

A New Year of New Struggles for An Old Ideal

Message of Labor Action and the Workers Party

At the beginning of the first year of respite in seven of the most horrible war the world has seen, the solidarity of LABOR ACTION and the Workers Party goes out to those who are still fighting for the things the war was supposed to accomplish but failed utterly to do:

To the General Motors strikers and their families who are entering the second month of their fight against corporate wealth in order to gain security and a living wage;

To the heroic Indonesians, who are still pitting knives, rifles and naked flesh against U. S.-made tanks and British planes in an effort to secure independence after three centuries of inhuman exploitation;

To the Chinese, Koreans and Filipinos, who struggled against the Japanese imperialist oppres-

sor, only to find themselves in the grip of rival oppressors;

To the "liberated" and displaced peoples of Europe and in particular the doubly oppressed Jews, who are enduring starvation, disease, homelessness and death after having been trampled by the Axis, and who find new oppression by their Russian or Allied "liberators";

To the first victims of fascism, the little people of Italy and Germany, who have exchanged the concentration camp for the slave labor camp, totalitarianism for military occupation;

To the American marines in China, the GI's stranded in Europe, to the soldiers and sailors of every occupation force who desire to return home;

To all the workers and fighters for freedom, democratic independence and security in every

country, since the battle of humanity for these goals has not been won.

The result of the bloodiest war in history has been that not a single problem which preceded and caused the war has been solved by it. No, every important problem of the peoples of the world remains unsolved.

The victors in the war have been the ruling classes in each country, the capitalist-imperialists whose industries, mines, mills and transportation operated full blast "earning" vast and guaranteed profits for them.

The little people, the workers, the small and poor farmers, the peasants of Europe, the colonial peoples of Asia and Africa—they paid for the war in lives and unbearable toll. They are paying for the war now and will continue to pay for it for

many years to come in reduced standards of living, in starvation, homelessness, wandering, insecurity, totalitarian rule and bestiality.

Europe is a wasteland of terrible poverty, starvation, homelessness and hopelessness. Europe is the scene of a new struggle for power between the victor nations. The people are still the pawns of this conflict.

The war and the aftermath of the war have confirmed everything that we revolutionary socialists, organized into the Workers Party of the United States, have said about it. It was an imperialist war. It was fought for the economic interests of the ruling class in the Allied countries. It was fought for profits. The people stood to gain nothing from the war and did not gain anything from it, as is evidenced by their desperate struggle all over the

world for the very things promised them.

Capitalism stands condemned before all humanity as a system which cannot guarantee peace, freedom and security for the people. It is a system capable only of producing more wars, greater poverty and insecurity, and spreading totalitarianism.

Our message for 1946 is a simple one: Peoples of the world, workers of the United States, little people, "common" people, join us in the struggle for a new world, a world free of war, free of poverty, insecurity and fascism.

Workers of the United States: Join us in the struggle for socialism, for a society of the people, for a life of abundance, of freedom, peace and security.

Join the Workers Party of the United States. Join the great struggle for socialism.

SUPPORT THE GM STRIKE!

We urge all readers of LABOR ACTION to contribute to the strike fund of the UAW. Send your contributions to the UAW General Motors Division, Detroit, Mich.

LABOR ACTION

DECEMBER 31, 1945

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

ONE CENT

FIGHT TO OPEN THE BOOKS!

Myth of High Wartime Wages

By WALTER WEISS

The great captains of American industry don't think that profits are a decent subject for public discussion, but they never tire of boasting about the amazingly high wage level and living standard that they have made possible by their managerial know-how.

Unhappily, their claim doesn't stand up very well when confronted with hard facts. The average hourly wage in manufacturing was 78 cents in June, 1945. That means \$31.20 for a 40-hour week; \$31.20—before deductions. A wartime 48-hour week meant \$40.50 for this average worker. Or, if he worked on a night shift, several dollars more.

Of course, some did better than the average, but only one out of three had a rate over 90 cents an hour—\$36 for a 40-hour week. And plenty had rates below the average—one out of three getting less than 60 cents, one out of five less than 50 cents.

The above figures, pretty embarrassing to the big-sounding claims of industry, are all taken from official government sources and have been conveniently gathered together, along with many facts on prices, profits and productivity, in the December issue of the West Michigan CIO News.

It's true that you can get other statistics which, at first glance, look much better for the American capitalists. Recently one newspaper, writing on the Basis of Labor Department figures, ran a story with this headline: "'44 Family Wages Highest in History."

How high? Half of all families and single persons had incomes, after taxes, of \$2700 or more—\$52 a week? This history-making showing was made possible, however, only because of overtime, night work, speed-up under incentive systems, upgrading during the war—and the fact that in many families several members had jobs.

Working class families were fortunate in another respect. There were no automobiles and refrigerators on which to squander all this wealth. On

the other hand, as the Labor Department informs us, "most families were required to spend more for medical care. This was particularly true of low-income families, probably because of higher medical costs and greater need for care as a result of longer hours of work."

HIGH COST OF LIVING

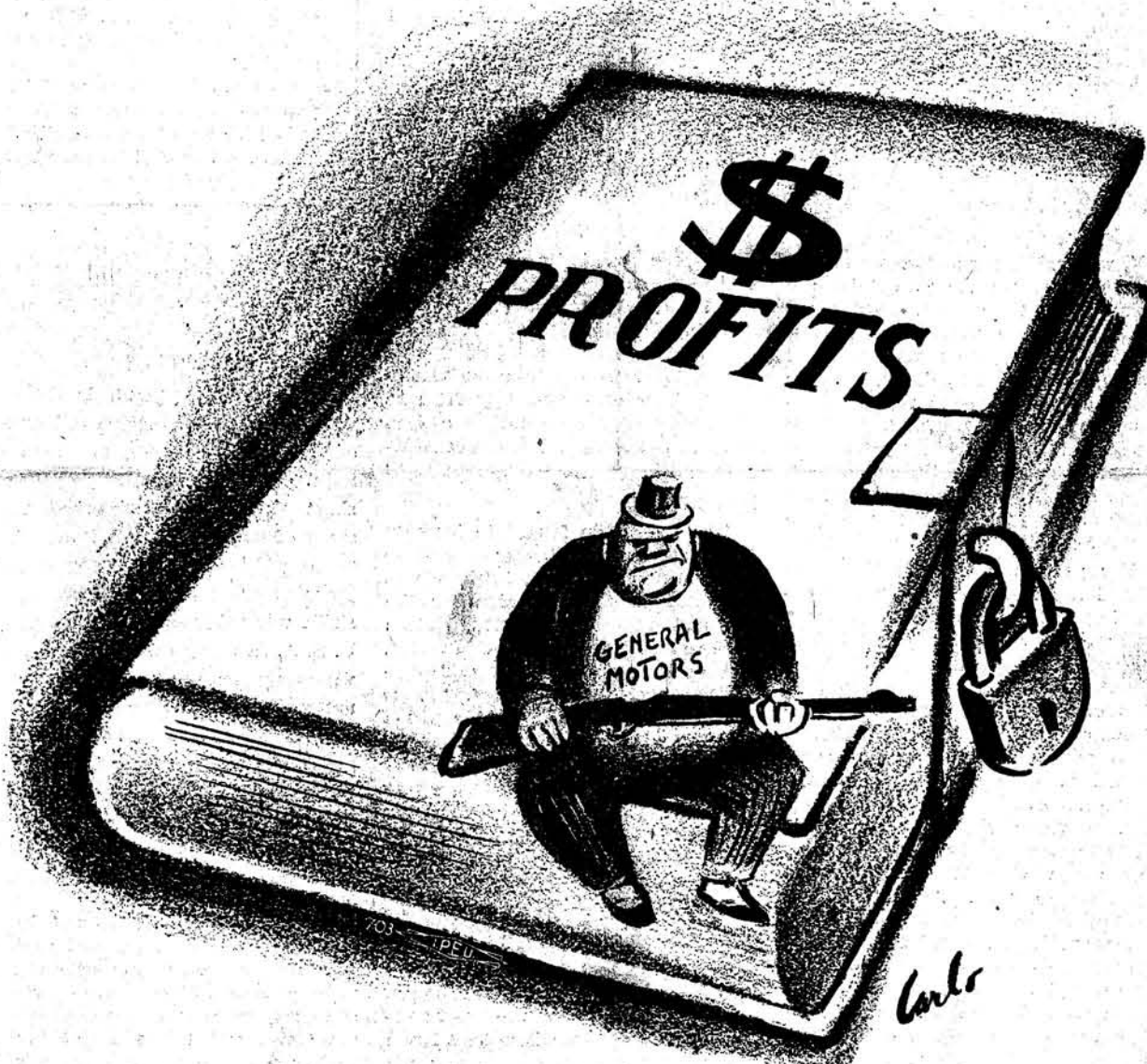
Then, too, there is the little matter of the higher cost of living. In 1941 half of the families and single persons had an income of only \$1900 instead of the \$2700 of 1944. The government says that the cost of living rose about one-third. It would, therefore, take over \$2500 to buy what \$1900 had bought in 1941. In other words, a real gain of less than \$200 a year for a family, in spite of much longer hours and harder work and the greater number of employed persons in many families.

