negro vote," the SWP is led to charge the Stalinists with doing precisely that because the latter have endorsed Eugene Connolly, the Communist follower in the American Labor Party, who "is the white candidate of the Democratic Party in Manhattan."

Then asks The Militant: "Why do his activities are based solely and ex- the Stalinists designate the white 'democratic candidate Connolly as their second choice instead of the Negro Democrat, Whaley? Isn't that which in theory and practice is the 'splitting the Negro vote?'" This is really supposed to get the Stalinists. Its purpose is to show that it is not the SWP which is splitting the Negro vote, but the Stalinists themselves.

> The truth is that the SWP is following an opportunist course in this Davis business. The answer to their policy is clear. No support to Davis, the Stalinist betrayer of American

# MARSHALL REPORT

A Program for War

## By WALTER JASON

The most ambitious military program in the history of the world has been outlined in the 70,000 word biennial report of General George C. Marshall, Chief of Staff of the United States Army. Its primary objective is to assure American imperialism the mightiest military power known to man.

Its main theme is a flagrant demand that America begin a world armament race of the kind that disastrously followed World War I.

The report is a major effort on the part of the brass hats to terrify the American people, through nightmarish visions of future war, into accepting the principle of compulsory military training as a permanent peacetime feature of American life.

General Marshall rewrites the history of the war and brazenly tries to whitewash a whole series of tragic errors and blunders of the brass hats. One of the purposes of this is to perpetuate the privileges, power and prestige of the military bu-

It is of no minor consequence to millions of GI's sweating out the demobilization process that Marshall lets the cat out of the bag on the real reasons why demobilization appears all messed up. Let us take up first the matter of demobilization, for it is the acute problem of the moment.

It is customary these days to tell stories of how the Army messed up demobilization, how the situation at separation centers is scandalous, and then to dismiss the whole thing as another example of Army stupidity.

### **Behind Demobilization**

While everything said, especially by the victims, against the present system of demobilization is true, it is not the whole story. The basic cause of the slow and painful demobilization is something the congressmen and senators and the newspapers do not mention. But General Marshall inadvertently tells the reason:

"Our present national policies require us to: maintain occupational forces in Europe and the Pacific; prepare for a possible contribution of forces to a world security organization; maintain national security while the world remains unstable and later on a more permanent or stable basis.

"These policies require manpower. Yet at the same time it is the policy of the nation to completely demobilize the wartime army as rapidly as possible. Unless hundreds of thousands of men of the wartime forces are to remain in service at home and overseas, more permanent decisions must be made."

In plain words, Marshall says that unless the people want the soldiers to remain in the Army they had better support compulsory military training. Slow demobilization is the club used to attempt to blackjack the American people into committing the grave error of supporting the brass-hat

The alleged bottleneck of insufficient separation centers is strictly a creation of the brass hats to achieve their aim. Besides, the brass hats have a vital personal interest in keeping the armed forces as large as possible as long as possible. It means retaining their high wartime rank.

The personal ambitions of the brass hats ties in with the insatiable appetites of Wall Street capitalists, who want vast American military forces stationed throughout the world to be a police force protecting their foreign investments and their exploitation of the peoples of the world. When General Marshall speaks of "national policies" that is precisely what he is referring to.

The tremendous pressure campaign by the GI's to force immediate demobilization around the slogan "Bring the Boys Home Now!" is a direct blow at the imperialist policies of the present administration and the foundation of the brass-hat bureaucracy. The silence of the labor movement on this issue is a grave error which adds fuel to the fires of controversy between veterans and their

### union brothers. Now It Can Be Told

For two years the War Department sought to assure the people of America that the soldiers in this Army had the best equipment as well as the best weapons. The iron hand of military censorship was used to silence any possible criticism.

Nevertheless, the situation became so scandalous that the criticisms reached the public press. Stars and Stripes published a series of letters from tank men arguing for a better tank than the Sherman, whose inferiority against German models was costing the lives of many brave soldiers. One very graphic illustration of the inferiority of American tanks was an Associated Press story by Jack Bell. It told how Sherman tanks engaged the German Tiger tanks and how the American crew members wept in rage and frustration as their shells bounced off the better-armored Tiger tanks and how one shell from a Tiger tank pulverized its American opponent.

