U. S. Labor Needs Its Own Party Now!

AN EDITORIAL

The overwhelming beating at the polls that British labor gave to Tory Winston Churchill's Conservative Party, representative of the oldest and most brutal imperialism in the world, is a victory that should commend the support and admiration of the workers of the world.

The British Labor Party received a mandate of the people unparalleled in its history, its first majority vote, in fact. Based upon England's trade unions, with a domestic program pledged to nationalize coal, utilities and heavy industry, the Labor Party was supported by the workers, the middle classes, shopkeepers, white

collars, the rural areas, even the cathedral city of for an end to poverty. They voted for an end to war. Winchester, the Conservative stronghold of Birmingham and men and women in the armed forces.

The English working class voted as a class, independent of the reactionary, imperialistic, monopolistic ruling class.

What British Vote Meant

The British workers voted for a change. They voted to do away with Toryism and big business profiteering. They voted to usher in an era of security for all. They voted replacement of the slum-dwellings and bombed-out houses by good housing for all. They voted They voted for the pledge of the Labor Party to nationalize basic industry and run it on a non-profit production-for-use basis. They showed the world that labor can appeal to, speak for and represent the interests of the common people as a whole.

We Can Do It Here!

British labor is not unique in its wishes for security or its organized strength. The recent election was the first widespread parliamentary opportunity it has had in ten years to show its growing maturity and impatience with the old, capitalistic way of life.

presidential election in this country, organized labor in the United States was also feeling great dissatisfaction. There was a groundswell of sentiment for independence from the old-line Democratic and Republican parties. This sentiment was sidetracked by United States labor leaders, notably Philip Murray and Sidney Hillman, into the CIO's Political Action Committee, which is nothing but a trailer to the Democratic Party.

Murray and Hillman openly condemned those minority progressive elements who proposed an independent labor party. They prevented labor from acting as a class politically as it acts as a class economically, and Towards the end of the war, and during last year's chained the PAC to the Democratic Party.—Con't p. 3.



ent in a party of labor as the representative of all the people.

Obviously, the reaction of the average worker in this country goes something like this: if the British workers have a labor party separate and distinct from the capitalist parties, why don't we have one here? American labor has been tied to the reactionary Republican and Democratic Parties for many decades. One of the most important reasons for this is that the responsible labor leaders in this country have been playing capitalist politics and using their' power as labor leaders to prevent the development of genuine independent labor political action.

The labor leaders in past years and campaigns have organized Labor's Non-Partisan League, the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, the PAC, not for the purpose of advanc-

tlemen. You need to.

Far more serious is the statement of an American correspondent that the election results are the repudiation, not of a party, but of a class. A short review of the development by the Labor Party in Britain will show how sound a judgment this is. The Labor Party was organized in 1900 and by 1906 it was a political force in Britain. For this reason, Mr. Asquith, the head of the Liberal Party, was compelled to include in his cabinet of 1906 two Labor ministers. Yet the moving force of that government was the liberal Chancellor of the Exchequer Lloyd George.

"DISHING THE SOCIALISTS"

Lloyd George was then a radical reformer. Hemintroduced a budget which he called a "war budget" against "poverty." Lloyd George led a militant campaign mobilizing the workers against the aristocracy and the landed interests. He and Asquith broke the power of the House of

were a conspicuous failure. They did nothing to change the system and in a year's time a combination of Liberals and the Tories threw them out. The Conservative Party ruled England until) 1929. But the General Strike in 1926 embittered the work-

ers, the crisis continued, and in 1929 Labor won nearly 300 seats. Still, however, they were weaker than the Liberals and Conservatives combined. Again the Labor Party was a ghastly failure. The 1929 depression overtook them

in office. And by 1931 the country faced a severe economic and financial crisis. What then took place is of the

utmost importance to appreciate today's election. Faced with the crisis, the Labor leaders knew that they could not hope to solve it. For two years they had not taken one socialistic step. They, therefore, made a gesture. They talked about the necessities of socialization, of destroying vested interests, etc. All the things which they had taught the British people for nearly thirty years.

National Government and he asked the country to repudiate the Labor Party and vote for the new coalition. Britain was thunderstruck. At the election which ended the crisis, Labor got only thirty odd seats. The National Government, Tories chiefly, was given all the power it needed. But the capitalist National Gov-

ernment could not solve the capitalist economic crisis. And to make matters worse, after 1933, the Tories' had Mussolini and Hitler to deal with, i.e., the approaching European and World War.

"APPEASEMENT"

.In addition to their crimes against the labor movement and the workers internally, the Tories now began the policy of "appeasement." The British people heard Baldwin swear on the radio that he would support the League of Nations. That was during the election of 1935. At that time, the situation in the Mediterranean was tense and although there was profound dissatisfaction on the domestic issues, many supported' the National Government again because of the threat of war.

Labor Party Head



England, the British working class—and not only the working class but all the "little people" of the country—united to turn Churchill and his government out of office in one of the most decisive and humilating defeats ever suffered.

Churchill and the Tories completely misjudged the sentiments of the British working class. They thought that the working class would continue to support, or tolerate, them in the postwar period the way they did during the war in Europe. The opposite proved to be the case. If the workers tolerated the Tories in the government during the war, it was not because they wanted to preserve the rotten British Empire, as Churchill did and does, but because they had a healthy working-class hatred of Fascism and the reactionary monstrosity it represented. But the minute they felt that Hitlerism was no longer a menace to them, they showed their true feelings and aspirations at the first opportunity, namely, at the long-overdue national election.

What do the British workers want? Even the capitalist press forced reluctantly to give us an idea. The British workers are outraged at the brutal attempts by Churchill to assassinate the Greek people. The British workers have not an ounce of confi-

ing the independent political organization of labor, but preventing it.

The PAC showed this in the last election when it gathered the great forces of the labor movement, its energy, organization and finances to support one gang of capitalist politicians against another.

In the last election, the PAC also demonstrated how

easy it would be to organize a party of labor in this country which could be the leader of the nation against the capitalist parties."

But have the labor leaders. learned anything . from the past? HILLMAN Apparently nothing, if you read their statements on the elections in Great Britain.

LABOR LEADERS SPEAK

The dull Mr. Hillman, Chairman of the PAC, says: "The election results in Great Britain must be regarded in their implications as second only to the re-election of Franklin D. Roosevelt in this country last year."

Is that really what the British elections implied? Second only to the election of Roosevelt in 1944? Hillman merely reveals that he does not understand the temper of the British working class which, in voting for the Labor Party, expressed its deep dissatisfaction with the rule of the outright capitalist parties. The British workers by their vote said they want a change from the conditions of the past. They want a new life! Is that even second in implication to the re-election of Roosevelt? We believe that even Hillman knows better.. What Hillman is afraid of is that

the American workers will get a few ideas from the British elections.

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What Hillman is afraid of is that the ranks of the labor movement will press harder than ever for the organization of an independent labor party in this country.

What Hillman is afraid of is that a mass demand will be made to turn the PAC, with its enormous power, resources and energy, into a labor party

But Hillman is no worse than the Phil Murray or the CIO Executive Board which stated that the Labor

(Continued on page 2)

And why all this? Lloyd George did not hide it. He said openly that all this was done in order to "dish the Socialists"-to use a phrase of Bismarck's. Thus thirty-five years ago, the British Liberals were playing Roosevelt's game-"We had bet-

(Bulletin: The latest report from

Detroit announced that the United

States Army tas taken over the U.S.

Rubber Plant which was struck by

Local 101, of the United Rubber

Workers, CIO. Simultaneous with

this development, a telegraphic re-

port to LABOR ACTION disclosed

that five pickets have been arrested

charged with contempt. Warrants

have been issued for other pickets.

The immediate reaction to these ar-

rests was an increase in the number

DETROIT — The strike at the

Detroit plant of the United

States Rubber Company en-

tered its sixteenth day today

with no prospect of settlement

in sight. Production remains at

the zero point with a maximum

working force of 600 of the

plant's 5500 back to work. Some

of these 600 are furloughed sol-

diers assigned by the army to

work at the plant and most of

them are not too happy to pass

The strike was provoked by the

discharge of 12 men upon demand of

the International Executive Board of

the United Rubber Workers Union

which had arbitrarily expelled them

from the union. These men, it was

said, attempted to take the shop out

of the CIO and into the Mechanics

Educational Society of America, a

through the picket lines.

of strikers.-Ed.)

SNOWDEN AND MacDONALD At this stage Philip Snowden, Chan-

cellor of the Exchequer, went on the radio and made one of the most famous broadcasts in British political history. Snowden was able, honest

Strike-Bound U. S. Rubber

Taken Over by the Army

case is not so simple as that.

small independent union. But the

Over 2000 members of local 101

of the URW supported this move

toward the MESA. They were pro-

voked into such a step as a result of

a \$12.50 fine levied dictatorially by

International President Dalrymple

against more than 1000 members of

local 101 who had walked out last

October in protest against a cut in

piece work rates. Over 500 men re-

pelled from the union by decree of

Last month the National Labor Re-

lations Board turned down the re-

quest of the MESA for a collective

bargaining election in the plant. In

a statement to the press supporters

of the discharged men have declared,

"This strike is not of a jurisdictional

nature. The MESA is a dead issue at

the plant./ We consider ourselves

members of the URW but resent the

attitude of the union officers in this

strike. We're striking as much against

them as to force the company to re-

The leadership of local 101 is in

the hands of local president John

instate the 12 men."

ment fee from the men's pay.