When you take into account the fact that the cost of living, despite Labor Department figures to the contrary, has certainly risen 45 or 50 per cent or more, the \$2700 of 1944 was worth not a bit more than the \$1900 of 1941. The stand of the United Automobile Workers against price increase is, therefore, fully justified.

The Workers Party and LABOR ACTION have often pointed out that a still more far-reaching conclusion is amply justified. We say that the claimed achievements of the capitalists are in this period of history empty boasts. We say that they and their system are now bankrupt, so far as the interests of the people as a whole

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The "Closed" Corporation



URWA Preserves Status Quo; Progressives Lack Program

By HELEN SCOTT

GRAND RAPIDS, Dec. 18—The five-day convention of the United Rubber Workers Union ended today after victories for the administration on all issues with one exception. An increase in dues was voted down. L. S. Buckmaster, H. R. Lloyd and C. E. Lanning were elected president, vice-president and general secretary, respectively, without opposition. All three held these posts previous to the convention. In the election of twelve members-at-large of the General Executive Board the administration won all places by a vote of about two to one.

THREE GROUPS

The delegates were divided roughly into three groups, each commanding approximately one-third of the votes. The Communist Party forces, captained by N. H. Eagle, organizational director of the URW, were supported by a chain of small locals; the left-wing union militants rallied around the Goodrich, Goodyear, General and Firestone locals from Akron; the U. S. Rubber locals and a scattering of smaller locals made up the base of the pro-Buckmaster group.

The negotiations, jockeying and maneuvering between the three groups were carried on behind the backs of the delegates in the hotel rooms, lobbies and convention hall corridors by tiny groups of "contact committees."

As the convention opened, the CP forces were rounding up support for Joe Childs of General Local 9, whom they hoped to elect general president against Buckmaster. Childs is not a

CP'er but the CP knew that if he were elected with their aid he would be compelled to play ball with them. The U. S. Rubber locals representing Buckmaster were trying to reach an agreement with the Akron forces to support Buckmaster for president, an Akron choice for vice-president and a powerful anti-CP bloc on the General Executive Board.

But this Akron-Buckmaster agreement fell through when CP forces, realizing that they were unable to

elect their own man, dumped Childs and reached their own compromise with the Buckmaster group. The latter were evidently far more anxious for an alliance with the CP than with the left wing militants of Akron. The Buckmaster-CP coalition swept the elections.

The administration coalition won more than a mere election victory. Without opposition, it postponed all controversial matters until after the

(Continued on page 2)

By MARY BELL

The vigor and determination of the striking automobile and oil workers, the strike votes of half a dozen other CIO unions and, above all, their far-sighted demand to "Open the Books!" have wrung from President Truman the interpretation that his fact-finding board shall "have the authority, whenever it deems it necessary, to examine the books of the employer."

Truman's proposal, while falling far short of labor's needs, gives recognition to the principle of "ability to pay," that is, the profits of the corporation, as a basis for increasing wages.

The weaknesses in Truman's proposal, which should be recognized immediately by organized labor, can be summed up briefly: (1) the contents of the books shall not be made public, out of respect for the competitive character of business; (2) the inspection of the company's records shall be made by government bodies, such as the fact-finding boards, which are composed of industry, government and "friends of labor" representatives; and (3) the authorization to inspect the books is turned over to Congress, the legislative servant of big business.

But even this partial recognition of what the union is seeking is too much for the representatives of the corporations. In a chorus of unanimity, they and their legislative and journalistic spokesmen label the opening of the books "dangerous and revolutionary."

DANGEROUS...

How is the demand to "open the books" dangerous? The workers organized into their unions want security and a living wage. They want full production and full employment. The corporations have refused to guarantee these things. Yet it is common knowledge that they have heaped up a mountain of war profits while labor endured the no-strike pledge, bought war bonds, suffered from frozen wages, scarcities and shoddy goods. It is also common experience that the corporations were not able to guarantee employment for all, let alone a living wage during the last peacetime period. They went full blast only during the war when they were furnished orders by the government and had their profits guaranteed by the government. Yet they demand to continue their management in the same old way. They insist on keeping their corporate secrets. They shout that corporation profits have nothing to do with granting a wage increase. They want to continue monopolizing control of their production.

... TO PROFITS

Opening the books IS dangerous to the precepts of monopoly capitalism. The handful of very rich who

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On the Line With the GM Picketers

By BILL MILLER

DETROIT — Accompanied by two members of the Workers Party and a member of the Socialist Youth League, your correspondent spent a recent wintry morning on the picket lines in front of the Chevrolet Gear & Axle plant on Holbrook Avenue in Detroit. Although there had been a three-inch snowfall the previous night, the picket lines were bigger than usual, many workers reporting for picket duty to insure a big line in spite of the inclement weather.

In front of half a dozen gates, the lines circled. The pickets called out to each other as they saw one another on the line. They joked about the snow and laughed off the extreme cold and wind. Occasionally one or two would get out of the line and stand by a barrel of burning coals and warm up for a few minutes. They razed some pickets for reporting for duty an hour late and kidded one worker bundled up in high hunting boots and hunting clothes, asking

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Tug-of-War Over Turkey by Big 3

By JESSIE KAAREN

One European country after another has had to give up its national independence or to become the vassal either of Russia or of the other imperialist camp, Great Britain-United States. The latest claim by Russia for 10,000 square miles of Turkey bordering the Black Sea has had the effect of swinging Turkey even more firmly into the British orbit. Thus Turkey becomes a stake in the bargaining talks now taking place in Moscow between Molotov on the one side and the Anglo-American team of Byrnes and Bevin on the other. In typical imperialist style, the Russian diplomats have set a very high price for Big Three amity in order to leave a wide margin for bargaining.

It may be that in the process of disposing of whole nations without even asking for so much as a by-your-

leave from the nation involved, Turkey will lose some of her territory to Russia. The Russian threat to British control of the Middle East is so serious that the British may take a stiff attitude about Turkey, with the result that the three weary diplomats, Molotov, Byrnes



and Bevin, will once again come away from a conference with nothing solved.

