A 30% Increase Is Easy for General Motors

TO BACK up the demand for a 30 percent increase in million for the pre-war years 1936 through 1939. pay, Walter Reuther, UAW vice president, presented an iron-clad argument in a letter to C. E. Wilson, president of General Mo-

tors.

"This corporation," wrote Reuther, "has been described by the Pederal Trade Commission as the most profitable corporation in the history of the world."

Reuther pointed out that with the slogan, "Victory Is Our Business," GM's profits before taxes in 1944 were \$435 million, or 78 percent more than the yearly average of \$244

\$995,094,170. GM could have paid \$1,085,723,926 in 1944, or \$190,629,756 more than it did pay.

"All of this increase would have come out of the extra profits it was making because of the war," states **Reuther**.

"Between 1939 and 1944 the corporation's net worth increased 22 percent to the staggering sum of \$1,504,071,620. In addition to increasing its net worth, the corporation distributed \$630,565,644 in dividends on common stock and \$45.891.000 in dividends on preferred. The total accumulation to GM stockholders during the war years was \$911,549,088, exclusive of high salaries and bonuses to officers-stockholders.

"During the war the corporation, with generous, government aid, has made technological advances which have increased greatly labor's productivity. Yet throughout the war the results of this increased productivity

LABOR ACTION

have been reflected in increased profits, while the wage incur losses, \$156,000,000. The total wage bill of the corporation in 1944 was rates of workers producing the increased output remained frozen."

> Further, GM, according to its report to the War Production Board, is able to break even on civilian production at 55 percent of capacity operation. Reuther states its "break-even" point is still lower. Since GM contemplates a 50 percent increase in its post-war production over its pre-war high, there will be additional savings to the company."

over the reconversion period, including:

War savings (increase in net worth, \$235,092,444. A cash refund from the government of 10 percent of the total excess profits taxes collected throughout the war totalling \$38,533,616.

An insurance fund from the government which provides further cash refunds during two years of reconversion if profits fall below pre-war normal or if you

Post-war advertising charged to taxpayers-(85.5 percent of amount spent for war-time advertising; deductible as expense on income tax), \$45,800,000.

The most efficient and advanced machinery which has been either supplied by the government or on which the corporation has first option to buy.

Proposed repeal of the excess profits tax which will enhance GM's financial status tremendously.

The financial position of the corporation is con-Reuther cited the cushions that GM has to tide it trasted with that of the average GM worker. Many of them are already unemployed, while those at work are forced to take a 30 percent cut in take-home pay with the forty-hour week. Meanwhile, the cost of living continues to rise.

> The arguments are incontrovertible. The UAW deserves the support of all organized labor and progressive forces in its struggle to maintain a decent standard of living.

SEPTEMBER 24, 1945

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

#### AS WE GO TO PRESS-

The UAW situation is snowballing rapidly, with intervention by the government through the Department of Labor threatening. LABOR ACTION will continue to cover the Detroit situation for its readers as it develops.

ONE CENT

BACK UAW 30% DEMAND!

# **Socialist Youth League Forms**

A Socialist Youth organization on a national scale was formed by delegates from five cities attending a youth conference held in conjunction with the recent Active Workers Conference of the Workers Party in Detroit. The conference was concluded with the election of a provisional National Committee for a Socialist Youth organization.

The day-long conference covered an intensive agenda which included talks by Max Shachtman and Ernest Erber on behalf of the Workers Party, reports from the local groups, discussion of plans for a national newspaper and discussion of methods of work among young workers and

the conference on behalf of the National Committee of the Workers Party. Delegates from Philadelphia, Syracuse, New York City, Madison and Chicago then reported on the activities of their local groups.

VARIOUS YOUTH SECTIONS The Philadelphia delegates represented the Young Labor League of that city, which was established nearly two years ago and was, therefore,

HOW TO RECONVERT! di HATIONALIZATION OF ALL WAR INDUSTRIES GUARANTEED JOB, MINIMUM ANNUAL THIRTY HOUR WEEK WORKERS CONTROL PRODUCTION OF PRODUCTION FOR USE

#### By MARY BELL

Among five million members of organized labor who are now demanding a thirty per cent increase in wages, the United Auto Workers Union is spearheading the post-war drive of labor against the profit-swollen auto industry. A strategy board of the UAW is petitioning the National Labor Relations Board for a strike ballot in all plants of the automotive "Big Three."

. The union has airtight arguments in its case for the wage increases. Cutbacks have reduced the average straight time reconversion pay to \$1.17 an hour, which amounts to \$46.80 per week in contrast to the \$60 which forty-eight hours would bring.

In addition, the union spokesmen have shown what an enor-

## **CP** Drive on In IUMSWA

BALTIMORE - Opening a campaign to take over the CIO ipbuilders Union (IUMSWA) at its coming convention, the Communist-led faction has issued here for national circulation among ship workers a four-page tabloid sheet that unlooses a violent attack upon the national officers of the organization, including John Green, president.

mously profitable business the war was to the automotive companies, putting them into a position where they eminently can afford to pay at a minimum the wartime rates of pay (which weren't high, what with taxes and high prices) without putting more than a slight nick in the companies' profits. But when labor touches the profits of a corporation, it touches its soul. Chrysler, General Motors and Ford have already stated privately, if not officially, that they will not grant a thirty per cent increase. The thirty per cent increase would not advance the wages of the workers substantially. It would rather keep them at the wartime par. Anything short of the thirty per cent increase would mean a cut in the take-home pay of the workers compared with their wartime take-home envelopes.

#### students.

The conference was opened by Jim Black of Madison, Wis., as temporary chairman. After the seating of delegates and the election of conference officers, Erber was introduced to give a short speech of welcome to

the oldest group attending. The YLL had established its own monthly mimeographed newspaper, and conducted general socialist educational activities among the youth. It voted (Continued on page 3)

## **Frankensteen Differs Little from Jeffries**

#### By MARTIN HARVEY

DETROIT, Sept. 16 --- The Detroit mayoralty campaign in which UAW Vice - President Richard T. Frankensteen is running against Mayor Jeffries is overshadowed at present by the current wave of strikes in Detroit and is marking time during the usual lull between the primaries and the election in November.

The latest development in the situation is the reporte admission by top UAW officials that the plan to get nickel contributions for Frankensteen's campaign from union members has brought practically no response from the rank and file of the UAW. Frankensteen's position in the UAW has long been that of chief strikebreaker, a position which he made clear in his opening campaign speech in which he bitterly attacked maintenance workers who were striking for decent pay as a "mobocracy." Now that Frankensteen is turning to this same "mobocracy" for financial support he is being paid back in his own coin.

#### COMPARED WITH JEFFRIES/

It is extremely difficult to find any important difference between Frankensteen and Jeffries in the campaign. The chief issue up until now has been who can more efficiently clean the rats out of Detroit's alleys. But the workers are more concerned with the problem of finding jobs, of raising wages and of getting decent unemployment compensation. On these questions Frankensteen has little to offer.

Frankensteen's lack of any program

to meet the needs of the workers of Detroit is entirely understandable when you examine what he stands for politically. All his efforts in politics in the labor movement have been directed toward tying that movement to the Democratic Party. In the last presidential election Frankensteen, together with the rest of the CIO leadership, was busy selling the idea that a vote for Roosevelt and other "good" Democrats would bring jobs and prosperity after the war. Almost 400,000 unemployed workers in Detroit today can now testify to the enormity of that lie. Politically, Frankensteen is not the representative of labor maneuvering in the councils of the Democratic Party. Quite the reverse. He is the representative of the Democratic Party, of capitalist politics, in the ranks of labor. Were it not for the accidental fact that Detroit municipal elections are non-partisan, Frankensteen would be running on the

Democratic ticket. The fact that Frankensteen's politics are eapitalist politics might be of secondary importance if the organized labor movement had any check or control over his actions. But he is responsible to no party of labor and is answerable to no one. What is there to prevent Frankensteen, who used his office of UAW vice-president to break strikes in the past, to use the office of Mayor-and the police that go with it-to break strikes that he finds are "unauthorized" in the future?