NO JURISDICTION STRIKE

But from 1935 on the British people saw the National Government step by step cheat them at home under the guise of preparing for de-

Dalrymple and Marmon's policy of

frame-ups, expulsions, and fines which

has become a normal thing in the

Everything short of army seizure

has been thrown against the strikers

with little result. The press and radio

issues repeated false reports of the

end of the strike. An injunction

against picketing was granted the

(Continued on page 2)

union in the past years.



dence in the shabby promises of the Tories about a decent Britain after the war. They know that under the Tories there is not the slightest possibility of guaranteed work. guaranteed wages and a decent living standard, of a big housing program. And it is a guaranteed job which the British workers want, for they remember the long and dreadful years of mass unemployment which British capitalism was able to end only when it became necessary to produce for mass slaughter. It is a decent standard of living they want, and not the nightmare of wage cuts and a declining living standard they had before the war. It is homes fit for human habitation they want. not the hovels and slums to which they were confined in the past. It is peace and progress they want, instead of insecurity, war and reaction which prevailed under the governments of the past. Churchill shouted himself hoarse

Herbert Morrison (Continued on page 2)

Ernest Bevin

fused to pay the fines and were ex-**OPA Aids Big Business Profits** Dalrymple. The War Labor 'Board later ordered that the company deduct the fines and a union reinstate-

By T. R. COBB

While the profit bund and its representatives in the halls of Congress kept up a hot crossfire of criticism against "OPA bungling," the Office weeks ago to grant enormous increases in post-war prices and profits to seventeen industries and six industry "groups."

According to a Washington release from the agency, OPA has established "profit factors" which enable manufacturers to improve their financial position and raise prices way above the levels of 1936-1939. To quote the New York Times of July 26, "these factors equal one-half of these average margins" (of 1936-1939).

Marmon, a Communist Party follower who is as anxious to end the In short, OPA has authorized a stoppage as he is to get rid of the 12 fifty per cent increase in profits to producers of "reconversion products" men and all their supporters. But the membership of the local is almost that are about to come on the market unanimously united in combatting -and most of this increase is to be

reflected in higher prices to the consumer!

At the same time, OPA announced that many other industries will be granted the benefits of these "profit of Price Advancement moved two factors"-precisely during the period of cutbacks, mass unemployment and deflated wages.

SOME OF THE INCREASES.

A list of the industries and the percentage increase allowed by OPA follows:

cooking utensils (sheets) - 6.2 per cent; aluminum cooking utensils (cast)-2.3; bicycles-3.8; clocks and watches-5.5; coin-operated machines -2.4; household scales-4.1; lighting fixtures-2.6: metal caskets-1.6; metal office furniture-5.4; metal toys-5.1; musical instruments except pianos and organs-3.1; office and store machines-8.9; photographic accessories

and equipment-8.1; radios and phonographs-3.0; safes and vaults-3.9; small firearms-4.7; wood and upholstered furniture-1.6.

2. Industry groups: Beds, mattresses, etc.-3.2 per cent; small electrical appliances - 4.9; sporting goods - 3.1; miscellaneous non-ferrous metal products-5.2: other miscellaneous durable products-3.6: other wood products-

It may be noted from this list that the price increases will occur on articles which have been high-priced, scarce, and out of the reach of the average consumer during the past

few years. The pent-up demand for kitchen utensils, furniture, and radios, for instance, seems to have provided the OPA with a singular opportunity, to misuse and abuse its function as a "price controlling" agecny. Instead of keeping the lid on prices

the OPA has consistently yielded to the pressure of the food and manufacturers' lobbies.

Instead of breaking up the black. market in meat, the OPA allowed itself to be browbeaten by the big meat packing trusts.

Instead of checking price rises and the deterioration of quality in numerous articles of clothing, the OPA has relaxed and postponed its proposed "roll-back" before the onslaught of the National Retail Dry Goods Association and the profit-bloated textile manufacturers.

What makes the situation even worse is the spectacle of a nationally organized press attack on whatever shreds of "price control" remain. In the Senate, Robert A. Taft, hidebound Republican from Ohio, has been leading one assault after another against the "mistakes" of OPA,

(Continued on page 2)

36 1. Specified industries: Aluminum

LABOR ACTION

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What Next, Labor Leaders?--

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT **British Working Class Goes Left --**

(Continued from page 1)

Page 2

that the Labor Party in office would mean Socialism. The answer given him by the masses was unmistakeable: "That is what we want; the things you stand for, we don't want -not any longer."

To make sure that it is Socialism they would get-and all that Socialism means is security, peace, abundance, and freedom - they gave the Labor Party a mandate that allows of no two interpretations. The Liberal Party was smashed to smithereensso that it could not hold the balance of power as it did in the two previous Labor governments. The rising Common Wealth Party, which attracted a good deal of support in the past because of its apparent radicalism, was given no support to speak ofnot because the workers are afraid of radical solutions, but because they wanted to make sure that nothing would stand in the way of a clear-cut majority and a clear-cut mandate to the Labor Party.

The solidarity of the British working class was magnificent, from this point of view. And the fact that it was able to swing the support of millions of members of the middle classes, of farmers, and the overwhelming majority of soldiers in the British_Army, shows that labor, in every country, can easily get the support of these groups, can easily break them away from the reactionary capitalists and monopolists, if labor itself is firm, bold, determined and united. The lesson contained in this is invaluable to the working class of this country, which does not even have an independent political party of its own but continues to beg for handouts from the capitalist parties

INTERNATIONAL RESULTS

The tremendous victory of labor in England will have far-reaching repercussions, not only in England but throughout the world.

Labor on the European continent will take courage-and gain new confidence in itself when it looks across the English Channel. It will be animated by a new spirit. It will resolve more firmly to reach out for government power and to carry out

(Continued from page 1)

its own program for reorganizing the nation. No question about it, too, that every reactionary force on the European continent is mightily disturbed by this demonstration of power of the British workers. The Spanish workers, for example, are without a doubt as jubilant now as Franco and his Fascist thugs are despondent. The Greek people are exhilarated by the victory, as they showed by their great outpouring in the streets of Athens upon the announcement of

the defeat of their traducer, Churchill. The victory of the Labor Party in England will have an even greater effect, we may be sure, upon the subject peoples of the British Empire. Already there are stirrings in Egypt. Tomorrow we will see them in India and in all the other colonies of the Empire. These colonial slaves are vastly encouraged by the election outcome. They will now prosecute their fight for national independ-



TORY WINSTON CHURCHILL: WORKERS OF THE WORLD CELEBRATE HIS DEFEAT!

vigor, in the belief that the British workers will regard their fight with sympathy and lend it their solidarity. In the United States, the idea of an Independent Labor Party of the American workers will undoubtedly receive a tremendous impulsion. All this nonsense we have heard from our labor leaders about how wrong it is to organize labor into a "separate class party" has received a thunderous repudiation in England. All the other nonsense heard from the same source that a class party of the workers cannot possibly get the support of the majority of the peo-

ple, has also been blown high by the British working class. The fight for the organization of an Independent Labor Party, based upon the American trade unions, must be redoubled. It is Point One on the agenda of the progressive, militant, thinking worker. It must be made Point One on the agenda of every labor organization in the country.

The victory of the Labor Party is only the beginning of the fight in Great Britain. We have not heard the last of it, by any means. And what we in this country, as well as the workers everywhere, will yet see and hear, will be of irreplaceable value. What we will be able to learn in the coming period will be among the most precious treasures of labor in its fight for freedom."

MEANING OF VICTORY

The victory of British labor is a tremendous one. But that is only one side of the picture. The other side of it is not less important. The election outcome is also a victory for the leadership of the British Labor Party. And nobody who knows the record of this leadership and understands its role in politics and its intentions, can have the slightest confidence that it will realize the great aspirations so clearly indicated by the British working class. It is no accident that this leadership sat silently in the same Cabinet for five years with the very same reactionary Tories whom the British people have so crushingly repudiated-and spoke up only to echo Churchill, Eden and

ence and freedom with hundredfold The mandate of the British workers reads: Break this alliance with the Tories! Go after them and all they stand for!

The British Labor Party leaders are reformists. They want to put a few patches here and there on the rotten, collapsing capitalist order of Britain. They afe afraid to strike at its reactionary social foundations. What the workers want is a fundamental change. They don't want to allow the capitalist class and its profit-interests to stand any longer in the way of that basic change that would make the country a fit place to live, work and prosper in. They want to see a radical program put

into effect. They want action, not words and unkept promises. They will see to it that this is what they get, for they are not in a mood for the shilly-shallying so characteristic of their leaders.

It would be a mistake, therefore, to think that the future of the British working class and of socialism in Britain (or anywhere else) lies in the hands of the conservative and reformist labor leaders. It lies today where it has always been and will always be: in the hands of the organized, conscious, militant working class, equipped with a bold program of fundamental social change-the program of Socialism.

WORKERS ON THE MARCH

The capitalist press is anxiously picturing the British workers as 'conservative." They are trying to present British labor in the dress and features of a typical John Bull. They want us to believe that anything radical or revolutionary is alien to the British "soul"-in the hope of keeping radicalism and revolutionary ideas out of the minds of the American workers.