U. S. AND GREAT BRITAIN

What role does the United States play in this parcelling out of Turkey? It becomes more and more obvious

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Capitalism Can't Make Jobs for All

By ELEANOR MASON

The latest act in the not-so-funny play on view in the halls of Congress is drawing to a close. Reaction is banging away and the liberals are whimpering. While the bosses' stooges play fast and loose with the needs of the people, the real drama takes place outside—where the pickets march. And when the pickets look to Congress they see a picture of reaction riding high.

The most recent episode is the action of the House which this past week killed what was left of the "Full Employment" bill. In its stead the House passed a meaningless hodge-podge entitled "Employment-Production Act of 1945."

The history of the "Full Employment" bill points up the role of the Congress as the agency of big business. The capitalist government pro-

vided full employment during the war. Everyone was asking if it could give us jobs in wartime, why couldn't it do the same in peacetime? The capitalist politicians realized the growing demands of the workers that the government assume responsibility for jobs and security. In a desperate attempt to prop up their capitalist system, Administration supporters introduced the "Full Employment" bill in the Senate in January of this year.

The bill declared that all Americans able to work and seeking work have a right to full-time employment. It would require the President to submit a yearly budget, based on the estimates of the number of workers, the expenditures necessary to provide employment and the actual investments and expenditures. The President would recommend methods to meet any expected def-

iciency with the primary emphasis on the stimulation of private industry. All recommendations would need congressional approval for action.

The bill did not guarantee full employment; even its most ardent supporters said so. The capitalist government cannot guarantee jobs for all and no bill it passes will turn the trick. Unemployment is part and parcel of the system which sanctifies the sale of the workers' muscle and brain power to the owning class, who use them to make profits. In order to meet competition in the drive for profits, labor-saving machinery constantly displaces the workers. This provides the bosses with a large army of unemployed, which they use to beat wages down. A bill for full employment would take on real meaning if adopted by a workers' government. Such a government would organize production to provide for the

people's needs. It would not aid a dying order that puts profits above human wants and desires.

The original "Full Employment" bill was only a pious declaration, a sop to the hopes of the workers for jobs and security. But even this timid statement about government responsibility for employment was too much to swallow for the representatives elected with the votes of the workers. When the Senate passed the bill on September 28 it was watered down enough to satisfy many of its opponents.

Fearful of even going through the motions of promising jobs, the House wrote its own version. It bore no resemblance to the original bill. Instead of a government plan for private industry cannot provide the necessary jobs, the President is merely required to TELL why private indus-

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NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

The San Francisco Machinists' Strike

By RITA RITCHIE

SAN FRANCISCO—The strike of 12,000 AFL and CIO machinists in the San Francisco Bay area, which began October 29, continues without a visible end after almost two months' duration.



A six-joint program sponsored by the "Joint Strategy Committee of Maritime and Shoreside Unions" calling for the setting up of a joint strategy committee made up of representatives of unions directly or indirectly affected by the strike, and guarantees of no interference with movement of troop and troop supply ships.

This was finally done and the line was removed. Thus the longshoremen proved their ability to act on their own against the scabby orders of their president and to act right in genuine sympathy with their machinist brothers.

THE JINGO CRY The second issue which the Stalinists raised, the demand for a guarantee from the machinists that troop supply and troop ships not be interfered with, was a false issue raised simultaneously by the ship owners and their stooges. It is a well known fact, openly stated by the Communists themselves, that San Francisco Harbor is glutted with hundreds of ships capable of transporting troop supplies and troops.

have come from the Bay Cities Metal Trades Council, representing 270,000 AFL workers in affiliated unions from which Lodge 68 withdrew because of its conciliation of the bosses during the war. AFL Machinists Lodge 284 in the East Bay which had long conducted a jurisdictional quarrel with Local 1304, CIO, called upon its members to pass through the picket line at a plant in Oakland, the Graham Shipbuilding Co. This action gave rise to repeated violence and a severe injunction ruling against the CIO pickets, enjoining them from having more than twenty-four pickets at a yard at one time.

With few exceptions, upward of 55,000 workers of other unions have continued to respect the picket lines thrown before approximately 200 plants here, including fifteen shipyards—five major ones in San Francisco and seven in the East Bay.

The "Andrew Carnegie," a Liberty ship, was docked at the struck Graham Shipyard in Oakland. Machinists Local 1304 declared it a hot ship. The engineers aboard, members of the Marine Engineers Beneficial Association, moved the ship to a San Francisco pier, where the machinists threw a picket line before the pier and requested the Longshore Union to declare it hot. The Sailors Union of the Pacific respected the line, but President Bulky of the Longshoremen came down and asked the machinists to remove the line. The latter refused and the pickets explained the situation to the individual longshoremen.

Then the Metal Trades Council passed a resolution to instruct all its affiliated unions to ignore the picket lines, but the move was not successful. Al Wynn of the BCMTC declared that "any member union giving moral or other support to the strike" would be condemned by the Council. Many of the affiliated unions refused to abide by the resolution and in turn two member unions, the Steamfitters, Local 590, and the Structural Iron Workers, passed resolutions condemning the Council's move. The Council then dropped the matter like a hot potato.

Another storm occurred over the question of the strike depriving the city of milk due to the tie-up of the American Can Co., manufacturers of waxed paper cartons, which subsidized after it was learned that the company had over 1,000,000 cartons on hand. Nevertheless, the machinists in both locals remain solid in their strike in spite of all the attempted inroads. The strike bids fair to last for some time.

Accompanying the inspiring solidarity of these two locals of warring parent unions have been some of the most vicious interunion attacks, and oblique sabotage yet seen in this region.

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Two weeks ago Bridges sent a letter to the two striking unions requesting them to bring up and act upon a request of the ILU to remove picket lines where they were "not in accord with the six-point program adopted by the Joint Strategy Committee of Maritime and Shoreside Unions." Before the letters were read to the machinist memberships and hours before they were even delivered, Bridges' reply to the machinists' "response" was published in the newspapers. His statement was that his men would ignore the picket lines, but the Longshoremen continued to respect the lines.

Other attempts to queer the strike

COMMUNIST-BRIDGES LINE

The policy of the Stalin-Communists exerted through the unions they control, principally longshore-maritime, and their press, the Daily People's World, has been, first, to seek to control the course of the strike and, failing that, to break it. The rank and file of the unions has, however, repudiated the leadership and continued to respect the picket lines.

Bulky ordered the men to go through the line. A colored stevedore announced that he wouldn't cross any picket line, whereupon the other stevedores present applauded and refused to obey the order of their president. Bulky asked Jim Smith, Local 1304 president, to remove the line and the latter refused unless the ship were declared hot by Bulky's union.

Convention of the Rubber Workers - -

(Continued from page 1)

elections; then, as explained in our preliminary report in last week's LABOR ACTION, it established an atmosphere of good will for itself by a series of radical speeches for the union's seven-point program and for "vigorous political action"; finally, it successfully avoided any discussion on the floor of the convention of its policies of arbitrarily fining, suspending and expelling members and thereby dodged the necessity of answering for its past crimes.

fight against an increase in dues but no other challenge was made to the administration. George Bass of Goodrich Local 5 remained in the background and declined the nomination for president in favor of Buckmaster.

However, unanimity on this report was destroyed by Delegate Benson of Local 101, who stated that he was speaking for himself and not for his local's delegation. Maintaining that the twelve men had been arbitrarily expelled, he expressed opposition to the report of the committee and to the stab-in-the-back remarks of Delegate Quirk.