The real issue in the Detroit campaign, as in the country as a whole, is the question of jobs, of full employment. That issue can be settled satisfactorily for the workers and the masses of people only by government planning on a national scale for full production and full employ-(Continued on page 2)



The faction sheet, called "Jobs Now," is published by the Communist-led group of Local 43, based on the Bethlehem-Fairfield yard in this city. The paper blazons the headline: "Ship Employment Program Sabotaged-Group in National Office Fiddles While Your Jobs Go Up in Smoke.'

The paper attacks the national office mainly on two counts: (1) the lifting of charters of locals, includ-(Continued on page 2)

The achievement of this demand is the least the UAW leadership should strike for, given their "moratorium" on fighting for labor's rights during the war, their adoption of the no-strike pledge, their sacrifice of the workers' standards for "victory," etc. "Victory" was the business - and

what a lucrative one!-(see top of page one) of the auto barons! Originally, Walter Reuther, vice-

(Continued on page 2)

# U. S. Maintains Japan's Gestapo, Hirohito

By JESSIE KAAREN

If there is one lesson the American State Department has learned from this war it is that the political awakening of the masses in an enemy country are much more to be feared than the military might of its rulers. That explains why Emperor Hirohito is permitted to retain his "prerogatives" to rule over the Japanese people and it explains the "soft peace." The United States is trying to be more far-sighted in its handling of Japan than it was in Europe. It is leaving the "nasty job" of policing the Japanese people and even the Korean people to the existing régime-that same régime with which we were at war only a short time ago. Annoyed over the criticism levelled against him, General MacArthur explains why the Japanese bureaucracy is being left intact: "Economically and industrially as well as militarily, Japan is completely exhausted and depleted. She is in a condition of ut-

ter collapse. Her governmental structure is controlled completely by occupation forces and is operating only to the extent necessary to insure an orderly and controlled procedure as

will prevent social chaos, disease and starvation."

If the American people think that our army enters Japan as the bearer of democratic ideas from the West, they are in for a very early shock. The Korean revolutionaries who marched down the port to meet the American Army only to be greeted with shots by the Japanese soldiers who fired with the approval of General John R. Hodge of the U. S. Army, have already had their disillusionment.

#### **JAPAN'S GESTAPO**

"The Tokyo and Yokohama police forces will be bolstered by Americanapproved recruits from the disbanded Japanese 'Gestapo'. The decision to use carefully selected members of the Kempei-tai, Japan's secret police, was announced by the 8th Army.

"The Kempei-tai, which has been built of all the crimes ever committed by the Nazi Gestapo including torture and murder will be demobilized and disarmed before the American troops enter Tokyo.

"The Yokohama chief of police estimated that he would need 1,500 former Kempel-tais to aid his 1,400

2,000 more will be required in Tokyo ... they will be permitted to arrest civilians only . . ." (New York Post, Sept. 6)

The Japanese government, with the guidance and help of the American army, is preparing a more powerful police state than it had during the

#### Note to Workers **Party Branches**

1. Will all branch literature agents please return to the National Office all extra copies of the August New International for filing and binding purposes, because our supply of the issue has been exhausted.

2. Due to its expanded staff, the National Office is in need of additional standard typewriters. Will any member or sympathizer who has one available write or phone the headquarters. CHelsea 2-9681, 114 West 14th Street, New York City 11.

regular men and it is expected that war. The Japanese Minister of Agri- 1 men had no part in it. They were just culture announces that the neighborhood associations responsible for the maintenance of "thought control" would continue to be responsible for the feeding of the Japanese.

> "This means," says the New York Times, "in simple terms that food can be withheld from those not following the government's policy lines." The police machinery being set up at present in collaboration with the American occupation authorities, announced by MacArthur, makes it obvious that the fine-sounding program for the Japanese people is nothing more than an expression of wishful thinking on the part of New Deal liberals.

Democratic elections, political and civil liberty, free right of assembly, public discussions, education and respect for human rights were obviously not in MacArthur's baggage when he landed in Tokyo.

Japanese industrialists have given interviews to the American press with the sanction of the Army censor to prove that the military clique in Japan absolutely ran away with the country and that it was solely responsible for the war. These business

as shocked about the attack on Pearl Harbor as the American public was. As for the Japanese Emperor, he also had his eyes piously shut for the last four years.

In view of that hog wash being printed, it is interesting to get the low-down on the Emperor and the industrialists from a Far East expert, a former advisor to General Chiang Kai-shek, Mr. Owen L. Lattimore. The Zaibatzu or industrialists, he said, are completely merged with the Gumbatzu or militarists and the primary control was always "civilian."

#### THE EMPEROR

"Together," he said, "they are like a small octopus with huge tentacles which holds everything in its power. Their tool and 'front' was the Emperor, owner of vast shares and estates and he still is-although now they are loudly disclaiming the militarists.'

The Emperor's holdings, he said, amount to thousands of shares in banking, railroad, sugar, utilities, paper and shipping companies, as well

(Continued on page 2)

## NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

# **Two Significant White Collar Strikes**

the giant Westinghouse Corporation in five states this week as their well organized "white collar" independent union grew weary of waiting for the War Labor Board to grant their claim for bonus pay. In a demonstration of determined solidarity that would make any union feel proud, the onetime "humble bookkeepers" called a strike that closed down or greatly curtailed Westinghouse plants from Baltimore to East Springfield, Mass.

Another independent union, the National Association of Broadcast Engineers, staged a brief walkout even more sweeping in its effect when two major radio networks, the NBC and the ABC, were forced off the air by the action of 500 radio engineers and technicians. While the stoppage was termed unauthorized, it came as a decisive answer to the stalling of the corporations in negotiations for a twenty-five per cent wage increase.

#### A NEW TREND

These two seemingly unrelated incidents, one involving a comparatively tiny group of highly-skilled technicians and the other a larger mass of traditionally conservative "white cellar" workers, carry considerable significance for the American labor movement. Here are two segments of the population long considered above the mass of workers, whose abilities and skills made it unnecessary for them to engage in collective struggle to maintain their salaries and living conditions.

Yet they have found through their own experience that it is not only necessary to band together for bargaining, but that they must be prepared to fight on the picket line if need be. They have discovered in actual life what has been a socialist axiom for a century-that ruthless capitalism forces to the level of wage workers the most highly skilled, the best educated, the most "genteel" professional.

The radio engineers and technicians, many of them college-trained, required to hold federal licenses and responsible for the intricate and complex details that make modern chain broadcasting possible, find their employers just as arrogant and unyielding when dealing with their just demands for a wage increase as they are when the porters and elevator operators ask for a raise.

While the modern office, with its card-punching machines and ingenious calculators, is a long way from the days of the bookkeeper who sat on a high stool and prided himself

would like to preserve the old servile

SAN FRANCISCO-The Internation-

al Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's

Union, longtime leader in the fight

for the six-hour day, has notified the

Waterfront Employers' Association

of its intent to fight for the six-hour

worker in the shop. But they don't "loyalty" that made the white col- want to pay hard cash for that loy-

really Schomaker, not he, who was

for the eight-hour day. He, Bridges,

always was and always would be for

the six-hour day! He even reads from

the record to prove it and, sure

enough, the verbatim report of the

switch in the CP line. With radical

phraseology coming back into vogue,

Bridges and his supporters feel safe

in speaking or even shouting for the

six-hour day. But will they fight for

hours each, with an hourly scale of

\$1.75. Night work and Saturday and

Sunday work are to be abolished ex-

cept in case of emergency. This

would mean \$52.50 a week for thirty

hours' work and spreading the work

opportunities among the new men

who would otherwise become unem-

Longshoremen go for this program

Further, any movement by the

rest. Craft unionism has died of its

Longshore 6 Hour Day Fight

**Bridges New Line at Work** 

Clerical workers tied up plants of on his penmanship, the employers lar man feel a cut above the grimy alty. Therefore, the clerk is organizing as the man in the shop did long ago.

LABOR ACTION

Both of these strikes, one on the radio chains and the other in the offices of Westinghouse, are being conducted by' independent unions. Generally speaking, this is a typical reaction of these people moving toward the road of class struggle. Confronted with the necessity of collective action, they are reluctant to enter the main stream of organized la-

This hangover from their traditional conservatism should be overcome by all means. Their fight to maintain their wages and living conditions would be aided and enhanced by entering and seeking the support of the broad trade union movement.