That picture is false. The British working class has a rich history of militant struggle, of revolutionary struggle. It fathered the great and magnificent movement of the Charter in the last century. It fathered the great upheaval of the British General Strike of 1926, which sowed up the whole country, which showed labor's invincible power-and which was thwarted and crushed by the same conservative labor leaders who are now at the helm.

What the British workers did once, they can and will do again, and do it better. Woe to those labor leaders who stand in the way of the fulfillment of the aspirations of the workers! Woe to the workers if they let the conservatism, timidity and "respectability" of their leaders stand in the way!

The British working class is on the march. The great battle of the classes for control of Britain is on. All our sympathy, all our solidarity, all our most fervent wishes for a complete triumph over capitalism and reaction, by the rising forces of socialism, go to our working-class brothers across the sea!

(Continued from page 1) Party victory "will have an excellent effect on American people and will encourage all progressive forces." To do what? Support the corrupt Democratic Party again? Or swing their support to the so-called progressive **Republicans as Murray advises them?** Here too, the CIO leaders are

throwing a side the great politi-

cal opportunity. which is before them: to organize, together with all the [other forces of labor, an independent political party of the American workers. If we look for

lead to Wil-MURRAY liam Green, we

are no better off. As head of the AFL, Green is a strong defender of the political policy which binds labor to capitalist political parties. Says Green of the British elections:

interpreted as the outcome of the insistent demand of British workers to gain higher living standards and a greater degree of economic and social security. The same aspirations for a better life after the grim experiences of the war are moving workers in our own country."

We haven't the slightest doubt

workers. But what does Mr. Green be organized for the express purpose propose to do about these aspirations? Nothing! That is nothing, except to plead with a gang of corrupt. politicians in Washington who serve the interests of the monopolies and big corporations, the profiteers in general.

Does Green propose the organization of a labor

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party? Not at all! He is probably too busy trying to figure out what new arguments he can use to call upon labor to continue to support the rotten parties GREEN of big business.

David Dubinsky, President of the powerful International Ladies Garment Workers Union, stated that ". . . the Labor Party triumph strengthens immensely the guarantees of international peace and world cooperation in this crucial hour. . . The victory of Labor in Britain, is therefore, also the victory of the common people in America, the victory of all those who genuinely aspire and work for the goals of social

and industrial democracy in our

country." Through the Republican or Democratic Parties, Mr. Dubinsky? Mr. Dubinsky is the power in the Liberal about the feeling of the American Party of New York, which seems to

URW Notes from Akron

At the recent Akron Industrial Union Council meeting where the delegates were to decide what action they would take in response to national CIO ultimatums to call off their support to the Goodyear strike, the delegates filed the threatening notices from Allan Haywood. Adolph Germer, national CIO representative sent in to observe, gave a very conciliatory speech and wisely made no threats, but nevertheless was roundly booed for demanding adherence to the CIO policy of not supporting any strikes that Dalrymple declared "illegal."

Two weeks ago the Akron Beacon Journal announced that Sherman H. Dalrymple, International president of the URWA since its inception in 1935, has tendered his resignation from office!

(at present he merely does not deny it) Labor Action will withhold extensive comment. Needless to say, though, militant rubber workers are pleased to believe that this stupid tyrant is about to part company with them.

ties Dalrymple is contemplating next vary widely into three categories: 1) that he is about to take a position with the U.S. Rubber Co., which has long been a benefactor from his policies of fining or expelling hundreds of members of Detroit Local 101 of that company; 2) that he is about to be appointed by Secretary of Labor

of preventing genuine independent labor political action. Dubinsky, like the others mentioned, also fails to draw an important lesson of the British elections, namely, that the job here to build immediately an independent labor party of the American working class.

August 6, 1945

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These are only a few of the many comments made by labor leaders in this country. But they are thoroughly representative of the general line of reasoning which reflects their political obtuseness and backwardness. They will find themselves wrong if they think the American workers are going to continue for many more years to be the suckers of the political machines of the Democratic and Republican parties, the parties of big capital, the monopolies, the racehaters of the South, and the whole gang of reactionaries and corruptionists who direct the destinies of these parties.

* * *

American labor is marching irresistibly towards its political independence from capitalist parties. Up to now the labor leaders have used one stratagem after another to turn these pressures of the ranks into false and dangerous channels. But they will find a new upsurge of American labor which will drive them either on the road of independent political action or push them aside altogether.

Schwellenbach as CIO man in the Labor Department, where "Dal" could be relied upon to continue his hamstringing of labor; and 3) that he will retire to a California farm to raise chickens. Dalrymple is excellently qualified to serve in any of these capacities equally:

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At Goodyear the local union has as yet taken no action in regard to the 5 men fired by the Navy for sitting down. Ten of the original 15 men suspended pending investigation are back at work.

Akron workers have something to point out to Detroit Local 101 strikers who are fighting the WLB at present because it ordered the firing of 12 members for not paying fines levied by the Stalinist administration and Dalrymple for striking. The WLB took its action supposedly to maintain the union's maintenance of membership clause.

But at the recent WLB hearing in Washington where the Firestone strike officers blasted the WLB for refusing to hire 500 scabby workers who refused to pay their. dues, Chairman Taylor of the WLB said that "unions are not in business to get people fired," and that unions should figure out a way of making maintenance of membership work without mass discharge of delinquents.

Apparently the WLB uses its powers against Dalrym-. ple's enemies, and does the exact opposite to keep scabs within the union!

We couldn't find one discard, Every-

body liked it, and agreed that it was

fact, Kondrath, the chief District rep-

resentative, rushed to the office of the

Labor Advocate, and requested all

I immensely enjoyed reading your.

series of articles on housing. Though

I don't completely agree with your

philosophical viewpoint, I read the

articles with extreme interest. They

I would very much like to see

LABOR ACTION undertake a similar.

analysis of the Building Industry

which in an unbroken line from reac-

toinary trade unions through builder-

speculator to the ultimate material

producer seems dedicated to keep-

ing the public poorly and insuffi-

Sincerely,

New York City

VINCE

Reading, Pa.

the back issues they had on hand.

Praises Gould's

Housing Series

were excellent journalism.

Dear Miss Gould:

ciently housed.

week in August. There was no About 600 attended Friday's meetsquawk at that time from the army. company. Threats of the firing of Besides, the soldiers and the men at some 75 more workers are rumored. work during the stoppage were as-The War Labor Board and the local signed by the company TO WORK and international union officials is-ON CIVILIAN TIRES. After this ansue the usual return to work decrees. nouncement, the company hurriedly High Michigan CIO officials add their shifted these men away from civilian voices to the appeals. A phony production to army production. "membership meeting" voted for a

The Detroit U. S. Rubber Strike --

return to work. And one day, four A "FRIEND OF LABOR"

ing. The 12 discharged men were denied admittance. Spokesmen for them were granted only a few minutes while the local and state CIO officials spoke repeatedly and at length for a work-return. About 200 men, including those already at work, voted to call off the strike. 150 voted to continue. But the remaining men

inated local union leadership, and the traitorous International Dalrymple leadership. EFFECT OF ARMY SEIZURE

reprisals against the men by the

company, the Communist Party-dom-

But they are unfortunately wrong. All experience has proved that army seizure is directed AGAINST militant unionists. During the mine seizures, the company officials remained in control. The Navy officials who seized the Akron Goodyear plant during the recently ended strike announced that they would refuse to deal with the local union leadership but would deal with the men as individuals. BUT IN THAT CASE THE LOCAL UNION LEADERSHIP LED THE STRIKE AND STOOD BY THE MEN THROUGH THICK AND THIN. Dear Editor: Army seizure will give a new lease on life to the bosses' agents in the union headed by John Marmon and S. H. Dalrymple. There is only one really effective way in this situation to protect the union and its members. The members of local 101 must prepare NOW for a drive in the Rubber Workers Union to get rid of Dalrymple and all like him, to oust Marmon from control of local 101, and to replace them with real union fighters who will make the URW an organization for the protection of its members.

Until this news is confirmed by Dalrymple publicly

Grapevine' reports as to what strike-breaking activi-

Readers of Labor Action

"The Labor Party victory must be

ieep loads of soldiers pulled up to the plant to patrol the sidewalks while two army trucks equipped with loud speakers blared forth the demands of several army officers for a return to work. Nevertheless, the strike continues!

Government agencies are all in a dilemma. They refuse to bargain with police to make arrests, but no arthe discharged men and confine themselves to putting pressure upon the regular local and international officials of the URW. But these latter would be only too glad to get the men back on the jobs. However their history of high-handed treatment of the membership of the local has undermined their position to such an extent that the men are completely out of control.

In flag-waving speeches, the army spokesmen reported that the strike is cutting down the supply of vitally necessary big bomber tires. The strikers blasted this argument by pointing out that the company had announced prior to the strike that the plant would be shut down for one

The anti-picketing injunction was issued last week by Circuit Judge Lila M. Neuenfelt who it is said was supported for election by the CIO. But 200 members of the MESA from various shops in the area tested the validity of the injunction with a mass picket line and challenged the rests were made.