DUES ISSUE The leadership fought to increase the dues from \$1.00 per month to \$1.50, arguing that the increase was necessary in the campaign for the union's seven-point program. Watson of Firestone led the opposition forces.

BUSINESS MANAGER'S PRESS ACTION BY PAUL BERN

The following letter is all we need print for our column in this New Year issue of LABOR ACTION: Dear Friends and Brothers: I am sending you \$5.00 for a Christmas gift for LABOR ACTION. As I know labor has a fight on its hands to keep from being double-crossed and I hope you will keep watch on Congress and find out which of them favors labor. Where we will know who to vote for the 1946 election and if we don't get our own representatives in we are going to be a sorry bunch of working stiffs.

The delegation from Local 101 in Detroit, which was expected to lead a fight against the dictatorial policies of the administration, collapsed completely.

THE RIGHT TO STRIKE By far the best resolution adopted by the convention was the resolution on "Restrictions on the Right to Strike" presented by Firestone Local 7. Not only does it oppose any restriction on the right to strike but it specifically forbids the officers of the international union from reaching any agreement with the employers or with the government to qualify or repudiate the right to strike.

Although it was difficult for the delegates to differentiate between the various groups in the convention, all were united in opposition to any repetition of the disastrous no-strike pledge. There was no debate on this question. The union membership obviously will insist upon a militant, uncompromising fight for their demands.

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All issues were blurred over. That was exactly what the top leadership desired.

THE TOP LEADERSHIP made no effort to resist this mood of the convention. But one small hint leaked out revealing that they felt a little uncomfortable. In his speech accepting the office of president, Buckmaster said: "The period of settling labor disputes through arbitration by the War evidently came to an end... at least TEMPORARILY." Buckmaster apparently expects to be saved from the need for an all-out battle for labor's demands by a restoration of some kind of arbitration board when this "temporary" period is over.

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LEFT JABS By SHAW

"Bids Powers to Be Frank" "Bevin Urges They Tell What Territory, Bases They Want..." (from the headlines). And don't be bashful, boys.

From "The Strong Man Rules," a book written by George Shuster, president of Hunter College, in 1934: Speaking of the injustices of the Versailles treaty, he says, "How much better for all of us it would have been... if Germany had been allowed to maintain a force of 500,000 into which the restless and homeless souls whom peace left unemployed could have been quietly absorbed!" (pp. 262, 263) The guy oughta be in Congress!

personal records, invoking the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, swearing they've been losing money and anyway, all those extra billions that appear to be profits are necessary reserves, etc., etc.

Just came across an old clipping from the October 5, Herald Tribune: BOMBAY, Oct. 4 (AP)—"The provincial government announced today revival of the emergency whipping act of 1941, which provides for the flogging of persons convicted of rioting or other charges."

In Albania, the Democratic National (Stalinist) Front, the only party which ran candidates, polled only 95% of the votes. The weather must have been bad.

OPEN YOUR BOOKS, YOU SELF-CONFESSED BANKRUPTS AND CORRUPTERS OF HUMAN DIGNITY! AND IF YOU CAN'T PAY US THOSE INCREASES AND STILL STAY IN BUSINESS, THEN GET OUT! WE'LL SHOW YOU THAT THE WORKING CLASS CAN RUN YOUR BUSINESSES WITHOUT YOU AND YOUR HORDES OF PARASITIC-COUPON CLIPPERS!

According to the papers, Truman has stated that although he once favored the Wagner-Taft resolution calling for unlimited Jewish immigration into Palestine and the establishment of a Jewish commonwealth with equal rights for all, has changed his mind and now opposes it. Reason? His agreement with Attlee to establish an Anglo-American Inquiry Commission on Palestine. He said he believed it was useless to have a joint committee, if he continued to favor the Wagner-Taft resolution.

PM reports that Sam Darcy, one-time big shot for the CP, has been refused membership in that organization for the coming year. Poor Sam Darcy Out on his arcy...

Among other "reforms" instituted in Stalinist-controlled Poland is the piece-work system of pay, something that all progressive labor unions have fought against for years.

Charles H. Huston, prominent Negro attorney of Washington, D. C., has resigned from the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practices. He has charged that Truman prevented the FEPC from issuing a directive against the Capital Transit Company ordering them to cease their discriminatory practices in refusing to hire Negro motormen and bus drivers. His resignation was in protest against the Administration's persistent course of conduct to give lip-service to matters of eliminating racial discrimination... while doing nothing to make this policy substantial.

The auto workers and other strikers throughout the land have made an extremely fair proposition to the corporations. "You say you can't afford to pay the increased wages that we ask. Very well, then. Show us your books. We have no desire to put you out of business (yet). If your profit and loss statement shows that you can't increase our wages, we won't ask for it... (today)." To which demand the corporations have turned blue in the face in paid ads and in public statements, denying the right of employees to examine

WE DO NOT DESIRE AN INCH OF FOREIGN SOIL DEPT. Russian occupation troops have refused to allow Iranian troops to reinforce besieged garrisons in the north of that country, where a sudden desire for "cultural autonomy" afflicted great numbers of people simultaneously. Stalin is doing it in oil, too.

Good for you, fellas! Why don't you break one or two of them stupid natives on the rack just to show you mean business?

Having recently acquired a refrigerator, the missus and I were the recipients of the epithet "filthy rich" from a friend. In my usual learned Marxist manner, I asked aforementioned friend to define for me what constituted being wealthy. "Being wealthy for a worker means having to borrow very little money in order to make ends meet." Say it again, brother, say it again!

Best buy: Six months of LABOR ACTION for 25 cents. The only way to be sure not to miss even one sentence of this breathless prose that I turn out.

A Veteran Goes Job Hunting

By SAM BAGRIAN

Any veteran, particularly the one who served in the European Theater of Operations, probably recalls reading the U. S. Army policy propaganda sheet "Stars and Stripes" (or, as some of us used to call it overseas, "Bars and Grips"). A day seldom passed without its mentioning that a strike was going on somewhere in the U. S. A. In many cases the issues for which unions went on strike were not mentioned, and most often number of strikers involved was not given when only a few men or women were out on strike. It was left to the already perturbed imagination of GI Joe and GI Jane to guess that thousands were on strike probably for "blood money."

Some facts issued by the Bureau of Labor Statistics should make some of you guys blush for shame for even thinking that your own brothers, sisters, fathers, buddies, etc., were being unpatriotic for striking, for wanting too much (?). All they were trying to do was maintain a decent standard of living for us to return to, and to earn enough dough to keep themselves going.

income families (because of higher medical costs and greater need for such care as a result of longer hours of work), most families were confined to a "fairly simple pattern of living, without extravagance."

Many non-unionists do not know that there can be important reasons for striking, such as seniority rights, union security, discrimination, closed shop, maintenance of union membership, etc., and hence would immediately jump to the conclusion that the strikers wanted only more money. An attempt was constantly being made to give the impression that the "A-F's" back home were making money hand over fist and still were not satisfied. No mention was made, however, of the colossal profits being reaped by big business, or the tremendous salaries paid to their executives! Remember, fellas?

According to the Department of Labor's Bureau of Labor Statistics, half of all families in 1944 had incomes after paying taxes, of \$2,700 or more. This "high" family income will be explained in following paragraphs. But, twenty percent of all families and single persons had incomes below \$1,500 after taxes.

After all this, brother vets, you should realize that unless your family owned a chunk of stock in any corporation or functioned as an executive in such corporation, this family of yours isn't so far ahead of itself financially and didn't earn as much money as the newspapers would have you believe. If two people in your family had to work to make \$4,000 or less a year between them, they didn't get more than 40 bucks apiece per week. (What happened to that hundred-and-a-quarter and hundred-and-a-half per week we heard they were getting?) And when you figure that they worked more than 40 hours a week, they weren't getting so much money.