Nevertheless, they sometimes have reason for misgivings. The powerful Musicians IInion is highering with the radio technicians over who is to control the "platter turners," men who handle the disks in recorded broadcasts, and the Westinghouse clerks are resisting' efforts to bring them into the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers Union, CIO, the union holding contracts for most of the Westinghouse plants.

It is easy to understand the reluctance of the clerks to hand themselves over to this union, whose Communist-dominated leadership during the war has had a shameful, do-nothing, strike-breaking record.

Nevertheless, it would be to the Today, the whole perspective is . advantage of these new unions to ally toward two daytime shifts of six themselves to the trade union movement as a whole. But the question does not stop there. This vast new stratum of workers approaching the labor movement must be inspired and led by a program that is capable of solving their problems.

They have taken the road of organization and struggle to make possible a better world. The influx of their 'numbers to the ranks of organized labor can be a tremendous impetus to the whole movement. But if they are met by the timidity of the labor bureaucrats, if they are slowed down by the petty half-measures of union officialdom, if they do agencies or boards, but by fighting not receive vigorous, determined leadership and inspiration from their older, more experienced fellow workers, then they are likely to turn

away in disappointment, perhaps to fall prey to some fascist demagogue. For these new recruits as well as for the old soldiers, it is imperative

make a world of plenty for all!

# FROM LEFT TO RIGHT

#### "Here Lies a Man"

tember 1 carried an interesting obituary item on Gracie Hall Roosevelt, brother of the late President's wife, who left a small (in these days of new war millionaires) net fortune of \$239,395. Among his unpaid creditors were such swank hotels, night clubs and restaurants as Arrow Head Inn, Hotel St. Regis, Fifi's Monte Carlo, Hotel Belmont, The Plaza, Gallagher's Steak House, El Chico and Restaurant Voisin. No "Greasy Spoon" customer he.

But what nominates Mr. Roosevelt for anyone's Hall of Fame was the fact that when he was Controller of the City of Detroit and chairman of Mayor Murphy's Unemployment Bureau, he "proved "to his own satisfaction that a man could eat on \$1.75 a week." The man who could have solved the Detroit unemployment crisis has died in time!

#### Superseniority

"We are becoming easy prey for those who would make of us a class apart. Yes, apart even from our own families. I think, therefore, that it is significant that my opponents this evening are an industrialist and a general of the United States Army.

.

I think it is of vital importance to take notice of the source from which this gift of superseniority comes "The simplest way to judge

the value and nature of a gift is by identifying the givers. When I was a civilian before the war I had no friends who were industrialists. They didn't offer me gifts then, and when I was in the Army I did not fraternize with the generals. All they gave me was orders. (Applause.) "General Hershey and Mr.

Higgins and the other men of their status who offer us job preference are not offering us something that belongs to them. They do not mean to apply the superseniority principle quite that far. THEY ARE GIVING US THE JOBS OF OTHER PEOPLE! They are giving us our fathers' jobs. They are taking the reward for the veteran from just one group of American people-the group to which most of us belong!" - Dennis Wiegan, executive secretary of the American Veterans Committee, on a Town Hall broadcast, July 26,

#### **Tendency of the Times**

A September War Production Board report states that Amer-

# Back the UAW Fight --

campaign.

#### (Continued from page 1)

president of the UAW, announced that the General Motors Corporation was to be singled out as the first target under the strategy of "concentrating your fire," and would be struck singly if it did not accede to the demands of the union.

This would presumably put GM, the largest corporation in the industry and the bell-wether for it, in a bad spot to compete in the post-war car market, since its competitors would be in production. There is some evidence to indicate that this policy has not been settled and that any one, or all three, of the major corporations may be tackled.

#### KELSEY-HAYES STRIKE

A strike has been in progress at Kelsey-Hayes Wheel Co., supplier of Ford parts, for over three weeks, provoked by the company's firing of union officials and general offensive against the union. The day before the strike policy of the international was announced, the international executive board suspended the executive board and officers of Local 174 for failing to end the "unauthorized" strike. An administrator is in charge of the local. The reason given by the international was that the strike was holding up reconversion and that

the class solidarity of the companies against which it will have to fight. Whatever their individual rivalry, such lack of discipline jeopardized

fine preview of what this "labor" the issue over a conference table, candidate's administration would be! there is little likelihood that the mat-However the Kelsey - Hayes strike ter will be solved in this fashion. The companies are now appealing to meshes in with the intentions of the international leadership, there is no President Truman and Secretary of Labor Schwellenbach-who has just doubt that the international acted in a high-handed manner with the reorganized the Department of Lastrikers of this militant local, who bor, largely precipitated by the Dewere fighting hard to preserve the troit situation-to intervene in their elementary rights of the UAW itself. behalf. Their plea will be that any The international's behavior prostrikes now would cripple their "revoked the picketing of the rooms of conversion effort," just as during the R. J. Thomas by UAW militants who war it was that strikes would cripple the "war effort" and just as in were opposed to this cracking down by the top officers. There is no questhe future they will cripple "peacetion but that the repression of the time production." rank and file by the UAW officialdom

Only labor is crippled by yielding throughout the war, their servile acto such argumentation.

The role of government agencies in this strike will be what it has been during the war. In return for unkept promises of "equality of sacrifice" labor was to maintain peacetrustful of the manner in which the ful relations with industry and give leadership will carry out its present up its strike weapon for the duration. Now, in return for a quick reconversion and the promise of "full employment" labor will be asked to arouse and depend upon the courage, hold its punches again. The government, in whatever form it intervenes, will effect a "compromise"-of labor's interests, in the "national interest"still further, it should take a tip from of the capitalist class.

> President Truman has already indicated, in his recent address to Congress, that he stands for some kind of reorganized conciliation or arbitration through the Department of Labor. The companies are calling for compulsory arbitration of all labor disputes and permanent outlawing of the right to strike. An all-out struggle for the thirty per cent increase is indicated. The rank and file of the auto workers will see that such a struggle is waged.

#### own weakness in fighting the boss. The maritime industry must win its that labor forge ahead in all its indemands as a unit. A Maritime Feddependent strength and power to eration is essential.

September 24, 1945

ican industry inceased its profits

in the five-year period 1940

through 1944 to 350 per cent be-

fore taxes and 120 per cent after

taxes. In each case, income ex-ceeded by far the year 1929, the

most profitable previous year. Net

value of all industry in this period increased one third, net working

capital doubled and "very pro-

nounced improvement" of Amer-

ican industry in general was no-ted. A peak profit year stretched

However, the report went on,

"The unprecedented wartime ex-pansion may, in other words, be

no more than a short-lived dem-

onstration of the flexibility and power of American industry when

put to a supreme test.". The in-

creasing share of industry in pro-

viding employment and contribut-

ing to the national income, exten-

sion of the work week, and the

rising proportion of total popula-

tion at work were not, according

to the WPB, "in keeping with

This latter is a coy, technical

way of saying that now that gov-

ernment orders to industry are

well-nigh over, private industry

cannot supply jobs - which is

simply what LABOR ACTION has

long-term tendencies."

maintained all along.

to over six billion dollars.



practice. Recently, in line with the international's policy of supporting the war and abiding by the no-strike pledge and the



step toward the genuine six - hour day, but it would have necessitated the removal of the overtime-aftersix-hours clause from the contract. A step forward? Hardly that. Even "dumb" longshoremen could the grasp the phoniness of this line! The entire proposition was slapped back into the lap of the international. But the officials didn't want this hot potato to burn their hands, so they maneuvered John Schomaker, a former leader in the union and long as-



in a big way, and'it can be won. But, as is always true when dealing with an employer or the government-and today on the waterfront they are both working as one-a victory is won, not by begging government and showing the willingness to keep on fighting. workers of one section of the waterfront must be supported by all the

sociated with the CP but of late in the party's bad graces, into position to catch it. This he very obligingly did

Today Bridges can shout that it was



ployed.

The report in LABOR ACTION at ers of Green's policy against those against the progressives. He leaned

ing Local 43, and (2) carrying on a policy that has undermined the jobs and standards of ship workers.