Hanson W. Baldwin, New York Times military critic, took the issue up and blasted the ordnance department not only for its defense of the Sherman tank but for the entire system of ordnance work, which precluded fresh ideas and introduction of new and superior weapons. Now that the war is over, censorship is no

longer all-powerful. Thousands of tankmen are coming home and telling their bitter day-to-day experiences. The truth is coming out. The bravery of these soldiers who fought, knowing they had inferior weapons, is a tribute to the courage of these citizen-soldiers.

(Article 2 will appear next week)

# How They Love Stalin's "Socialist Fatherland"!

"General Dwight Eisenhower...has instructed that American troops discontinue forcing Russian nationals to return home unless the United States government rules other-

wise." - The New York Times, October 5. The Times article also revealed that U. S. troops

had fired over the heads or near the feet of some Russians in order to force them on the Russia-bound trains.

Some Russians threatened to commit suicide if sent home.

So great was the desire of the Russians not to return to their homeland that one officer said: "We are not eager to risk the lives of American soldiers trying to make

# Compulsory Training However, we recognize the kind of icemen's families who may be de-

Against whom? Against each other! Against the erstwhile "peace-loving" Allies who now line up in preparation for a Third World War of perfected rockets, super-atomic warfare, Hiroshimas and Nagasakis on a world scale.

The side arguments of Truman to back his proposal are mere garnish. He, too, uses the hackneyed argument that a year's military training "could well be used to raise the physical standards of the nation's manpower, to lower its illiteracy rate and to develop in our young men the ideas of responsible American citizenship." But to accomplish these purposes all we need is to spend the military appropriations on schools, health insurance and hospitals. We can think of nothing that would more strongly insure "responsible American citizenship" than the guarantee of a job or higher education for all youth from seventeen to twen-

ty, instead of a year in the barracks! Another garnish the President uses to try to disguise the real purpose of conscription is that it's not really conscription he's advocating, but military training. While nominally separated from the Army and Navy, it is still compulsory military training, with provisions for officer training in the Army and Navy. It is still a plan for the militarization of the youth. It is still preparation for World War III.

LABOR ACTION and the Workers Party oppose compulsory military training or peacetime conscription as a vicious, anti-social, anti-labor system, and because it is part and parcel of the preparations for a new world war. Every thoughtful worker and every militant unionist should like-

world we live in, a world of increasing totalitarianism and fascism which stems from capitalist imperialism and war. We recognize the need for labor and all the exploited peoples who have no stake in capitalist-imperialist wars to defend themselves against aggression, domestic or foreign. Hence we believe that labor must be trained in the art of defending itself-not by the reactionary brasshat-ridden Army and Navy, which is the military arm of the capitalist class, but through a workers' militia organized and controlled by labor.

Truman brazenly makes his proposal for compulsory military training before Congress has yet declared the "duration" of this war and before the millions of GI's who were lucky enough to escape death this time have been returned to their homes. He hopes thus to exert pressure for military legislation on thousands of serv- training!

Dear Editor:

We got into a discussion about so-

per and I gave him my copy.

ceived into thinking that such legislation will speed the return of their soldier relatives. LABOR ACTION decries such duplicity. We demand that the soldiers. sailors and marines who have been through the hell of the Second World War have a right to say whether

drilled to fight a third! Let the people vote on the issue of peacetime conscription!

their sons shall be regimented and

Let the servicemen and women vote on the issue! Let the youth of seventeen to twen-

to a system of militarization! For a national referendum on peacetime compulsory military

ty, who are old enough to fight, vote

on whether they should be subjected

# Letter From a Reader

Today on a street car I was reading the latest copy of LABOR ACTION, when I noticed a young fellow sitting next to me reading the excellently written article on the Detroit Gerald Smith picketing. He finally tapped me on the shoulder and asked me the name of the paper. I showed him the top of the paper. He then asked me where he could get a copy of the pa-

cialism and the difference between Stalinism and Trotskyism. He told me he was a student at a local college (usually considered the most

conservative in this city) and was just out of the Army. I told him about Youth Action, the organ of the newly formed youth group, and he also showed interest in that paper. He wants to come to socialist meetings and also intends to subscribe to LA-BOR ACTION.