With the Workers Party

NATIONAL About a month ago we printed the little pamphlet, "SECURITY AND A LIVING WAGE—Why Workers Strike," a Statement of the National Committee of the Workers Party. We are now all out of them and have ordered a second printing of 5,000. The first printing of 5,000 was bought by the following branches: Chicago 600, Detroit 2,000, Buffalo 100, Louisville 100, San Francisco 200, Cleveland 200, Akron 200, Reading 100, Los Angeles 200, New York 700, Seattle 100, Philadelphia 100, Smaller bundles 300.

Palace Bookshop, 1817 St. John Pl., corner Saratoga Ave. A. Wald, Rutland Road, corner E. 98th St. N. Tumin, 722 Franklin Ave., near Eastern Parkway. Kovinsky, 816 Washington Ave., corner St. John Place.

WORKERS PARTY AND LABOR ACTION HEADQUARTERS LABOR ACTION, 3773 Gratiot St., Detroit, Mich. LABOR ACTION, 1703 West Madison St., Room 6, Chicago, Ill. LABOR ACTION, 639 Main St., Buffalo, N. Y. LABOR ACTION, 1105 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Pa. LABOR ACTION, 127 South Broadway, Los Angeles, Calif. For information of other Workers Party branches and LABOR ACTION offices write to the National Office, 114 West 14th St., New York 11, N. Y.

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What's Wrong With the

LABOR PARTY'S NATIONALIZATION

OFF LIMITS

By James M. Fenwick

PART II

THE BRUTALIZATION OF THE AMERICAN SOLDIER

During the war the American press was filled with horrifying stories of the devastation and the brutality accompanying German and Russian military operations...

But if the American capitalist press were honest (what a bold thought!) it would have exposed and condemned similar acts on the part of the American army...

The vileness of the conduct of a large number of American soldiers in Europe is one of the chief factors which are currently creating a wave of hatred against Americans in allied and enemy countries alike.

THE YEARS OF THE LOCUSTS

The Germans, of course, being the enemy, received the full force of American brutality, whether it was the product of official strategy or of the individual soldier. It is now admitted that the allied bombing of Berlin, like the German use of flying bombs or rockets against London, served almost no strategic purpose...

Our record is little better. Elements of my regiment occupied buildings of the University of Bonn, formerly one of the most renowned schools of the world. Karl Marx, among others, studied there...

"LOOTIN' IS VERBOOTIN'!"

Looting was almost universal among officers and men alike. German prisoners, as a matter of routine, were stripped of cameras, watches, money ("You won't need that anymore!") jewelry, cigarette lighters, gloves, and even photographs of wives, mothers, and sweethearts...

The first measure after capturing a town was to loot it. Some looked for cognac, some sought money, the pious stole Bibles. So avid became the looting fever in our regiment that sometimes Germans would be holding the second floor of a home while our troops would be looting the first floor...

Looting became so commonly accepted that barracks bags became known as "loot sacks." The attitude toward it became summed up in a cynical, stereotyped dialogue: "What you got there? You know lootin' is verbootin'!" "I didn't loot this—I LIBERATED it!"

MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN

Brutality toward Germans was common, especially during combat. Every combat soldier knows that German soldiers were often mercilessly beaten while being interrogated. Frightened, disarmed prisoners were many times taken into the woods or into a shed and shot.

German civilians were treated with arrogance and brutality. Often, aged German couples were given half an hour to evacuate their homes so that their house could be occupied by our troops. Where were they to go? With what? That was their problem. Food from mess halls were thrown away before it would be given to Germans...

The standard greeting to a German woman was, "Wieviele?"—"How much?" They were constantly subjected to obscenities and suggestive acts which if committed on an American street would invite a beating or commitment to a psychiatric ward...

AN UNENDURABLE FRIENDSHIP

The situation was hardly better in Allied countries. Houses in combat areas were similarly looted. French and Belgian men were either ignored or treated almost like enemies. In cities like Reims or Paris, which were leave centers, French women were treated on the streets as if they were universally prostitutes. Prostitutes were themselves often beaten, cheated or robbed. Private homes were broken into by soldiers demanding to see the girls. Drunkenness was common. It was not unusual to see GI's stretched out cold in subway stations. Mirrors were shot out in bars. Frenchmen were beaten up with the slightest provocation. In short, American troops behaved like conquerors.

Even with his own comrades, particularly if they were from another outfit, the American soldier behaved contemptibly. This was especially evident in the attitude taken by white soldiers toward Negroes. Fights, ganging up on Negroes by whites and shootings were almost a nightly occurrence in areas where Negroes and whites were billeted near each other.

What is the reason for such conduct? Is human nature inherently and irrevocably debased? Why did so many American soldiers in Europe behave in a fashion that made persons possessed of a sense of even common decency avert their eyes in shame?

Editorials

What "Open the Books" Signifies

Two issues of fundamental importance to the labor movement have arisen in the General Motors strike. Both of them represent a new stage in the relationship between unions and corporations that have truly historic significance.

They are the question of opening the books of corporations and the theory of ability to pay as the basis for wage negotiations.

Nor should these issues be ignored or slighted because at first glance it seems that there is an obvious answer to them.

Some unionists think that because a union obtains the yearly financial statement of a corporation that it has "opened the books." Nothing is further from the truth. Or, more exactly, nothing is more misleading.

The real books of the corporations deal, with everything pertinent to wages, profits and prices. As the New York Times expressed it, "The UAW wants the fact-finding board to obtain information concerning General Motors estimates of future activity, future costs, future profit margins, contract prices for material, data furnished OPA, and the character of the corporate and commercial connections between General Motors and its suppliers." The New York Times adds, "These are properly the concern of management, not of labor."

THE CORPORATION'S OBJECTIONS

The UAW has learned what economists and money-wise people have always known. The real books of a corporation are something kept secret, because it is by bookkeeping and financial juggling that the real profits of industry are concealed.

Big corporations keep a well paid staff of lawyers whose main job is to figure out ways of income tax evasions, within the limits of the federal laws, to be sure. They have an auditing and cost accounting department which does two things: it keeps the records, and it conceals the records.

Fear that labor might learn the real truth about profits, and financial juggling, and other important matters is one reason that the GM refuses to allow a public inspection of its real books. There might be a national scandal if the truth were known.

The second objection of GM concerns what the Times said. "These (the books) are properly the concern of management, not of labor." The big corporations fear

also that labor might insist on intruding (as they see it) into the production of goods. Labor might say, as the UAW is saying partly in the GM strike, "Production is not a private matter. It concerns the welfare and happiness not only of GM workers but of all society. Responsibility to society is a paramount issue in all union-corporation negotiations."

This approach of the UAW is essentially in accord with what we socialists have been saying since Karl Marx wrote the Communist Manifesto nearly 100 years ago. Production of goods should be based primarily on their use value to society, not on the possibilities of profit for the small handful of capitalists who own basic industry.

A CHALLENGE TO CAPITALISM

The UAW in its own way is challenging the monopoly control by the du Ponts. The UAW is challenging the big business theory that production is not the concern of the workers and of society as a whole. That it is strictly a matter of private capitalist concern.

The whole problem of the relationship between capital-labor, production and society arises also in the dispute over "ability to pay" as a basis for wage demands.

General Motors says itself that it isn't a problem of: "Does the company have enough money to pay higher wages?" It admits that it has the money. What it objects to is the whole theory that ability to pay should be a factor in determining wages.