#### CP ELECTED GREEN

At the last national convention of the union, held in Atlantic City a year ago, the Green administration was re-elected and its policies approved by the solid support of the Communist-led delegations, including Local 43. As reported in LABOR AC-TION at the time, the Communist bloc had an absolute majority in the convention. Their slate was carried in the elections of the general executive hoard.

the time pointed out that the Communists had only taken the preliminary steps necessary to take over completely. It referred to Green's position as being one in which he was only nominally in power. The Communist tactic at the convention was to grease the skids for the Green crowd in order to oust them later. The campaign to oust them is now under way.

The present attack upon Green by the Communists is typical of their cynical and hypocritical politics. They re-elected Green without a single word of public criticism. They appeared in the locals as the defend-

progressives who fought for the repeal of the no-strike pledge, against the WLB appeasement policy, and for an independent Labor Party.

The Communists sold Green to the shipyard workers as a man to support on the basis of his policies and his leadership. Now they are preparing to do a job on him. It will not be long before no story about Green will be too filthy or vile for them to circulate.

#### GREEN'S RECORD

However, Green's political record is not too good. He willingly accept-Communist support in his fight forthcoming issue. ed

heavily upon the known Communists among the international organizers to put over his appeasement program, even when he knew that these organizers were "doing a job" on the progressives in the locals by using every undemocratic trick known to the labor movement. He is now in the clinches and will, no doubt, expect the progressives, whom he permitted to be kicked around, to come to his rescue.

A more thorough analysis of this latest development in the CIO Shipbuilders Union will appear in a

the bargaining position of the union vis-a-vis the corporations which have charged the union leaders with failure to keep their membership in line. As we go to press, after all other pleas of UAW officials have failed, Richard Frankensteen, so-called labor candidate for Mayor of Detroit, is being called to try to persuade the Kelsey-Hayes strikers to go back. A

they are united against organized labor. When Ford closed his shops throughout the country and fired some 50,000 workers, using the Kelsey-Hayes strike as an excuse, he was acting in the interests of all the capitalists, who are seeking to destroy organized labor.

ceptance of the no-strike pledge

while labor's gains were being stead-

ily whittled away by the auto mag-

nates, topped by this latest action,

makes many a rank and filer dis-

Further, the leadership should rec-

ognize that it is going to have to

initiative and sacrifice of its ranks,

such as was displayed in the Kelsey-

Hayes strike, to win its fight. And

While the UAW heads have announced their preference for settling

### Frankensteen, Jeffries

#### (Continued from page 1)

ment. The present capitalist government can no more do that than could Roosevelt in the thirties or Hoover in 1929. Such planning for abundance is possible only on the basis of production for use-not for monopoly profits.

#### LABOR'S OWN PARTY

Can monopoly capitalism plan for use? Obviously not. But the working class CAN plan for the welfare of the people. But only with their own government-a workers' government. The first step in that direction is to break with the capitalist parties, to form a Labor Party. Without it, all talk of full employment and sixty million jobs is so much eyewash.

Does Frankensteen's campaign advance in any way the building of an independent Labor Party? How? With his program? His program is essentially the same as Jeffries'. Because he, in some way, represents labor? This Frankensteen would beand is-the first to deny. He claims to represent "all the people," including, no doubt, the corporation executives themselves. Perhaps because Jeffries and the press which supports him insists on calling Frankensteen a "labor man" and is opposed to the CIO taking over City Hall? But they did exactly the same for Fitzgerald, a hack Democratic politician, who was the PAC-supported candidate for Mayor in the last municipal election.

There is one way in which this bor Party.

election can be used to further the cause of independent political action by the working class. That is by learning the lesson of the campaign: without a Labor Party which the organized labor movement can control the workers remain unrepresented in the election. A Labor Party cannot be built, REAL labor men cannot be run for office until we can distinguish the real from the false. We must first learn that every "friend of labor," every man with a union card in his pocket (of whom there are dozens if not hundreds among Democratic and Republican officeholders) is not a representative of labor. We must learn that a man like Lieut.-Gov. Kennedy of Pennsylvania, who is a top official of the United Mine Workers, does not represent the mine workers in the government of the State of Pennsylvania but does represent the Democratic Party in the United Mine Workers. When that lesson is learned a Labor Party will be built. The instruments are at hand. All that is required is that the Political Action

Committee of the CIO be transformed into such a party. Those who want genuine independent political action should not throw up their hands at the present political campaign in Detroit. They, too, have a campaign to fight-and the

fight must start now. That campaign is the building of an independent LaWorkers Party Fund Report

Here are the latest results of the \$5,000 Workers Party Building Fund. A little more pushing and we will get over the top and on the road to

Boston, Buffalo, Cleveland, Detroit, Denver and San Francisco are far above their quotas and still going strong.

Akron, Baltimore, Reading, St. Louis, Streator, Syracuse and Youngstown have reached their quotas right on the dot.

Come on you stragglers, let's get going and see if you can't outstrip the leaders. New York started out well but is now down to a snail's pace.

#### All out. Over the top to \$6,000 by next week!

\$5,000 PARTY BUILDING FUND

a	\$5,000 PARTY B	UILDING F	UND	
n	City	Quota	Pledged	Cash Sent
e	Akron	\$300	\$350	\$300
g	Baltimore		10	10
-	Boston	10	40	55
f	Buffalo	250	313	288
e	Chicago		.250	64
-	Cleveland		189	129
e	Detroit		800	595
	Denver		150	175
-	Los Angeles	600	600	134
a	Louisville	140		
c	Minnesota			55
	New York	2.300	2,300	1.447
-	Oregon			25
•	Philadelphia	400		46.50
-	Reading		120	100 .
n	Seattle	150	200	135
(4)	St. Louis	50	50	50
-	Streator	50	60	50
•	San Francisco	250	605	458.50
- 1	Syracuse	10	10	10
	Youngstown	50	50	50
ć n	National Office			377
				311
•	Totals	\$5.570	\$6.097	\$4.554
e		AUL BERN,	40,001	91,001
1	a the second second	Adm	inistrative §	Corotown
1	Report 9/18/45	Aun	inistiative a	secretary.
1			5 10 1	

## **U. S. Policy in Japan** (Continued from page 1)

as hundreds of thousands of acres of land.

"The only difference," Lattimore added, "is that the civilians or industrialists are the go-slow crowd . . . the militarists are the go-fast; the Emperor belongs to both of them."

The Japanese capitalists and the American authorities are as one in wanting a tough policing of the Japanese masses. For themselves, the industrialists and their tool, the Emperor, have decided to be satisfied with what they will get out of Japanese-American collaboration. Both fear a strong proletarian

movement that will in all likelihood find allies among the labor movements of China and of other Far Eastern countries. Once the lid is off, the United States will have to fight for its imperialist life in the Far East and the Japanese capitalist system will be finished. The objection which the liberal

press in this country makes to the "soft peace" is not based on these truths, however, but on the fact that Japan is likely to rearm as Germany did after the last war. These writers forget that the United States is now in a position where she can dictate who shall and who shall not have access to the world's raw materials and that if Japan rearms, it will only be with American help and approval. But there is one sense in which the parallel between events in Germany in 1918 and Japan in 1945 is correct. In both situations, the peace terms were based on the fear of proletarian revolution, and on the desire to have a bulwark against Russia. Except that with regard to the latter country, it must be noted that it now represents a different type of threat to the Allies than it did in 1918. At present it is another imperialist rival.

At that time, it was the inspiration job if they can ever acquire freedom for the proletarian revolution. It is impossible to tell as yet whether or not there exists an underground organized working class

movement in Japan. But from the very fear of revolution which the Japanese and American authorities betray, it is obvious that the Japanese workers and peasants are known to have the capacity for doing a good

of action. The American labor movement

must also practise a little collaboration. We must demand that after all these years of suppression, of starvation, of blood sacrifice on the altar of Japanese capitalism, the Japanese workers should have the right to organize themselves, free from American interference.

## **Rubber Foremen Strike**

#### By MEL STRONG

AKRON-The plants of the Goodrich Rubber Co. have been closed by a strike of the foremen, who, after organizing about 95 per cent of the foremen, found themselves unrecognized as a bargaining agency by the company.

The foremen are realizing that, after all, they are workers too for all practical purposes.

For ten days the plants were closed by the arogant company refused to bargain, using the specious argument that foremen are a part of management. The foremen know better. They realize that they are only the errand boys of the real management and are caught between the militancy of the workers and the union-busting ambitions of the management. The foremen's demands are very

modest but still unacceptable to the management. They want a six and a half hour day corresponding with the workday of the workers. They want an end to indiscriminate firing without regard to seniority and recognition of the Foremen's Association as the collective bargaining agency for the foremen.