The main point of this letter is to impress on you the excellent effect your paper has on the young studentex-serviceman on first glance. I am sure that that cursory reading 'on the street car has won your paper a devoted reader.

# How to Cast Your **Vote for Shachtman**

In voting for MAX SHACHTMAN, Workers Party candidate for Mayor, you will have to study the voting machine very carefully.

The name of Max Shachtman appears in the Second Column, Last Row (Column 2, Line "I") on the voting machine.

It is the LAST NAME ON THE LAST LINE. Pull down the lever over the name of Max Shachtman, and leave it down.

# Jim Crow and the **Mayoralty Election**

What are Negroes, interested in, in this mayoralty election? They are interested in the same basic things that the masses of white working people are interested in. Like all working people, Negroes must first of all have jobs. They must eat, wear clothing and live in a house. The Workers Party program for the election says: "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 and Jews."

This is what Negroes will vote for when they cast their ballots for Max Shachtman and the Workers Party. This means to break the "gentlemen's agreement" among real estate men by which Negroes are segregated in Harlem and other "Negro sections." It means the right of Negroes to live anywhere they choose to live just like other people: West End Avenue, Park Avenue, Forest Hills, Washington Square. It means the right of Negroes to live next door to Judge Goldstein, Mr. O'Dwyer or Mr. Morris. It means breaking up the iniquitous practice of landlords raising the rent in "white" apartments on the edge of "Negro neighborhoods" as a means of forcing the white tenants out and installing Negroes at the increased rental. It means to rid New York City of such insulting signs on apartments as: "Now Renting to Select Colored Tenants." It means, furthermore, that in all city housing projects Jim Crow will be eliminated completely and that Negro and white tenants will be assigned indiscriminately in the order of application. It means that neither the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co. nor any real estate company or individual would be permitted to erect any dwelling or other building for rent from which Negroes were barred. This is what the Workers Party means by SOCIAL, POLITICAL and ECONOMIC EQUALITY for NEGROES. JOBS FOR ALL MEANS JOBS FOR ALL NEGROES, TOO

We have said that Negroes must have jobs just like other people in New York City. During the Second Imperialist World War which has just ended, Negroes got jobs which they had never held before. Before the labor shortage developed the majority of New York's industries either barred Negroes or gave a few of them only the lower-paying unskilled jobs. Only when the necessities of war production created the demand for more "hands" were Negroes hired in large numbers and a relatively few given the opportunity to work at the skilled, higher-paying jobs. Now that the war is over, thousands of these new Negro industrial workers will be unemployed and the same old Jim Crow hiring practices will emerge again.

Just as the Workers Party demands and fights for Negroes to live and eat and be entertained where they choose, so it fights for them to work where they choose and at what occupations they choose, just like other people. The Workers Party rejects the notion that there are "Negro jobs" and "white men's jobs." This applies not only to industry but to the New York City government and the school system. The Workers Party advocates the practice of Negroes running for any office and holding any post in the city government and in the school system. This is what SOCIAL, POLITICAL and ECONOMIC EQUALITY means and it can mean no less.

# END JIM CROW IN NEW YORK

The Workers Party advocates the practice of Negroes going into any public place: restaurant, theater, swimming pool and all other establishments for the accommodation of the public. New York State has numerous laws forbidding discrimination and Jim Crow. We are for the strictest enforcement of these laws and for making any and all discrimination and Jim Crow a criminal offense.

The Workers Party enters this mayoralty campaign firmly the program set forth herewith. There are, of course, other planks in our platform which apply to Negroes as to all other workers. They are contained in LABOR ACTION and in other mayoralty campaign literature.