On Friday morning, the local 101 leadership organized a trumped up "membership meeting." the first meeting it had decided to risk after 14 days of the strike. Only a small minotity of the strikers learned of the meeting. However, Marmon and the company informed the few hundred men already at work in the plant and they were given time off by the company to attend the meeting! The company had never before agreed to stop production to permit men to attend a union meeting and in the past the hundreds of men were unable to attend the regular Sunday union meetings because the company persisted in scheduling work.

from the vote, for it had already been announced that a list of strike "inciters" was being compiled and the voters were asked to rise in their seats to be counted and observed!

were intimidated into abstaining

Following this meeting the daily papers announced in front page banner headlines that the strike was over. But although the strike ended in the newspaper columns it continued in the plants. The strikers have been saying: "If the union officials think they can run the union without us, then let them go into the plant and carry on production without us." Daily reports on the progress of the strike are made over a loud speaker system installed in the tiny strike headquarters across the street from the plant. The 12 discharged men who are leading the strike seem to be relying upon one last weapon. They announce that if the men, stay out long enough, the army will take over the plant. And if the army takes over, they say, the problems of the men will be on the way to solution. The army, they hope, will forbid further

Take the Floor . . .

Strikes Hit the South, Too

July 27, 1945

Just to prove to our LABOR AC-TION readers in the large industrial centers that all of the labor disputes aren't confined to such centers, we will go over briefly some strikes that . have occurred in the "Gateway to the South" (Louisville, Ky .- in case you didn't know) recently.

A few weeks ago, the Vultee plant (about 2000 workers) which was just organized by the UAW-CIO, went out as the result of difficulties stemming from their first contract negotiations. This was one of the usual "unauthorized" strikes and the workers went back after being out a couple of days. The strikers did not win but it gave the workers the feeling that at least they had done something other than lie down and take it. The management has the solution to the problem; they are going to reconvert to unemployment within the next few weeks.

Another case was that of the Louisville Tool and Die Company which employs less than 100 people. USA-CIO had the place organized 100%, so naturally the management thought it would be a good idea to fire some of the better union members. This they did, and as the result, the workers shut the place down; not once, but several times. All of these shutdowns were of course - "unauthorized." Management has decided because of this "labor trouble" to talk turkey with USA-CIO.

The CIO Transport Workers Union recently had some cards signed by bus drivers who were carrying war workers over to the other side of the Ohio river where there are a couple of large war plants. One of the bus drivers who is a World War II veteran and who had signed a card was fired by the company because of some alleged misdemeanor. Well, the rest of hte boys just quit driving buses over the bridge. After a couple of days, the men were assured that the veteran's case would be taken up by the National Labor Relations Board, and only then went

back to work. The strike was again, "unauthorized."

Here's where the "pledge" and an accurate picture of the situation, except the individual involved and "drink" come in. The other day, the the District officers. As a matter of Seagram Distillery workers went out. The rank and file said that they were "going fishing." The plant was in contract negotiations. The company just couldn't understand why the workers were "going fishing" when the union (AFL)) was negotiating a "model" agreement. The union heads couldn't understand it either. They thought the agreement was "model" too! The strike was incidentally -

"unauthorized." So long as our labor officialdom sees fit to keep the "pledge," it is more difficult for us to gain our demands when we go out. But we can't let that discourage us. The more frequently we do it the "unauthorized" way, the sooner the "authorized" way will be restored to us by those who do feel the pressure and we do mean DO!!!

> R. HARRIS Louisville, Ky.

Steel Article Makes a Hit

created a sensation at the plant.

British Labor Party History -therefore, show not an ordinary

change of government but the repudiation of a class.

When Churchill said that the election was Socialism against the rest, he spoke the truth.

Now in past years even when some, of the middle classes voted labor, many would vote liberal.

This time they didn't. They voted Labor. They feel that the Conservatives and the Liberals, i.e., the supporters of the ruling class of capitalism, of the "vested interests," have nothing more to offer Britain. They have turned to the working-class. They are ready to go with the workers. In a country so class-conscious as Britain, this is a tremendous step.

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OPA, Business - -

(Continued from page 1) which according to him, derive from the failure of OPA to grant EVERY and ANY price increase demanded by big business. Senator Taft knows full well that the OPA has done its best to comply with these demands, although the great mass of people seem to be unaware of it.

Through shrewdly placed and slanted stories, the nations' newspapers have made it appear that current shortages and high prices would disappear if there were no OPA. Vegetable dealers in New York, for instance, shut down their stores and stands last week in an effort to destroy existing high ceiling pricesand establish higher ones!

Thus, by depriving housewives and their families of meat and vegetables. they manage to shift the blame for the horribly messed-up food situation onto the feeble and fraudulent government agency that is supposed to control prices-instead of placing

the responsibility squarely on the shoulders of the big trusts and the equally big distributing companies. So cleverly have the newspapers aided this campaign of downright thievery, that some housewives have been heard to turn away from their shopping chores with curses for OPA -but not for the profiteers and black marketeers who withhold their products from the markets until the proper bidder can be found! **OPA HELPS REACTION**

The OPA lends itself to this delusion by its utter failure to curb prices. or prosecute the principal violators of price ceilings, namely, the food processors and the middlemen. And Congress "planned it that way" by stripping the agency of its power and funds. In the past year the OPA has been so intimidated by a reactionary Congress, that its officials are stiff. with fright that the axe will fall and that they will all lose their jobs as a result.

Los Angeles Attention! WORKERS PARTY FORUM ON "How Fascism **Comes To Power**" AUGUST 13 St. Paul's Church 8:00 P.M. 21st Sf. & Naomi

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The article on the Steel walkout

ANNEMARIE CROCETTI

(Continued from page 1)

erless to improve the conditions of the people or to give Britain the economic reorganization which it so obviously needed. Therefore, when the election came, they voted from deep experiences in two spheres

vital for England: 1) The Conservatives had been more or less in power from 1923 to 1939 and had shown no intention of reorganizing Britain's economic structure and saving the people from capitalist chaos, crisis and ruin. 2) The same Conservatives had

pursued a selfish class policy which had led directly to the catastrophe of the war. The election results,

Dear Editor:

August 6, 1945

not find jobs.

take-home pay.

FOR THE POST-WAR:

production and income.

(Third Floor)

THESE AIMS TO BE ACHIEVED THROUGH:

vide decent housing for all, extensive public

works, rural electrification and modernization.

alization of the banks, big industrial monopolies

and transportation systems, and no handing

over of government-built and owned plants and

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 pro-

8. A 100 per cent tax on all war profits above

facilities to private ownership.

vide post-war security for labor.

elected workers' committees.

7. Conscription of all war industries; nation-

6. A \$250 billion five-year program to pro-

A PAPER IN THE INTEREST OF LABOR

Published Weekly by the Labor Action Publishing Ass'n 114 West 14th Street, New York 11, N. Y.

ALBERT GATES, Editor

MARY BELL, Ass't Editor

mum work week.

LABOR ACTIONA

The Socialist Viewpoint on

The Labor Party Victory

By ERNEST LUND

August 6, 1945

Ever since the returns revealed that Churchill and the Tory government had been swept out of office by the avalanche of Labor votes, the capitalist press in this country has concerned itself with the guestion of what meaning the Labor government has for the future of British capitalism and the Empire.

The great concern of American and world capitalism in this question stems from quite obvious reasons. They want to know what will happen to the banks and industries under a Labor government. They want to know how it will affect Britain's role as a world power. They want to know what bearing it has upon the future of India, the Arab world, and other British imperial possessions. And last, but not least, they want to know, what repercussions socialistic. measures in England will have upon the politics of other countries, not excluding, the United States.

However, these questions are no less important for the working class. of this country. We, too, must be able to clearly understand what is. taking place in England. While we share with our British fellow-workers in the exultation of their great victory, it is necessary that we also actual situation in England and attempt to foresee the most likely trend of events. Otherwise we may experience rude shocks and cruel disappointments as the British political events begin to unravel.

It would, for instance, be folly to assume that just because the Labor Party set forth its program on paper and just because it received a clearcut majority to carry it out that the program is just as good as achieved. Nothing could be further from the truth. Because between the proclamation of the program and its final realization will occur tremendous battles. that will rock the British Isles. The success of the English workingclass in these battles will depend upon how rapidly it learns its lessons and adopts methods of struggle that will insure success.

The program of the British Labor Party called for the nationalization of the Bank of England, the railways, the electric power utilities, the coal mines, and the iron and steel industry, i.e., the nerve center and sinews of British capitalism. This program of nationalization was the foundation for Labor's program of post-war employment and a vast housing program. It was this program which found such a tremendous response among the workers and soldiers. It promised to solve the two problems about which they were most concerned-

homes and jobs. As an R.A.F. guard corporal stationed at Potsdam said to a correspondent: "Labor will build homes faster than the Conservatives. we believe. We also believe Labor will find employment for returned solly

peril which Labor's vote constitutes for them. It is rather born of a feeling of self-confidence based upon their century-old experience and wisdom as rulers of the Empire and in a realization that their basic strength remains untouched by Labor's victory.

A Labor majority in Parliament and a Cabinet composed of those who but yesterday sat cheek by jowl with Churchill in a war dedicated to the defense of the Empire has not changed the basic class relations in England. Capitalists still own and workers still work. Capitalists still make profits and workers still work for wages. The capitalist class is still the ruling class and the workingclass. is still the ruled class. Their overwhelming defeat in the elections has been a serious blow to the capitalist class, but they have only been defeated in a battle. The war still remains to be fought.

A CAPITALIST STATE POWER

British capitalism can still marshall tremendous forces in its defense in this class war. Its first line of defense. will be the capitalist press. For the single daily paper of the Labor Party there are hundreds of capitalist dailies to wage a war of propaganda, prejudice, and poison against the demands of Labor. Their role will be to lay down a smoke screen of misinformation and confusion. Directed by such able campaigners as Churchill, Beaverbrook, and Bracken, British capitalism will mobilize every channel of public information which it controls in defense of private property and the ancient privileges of the profit-bund.