The reason for this is that industry is put on the spot by any recognition of the principle of ability to pay. Today, industry can pay a thirty per cent wage increase in auto, \$2.00 a day increase in steel, without any serious cut in profit.

But industry is far-sighted. It thinks ahead. Tomorrow industry might not make the fantastic profits it does today. In fact, it expects a major depression again in a few years.

Labor, too, must be far-sighted. To avoid depressions, and to take care of the argument that industry will not always be able to pay high wages or assure full employment, it must press for:

- Nationalization under workers' control. An independent Labor Party. A workers' government.

By SUSAN GREEN

The program of the British Labor Party, entitled "Let Us Face the Future," contains the introductory statement: "The Labor Party is a socialist party, and proud of it. Its ultimate purpose at home is the establishment of the Socialist Commonwealth of Great Britain."

The parliamentary triumph of this party, which has now been in power for nearly six months, has been hailed by world labor. With deep interest, world labor watches to see how this party will carry out its alleged aim. At long last, through its Prime Minister, Clement Attlee, it has presented to the House of Commons its bill to nationalize the Bank of England, and the measure has been passed by that body.

Reporters have dubbed the bill the "first socialist measure." The expectation is that this bill will serve as a model for the entire nationalization program sponsored by the Labor Party. Therefore, world labor must ask and answer the question: "Is this, in fact, a socialist measure?"

In the first place, the bill before the House of Commons provides compensation to the stockholders of the Bank of England. Is this correct in principle? The owners and manipulators of British finances are the core of the class enriched by the exploitation of British labor and by the enslavement of the colonial peoples of the British Empire. These are the exploiters for whom the blood of Indonesians and Palestinians is today being shed and for whom the blood of the Indian people periodically flows. These are the exploiters who were willing to finance Hitler to a certain point, and when their imperialist interests were threatened were just as willing to engage the world in devastating war. What do the British people owe these anti-social elements?

In the past twenty years Bank of England dividends have annually averaged twelve per cent, or, to put it differently, dividends in those years alone have totaled 240 per cent of invested capital. Speculators in bank stocks have also pocketed plenty on their "risks." What do the British people owe these parasites? There are, of course, a scattering of small stockholders who rely for actual living expenses on dividends. For these the government should provide jobs, if they can work, and if they are too old to work they should get old age security. But what do the British people owe the financial magnates of their country?

Nothing—noting but condemnation and the assurance of a speedy departure from the stage of history!

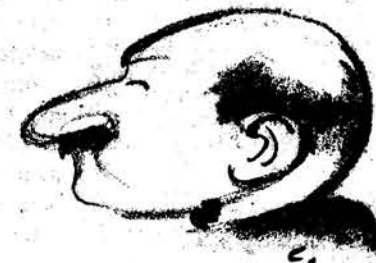
MORTGAGING WORKERS

Yet the bill proposed by the Attlee government not only provides payment but such abundant payment that it makes a worker's blood boil in angry protest. The stockholders of the Bank of England are to receive four times the amount of the capital stock now outstanding. The \$58-

212,000 of bank stock will be taken up by government bonds totalling \$282,848,000; the latter figure is just four times the former. And this would be no mere paper transaction, for the bonds would be redeemable AT PAR in twenty years if the holder should wish to cash in.

Why, just why, in the post-war impoverishment of England, should any government, let alone one that calls itself socialist, mortgage the people to this extent? Well, you see, it's this way. The British government wants to pay only three per cent interest on the bonds it issues. But the bigwigs of the bank, who have been averaging twelve per cent returns during the past twenty years, are so sorry, but they just can't see themselves taking less. So the government effects a "compromise." It will not pay more than three per cent interest, but it will issue four times as much in bonds. This makes everybody happy—except the working people, for whose benefit the Labor Government is supposed to function.

For the working people of Great Britain this kind of nationalization



ATTLEE: EASY ON BANKERS

means that the great skin game of capitalism continues. It means that instead of an economy designed to build houses and hospitals, to raise the frightfully low standard of living, to provide the things the people are deprived of, the economy will continue to serve the dividend collectors. For the colonial peoples it means more deaths from British tanks and planes when the people fight for their independence, because the twelve-percenters in London must have their income from the colonies.

So much for the financial side. Now let us see WHO would control the Bank of England to be nationalized under the bill presented by the Labor Government.

Professor Laski, chairman of the Labor Party, promised after the election: "We are now prepared to give the little man... all the progressive change that he requires." It almost goes without saying that any progressive change must be based on the little man, the worker, getting control of the affairs of economy and government. In a word, in the case of the nationalization of the bank, if it is to mean anything to the working people, it has to be put under management. That new management has to be a committee chosen by the work-

ing people, responsible to them, acting for them.

Now watch this. The bill, supposed to be the "first socialist measure," provides that the nationalized bank will be administered by a governor, a deputy governor and a board of directors, all appointed BY THE KING. Furthermore, it is tacitly understood that the present governor of the bank, Lord Catto, will be appointed by the Crown the first governor of the nationalized bank. The same old capitalist-imperialist gang will be in control!

No wonder Lord Catto has assured Chancellor of Exchequer Hugh Dalton that the banking community will give their cooperation! And why shouldn't they? At a time when British finances are at the breaking point, in the depths of post-war national impoverishment, in a crisis of foreign trade, all the burdens and risks are removed from the shoulders of foreign trade, and they are assured many happy returns at twelve per cent!

This "first socialist measure" of the Labor government is not that at all. It is a measure for large scale relief for the bankers, not for the war-weary working people of England.

OTHER MEASURES

Can anything different be expected from the bill for the nationalization of the British mines, which the government has introduced as a Christmas present? The same policy of paying the mine owners with interest-bearing government bonds will be followed. A further mortgage on the labor of workers will thus be given to capitalists. These mine owners have for years not invested a shilling in the mines. The mines are not mechanized to give high production. Miners in some mines must walk three or four miles underground to get to the diggings. Coal is the only major natural resource that England has at home, and the mine owners have let the industry get so sick that it will take half a billion dollars to restore it to health. Having well-nigh killed the goose that laid the golden eggs, the mine owners are now more than willing to turn the bird over to the government—collecting unearned interest on government bonds, wealth of which the tolling masses will be deprived.

The Labor Party stands for the public ownership of other industries besides banking and mining. It says it will nationalize iron and steel production, inland transportation, gas and electricity, communication, civil aviation. However, nationalization is per se not socialism. Nationalization will do the working people little good if it mortgages their labor in perpetuity. It will bring the working people little good if the same exploiting gang is left to control and manage the nationalized industries—to yield happy returns at twelve per cent!

Socialism means throwing the parasites off labor's back. And socialism means workers' control of industry. Only measures in this direction are socialist measures.

On the GM Picket Line - -

(Continued from page 1) him if he was going to bring his gun tomorrow.

At the soup kitchen, after the three-hour stretch of picket duty, the strikers thronged in to warm up over some coffee and to hear a short report by Mike Lacey, president of Chevy Local 235.

WHAT PRESIDENT SAID

Your reporter interviewed Brother Lacey before his speech and was told that the morale of the workers was holding high in spite of the cold, and the approaching Christmas season. Lacey, in response to a question, stated: "I consider this strike as significant and as revolutionary as the sitdown strikes of 1937." When asked what he meant by this, Lacey pointed out that hitherto workers had gotten wage increases only to find them devoured a few months later by an increase in the cost of living. In the GM strike, however, the union was fighting for not just a wage increase but also demanding that this come out of profits and not out of the consumers' pockets in the form of a price increase.