The company has stated that its relations with the foremen have always been very satisfactory but this is not borne out in the facts of today, when 95 per cent of the foremen are organized and foremen with fifteen to twenty years' service are on the picket line.

#### RANK AND FILE SUPPORT

The official policy of the URW Locol No. 5 was neutral but the rank and filers were not neutral, as evidenced by their desire to give support to the foremen in the strike. In fact at first the union leadership was trying to launch a back - to - work movement but it got exactly nowhere with the rank and file.

Recently, John Saylor, president of Local 5, called upon the Akron Ministerial Association to mediate the strike. This proposal met with a rebuff from the company, and the preachers have gone back to their studies and pulpits. Now many of the workers think that it is time for the union leaders to get back on the job of working for the best interest of the unions. An expression of solidarity and support is the minimum that the rank and file should demand.

#### September 24, 1945

5





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#### Workers Party Program for Organized Labor

#### In the Reconversion and Post-War Period

**Scuttling Jobless Pay in Senate** 

FOR THE UNEMPLOYED AND VETERANS: the national income and a thirty-hour maximum work week. 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. Absorption of all workers thrown into unemployment during reconversion by reduction of the work-week with no reduction in weekly take-home pay.

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

#### FOR THE POST-WAR:

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

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

With unemployment well over the 3

million mark and steadily increasing, the

Senate finance committee last week suc-

ceeded in doing a hospital job on the al-

ready anemic "\$25-for-twenty-six-weeks"

Kilgore unemployment compensation bill,

using the threadbare, hypocritical argu-

ment of not wanting to interfere with

The bill which will be reported to the

Senate, rejects any increases over present

state payments which average \$17.74,

ranging from \$9 a week in North Caro-

For any increases in the duration of

payments, it would require state Govern-

ors to make a formal request of the Fed-

eral Government which will supplement

the duration of payment but not the

It is also reported by the New York

Times that what it consistently headlines

"States' rights."

amount.

lina to \$19.61 in Michigan.

Editorials\_

THESE AIMS TO BE ACHIEVED .THROUGH:

(Third Floor)

6. A \$250 billion five-year program to provide decent housing for all, extensive public works, rural electrification and modernization. 7. Conscription of all war industries; nation-

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

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

THIS PROGRAM TO BE CARRIED OUT BY: 9. Control of production by democraticallyelected workers' committees.

10. An independent Labor Party and a work-

necessary items of food and clothing is

the jobless worker's harrassed housewife

going to cross off her budget averaging

\$17.61 as "desirable" but not "essential"?

vants of private wealth is clear. A large

outlay for unemployment compensation

would place a greater tax burden on big

business. Greater unemployment compen-

sation would mean less competition be-

tween the employed and jobless for the

jobs which do not exist, and hence tend

Congress long ago, with foresight as

well as speed, took care of guaranteeing

profits to business during the reconversion

period, after having furnished it with a

market throughout the war. Now, labor

gets its "reward" for having worked, sac-

rificed, endured the no-strike pledges and

Big business, bigger and fatter from its

hush war profits, takes this round. And it

to keep wages higher.

sent its sons to die.

The motivation of these senatorial ser-



The pattern of racial relationships is being hammered out by the basic economic and social forces in the country.

The leaders of Negro organizations are compelled to recognize that unemployment is fundamentally not a Negro but a national problem. Walter White, of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, gave evidence before the Senate Banking and Currency Committee on the Murray full employment bill. With a lot of rubbish about the "integrity of our war aims," which we regretfully ignore for the time being, White made it clear that only a federal guarantee of unemployment can save Negroes from the full weight of the oppression and discrimination under which they suffer.

What is important is that this statement by the secretary of the NAACP will do much to concentrate the attention of thousands of Negroes upon their place in the economic system taken as a whole.

#### JOHN LEWIS' STATEMENT

The day after White came John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers, Union. Lewis urged an

amendment so that local prevailing wage scales should not be used as a weapon for the exploitation of Negroes in the South. John L. used some strong words:

"Contractors and employers in the South, notoriously anti-union and anti-labor ... continue their unwholesome and their vicious exploitation of the Negro race.... [The] standard of living in the South ... is unwholesome and vicious ...

Whenever the leader of the mine them to the government, to the state. something of importance in mind. Lewis is drawing attention to the fact that Southern opposition to the Murray bill is not only reactionary in general but is directed especially at keeping the Negroes in their present miserable position. This helps to keep down not only the Negroes but the whites. And as Lewis made clear, this is a threat to labor standards all over the country.

Thus within two days we see foreshadowed the alliance which must come ultimately in the United States. the alliance between the militant labor movement and the Negro organizations. The National Urban League takes much the same stand as White of the NAACP.

Already in the elections of 1943 in Detroit, there was an unorganized yet very significant united front between the labor movement and the Negroes to defeat Mayor Jeffries. The movement sprang out of the tension and passions which followed the riots in the summer of 1943. Thus out of the strictly racial conflicts, and again out of the more national problem of unemployment, there is the tendency of Negro organizations and organized labor to find themselves on the same side, moving against the common enemy.

#### GOVERNMENT STRESS

This recognition by Negro leaders of the primacy of government in the unemployment question has implications far beyond what is evident to their short-sighted vision. Unemployment is today a political question. The unemployment, or unfair lack of employment, of Negroes is a political question.

Witness the agitation over a na-

workers speaks with emphasis, he has The Negroes seek to compel the private employer to cease his discrimination - and they seek to do so through the government. Sooner or later Negroes will learn that only a workers' government can do this.

> The masses of Negroes will have far more voice and weight in a workers' government, based on organizations of the workers, than in any Republican or Democratic Party government.

> But the Negroes cannot form a workers' government by themselves. Therefore the logical thing is for them to declare for a Labor Party and a workers' government to be formed by organized labor.

> Well over a million Negroes will be in this from the start. It is the only hope for Negroes to attain their twentieth century emancipation.

#### PART OF GENERAL PROBLEM

And if, as White and the Urban League recognize, the special problems of Negroes can only be solved in the solution of the general problem of unemployment, then the Negro problem again points to a workers' government and a Labor Party. Now Walter White and even John L. Lewis may not see this. But that

new generation of Negroes who are determined not to stand any more of what their parents had to endure must learn to read the signs of the times and think ahead and act accordingly.

They should recognize their responsibility not only to the Negro cause but to the country as a whole. In declaring now for a Labor Party and a workers' government, they not only point a road for the whole country. They indicate the only solution for the Negroes' problems which have beset them for over three centuries.



#### By BRITANNICUS

It is the simplest thing to say that the economy of Britain is in a state of ruin, that the Labor government has been given power to reorganize it and that socialism is now on trial. That is true, but until you examine what it means in concrete terms it remains a lot of words.

To see what the Labor government has to do. it would be well to begin with a simple problem like housing. The Labor government has to build houses or see that houses are built for the population of Britain.

The number of houses in Britain is about twelve and a half million. Of these, five million are over sixty years old. Of the remaining seven million, two million are over a hundred years old.

Isn't it obvious at once that to talk about giving adequate modern housing to the people of Britain involves a fundamental reorganization of the whole economic system?

This is what we have to prove. For all talk about adequate housing which does not envisage a total reconstruction is nonsense, designed to deceive the people. (American workers, please take note.)

#### **Churchill Program**

\*

The Churchill government calculated that Britain needed about four million new houses. Before it went out of office it had stated that two years

after the end of the war it would have supplied 200,000 houses. No, that is no mistake. Not 2,000,000. No. Only one-tenth of that-200,000.

Between January, 1939, and September, 1944, the number of marriages in Britain was 2.368 .-298. In another four years we may confidently expect at the very least the same number. The actual number, judging by pres-

ent averages, will probably be much greater. Year after year the old houses in Britain are becoming unfit for human habitation. At the rate of building proposed by the Churchill government, the new houses will never catch up with the deterioration of the old. As has been proved over and over again, the situation gets progressively worse. More and more people live in old, dilapidated houses despite the photographs in the papers and the ballyhoo about the marvelous new projects.