The capitalist Republican and Democratic Parties talk about "good government." But what is good government for Negroes? Good government for Negroes in New York City can only be that city administration which goes into office committed to full equality for Negroes. Full SOCIAL, POLITICAL and ECONOMIC EQUALITY is the only platform or program under which Negroes can enjoy good government.

A vote for Max Shachtman is a vote against Jim Crow, segregation and insult. It is a vote for a political party that practices what it preaches. A vote for O'Dwyer, Goldstein or Morris is to give support to the Republican and Democratic Parties: the parties of the reactionary Bilbo, the reactionary Taft and the parties of the capitalist employers who pile insult on insult by confining Negroes to the dirtiest, hardest and cheapest jobs.

A vote for SHACHTMAN is a vote for the program of equality, human dignity, genuine democracy for all the common people.

Vote for the candidate of the WORKERS PARTY.

Vote for SHACHTMAN for MAYOR.

(The above is part of a pamphlet, "The Fight Against Jim Crow," by David Coolidge. For the pamphlet itself, write to the Workers Party Election Campaign Committee, 114 West 14th Street, New York 11, N. Y. Price 5c.)

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# LABOR ACTION

**OCTOBER 29, 1945** 

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

ONE CENT

# CAST YOUR BALLOT FOR SHACHTMAN FOR MAYOR

# **WP Candidates**' Speech on Radio

million families, more than two million people, representing a good fourth of the total population of the city, are compelled to live, as the Citizens Housing Council puts it, "in homes entirely unworthy of the American way of life."

This is not a new situation caused by the dislocations of war. The war has only made an old intolerable situation a good deal worse.

As far back as 1937, the New York City Housing Authority made a report to the Mayor, which gave us this

There existed 65,000 so-called oldlaw tenement buildings, housing more than half a million families. These buildings were anywhere from 36 to 80 years old—and they were never too good to begin with. But their operation was still extremely profitable. Their owners continued to rent them at the net profit of fifteen per cent they had brought for years.

### THE REAL PROBLEM

Tens of thousands of veterans are returning to the city seeking decent homes in which to settle down. Wages, real wages, take-home wages, are everywhere on the decline, and labor is being forced to fight desperately to maintain-let alone raisethe standard of living it has enjoyed

Most menacing of all is the impudent and cold-blooded strike of the builders. With tens of thousands of new, modern dwellings urgently needed, the builders, and the banking interests behind them, have declared in effect that not a single new building will be erected unless the present rent ceilings are raised. Right in the midst of a declining income for the average worker, the builders and bankers are demanding rent increases on production for use — production

To nibble at this problem is worse than farcical. Just think: Ten years after the Housing Authority of this city received its appropriation, less the construction of low-cost housing. Of the families living in slums, not more than three per cent have found their way into the government housthree hundred years ahead of us be- ' dence in the socialist future.

In New York city, some half a fore the rotten slums of New York are cleared!

### WORKERS PARTY PROPOSES

The WORKERS PARTY proposes a radical and fundamental solution to this burning problem which is, at bottom, a national problem.

We propose a government expenditure of \$12,500,000,000 over five years -billions, not millions-for a housing and public works program in New York City, as part of a national \$250,000,000,000 program to provide decent housing, schools, hospitals and recreational facilities. Part of this fund can be raised by New York, and part, the greater part, must come from a national appropriation.

Anything much less than this cannot be taken seriously. The WORK-ERS PARTY does not look upon two and a half billion dollars per year for New York's housing and public works program as too large a figure.

The United States Government alone spent more than two and a half billion dollars every ten days during the war in order to bring death and devastation to Europe and Asia. Why can't it raise and spend as much every twelve months to bring life and comfort and happiness to millions of people of New York and the rest of the country?

# FOR SOCIALISM

The capitalist system works like a well-oiled machine to destroy peoples, their riches and their nations. It creaks like a rusty wagon when it comes to providing security, decent housing and a decent living standard for the people

A system which is excellent for destruction, but confesses its inability to work for the welfare of the people, stands self-condemned. It must give way to socialism, which is based on new buildings ranging from thirty and construction for human welfare, to sixty per cent of present ceilings. human progress and human dignity.