Lacey was not too worried about the prospect of an injunction being issued against "illegal" picketing. "You can't make cars with an injunction," he said, adding that if any of the foremen entered the plant and operated machines they would find after the strike "that America is a hard place for a scab to live." President Lacey stated that the average age of Chevrolet Gear & Axle workers was forty-six years, a higher average than is usually found in plants, and said these workers had worked for GM a long time and that they were not going to give in easily.

HOW THE MEN FEEL

Lacey then addressed the workers in the soup kitchen. He told them that he was reporting on the progress of negotiations between the corporation and the union. He mentioned the arrogance of the company representatives, how they sat around on their big fat salaries during the negotiations. Then he pointed out that the workers at the Gear & Axle plant and the workers of the other GM plants had put every penny that GM had into the GM coffers. The workers

had put it all in and they were entitled to their share. He stated that if the strikers stand solid they could not but win their strike and their demands for a thirty per cent increase.

This address was greeted with applause from the strikers, and there was much discussion around the tables after its conclusion. The general feeling of the men was expressed by the striker in the hunting clothes who shouted on the picket line: "Well, if they want it, we can keep the damn place shut down forever."

Four hundred copies of LABOR ACTION were distributed to the pickets on the lines and in the soup kitchen. The papers were received with gratitude. Many workers knew it as the paper which had been distributed to them a week before. In addition, thirty-five Security and a Living Wage pamphlets were sold in the soup kitchen. The police prevented the distributors from selling to the pickets under some anti-peddling law.

Killing the Job Bill - -

(Continued from page 1)

try cannot provide full employment. The Truman Administration launched an all-out campaign for the passage of this bill. Under the attack, the whole strategy of the liberals in the House collapsed like a house of cards. George Outland, a PAC-endorsed congressman, had organized a committee to work for the original bill and had gathered over a hundred signatures of representatives as co-sponsors. Just before the legislation was due for a vote, the Speaker of the House, Rayburn, and John McCormack, PAC-endorsed congressman who is the Administration spokesman in the House, called a meeting

of Outland's committee. Truman's leaders demanded support of their bill. They demanded a demonstration of party loyalty to the Democratic

NEXT WEEK:

LETTER FROM BELGIUM

OFF LIMITS

By James M. Fenwick

THE COMING STEEL STRIKE

By Jack Wilson

machine. Outland's committee voted seven to four for Democratic Party boss politics and gave up the fight.

By a vote of 254 to 128 the Administration's bill passed. The House cowardly refused to take a record vote that would have shown how each one voted.

From this kind of Congress and government the pickets marching for the thirty per cent increase can expect no assistance. These men, good and bad alike, of the Democratic and Republican Parties, will continue to dance to the tune of the du Ponts and the Fords. There must be labor men in Congress who will truly represent the pickets and all of labor.

From the PROGRAM of the WORKERS PARTY. For the defense of all democratic rights! Against wartime dictatorship measures! Abolish wage-freezing and job-freezing! Restore full and unrestricted collective bargaining rights of the unions! Rescind the no-strike pledge! Repeal the Smith-Connally anti-strike law!

Detroit Readers, Attention: WORKERS PARTY FORUM. Sunday, January 6: The GM Strike—Beachhead Of Labor's Offensive. Sunday, January 13: Who Owns the Big Three in Auto? LABOR ACTION HALL — 3773 GRATIOT. ADMISSION FREE REFRESHMENTS SERVED

ATOMIC ENERGY: for Barbarism or Socialism?

A SERIES BY THE EDITORS OF LABOR ACTION



Socialism will destroy the root evil of modern society, i.e., the private ownership of the means of production...

Under socialism, these instruments of production will become the property of society, owned in common, producing for use, for the general welfare of the people as a whole...

(Conclusion)

Socialism, and only socialism, will create a true world state, a world without national barriers, without international rivalries...

This world government will not be a government of a dominant economic class but will be a government of all the peoples that inhabit the globe...

This development is imperative because the world faces socialism or death!

But why will socialism guarantee peace, security and freedom and prevent the destruction of mankind?

In abolishing classes in society, socialism will change the form and type of governments which exist today. Governments will become administrative bodies regulating production and consumption...

FOR THE INTERESTS OF MANKIND

The preoccupation of government under socialism will be to assist in the elevation of society, to improve continually the living standards of the people...

In abolishing classes, class government and war, socialism will at the same time destroy all forms of dictatorship,

political as well as economic. The socialist world state will be the freest, most democratic society the world has ever known...

The socialist world state will assess the industrial potential of the world, determine its resources, the needs of the people and plan production with the aim of increasing the standards of living...

Socialism will not concern itself with profits and war, but with providing decent housing for all the people.

Socialism will provide for a multitude of schools for all the people. Socialism will eliminate illiteracy, which is one of the hallmarks of capitalism...

Socialism will create a system of health preservation and insurance in which the needs of the people and the improvement of the human race would be the paramount consideration.

Above all, socialism will provide jobs for all. But this will be work without exploitation. For the aim of socialism is not the increased exploitation and intensification of labor, but the utilization of machinery, technology, science and invention to diminish toil...

TOWARD THE NEW FREEDOM

The modern world contains all the pre-conditions necessary for socialism. All about us we observe gigantic industrial establishments containing machinery which could pro-

duce the goods of life in abundance. Man has developed a marvelous technology. The discovery and control of atomic energy has not only made it more possible for man to control his natural and social environment...

Socialism will place at the disposal of science and the scientists all the material means to help create an ever-improving social life for mankind.

Under capitalism, scientists are mere wage workers hiring out their skills to private industry. The fruits of their intelligence, learning and research become the exclusive property of the capitalists who profit from the labors of these scientists...

Only socialism can place science where it properly belongs: in the service of the people

Man is at a crossroads. He can travel the road of capitalism, i.e., he can travel the road of chaos, war, poverty and barbarism, or he can take the socialist road toward true freedom, peace and security...

As Leon Trotsky, the great socialist leader of the international working class, once wrote:

'It is difficult to predict the extent of self-government which the man of the future may reach or the heights to which he may carry his technique... The forms of life will become dynamically dramatic. The average human type will rise to the heights of an Aristotle, a Goethe or a Marx. And above this ridge new peaks will rise.'

Socialism or death!

'Open the Books' Is Fight for Security - -

(Continued from page 1)

own and control the industrial wealth of the United States want no tampering with their property and their property rights. And foremost of these is the appropriation by them of the profits of industry...

Ira Mosher, president of the National Association of Manufacturers, attacked even Truman's plan to use profits as a partial basis for determining wage increases...

Then Mr. Mosher displays some partial statistics to show that the "ability to pay" principle would work to the detriment of small business and labor.

"In every year between 1913 and 1940," says Mosher, "except during World War (1916-19), at least forty per cent of our business corporations showed no net income, and in 1932 almost 84 per cent showed no net income..."

These figures are purposely deceptive: the major part of industry is composed of large corporations and the greatest number of workers are employed in the big companies...

Then Mosher cries for labor: "It would hurt labor, because under this formula wage rates must be reduced when earnings decline..."

What has been gained so far has been due to the fighting strength of strikers and pickets, the rank and file of organized labor...

'REVOLUTIONARY'...

Mosher states that with the principle of "ability to pay" "... we move to the corporate state with the government determining prices, profits, investment and who shall work where and for how long and at what wage."

That is not what Mosher really fears. That is what the government did during the war, and big business was mighty pleased with the results...

Mosher and the men he represents fear the implications of the demand of labor to have a say in prices and profits. They fear that labor will not stop with opening the books...

The books will also reveal (see editorial, page 3—Ed.) according to Walter Merritt, GM counsel "... forecasts, projections, guesses at the cost of raw materials where future policies are speculative..."