Its next line of defense will be the apparatus of state. The election of a Labor Cabinet has not changed the character of the capitalist state in Britain. This remains in the vast and powerful state bureaucracy, the career statesmen, the civil servants, the officer castes of the Army, Navy, and R.A.F., the judiciary, the colonial administration, the Church of England hierarchy, the educational system, etc. Educated in its exclusive schools, steeped in its traditions, married to its daughters, the state bureaucracy is tied to the ruling class by a thousand and one ties of social position, education, money, and ingrained political sentiment. They, together with the Labor Ministers, are the real administrators of the state power. British government is cabinet government and British cabinet governments have enormous powers. They fuse with the permanent state bureaucracy to form the total state power. Ministers may come and go but this vast apparatus remains as the flesh and blood embodiment of capitalist class political authority. They are and remain the state power. Nothing could be further from the truth than to picture the state apparatus as consisting of devoted governmental servants who are unconcerned with political policy and mere-

behalf of reaction in critical periods will be tremendous. The British workers would do well to remember the lessons of Spain in 1936 in this connection. Nor should anyone delude himself with the thought that the alleged Anglo-Saxon spirit of democracy and fair play preclude such a "Spanish" solution on the part of the British ruling class.

The final bulwork of capitalist defense is, of course, their economic power. It is upon this, in the long run, that all their other power rests. Until all important capitalist industrial, financial, and commercial enterprises have been nationalized, the capitalist class will remain the ruling class. They will never rest until they have restored private ownership in the decisive branches which Labor proposes to nationalize.

WHAT LABOR MUST DO

If Labor is to achieve its program, it will have to act boldly and decisively against capitalist obstruction and sabotage. This means in the first place to break up the old state machine and replace it with administrators elected by councils of workers. This means to free the colonies and withdraw the British troops. This means to break the hold of the reactionary officer castes over the armed •forces and replace them with elected commanders chosen by soldiers' councils. This means to use the great British Broadcasting Corporation for a widespread program of Socialist education. This means to utilize the tremendous, power of the British trade union movement to establish workers' control of production and workers' control of distribution and rationing. This means to round up Mosley and all other agents of fascist violence and keep them out of harm's way.

The election of a Labor majority has only been the first blow to achieve Labor's program. The struggle has only begun. Its further success depends upon Labor acting along the lines indicated above. But there is no likelihood that we will see the day when men like Atlee, Morrison, Bevin, et al., act in this manner. This smacks of social revolution, even if revolution by clear-cut majority vote, and Labor's leadership fears nothing more. Like Green and Murray in this country, they have a long record of timidity and appeasement to capital. They will find a hundred and one excuses for not acting decisively to break capitalist obstruction and carry out the program of nationalization.

The Labor Party as a whole has been cradled in the theory of "the inevitability of gradualness." Its rank and file will have to re-learn quickly if its present great victory is to avoid shipwreck. They will hardly tolerate what happened in the first two Labor governments (1923 and 1929). Then the Labor leadership had the excuse that they did not have a majority in Parliament. This does not Pelley: today. Messrs. Atlee, Bevin,

et al., will have behind them the ter-

rific pressure of a working class that

wants results, not excuses. The re-

sults will come when the ranks take

organized steps to achieve them. It



Page 3

By HAL DRAPER

(When Smith began his series of meetings in Los Angeles, the Workers Party of that city attempted to organize united action to demonstrate against him. Failing in that, the party organized its own picket-demonstrations of two such meetings. These preceded the Community mass meeting reported in last week's issue of LABOR AC-TION. This pamphlet against Smith, by Hal Draper, is part of the campaign of the Workers Party against the native fascists. It will run serially until completed. See ad.-Editor.)

There is a sign of the times for all to see,

The Nazi power has been defeated in Europe. Mussolini is a battered corpse in an Italian grave, But in the victor countries of both America and England, the forces of home-grown Fascism are lifting their heads with renewed vigor.

In England, No. 1 Fascist Sir Oswald Mosley announces the reorganization of his frankly Fascist movement. In the Midwest, ex-Senator Reynolds of North Carolina launches his "Nationalist Party" with the backing of Ohio industrialists

And in California, the leading Fascist demagogue in the United States pokes his head out of the hole he had crawled into. He proclaims his intentions of using Los Angeles as the base for rebuilding a national Fascist outfit.

This is Gerald L. K. Smith.

Fuchrer Smith has announced his invasion of Los Angeles. He has challenged every decent working man and progressive in the city to stop his plans to spread religious and racial hatred and organize Fascist terrorists.

Now is the time to stop him! The labor and progressive movement has done it before, in one city. after another from which he has been driven by aroused opinion and action.

Let us make known to the people of Los Angeles WHO he is, WHAT he stands for, HOW he works, and WHY he is a sinister threat to everything we hold dear.

As a contribution to this fight, the Los Angeles, section of the Workers Party presents this exposé of Gerald Smith.

Who Is Gerald Smith?

The. Rev. Gerald Lyman Kenneth Smith is a graduate of the Huey Long machine in Louisiana. How he got into it is interesting.

In the heyday of his power, you may remember, Long got himself into a drunken brawl in New York and came back to Louisiana with a black eye, both physically and morally. He looked around for a whitewash, and found the pastor of a wealthy church in Shreveport to do the job.

The Rev. Smith's energies were even then looking for a sideline. He was a solid success as the glad-handing, fund-raising minister to the souls of the fashionable rich, but Huey offered him a bigger job. Smith left the pulpit. He became a leading hustler and stumper for the notorious "Share-the-Wealth" fakery.

Huey Long has described Smith as a "better rabble-rouser than I am." Smith went into the business for himself.

Smith had already been an early member of Pelley's "Silver Shirts." Unlike Smith today, William Dudley Pelley made no bones about his outand-out Fascism, his rabid anti-Semitism and anti-Negro hatred, or his admiration for Hitler, Mussolini and their doings. Pelley is now serving 15 years in a federal jail. Smith learned to be more subtle.

On August 15, 1933 Smith wrote to his boss

Editorials **Congress Quits; Jobs Can Wait!**

Vol. 9, No. 32

1. Full unemployment insurance beginning

with \$30 a week for single men and women

and graduated upward for dependencies to all

workers for whom government and industry do

2. Absorption of all workers thrown into un-

employment during reconversion by reduction

of the work-week with no reduction in weekly

3. Two years' base pay grant to all demo-

bilized veterans, with the option of trade school

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expense, guarantee of adequate family main-

4. A job for every worker with a guaranteed

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workers' families by means of a planned rise in ers' government.

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rising standard of living, by means of govern-

ment planning to insure the highest national

tenance and guarantee of decent jobs.

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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: the national income and a thirty-hour maxi-

With the same callous indifference which it always displays to the problems of the people, Congress is going on vacation without taking action on the Murray Full Employment Bill, or any other measure which might guarantee jobs, or jobless insurance to care for the increasing thousands of workers who are victims of cutback unemployment.

The issue of jobs is rapidly becoming the most important in the country. While the present joblessness of more than a million workers is only the beginning in the rising tide of unemployment, the prospects in the future are especially dark. Estimates of economists, government experts and labor statisticians all point to an unemployed army of millions in a relatively short period of time.

Despite the pressure on the politicians who sit in the Senate and the House, they are going off on vacation and refuse to act on any measure which will create some measure of security for those who face the grim prospect of unemployment brought about by the inability of capitalism to maintain a high level of production except for war and guaranteed high profits.

tions showed that it can be done. This one lesson is clear:

party! Take the leadership of all the.people in the great crusade against capitalist exploitation, unemployment, war and industry.

'Frisco Charter: **Betrayal of Peace**

With only two votes against, the United States endorsed the San Francisco Charter and thus reversed the position taken by the Senate on the League of Nations after the First World War. There was really nothing startling in the action of the senior legislative house. It merely testified to the fact that the senior politicians have come to the realization that the United States is the greatest economic and military power in the world, that it cannot evade "entanglements" in foreign affairs when it is clear that nothing short of

Anyone who believes that this action diers quicker and won't keep us hanghelps to guarantee the peace of the world will find that he was deceived by the actions of the San Francisco conference. The conference held in San Francisco was a meeting organized by the Big Three for the purpose of organizing the world in their own interest; for dividing the world up into spheres of influence in which the rights and destinies of the small and colonial nations are determined by the imperialist interests of the Big Three and their subordinate partners, China and France.

Labor! Organize your own political

world domination is its aim.

10. An independent Labor Party and a work-MEANING OF L.P. PROGRAM

THIS PROGRAM TO BE CARRIED OUT BY: 9. Control of production by democraticallysoberly analyze and comprehend the

Definition of Congress

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Who are the gentlemen in Washington who are now on their way to weeks of idleness, in summer homes, or hunting and fishing trips? They are the political representatives of big business. They are the same gentlemen who have made a shambles of price control. They are the same gentlemen who guaranteed profits for the big corporations who refused to produce for the war effort until these profits were guaranteed. They are the same gentlemen who voted the wage freeze and refuse to alter the Little Steel Formula. They are the same gentlemen who voted the strikebreaking Smith-Connally Bill. They are the same gentlemen who just voted themselves a hidden wage increases in the form of 'expenses." Among them are many of the same gentlemen who were supported by the labor leaders as "friends of labor."