A vote for the candidate of the WORKERS PARTY—last name on the last line of the voting machine-is a vote of condemnation of the two capthan \$100,000,000 has been spent on italist parties who are jointly responsible for the housing scandal. It is a vote for a bold, radical housing program to eliminate this scandal. It is a vote of non-confidence in ing projects. At this rate, we have bankrupt capitalism, a vote of confi-

# **Workers Party Stand on** Amendments, Proposition

find, besides the candidates for office, six amendments and one proposition. from the rest of the working popula-Of these, the Workers Party calls tion. your particular attention to Amendment 6 and the lone proposition:

Amendment 6: This gives veterans, both disabled and non-disabled, absolute preference in appointments over all others on civil service lists. In layoffs, all non-veterans-even merchant seamen, wives and children of veterans, or workers with years of seniority-would be dropped first. Like many other recent proposals,

this amendment is part of a plan by

On the voting machine you will big business and the capitalist politicians to divide veterans completely

Vote NO on Amendment 6.

Proposition 1: Although the increase in state subsidy for public housing provided by this amendment is just a drop in the bucket, vote

On the first five amendments we suggest the following vote:

(1) No; (2) Yes; (3) No; (4) Yes;

The indifference of New Yorkers to the current mayoralty campaign has been marked by every political observer. The reasons for this indifference are not hard to find. There is indifference, apathy and even cynicism which is a result of the fact that the problems in which the great majority of the people are vitally interested, have been carefully and systematically ignored by the main candidates, or else they have been dealt with in such vague and general terms as to give them no significant meaning.

These problems can be summed up in a single word: security. Today, especially now that the war is over, the workers of this country, New York City included, are concerned with the problem of security above all others.

They want to be secure against the crushing nightmare of unemployment.

They want to be secure against the misery of low wages.

They want to be secure against a low standard of living, which means low-grade housing,

inadequate feeding and clothing for themselves and their families, poor educational and recreational facilities for their children, inadequate medical care and, especially in New York City, miserable, run-down and crowded transportation facilities.

The Workers Party takes the position that the outstanding issues in the country today, and this includes New York City, are these:

The guarantee of full employment, of a job for every man willing and able to work, at a guaranteed minimum annual wage that will provide a decent standard of living for every

How are jobs for all and a minimum annual wage to be guaranteed? The Workers Party proposes a \$121/2 billions appropriation over five years for a housing and public works program in New York City, as part of a national \$250 billions program to provide decent housing, schools, hospitals and public works.

If it can be done for war, why can't it be done in peacetime?

The Workers Party says that billions must be spent, not for wartime destruction, but for peacetime construction, for the guarantee of human welfare. And it says that this money must be raised by placing the economic burden on the shoulders of those able to bear it. The government showed no hesitation in conscripting the lives of working class boys, in placing regulations on wages script the wealth of the big monopolists by nationalizing the large industries, mines and transportation systems and taxing away the bloodstained super-war profits coined by the eapitalists?

Surely this must bring to mind the question: what good is a government. what good is a political party or a candidate that supports a government that admits publicly that it cannot even guarantee an able-bodied and willing worker a job the year around; that cannot even guarantee him a mimimum annual wage to provide him and his family with a living fit for a human being, a living such as the marvelous machinery of production we have in this country is capable of producing?

That is why the Workers Party aims to set up in this country a workers' government. That is our program.

It is the program of socialism, the greatest and noblest ideal ever set before mankind.

It is the program you will be voting for if you cast your ballot for Max

Shachtman, Workers Party candidate for Mayor of New York-the last name on the last line. If you agree with our program, if you want to record yourself for se-

curity, jobs for all, a minimum annual wage-then cast your workingclass vote for a working-class candidate of a working-class party.

**New York Workers:** 

Friday, Nov. 2, 8:00 P.M.

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Max Shachtman

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The Real Issue in the Elections

MAX SHACHTMAN, WORKERS PARTY CANDIDATE FOR MAYOR

ALBERT GATES, EDITOR OF LABOR ACTION Mary Bell

SYMPOSIUM

Monday, November 5

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Y. M. C. A.

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Manhattan