Not only is there overcrowding in the old houses. In Scotland it has been found that in the houses built by the municipal authorities, the overcrowding was greater than in the old houses. In the thickly populated urban and industrial areas of Scotland the people are compelled to crowd into the new houses instead of crowding into the old.

The municipal authorities, many of them under the control of labor, continue to build undersized houses. But the truth is, whether they build large or small, they cannot keep up with the pressure of the population. This is from the report of the Scottish Housing Committee of 1944. We may mention that between 1918 and 1938 the unemployed building workers, if employed, could have built two and a half million houses.

#### **Problem of Labor Government**

This is the problem faced by the Labor govern- , ment headed by Prime Minister Attlee. What are their plans? The Churchill government promised



200,000 houses at the end of two years after the war. The Labor government will nromi



**STALIN AND THE KURILE ISLANDS** 

By ALBERT GATES (Conclusion) Elsewhere in his "victory speech" Stalin reached a new low in nationalist degeneration when he identified himself and his government with the imperialist-expansionist policy of Czarism. He said:

". . . the defeat of Russian troops in 1904 in the period of the Russo-Japanese War left grave memories in the minds of our peoples. It was a dark stain on our country. Our people trusted and awaited the day when Japan would be routed and the stain wiped out. "For forty years have we, men of the older generation, waited for this day. And now this day has

come."

rialist on both sides.

But not only the labor movement opposed the war and was defeatist. The new capitalist class which was just emerging in Russian society also opposed the war and was defeatist, hoping that a Japanese victory would destroy



waited for this day." The workers did not wait for it; the peasants did not wait for it. No, not even Stalin waited for this day. For during the many years that he was a Bolshevik, that is, until Lenin died, he held the same position on the Russo-Japanese war as did the Bolsheviks, namely, that the war was an imperialist war, that the masses of people should



that ". . . the defeat of Russian In a word, the whole Russian Troops in 1904 . . . left grave labor movement opposed the war and called for the defeat of the memories in the minds of our people." It is an even greater lie to Czar, holding Russian imperialsay that "for forty years have we, ism primarily responsible for the men of the older generation, war, but describing it as impe-

as the "idle pay" bill for a \$25 maximum pending in the House Ways and Means Committee does not have the support of more than six of the twenty-five man committee.

The sops in the Senate measure-\$200 maximum travel pay and extension of coverage to 3 million civilian Federal employees-do not make up for the injustice of their action.

#### TRUMAN'S POSITION

It is reported that Truman in a memo to the committee listed certain items in the bill as "desirable" and others as "essential." The maximum "\$25-for-twenty-six weeks" he labelled "desirable!" How many

will continue to take the rest until labor gets its own representatives in the Senate and the House, spokesmen of a genuine labor party.

Due to our devotion of an entire page of LABOR ACTION to the important New York mayoralty campaign in this issue, space limitations prevented publication of numerous items. We wish to acknowledge in particular contributions from our field correspondents in Detroit and Buffalo which will appear next week.

All of this is untrue. The Russo-Japanese war was extremely unpopular in Russia. The masses hated the war and hoped that the Czar would be defeated. Hundreds of thousands went into hiding and additional hundreds of thousands left the country to avoid military service.

The Bolshevik Party of which Stalin was a member opposed the Russo-Japanese war, denounced Czarist and Japanese imperialism, and hoped for the defeat of Russia in the war! Stalin supported that policy, identified himself with it completely!

The Mensheviks (right - wing socialists) also opposed the war and like the Bolsheviks, were defeatists!

NEW EMPIRE-BUILDER

the hold of the nobility and the landlords on the nation. In other words, the overwhelming majority of the country, the organized labor movement, the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks. and the new capitalist class opposed the war and hoped for a Russian defeat. It is a typical Stalinist lie to say

When Stalin speaks as he does today, it is because he has ceased to be a Bolshevik, that is, ceased to be a socialist, an internationalist completely devoted to the interests of the world emancipation of all exploited and oppressed people.

Stalin has become a Great Russian Nationalist, an imperialist. That alone explains why today, forty years after the Russo-Japanese war, he identifies himself and his ruling class with the imperialist interests of Czarism and the landlords in that war and the most extreme right wing of that bloody gang, to boot.

-we don't know as yet. But if

they multiply the Churchill government by three, that makes only 600,000. There will still be the five million houses sixty years old, the two million houses one hundred years old.

What is required is a national plan, not to build so many houses every year, but to rebuild or reconstruct the whole of British housing. The first thing is to take over all the land and plan the construction city by city. The next thing is to take over all the houses and ruthlessly plan to get rid of the slums and replace them year by year with new modern houses.

But you cannot stop there. House-building involves timber, concrete, iron, steel, lead, transport and, above all, labor-power. How much of Britain's productive capacity must go to housing, and how much to the replacement of old machinery and the building of new? How many workers should be assigned to the building trades?

This involves control over the whole national economy, not only over the land and the houses. but of all the capital in the country. All talk about providing adequate homes for the population which does not have some complete program of this kind in mind, is pure deceit.

#### Labor's Timidity

But, and this is the tragedy, the Labor government trembles in all its bones at the thought of taking over the land, or taking over the houses, of apportioning labor, coal, oil, steel, transport for the purposes of building a people's Britain.

Have they got the power? Of course they have. they told the British people what was required, what they intended to do, and appealed particularly to the trade unions and the millions in the army who support them, the housing question could become the starting-point of a social revolution in Britain.

The great masses in Britain would not only support them enthusiastically. Once they saw that the Labor government, their government, meant business, they would cheerfully endure great sacrifices, great hardships and labor devotedly to lay the foundation of a people's Britain. The capitalists and landlords, particularly in Britain today, would have to accept.

But this would mean that the Labor government would have to break sharply with the King and court, the whole structure of British government as it has been built up during the centuries, break with the ruling staffs of the army, the navy and the air force, break with the whole conception and practice of the Empire-and last but not least, break with the Truman government.

What we have to understand is why so overwhelming a vote for socialism and so powerful a social force as British labor should find its government leaders so weak, so timid, and utterly unable to do more than offer a little more (sometimes less) than a Tory government. This we shall see in the next article.



### Socialist Youth Organization - -

(Continued from page 1) to affiliate to the Workers Party shortly before the conference.

The Syracuse delegates reported that they were a new group, just establishing themselves, and were assembling the nucleus for a stable group.

The New York delegates reported some six months of activity as a youth forum devoted to educating young people on the Marxist point of view on current problems. The development of the group had reached a stage where it constituted itself as the Socialist Youth League with some twenty-five members. It reported active participation in the Shachtman campaign for Mayor, having sup-plied volunteers for the petition campaign.

The Chicago delegates reported that their group was the result of a left-wing development in the Young Peoples Socialist League, the youth section of Norman Thomas' Socialist Party. A group of YPSL members be-came convinced that the Socialist Pary would never become a serious party of the workers dedicated to revolutionary socialism, and resigned from that organization to affiliate to the Workers Party. Adding to their ranks several young workers from one of Chicago's basic industries, the group has organized itself as the Socialist Youth League, affiliated to the Workers Party.

#### that their group consists of students at the University of Wisconsin. Although they are not in touch with young workers or the labor movement, they view their future as a very promising one, based upon work among the awakening student

Erber, who served as national chairman of the YPSL from 1935 to 1939, then reported on the past experiences of the Socialist Youth movement in this country, on the need which such a movement must fulfill, and what its role should be. He pointed out that the present generation of youth had borne the brunt of the war's suffering and that it would also have to bear the brunt of the cialism, the discontented youth would

This report was thoroughly discussed by the delegates and a series of motions adopted on the building of the national organization. It was

decided to wait for a constitutional convention before giving the organization a definite name. Meanwhile its local affiliates would function under their present names, adding "Affiliated to the National Provisional Committee for a Socialist Youth League." Shachtman inspired the conference

with a brief speech that appealed to the delegates to build a movement to win the young people for the ideas of the Workers Party. He stressed the role of the youth movement as the training ground for activists and leaders for the party organization. He emphasized the need to appeal to the young workers, to concentrate activ-

ities around the shops, the working class neighborhoods and the trade unions, and to make the young workers, rather than the students, the foundation of the movement.