These gentlemen are good at the game of strikebreaking, filibustering progressive legislation, attacking labor, uttering the most reactionary racist ideas, and serving the interests of big business.

They are of no earthly good to the workers of this country, the poor farmers, and the middle classes who are at the mercy of the great monopolies.

The whole gang of reactionary spokesmen of capital ought to be swept out of the congressional halls. This cannot be done by supporting either of the two capitalist political parties. It can be done by labor and the mass of "common people" through a party of their own, an independent labor party.

Give 'Em a Permanent Vacation!

Such a step would mark enormous progress on the road toward the emancipation of all exploited people. The British elec-

Meaning of the Charter

All the important means to end war were sidestepped by the Conference. The issue of colonial independence which would smash the empires of the big powers was "postponed." Disarmament was not even considered. The right of self-determination and national independence was given only lip-service, with no serious measures adopted to guarantee such rights to the peoples of the world. All of this was unmistakenly borne out by the fact that the only nations which had any power, or rights at the conference were the Big Three. The small nations were brought to San Francisco merely to acquiesce in their subjection to the rights and powers of the Big Three.

San Francisco will go down in history not as the city where the nations of the world brought about a new era of peace and security for all of humanity, but where the needs and interests of humanity were subordinated to the needs of imperialism and the preparation of a Third World War.

ADMIRAL LEAHY, MARSHAL PETAIN

As we go to press, the letter of Truman's Chief of Staff, Admiral Leahy, defending the Vichy collaborator, Marshal Pétain, is in the news. Leahy's letter states that Pétain's "concern was the welfare and protection of the helpless people of France;" rather the helpless capitalists!

See next week's LABOR ACTION for a socialist exposé of the Pétain trial!

doing one full in nine."

But the same program of nationalization which produced the outpouring of Labor votes, has not gone unheeded by the British ruling class. Their fear of this program was at the bottom of Churchill's frenzied attacks upon Labor during the campaign. Yet Labor's victory has not produced any outward signs of panic among British capitalists. Their calm is not born of a disregard for the

machine is as much a capitalist institution as the Board of Directors of the Bank of England. It is designed to serve one basic purposethe preservation of British capitalism at home and abroad.

carry out orders, regardless of

who sits in the Cabinet. This state

. Within the state apparatus the final was they, not Attlee, who won the backbone of capitalist defense congreat election victory. It will be they, sists of the officer castes of the armed in the last analysis, who will have to services. These are composed of the provide the forces to achieve Labor's most able sons of the British ruling. class. Their political influence in program.

Ill-Fed, Ill-Housed, Ill-Clothed Remain That Way on 65 an Hour!

By M. WILSON

A subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor accuses the National War Labor Board of adopting a policy of "hesitancy and irresolution" in attacking the problem of the substandard wage. Furthermore, the committee report laments:

"Substandard rates of pay have meant poverty, ill-health and degradation for millions of American citizens. Malnutrition, poor housing . . . continuous struggle and lack of opportunity are characteristic of lives of these Americans who are not receiving a living wage for their toil." You don't even have to be a liberal to think that on the basis of such a report, the subcommittee would be forced by their own findings, by the intensity of their own report to recommend a minimum rate of pay that would begin to correct this deprivation. But no, the subcommittee report includes the testimony of a witness who presents figures to prove that a family of four can buy little meat, one quart of milk a day and very poor housing on the basis of an income of \$2300.

COMMITTEE RECOMMENDATION

With these facts and figure at their disposal, the subcommittee disposes of them and recommends that a minimum wage of 65c an hour be granted. This means a yearly income of \$1352 per year. You can buy very little meat and one quart of milk per day. and provide poor housing for your family on a yearly income of \$2300 per year. Therefore, the subcommit-

less meat or none at all, one pint of milk per day and provide the worst

tee recommends, that you buy much families if based on 1943 prices. WPA, on the basis of the 1943 price levels, would grant a wage rate of 80c per hour for a family of four. LABOR ACTION readers know that WPA meant deprivation and poverty for the workers. And now in 1945 when a Senate subcommittee makes a recommendation for a wage increase they don't even recommend as much as a "subsistence" level, as much as

WPA would grant! Compare this proposal with the JOBS FOR ALL program of LABOR ACTION and the WORKERS PARTY.

"By the time you receive this letter I shall be on the road to St. Louis and parts north together with a uniformed squad of young men composing what I believe will be the first Silver Shirt storm troop in America." (Carlson, Under Cover.)

When the would-be Fuehrer from Shreveport made his first independent bid for influence in 1936, he already had behind him an apprenticeship under two of the most notorious Fascist gangsters this country has spawned.

In 1936 Smith decided to "take over" the Townsend Old-Age Pension movement which was then booming.

That year was a high-water mark of the American Fascists.

It was after six years of unemployment and depression, starvation and bankruptcy in the richest country of the world. It was after four years of smiling promises by Roosevelt, and disillusionment with them. There were 17,000,000 unemployed and the capitalist profit system was grinding gears and sputtering like the worn-out machine. it is. The industrialists of this country faced a, rising sea of discontent. Millions said, "There must be a change."

With mysterious but plentiful funds shelled out by the worried coupon-clippers and Fat Boys, Charles E. Coughlin was operating a million-dollar Fascist propaganda mill from Michigan. "Democracy is doomed," he stated and "I take the road to Fascism.'

These well-heeled demagogues were working hard to earn their pay with the tried Fascist technique: promise pie in the sky, denounce the labor movement, slander the Jews, bait the Negroes, capitalize on blindness and prejudice, organize a. storm-troop movement which would first bind the people hand and foot and then deliver them. to their paymasters, the capitalist rulers of the Sixty Families.

This is the job of Fascism for which the masters. of profit pay in cold cash.

Attention Detroit Readers: (To Be Continued Next Week) Max Shachtman Nat'l Sec'y, Workers Party WILL SPEAK ON "The Election Victory of the British Labor Party" Labor Action Hall August 12th 8:00 P.M. 2650 Arndt

JUST OFF THE PRESS: The Truth About Gerald L. K. Smith By HAL DRAPER Price ... 5 cents ORDER YOUR COPY NOW WORKERS PARTY

Los Angeles Section P.O. Box 1246 San Pedro, Calif.

clothing and housing!) allowance for

housing available and that, only if you have a family of four. If your family happens to have more members, the committee isn't quite sure about what you can do, either cut out all rent or stop eating. They point out for our further

WPA "subsistence" (you remember what that meant in terms of food.



Page 4

LABOR ACTION

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A "Hard or Soft" Peace For Japan?

By P. Prentiss

It will make no difference to the working class whether the Allied imperialists impose a "soft" or "hard" peace on Japan. No matter what they call it, it is still going to be a capitalist peace serving only the interests of that class.

Last week the officials of the Allied countries at war with Japan issued an ultimatum demanding immediate unconditional surrender of Japan, or as an alternative, complete annihilation. The text of the ultimatum, which at the time was rejected, stated, among other things, that the demands of the Cairo declaration of 1943 will be carried out. This means that the Allies will strip Japan of all territories she gained since 1895. After denouncing Japanese imperialist aggression, United States imperialists now proceed to take over.

TRUMAN SPEAKS OUT OF TURN

President Truman speaking at the Potsdam conference stated:

"Let us not forget that we are fighting for peace and for the welfare of mankind. We are not fighting for conquest. There is not one piece of territory or thing of monetary nature that we want out of this war."

This statement was immediately corrected when Secretary of the Navy Forrestal and Tom Connally, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee revealed the "realist" aim of the war was to maintain "undivided control of certain strategic areas in the Pacific. . . ." While Truman mouths the empty phrases of the Atlantic Charter, the U.S. imperialist armies are seizing territories that they have no intention of giving up after the war. The control of the strategic sea and air lanes and the bases of the Pacific, which all lead to the enormous markets and sources of raw materials of Asia and the rest of the world, are as vital to the American capitalists as they were to the Japanese capitalists.

The absence of Stalin's name from the ultimatum probably means one thing. He is holding off entering the Far-Eastern war until he knows just how the cards are stacked, especially with regard to China. He wants to be assured a maximum of gain before taking the chance of plunging his country into another devastating war. T. V. Soong, Premier of China; was recently sent to Russia to make a deal with the Kremlin. It was made clear to him that nothing less than Russia's control of the Chinese Eastern Railway, a naval base in Port Arthur and concessions in the leased territory of Kwantung would be satisfactory.

WIHCH CLASS RESPONSIBLE

From U. S. government sources, with the aim of confusing the people, come a mass of complex and contradictory statements .concerning the "guilty and nonguilty" ruling classes of Japan. The capitalist press is filled with such statements that the "Gumbatsu (military clique, war-lords) are guilty but the Zaibatsu (financiers) could not help themselves."

This latter group, the Zaibatsu, who have gained the most out of the war, find a good deal in common with our own Rockefellers, Fords and Du Ponts. Both the Japanese militarists and the financiers are only concerned with the interests of their own class. They and the emperor who served them are equally guilty with the U. S. ruling class of leading the workers into the slaughter.

The ruling classes of both of these countries know that a country defeated in war is "susceptible" to revolution, and they are worried about this. Though they are competitors and trying to wipe each other out, when faced with the possibility of workers revolt in either their own or the "enemy" country, they are willing to make concessions to each other to ward off a mutual and real enemy-the workingclass.