... TO LABOR

This invasion of its private, privileged ground is what big capitalists fear. That is why it characterizes labor's demands as revolutionary. This new type of fight on the part of organized labor is indeed a revolutionary step for labor...

If labor pries open the secret accounts of the monopoly capitalists in auto, steel, rubber and other mass production industries, it will learn how production takes place, how it is controlled. It is a short step to the conclusion that production can be undertaken not for profit but for use...

Labor can then challenge industry. "You haven't the ability to pay decent wages or to produce for the good of society as a whole," says labor. Your lust for profit strangles industry and brings depression and war...

A revolutionary demand, indeed. If labor wins the right to inspect the books and make ability to pay a principle in bargaining, it will take a giant stride forward.

What has been gained so far has been due to the fighting strength of strikers and pickets, the rank and file of organized labor. They must not retreat. They must halt the tendency of their leaders to compromise with dangerous proposals of "union security..."

Profit Interests Cause for Nationwide Housing Crisis

By P. Prentiss

"If this country can build an \$8 billion dollar war industry... why can't it build enough houses?" According to the December 17th issue of Life magazine...

The housing shortage is not a new story under capitalism. As far back as 1932, Fortune magazine reported that over half the people in United States did not live in decent or sanitary housing...

WHAT IS THE PROBLEM?

Although always an acute problem, today the housing situation in the country has hit a sharp crisis. 1,500,000 veterans (their number increasing by the thousands daily) are demanding decent homes to live in...

According to a UAW-CIO estimate, 17 million new houses are needed, ranging in the less than \$5,000 or \$40 a month rent group. An AFL spokesman stated that 6 million veterans' families will need housing within the year...

It is a recognized fact that the nature of the building industry is such that it is not profitable to build low priced homes for the low, uncertain income groups. The backwardness of the building industries—the outmoded methods of the numerous contractors and subcontractors...

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Historical Roots of Bolshevism

Tuesday, 7:30-8:45 P.M.

Part II—Instructor: Ernest Erber

The History of Great Class Struggles in America

Tuesday, 9-10:15 P.M.

Instructor: Mike Stevens

Elementary Marxist Economics—Friday, 7:30-8:45 P.M.

Instructor: Reva Craine

Historical Contributions of Trotskyism

Friday, 7:30-8:45 P.M.

Part I—Instructor: Emanuel Garrett

The World Today—Friday, 9-10:15 P.M.

Instructor: Herman Fenwick

Advanced Seminar in Marx's Capital, Vol. I

Friday, 9-10:15 P.M.

Instructor: Freddie Forest

STUYVESANT CASINO—122 SECOND AVENUE

ADMISSION: \$1.50 PER COURSE

The Myth of High Wartime Wages - -

(Continued from page 1)

are concerned. We say that the time has come for government ownership under workers' control—end that can be accomplished only if labor sets out on the road of independent political action.

The most recent form of rosy propaganda by the capitalists is that the American people have huge savings, which will insure steady production and jobs for all—well, almost all—for years to come. The statistics already presented above, not to speak of the common knowledge of workers, show how absurd this claim is.

NO BACKLOG FOR WORKERS

"Reports on bond purchases in 1944, however, suggest that the total bond holdings at income levels below \$3,000 do not comprise much of a backlog to be used for purchases of goods coming back on the civilian markets."

In fact, many families have fallen into debt, exactly as Philip Murray and other labor leaders have stated on the basis of reports by union research experts. The Labor Department takes a city family of three—conveniently small, we must say—with an income of about \$38 a week in 1944. After taxes, this income amounted to less than \$36. (Since one out of five city families had an income of less than \$30 after taxes, the example does not come from the lowest level.)

THIS IS CAPITALISM

"The FHA must be satisfied that the proposed price or rent is reasonably related to the proposed accommodations."

Adding to this Robert Foley, FHA commissioner stated: "There is no intention to make this a price-fixing measure."

So after the big building industries are guaranteed a "reasonable" profit, those who need them most still remain without homes.

The solutions offered for the low-income groups by the local state and city governments are nothing short of insults. Quonset huts, barracks buildings, abandoned school houses, reconverted ships—everything except a decent livable home.

The government and the capitalist class it represents has proven itself capable only of destruction. A system that can only wipe out cities but cannot build them stands self-indicted.

Turkey and Big 3 - -

(Continued from page 1)

with each passing day that the United States is using its tremendous power to strengthen Great Britain's imperialist lifeline in the Middle East.

The United States sent a very sharp protest to Russia over her grab of Azerbaijan in Iran. But there is nothing mysterious in this. Great Britain, weakened by the war and now firmly under the financial thumb of the United States, is no longer a rival but is rather a subordinate power in the conflicts between the Big Three.

There are other reasons why Turkey may be thrown to the wolves in spite of Great Britain's need to keep Russia out of the country. For one thing, there is always the danger that the Russian army will march in and seize what it wants as it did in Iran, and for another, there is a great need for Russian agreement on the question of controlling the atom bomb.

RUSSIA'S IMPERIALISM

Contrast Turkey's plight today with what it was after the First World War. The old feudal regime was overthrown by the young Turkish nationalist movement. Great Britain, having successfully ousted the Turks from the Middle East, backed the Greeks in an attempt to seize the provinces of Kars and Ardahan, the Black Sea provinces now coveted by Russia. The Bolshevik leaders of that day supported the Turks in their struggle to retain those provinces, despite the fact that Kars and Ardahan had been part of Czarist Russia

slum), by spending not one cent for insurance or war bonds, and by lifting itself on food to 23 cents per person per meal. Do you get that? About \$4.60 a week for each person's food.

Savings? That becomes a bad joke. But now consider the post-war period. If only one member of this family works, but works steadily, he must have a rate of 95 cents an hour to make \$38 a week! Even the full 30 per cent increase demanded by the unions would bring the average 78-cent an hour factory worker up to just \$1.01. What would that mean? An average of 23 or 24 cents for a meal? Remember, too, that factory workers are not the worst paid. The Sewell Averys have millions of employees.

THE "AMERICAN WAY"

The famous American standard of living is an infamous deception. What is true is this: that the United States has the productive machinery to make possible a minimum of \$5,000 a year (\$100 a week) for every family. Yes, this is possible, but it will not come to pass under the capitalist system of private profit. Let Mr. Wilson of General Motors and Mr. Wilson of General Electric howl about interference with the "rights" of management! The workers of this country will not win their right to live decently until the capitalists have far more reason to howl. Nothing short of a workers' government and socialism will fully solve the problems of full production, full employment, and a decent standard of living for all.



from 1878 up to the World War. In other words, the young Bolshevik regime not only willingly ceded all claim to that territory but went further and gave moral and material support to Kemal Ataturk, the Turkish leaders, to help him expel Greek troops from the area. The present Russian demand for this Black Sea territory, its request for control of the Dardanelles, its seizure of Azerbaijan (Iran) and a threatened "Kurdish" revolt in Iraq, are all of one piece. They are steps in a program to carve out a large oil producing territory in the Middle East, protected by sea exits on the west through the Dardanelles and on the east through the Persian Gulf. Thus Stalin is remaking the map according to the imperialist dreams of the Russian Czars. He is challenging Anglo-American imperialism in one of its most vital areas of world control. For these two imperialist giants the small nations of the world are mere pawns. In direct contrast with the ideas of the early Bolshevik leaders who recognized that national autonomy was a sacred right not to be tampered with by a foreign power, the present Russian leaders have a cynical disregard of the rights and needs of millions of people who inhabit the territory they wish to loot.