The rest of the session was devoted to a discussion of ways and means of conducting the work of the organiza-

The conference was attended by eleven delegates and twelve visitors. It elected a National Committee of eight members, to which is to be added a representative of the party oranization. The National Committee has established its office in New York City, in the national headquarters of the Workers Party. It has designated Shirley Waller of Chicago as national secretary.

The Madison delegates reported

body, above all, the young veterans returning to the campus.

#### ERBER SPEAKS TO YOUTH

coming economic dislocation, with its mass unemployment. Out of this situation the youth would become dissatisfied with the present state of affairs and seek some radical solution. Unless a powerful Socialist Youth movement was on the scene to win the youth as allies of the working class in the struggle for so-

fall victim to fascist demagogy.

# LABOR ACTION

## **NEW YORK ELECTION PAGE**

This is the first of a series of full pages of LABOR ACTION which will be devoted to the New York mayoralty campaign.

ONE CENT

**SEPTEMBER 24, 1945** 

# **Workers Party Candidate for Mayor Tackles** THE MAIN ISSUE-JOBS!

# The Mayoralty Merry Go Round In New York

#### By Straphanger

As the New York mayoralty contest goes into its first rounds, it bears all the classical earmarks of the typical New York political slugfest; both major candidates are studiously ignoring their own and their opponents' program, or more exactly lack of program, while they concentrate on slinging that apparently inexhaustible, and indispensable political element-mud.

It is rumored that volunteer workers at the swanky headquarters of both the O'Dwyer (Democratic-American Labor Party) and Goldstein (Republican-Fusion-Liberal) campaigns, are negotiating with the Surplus Property Board for substantial purchases of hip-boots (to wade through the mud thrown by their opponents-most of which sticks) and gas-masks, to protect themselves from their own public fulminations. Or if they aren't they should be.

These campaign tactics may be carried out with an eye to the entertainment of the growing thousands of New York City's unemployed, who, once they have spent their quota of hours at USES filing for unemployment compensation, have lots of time to spare to watch the political street fights. But as a cold and biting fall sets in, it is to be hoped and expected that this pasttime will begin to pall. It is already becoming clear that the mud slinging covers nothing more than empty pages-that neither of the major candidates has any program to meet the needs of the working people of the world's largest city. Unemployment continues to mount in the city which can shortly expect one million men returning from the armed forces who expect to find security and the decent life they were told they were fighting for.

The issues of this campaign are serious ones and must be considered seriously, and politically. Politics in New York has been for too long equated with "dirty politics." The people of New York must enter into politics to see that pertinent problems are considered and acted upon, for they cannot be solved without political action.

#### O'DWYER VS. GOLDSTEIN

\* And what do the two illustrious capitalist candidates competing for the position of Mayor of New York have to say about these problems? Judge Goldstein spends most of his time crying, "Thief," accusing his opponents of trying to get the city back in the greedy clutches of Tammany.

In one of what his political opponents have aptly termed "Jonah's Wails." he protests over and over that the only issue in New York is that of good, clean, municipal government. He accuses his opponents of being supported by an unholy alliance of Tammany and Communists, while a lesser Goldstein supporter, District Attorney of Kings County, Beldock, casts none too subtle aspersions about O'Dwyer's rise to the rank of General as a "swivel-chaired soldier.

Quick as a flash O'Dwyer's headquarters come back with the accusation that Goldstein is handpicked by Dewey, the reactionary, in a plot to further Dewey's political ambitions. Furthermore, they hint that there irregularities in Beldock's office and what's more William Herlands, former Commissioner of Investigations, now Goldstein's campaign manager, has been guilty of intimidating Negroes. The labor supporters of Goldstein, the Tammany renegade, and O'Dwyer, whom the ALP in the last Mayoralty election, denounced as a tool of the reactionaries, meanwhile are desperately trying to convince the labor movement of New York that it should support one or the other of these capitalist candidates.

## **Program of the Workers Party** For the New York City Elections

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

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

#### 2. Clear the Slums!

For a \$121/2 billion, five-year housing and public works program in New York City, as part of a national \$250 billion program to provide decent housing, schools, hospitals and recreational facilities.

#### 3. End the Black Market in Food!

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

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

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

#### 5. Jobs and Full Opportunities for Veterans! Two years' base pay grant to all demobilized veterans,

with the option of trade school and higher educational facilities at government expense, guarantee of adequate family maintenance and guarantee of decent jobs.

6. Raise the Money by Taxing the Profiteers! A 100 per cent tax on all war profits above a five per-

## A Valentine for O'Dwyer

#### By WALTER WEISS

About a week before his resignation from public office took effect, York's police commissioner, New Lewis J. Valentine, granted an interview to newspapermen.

Having already landed himself a soft \$50,000 job on the radio, Valentine must have been prepared to meet the press in a mellow mood. However, according to the newspaper PM of September 7, he blew up when man Drews, who had been caught one reporter had the nerve to ask, "Are you satisfied, now that you are leaving, that the Christian Front [a notorious fascist outfit - Ed.] has been cleaned out of the Police Department?" In 1940, the Brooklyn leader of the Christian Front testified in court that 500 policemen in Brooklyn alone had applied for membership in his fascist group. Valentine, in the same year, reported to the Mayor that about 400 cops in the whole city AD-MITTED that they were or had been

Mayor

4 /

chine.

.

BOLDSTEIN

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you.

How to Pull the Lever

For Max Shachtman

members. Only twenty-seven had not yet resigned, he added.

LA GUARDIA Nothing was done about the situation. Mayor La Guardia remained

perfectly satisfied with the Police Department and with Valentine. In fact. La Guardia himself on one of his weekly radio programs staged a of one Patrolwith a cellar full of fascist literature preaching racial and religious hatred. On the very day that Valentine refused to "comment," Councilman Michael J. Quill, a leader of the American Labor Party, was demanding that La Guardia investigate the "pro-Nazi element in the Police Department." This demand arose from an incident in which a Jewish woman, living in the Bronx, was arrested for the "crime" of defending herself from anti-Semitic insults in an A&P store. While charges against her were dis-

The New York Board of Elections has voted

This was done in spite of the fact that the

to deny Max Shachtman, Workers Party candi-

date for Mayor, a separate line on the voting ma-

Workers Party nominating petition was filed before that of three other candidates who will now

appear before Max Shachtman on the voting ma-

chine. One of the three was Newbold Morris, who

was granted a line for himself. Another was Jo-

nah Goldstein on the Fusion ticket, who now has

ocratic decision which discriminates against the

names will appear on the voting machine when

The Workers Party has protested this undem-

At the left of this story you will see how the

Max Shachtman's name appears on Line I (last

Vote Line I, Column 2. Pull lever on

Clip the diagram and take it to the polls with

Don't permit the action of the Board of Elec-

tions to confuse the working class voters of New

York or to lose a single vote for Max Shachtman

and the program of the Workers Party!

three lines on which he appears.

working class minority parties.

you go to the polls in November.

last row, last column.

line), Column 2.

missed in court, there is no prospect that the real offenders in the case, including the police, will be punished.

What the workers of New York ning and financing of production for should observe is that American Labor Party Leader Quill, long a folproblem brought on by the crash of lower of the so-called "Communist" (Stalinist) Party, was one of those business) even went on a sit-down who begged La Guardia to run for

#### By RUTH PHILLIPS

Yesterday's heroes of production have become today's army of the unemployed. Two hundred thousand "reconverted" New Yorkers are already out on the streets hunting for jobs. Tens of thousands more in New York's shops and factories fearfully await their turn to be "reconverted." Still others are bringing home severely flattened pay envelopes to harrassed housewives, who are trying to square black market prices with peacetime pay cuts.

Yesterday there was an endless stream of government money pouring into production, guaranteeing cost-plus contracts and profits and insuring the post-war future of big business by tax refunds and subsidies. Today that stream of government money has suddenly dried up. Instead there are cancellations and cutbacks.

The government which organized and financed production (to the tune of five dollars invested for every one dollar from private business) so that the national production of goods and services rose from \$99 billion

ogy and science, fully utilized, can in 1929 to \$195 billion in 1944, provide jobs for all through peaceno longer needs guns, tanks time production of the needs of the and atomic bombs. The planpeople. ning of production is therefore

#### PLANNING FOR PEACE

The government in wartime guaranteed profits and made possible the comfortable post-war reserves of big business. The government in peacetime must guarantee an annual wage to every working man and woman and every veteran.