The American capitalists reveal all that they have in common with the Japanese capitalists when they propose to permit the Emperor to retain his symbolic power at the head of the Japanese government. The majority of the policy-makers here are not in favor of "radical" changes in Japan after the war. The Emperor is considered a "good and stabilizing" influence on the people. While today the American workers and Japanese workers are killing each other in the war, the capitalists of both of these countries are counting up their enormous profits and planning new ways of drugging the workers after the war. By retaining the Emperor and appealing to the old. outmoded, religious sentiments of the Japanese people, the American imperialists hope to divert the class consciousness of the Japanese workers. According to the U. S. Admiral Gatch, the maintenance of the Emperor in Japan will be no easy task. He said that the theory that the Emperor is a god to the people is "pure bunk ... we are going to see one of the bloodiest revolutions' in history in Japan . . . which will liquidate the Emperor . . I am certain he will die like Mussolini."

A Living "Johnny Got His Gun"

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By A. STEIN

In 1939 a great novel was written about a man who, not only lost both of his arms, but also his two legs, his ears, his eyes, his mouth, and his nose. -And he lost all this not through an accident. It wasn't one of those unavoidable personal misfortunes which happen every now and then, and for which nobody could be blamed. For this misfortune was neither unavoidable, nor was it personal in its significance, nor was it, by the way, an accident. It was, rather, part of a planned destruction of a substantial part of the world's youth: the man was a soldier in the imperialist war of 1914-18, and the name of the book was "Johnny Got His Gun," by Dalton Trumbo.

The other day I read a sequel to this novel. It was about a master sergeant who had both of his legs above the knees, and his left arm above the elbow blown off while in action on Okinawa. His wounded right forearm was amputated on a hospital ship en route back to the States. "I'd make a good picture for propaganda against the next war," remarked the hero of this sequel, in very much the same manner of the fiery anti-war speeches of Johnny in Trumbo's novel.

a novel. This, the story of Master Sergeant Fredric and more colonial slaves to keep their rotten cap-Hensel, was-(yes, you guessed it)-a newspaper report

And Hensel, as millions have learned in the years of the present imperialist conflict, is not an isolated case. He but symbolizes, very much like the fictitious Johnny, all the suffering the war involves. He is no more than a spectacular example of something which has become an every-day affair for millions.

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If I were writing about events that happened many years ago, or in far-off places, I could be calm, and, though regretful of so much suffering, I could treat the matter with the cold detachment of a scientist observing deadly conflicts on a different planet. But this war is raging in this world, and its poisonous effects are still unchecked. If there is any feeling left in the world, it should be spent in burning indignation at such a monster, which is as hideous as it is needless.

Socialism and Housing, Part VII _

The men who gain from the war, those who This story was a sequel all right, but it was not have to seek markets, sources of raw materials, italist system from collapsing,-they have, to be sure, beautiful phrases to justify this mass slaughter. They talk about "democracy" (the Negroes they seem to "forget"), "co-prosperity sphere" (which, as it has worked out in practice so far, seems to mean prosperity only for the Japanese capitalists, with Asia's millions providing a "sphere" for exploitation), and many things which sound so very beautiful, and which are full of lies. But for the millions who daily suffer the unspeakable hardships of combat, who die before they reach full maturity, for those who lose half their bodies in a conflict from which they cannot gain,-for all those, there is no beauty in a thing which brings only slaughter and barbaric misery.

The only promise for permanent peace lies beyond all the empty phrases of the capitalist war rulers. It is the simplest of all answers, the most effective, and the most easy to understand. It lies in the proposal of the revolutionary socialists:end war by ending the system that produces wars, for peace through socialism.

Home-Grown Fascism at Work in U.S.

-By Shirley Lawrence

(PART II)

While Reynolds and his representatives talk of achieving power by approved political means, others are now preparing for violence. An ex-convict Nationalist from Chicago, Homer Maertz, is going into Midwest communities organizing local hoodlums into a terrorist force. He also has frequent conferences in Detroit with leaders of the old Ku Klux Klan and the United Sons of America. He was a delegate to the first national convention of the America First Party in Detroit Aug. 29, 1944, where he offered a resolution calling for the sterilization or deportation of all Jews in the United States.

It is noteworthy that in Germany armed gangs were trained by the industrialists to fight the organized workers, to weaken and subdue them. One such gang in Munich took the name National Socialist Party and from 1920 on, hailed as its chief, Adolf Hitler.

Reynolds denies any connection with lawless elements, but Maertz is working closely with Smith, rabble-rouser par excellence, and photostatic evidence plainly reveals. Smith's collaboration with Reynolds.

Reynolds was well enough regarded in Germany to get an article under his byline in Hitler's personal newspaper. Voelkischer Beobachter." which appeared in February 1939, six months before Hitler started the war. In part it said: "I am happy to state without the least hesitation that I am absolutely against the U.S. waging war for the purpose of protecting Jews anywhere in the world." "Hitler and Mussolini have a date with destiny; it is foolish to oppose them, so why not play ball with them?"

WORKING WITH SMITH

Sharing Reynolds leadership is the already mentioned Gerald L. K. Smith, founder of the America First Party. and idol of various "mothers' groups," although Reynolds, contact man for the movement in government circles and society, denies he is collaborating with Smith. But Mr. Smith's Washington headquarters are in Mr. Reynolds' office in the Colorado Bldg.

Around Reynolds and Smith moves a ring of satellites, such as Carl Mote of Indianapolis, part owner of two small public utilities of the National Farmers Guild; Mrs. Lyri Clark Van Hyning of Chicago, head of We, the Mothers, and Mobilize for America, Inc.; Rev. Harvey Springer, a Denver rabble-rouser, who is called the Cowboy Preacher; and the Rev. Gerald Winred, popularly known as the Jayhawk Nazi of Wichita, Kansas, who is under indictment for sedition. In 1935 Winrod toured Germany, had interviews with Hitler and other top German leaders, and began a full-scale pro-Nazi campaign on his return to this country.

The Nationalist groups tried unsuccessfully three times before to become a united political force, once under George E. Deatherage, who is under indictment for sedition; a second time in Father Coughlin's heyday, and again with retired Army Gen. George Mosely as leader. Each time the effort failed because the individual groups would not surrender their own rackets.

THEY ARE BETTER PREPARED

The Reynolds organization doesn't intend to make any mistakes this time. It has a Nationalists Confederation, in which all groups can unite while retaining their autonomy. It also has a Nationalists Party for political action. A third division is the Nationalists Committee, an educational body to which industrialists are told they can make tax-exempt contributions.

The evidence clearly points to the growth of a fascist threat in the U.S. Reynolds and his cohorts are not fooling; they are in dead earnest. They are banding together all the worst elements of the country and are spawning. the frauds, lies, and misconceptions which serve fascism.

The na of fascist "mystique" which pre-

POLITICIANS AND CITY PLANNING

By MARIAN GOULD

Last week we discussed the conflict between the CENTRIFUGAL force of technological progress that is scattering industries across the countryside (advanced methods of transport, plant layout and manufacturing processes, plus general national and regional economic reintegration in terms of these new developments). and

The conservative blocks of capital invested in the PAST, in the old city structures, cast up 50, 100, or 200 years ago by capitalism in its early prime.

This week, I want to expose the methods that reactionary property owners are using to prevent economic and urban decentralization, and to protect their vested interests in our unhealthy, chaotic cities of today by fastening built-in slums on us.

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The status-quo rentier capitalists want to stabilize city property values and keep up land rents. Allied with them in this noble task are certain financial blocs that want to safeguard their big capital investments in city utilities, transport facilities, municipal bonds, etc.

Slums have become too expensive for cities to support. They must be eliminated as a threat to other city property values, most real estate men will now agree. But how? Big financial investments in slum property mustn't be lost, of course.

Working with their allies, the city politicians, these financial and propertied interests have elaborated a scheme to save their money invested IN slum property AS WELL AS their other city investments THREATENED by the slums, and the resultant municipal bankruptcy.

The basic idea is for the politicians to carry out just that "betrayal of public trust" opposed so unsuccessfully by ex-USHA Administrator, Nathan Straus. Namely, "having the government buy up the slums at prices reflecting the inflated profits of insanitary living conand illegal overcrowding." (Straus) words.)

all net. Today slum owners are a new group. The very policies pursued by earlier owners have resulted in wholesale foreclosures of slum property by mortgagees." .

Chicago's Mayor Kelly, working hand in glove with the Municipal Housing Council, has put their Slum Clearance Bills through the state legislature. These bills are "designed to aid public housing and induce private capital to invest in housing projects." (Sun 4/10)

To achieve this goal of guaranteeing a sure profit on capital invested in low-rent housing. municipalities are given power to "condemn blighted areas and sell, lease or exchange the land acquired to public housing authorities or private corporations for rebuilding or redevelopment." (My emphasis. What a scheme for loading a lot of useless land on the city government in return for profitable housing locations!)

Chicago will get an initial \$10 million under this plan for land purchase and project planning. Not construction. Experts figure that the city will pay \$50,000 an acre for Chicago's worst south side congested, slum areas. The Sun comments that no private concern could pay such prices for land, so the city'll have to. Well, the capitalists are always willing to socialize their losses!

Insurance and Mortgage companies are allowed under the Housing Bills to use up to 10% of their reserve for housing investments. An estimated \$100 million will be available to the city from this source. 15. 19.04 19. Now you get the set-up.

After the city has bailed out the slum owners with the \$10 million, these same mortgage, loan and insurance companies will buy back, or lease, or trade off some worthless property. for the slum land to be cleared.

And they will pay the city a cost consistent with the revenue the land will actually produce when put to use for high-density, low-cost housing proj turally, they'll "fair profit" in figuring the price they'll willing to pay. Rentals will be tax free, too.

only high-profit investments as in its hey-day. Government subsidy in the form of tax-exemption makes housing projects about equal to any other long-term, low-interest government bond. Government backing also guarantees their stability-so long as the government itself is stable.

terest rate elsewhere now forces capitalism in

its decline to cultivate the less profitable fields

assiduously, instead of picking and choosing

While thus planning to line and reline the pockets of the rich, politician Kelly has made no provision for housing the dispossessed slum dwellers. They will of necessity flood cheaprent blighted areas to create new slums before the old ones are even torn down. All experts agree: the only way to really/

eliminate slums is to build great quantities of good houses on low-cost, outlying land. This attracts tenants away from the central slums, and there is no longer a market for the pigsties, as Friedrich Engels called them.

On \$50,000-an-acre land, the city can afford very few projects, as compared with \$1500-anacre land bordering the city. (The UAW-CIO Memorandum on Post-War Urban Housing contains an excellent discussion of this and related points.)

Property owners, insurance companies, mortgage banks and the other representatives of rentier capital, have great influence in city halls across the land, where their property pays some 75-90% of all city taxes. In Washington, they have to compete with other powerful economic interests to get legislation favorable to their profits.

The plan above anticipates government activity in the housing field. But powerful blocks of industrial and financial capital are against government planning, and against government construction to "take up the slack" of unemployment. They are for a complete return to free enterprise' and large unemployed reserves as a necessity in their struggle to break the labor movement.

The fact is, only the Japanese workers themselves can get rid of the Japanese imperialist machine. FOR A SOCIALIST PEACE

What is important to the American workers is to wake up to the fact that they have not been fighting "savage, ape-like animals" but working class brothers who have been drugged and dragged into an imperialist war just like ourselves-and for the same ends-to make billions for the financiers at home.

If we understand what kind of a war is being fought we will understand what kind of a peace the capitalists are capable of establishing. What their peace will really amount to will be a temporary "soft" or "hard" truce between business rivals.

The only class that is capable of establishing a real. permanent and prosperous peace in the interest of world humanity is the working class. It is necessary to eliminate the causes for war, that is, capitalist imperialism and the struggle for profit.

The working class slogan must be: For a Socialist Peace!



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The city will bail out the mortgage companies under the guise of "slum clearance" and "city planning."

For the slum owners are not the poor widows. and orphans the Real Estate Boards would have us believe. Straus traces the history of slum ownership as follows (Seven Myths of Housing, p. 52):

"Owners of slums were at one time largely real estate speculators. Later they were investors large and small, who bought slum properties because the tenants received little service, and, aside from taxes and insurance, the gross income was practically

Thus a new element enters the mass housing picture in America. (And rather inauspiciously for us housewives who need new incomes, we must add!)

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After all these years, finance capital, which has so long avoided construction work in the low-cost field, will make some capital available there. (This trend first showed itself in the excellent market for U.S. Housing Authority Bonds among investors.) The reasons for this are:

First and foremost, the general fall in the in-

Out of this pull and tug of economic interest, how much housing for America's ill-housed families will result? How much weight will their economic interests pull?

After all, the 47% of all U.S. families that earn under \$1500 a year are ill-housed.

Most of the additional 34% earning between \$1500 and \$3000 are ill-housed.

And a great many earning from \$3000 to \$5000 are still ill-housed.

Turn that question over in your minds, and we'll come back to it next time, when we talk about The Labor Movement and Mass Housing.

U. S. Labor Needs Its Own Party Now--

(Continued from page 1)

"Now is not the time," was one of the moth-eaten arguments against a labor party the CIO leaders chose. But the British workers find it convenient now, to vote in a labor government, even if the war is not over and even if the peace is not settled.

"An independent labor party would split the progressive vote," complained Murray-Hillman. By "progressive vote" they mean the "progressive" Democratic party of polltaxers, city bosses, upholders of the wage-freeze, no-strike pledge and Little Steel formula against wage raises!.

Of course, only a shade lighter than the fears of the labor leaders to split the "progressive vote" of their favorite capitalist party, are the fears of the capitalists that an independent labor party would split all the genuinely progressive elements - farmers, professionals, middle-classes away from the old line parties completely.

"We must support Roosevelt, who has made commitments to the labor movement," argued Murray-Hillman. Not one item of progressive labor legislation followed the election of Roosevelt-on wages, prices, rationing, poll-tax, retention of FEPC, etc. -either during his term or that of his inheritor, President Truman.

The role of the PAC in '44 elections, however it perverted the sentiments and possibility of a genuine labor party with labor candidates, was a test of labor strength. In more part of its leaders with the capitalist monopolies and transportation sys-

than one state or precinct, it was labor's backing that turned out a Republican or ushered in a Democrat. Labor felt its mettle.

How shameful that the labor movement of the United States, larger than the British trade unions, the largest organized labor body in the entire world, should fritter away its. strength on candidates whose interests are diametrically opposed to its own!

While labor in this country faces the most rapacious and most profitladen capitalists on the globe, because of the very existence of those masses of industrial wealth, organized labor is larger and stronger here, too. Nationalization of the industrial wealth of the United States by a labor government, the elimination of profits and the production for plenty for all, would produce 60 million jobs, a guaranteed annual wage and security for all the people.

FOR A LABOR PARTY!

The first step towards the emancipation of labor in this country is the formation of an independent labor party. The Political Action Committee of the CIO should cut loose from its Democratic Party coat-tails and organized into an independent labor party. Labor in this country should cleanse itself of boss politics. Transform the PAC into a party of labor! Labor's job is not ended with the formation of a labor party. Just as the rank and file of the union has to guard against compromises on the

TABOR ACTION

bosses in the plants, the future American labor party, as well as the present British one have to guard against boss politics being played by the leaders of the labor party.

To this end, the Workers Party advocates a program for an American labor party which will serve the interests of labor and the working people as a whole. Here are some of the important things we advocate to such a labor party:

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

2. 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.

3. A job for every worker with a guaranteed minimum annual wage of \$2500 per year. A rising standard of living, by means of government planning, to insure the highest national production and income.

4. Expropriate the Sixty Families! A one hundred per cent tax on all war profits above a five per cent maximum on invested capital!

5. A \$25,000 ceiling on total individual incomes.

6. Conscript all war industries, nationalize the banks, big industries,

tems. No handing over of government-built and owned plants to private ownership!

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

8. For a guaranteed \$5000 annual income to all workers' families, made possible by a planned rise in the total national income and a thirty hour maximum work week.

9. Government provision for free. education of all youth, including trade school and universities.

10. For an end to the war and fascism by a democratic, people's peace. without annexations, indemnities, tribute or the dismemberment and oppression of sovereign nations and peoples.

11. For complete, immediate national independence to all colonial or semi-colonial peoples.

12. For a Socialist United States of Europe and a World Socialist Federation. A socialist world will destroy capitalist imperialism, recurrent wars, fascist barbarism, oppression and exploitation, and establish a new order of freedom, plenty, peace and security, and world brotherhood.

An independent labor party is the indispensable organizer and educator of the working class in this country now, if the goal of socialism, which means the end of poverty, misery, suffering, exploitation and war for all of mankind, is to be consummated.

lar iorn vailed in Germany and Italy, the cult of the Fatherland, and the cult of the Leader, are not likely to develop here. Up to now, pro-fascist leaders have taken care to present themselves as "just plain folks." And the great varieties of nationalities over here, our geographical isolation, our relative prosperity, and higher living standards have made it so far impossible to arouse extreme nationalist feeling. The venom of American nationalism has been directed against regionalism rather than nationalism, i.e., on tension between city (New York especially) and the provinces.

Though there are differences in form, the content of American fascism is the same as that of Europe-big business interests masquerading, as anti-capitalism.

It is not enough to be shocked or to protest feebly and righteously. We must combat these gangs. The Workers Party picketed the recent Nationalist meetings in Los Angeles where Smith spoke. It showed what has to be done on a mass scale.

PREPARE LABOR'S STRUGGLE

Labor should learn the lessons of the past decade. Its organizations are among the first to be uproofed under fascism. Wages were reduced in Germany, hours lengthened, and conditions considerably worsened immediately after Hitler came to power.

We must fight fascism with the consciousness that always, everywhere, it is financed by, and serves the interests of big business, that it is condoned by the government, and that labor is always the victim.

We must have a constructive and strong counter program. We need to form a labor party based on the trade unions, with its own Workers Defense Guards to be the vanguard in opposing the treachery and violence of the fascists.

The deepening economic crisis may be expected to make it easier for the fascists to unite. The same economic crisis that spurs big business to launch a fascist coup will also put the masses of people into a state of unrest, ready to follow whatever political path seems to promise an escape from their misery. We are already experiencing the first fruits of the end of the war in Europe, in cutbacks, layoffs, and unemployment. The workers must shake free of their present do-nothing leadership and prepare the struggle against reaction at home

Fascism cannot be fought by compromise or concession, but only by militant working-class action.



with the local