Every worker must meet guaranteed annual bills for food, clothing, medical expenses, etc. He must must have a minimum \$2,500 wage.

The guarantee of a job at a living wage-this is the central point in the election platform of the Workers Party and its candidate for Mayor of New Vork, Max Shachtman. Obviously this is not merely a New York issue. The problem of full employment can be solved only by over-all national planning of production.

Our candidate does not promise to hand out jobs like the candidates of other parties hand out cigars. Jobs for all can become a reality if the government takes over, idle plants, nationalizes the basic industries of the country and establishes the thir-

WOLK MEER

cent maximum on invested capital; a \$25,000 ceiling on individual incomes; and a tax on all accumulated capital

over \$50,000. No tax on incomes of \$5,000 and under. No

The huge industrial plants, mines, transportation and

communication systems, banks and chain stores and the

land should be nationalized and operated under workers'

control in order to provide jobs for all and produce the

Against peacetime military conscription of American

youth! For a truly democratic peace which means no

land-grabbing under any pretext; no reparations and no

slave labor. Complete independence for all colonies and

subject peoples and the right of all people democrati-

9. For a Genuine Labor Party and a Workers

Government to Carry Out the Above Pro-

Break with the capitalist parties and their politicians

and candidates. The above program cannot be carried

out without labor's own party. In the place of the gov-

ernment of the monopolists, bankers and war profiteers,

a workers' government to serve the interest of the com-

10. For a Socialist United States of America

and capitalist profits produce for the needs of all the

Make the machines that now produce only for war

sales tax on everyday needs and comforts.

7. Nationalize Big Business!

goods needed by the people.

8. For a Democratic Peace!

cally to decide their own future.

with Plenty for All!

gram!

mon people.

people!

The ALP, forgetting how it attacked O'Dwyer in the last election, now attempts to present him as the champion of liberalism against Dewey. It points out, and quite correctly, that the postwar problems of New York City cannot be solved alone, that they must be solved as part of a larger State and Federal program. Mike Quill, the Stalinist leader of the Transport Workers Union, thunders that the Republican candidate wants a return to the days of apple-selling and Hooverism, and with Hillman paints a picture of the unsavory ex-District Attorney O'Dwyer as a latter-day saint of New Dealism.

The Liberals immediately come back with the indisputable point that Tammany is part of the reactionary wing of the Democratic Party, allied with the Southern reactionaries and Bourbons. And when Henry Wallace, who has been second only to Roosevelt in the pure heart of the Liberals and Mrs. Roosevelt, comes out in support of the Democratic machine politician, O'Dwyer, the Liberals can only pull their hair feebly and mutter words about Henry living so far away from New York in Washington that he really doesn't know the score.

Meanwhile, Newbold Morris, the candidate of the No-Deal Party, whose campaign no one takes seriously except LaGuardia, whom no one takes seriously, appropriately launches one of his early campaign speeches from the St. Ann's graveyard in the Bronx, at the tombstone of his more illustrious, energetic and reactionary ancestors, Gouverneur Morris, and comes out with the comforting thought that it is not who your ancestors were that makes you a true American, but your spirit.

#### WHAT DOES LABOR GET?

The New York labor movement can expect nothing from any of these backbiting machine politicians. It is true that New York problems cannot be solved outside of a larger Federal program. Even Goldstein when he states the fact that one-fourth of the city needs housing can only speak of a solution in terms of a municipal-state-federal program.

This candidate of Dewey can do nothing more than mutter that he will do everything he can to get jobs and housing before passing over, quickly and with great relief, to the question of "good, clean government," where he can thunder like a lion.

Nor does O'Dwyer, for all his fine talk, have a solution for the big problems of reconversion. This Tammany machine politician is part and parcel of the Democratic Party which in Congress every day shows its contempt for labor and its problems, sabotages all efforts for decent unemployment compensation and full employment, along with its Republican birds-of-a-feather.

Neither the ALP nor the Liberal Party, who have been busy lining up trade union support of their respective candidates, deserve the confidence of labor in this city. It is especially regrettable that such unions as Local 365 of the UAW should fall into the ALP-Stalinist trap and come out in support of O'Dwyer.

The members of Local 365 who were shut out when the Brewster Aircraft plant shut down, and staged such a splendid protest, know all too well what the fine promises of Democratic politicians in Washington and New York mean-and that is nothing.

New York labor, like labor throughout the country, must show that it is sick and tired of machine politicians and their lying promises. Labor must fight now for a real program for reconversion and for its own party. It can best indicate its desire for a real program and a real labor party this election by voting for the candidate who has such a program. Max Shachtman, Workers Party candidate for Mayor, whose platform is printed elsewhere in this issue.

again. This in spite of La Guardia's miserable treatment of Quill's own Transport Workers Union and in spite of La Guardia's attitude toward fascist activities among the police.

Not only that. It has recently been reported-and not denied-that General William O'Dwyer, mayoralty candidate of Tammany Hall and of Quill's American Labor Party, informed Valentine that he could continue to be police commissioner in the event of O'Dwyer's election.

#### POLICE VS. LABOR

Republicans and Democrats, Democrats and Republicans, even when they have a "labor mask" in the form of support by an American Labor Party or a Liberal Party, use the Police Department, so far as they dare, to break strikes, to protect the persecutors of Negroes, Jews and other minorities and generally to uphold "law and order" in the interests of the capitalist rulers of society.

#### strike in the early days of war production, refusing to produce without guarantees of big profits.

turned back into the hands of

private enterprise. The jobless may

console themselves with the empty

But there can be sixty million jobs

jobs at a guaranteed annual living

wage! However, it is a certainty in

advance that they cannot and will

not be provided by that sacred cow

called "free enterprise," nor even by

all the pretty phrases of Henry Wal-

lace. Free enterprise has given this

country thirteen major economic cri-

ses since 1854, each one worse than

The crash of 1929 and the long,

lean years after, should have proved

to everyone's satisfaction the incom-

petency of the system of free enter-

prise. It was only government plan-

war which solved the unemployment

1929. "Free enterprise" (read: big

promises of sixty million jobs.

SIXTY MILLION JOBS

the preceding one.

Government planning for war country, will get job security only by brought full employment through the . fighting for such a program and the full use of the giant productive forces kind of government that can carry of America. Government encouragement made possible great strides forward in technology and science. The same productive machinery, technol-

The workers of New York, in common with those of the whole it out. A first concrete step in this direction is to cast a labor-socialist vote for Max Shachtman in November.

**New York Readers:** DOWN BEAT BAND FOOD AND FUN WITCHES ON BROOMSTICKS . TURKEY IN THE STRAW SUNDAY NITE CARAVAN HALL October 28th 110 East 59th Street

ADMISSION \$1.00 PLUS TAX

PROCEEDS TO SHACHTMAN-FOR-MAYOR CAMPAIGN FUND Auspices: Workers Party Election Campaign Committee

## **Campaign Contributions**

It is estimated by reports from top cam- ported spending a total of \$270,165 in 1941. paign workers that by the time the New as \$3,000,000 to elect a mayor. The totals members and sympathizers in the working

which will be reported in accordance with the law that requires each candidate, party and campaign committee to file with the Board of Elections will be nowhere near that amount.

There are many ways of concealing contributions admitted privately by these very cam-

paign managers. PM reports that a politician contribute generously to the Shachtman-forwho was active in the 1941 LaGuardia-O'Dwyer campaign knows "one of the 19 groups which backed La Guardia raised and spent \$200,000." Yet not one of the 19 La Guardia groups reported spending as much as \$40,000 and the total reported for all the 19 groups was \$329,964. O'Dwyer forces re-

The Workers Party has nothing to conceal York mayoralty campaign is over, the Dem- in its report of campaign expenditures. Beocratic and Republican and other capitalist cause it is a working class, socialist organizaparties will have raised and spent as much tion its contributions come only from its

> class. It has no financial backing from big business. It is therefore doubly difficult for the Workers Party to obtain the necessary funds for leaflets, campaigning, radio time, etc.

> We appeal to the sympathizers of LABOR ACTION and especially our New York readers to

Mayor Campaign.

Name				
Address				
Pledge	L	Encl	losed.	
Send all	donations to	Workers	Party,	114
West 14th	Street, New	York 11,	N. Y.	-
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