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FEBRUARY 4, 1946

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

LABOR ACTION

80 98

ONE CENT

AGAINST. COMPANY SECURITY, AGAINST. PRICE RISE, WAGE FIXING!

Next Week in Labor Action

The re-entry of the United Mine Workers of America into the American Federation of Labor is an event of considerable importance to the labor movement. This action by



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the UMW, under John L. Lewis, raises a number of questions relating to the future labor unity and the relations between the AFL and the CIO.

What effect, for example, will Lewis' action have on future inter-union affairs? Will it lead to a raid on the CIO by the AFL?

Will it further the cause of industrial unionism? Will it aid labor unity and strengthen the labor movement?

These questions, as well as others, will be discussed in the next issue of LABOR ACTION. Be sure to get your copy!

Ask Nuremberg Court To Bare Facts on Frameup of Trotsky

Party, the British section of the cream of the Old Bolsheviks were Fourth International, recently raised shot and done to death. Here is an the demand that an elemental func- opportunity to prove to the skeptics tion of the trials now being conducted at Nuremberg should be to the Russian government's allegations investigate the charges levelled that Trotsky collaborated and acted against Trotsky and others during as an agent of the Nazis and the the infamous Moscow Trials of 1936- British against the Soviet Union. 37 (that he worked in league with German fascism to plan intervention in Russia and that the charges either be proved true or that they be confirmed a frame-up, as world public opinion now believes.

Among those to whom this demand was addressed were Clement Attlee, the British Prime Minister; Sir Hartley Shawcross, British Attorney-General; W. Rust, editor of the

The Revolutionary Communist the Nuremberg trial, upon which the of the Moscow Trials the truth of "The failure to produce such evidence at the Nuremberg trial will establish that the Stalinist government was guilty of a monstrous frame-up against the Old Bolsheviks and Leon Trotsky." The letter to Attlee follows:

23rd December 1945. Mr. C. Attlee. Prime Minister, 10 Downing

Hold On!



By DAVID COOLIDGE

U.S. Gov't

Takes Over

Meat Plants

CHICAGO, Jan. 28-Carrying out its

threat, the government "seized" the

meat packing industry at 12:01 a.m.

January 26. Twelve hours later the

leadership of the United Packing-

house Workers Union issued a state-

ment urging its 200,000 members to

return to work the following Mon-

day. In Chicago, after sugary speech-

es of assurance from their leadership

that "the strike has not ended," and

is not lost, representatives of 100 lo-

cals in the nation voted unanimously

to accept the decision of the strike

strategy committee to return to work.

bert March, district director of the

UPWA and Communist Party stooge,

in which he said: "By golly, we beat

workers have suffered a setback in

their struggle for higher wages. Un-

der the provisions of the govern-

ment "seizure," the workers return to

work under the very same condi-

tions that existed before the strike.

In the meantime, while the workers

same miserable hourly rate, a gov-

the

packers," the packinghouse

Contrary to the statement of Her-

By PAUL NEWMAN

While the CIO bureaucracy, led by Philip Murray, organizes mass retreats for the million CIO workers now on strike, the capitalist ruling class employers continue and intensify their drive against the working class and organized labor.

"Steel Parleys Go on in Secret in Washington," the capitalist press reports. What are these "secret" steel discussions? They are conversations between Fairless of U.S. Steel and the federal government over granting an increase in the price of steel of from \$4.00 to \$6.25 a ton before the steel companies accept the "demand" of Truman that the steel workers be given an increase

of 181/2 cents an hour.

The steel manufacturers and their government negotiate behind closed doors and in secret while the steel workers wait and while, according to the press, "Mr. Murray himself... was silent."

Murray is silent. The 700,000 steel workers wait. But the steel companies do not wait. They fight for the increase in the price of steel so that they can be assured that even the slightest increase in wages will not disturb the profits, the dividends and the interest payments to bondholders. The capitalist employers are not only conspiring with the executive branch of their government in Washington, but also with the legislative branch against labor. They have caused dozens of anti-labor bills to be introduced into THEIR House of Representatives and into THEIR Senate. Every one of these dozens of anti-labor bills is aimed at placing the trade unions in shackles. Truman is the sponsor of one of these bills, which calls for the establishment of "fact-finding" committees to have authority similar to the authority of the old WLB.

IT'S AN OLD PATTERN

The capitalist employers, with the assistance of THEIR CONGRESS. MEN and their President at Washare busy turning out meat at the ington have constructed what is called a new pattern for the "conernment "fact-finding" board will be trol" of strikes. But this "new" pattern is cut from the same cloth and

British Daily Worker, and to the Russian prosecutor at the Nuremberg trial.

LETTERS DEMAND EVIDENCE

The letter to Shawcross points out that the "Verbatim Report of Court Proceedings in the Case of the Anti-Soviet 'Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites'" stated the following: "However, the materials in the possession of the investigating authorities in the present case establish that the connections between enemy of the people TROTSKY and the German political police and the intelligence services of other countries were established at a much earlier date. The investigation has definitely established that TROTSKY has been connected with the German intelligence service since 1921, and with the British intelligence service since 1926." The letter to the Russian prosecu-

tor at Nuremberg stated, among other things: "We challenge you to produce the so-called 'evidence' at

Westminster, London. Dear Sir: In 1936-37 a series of trials took place in Russia in which it was al-

leged by the prosecution that Old (Continued on page 4)

Labor Needs OWN Party to Win

By HENRY NEWMAN

Compare the quotes from Murray and Hillman alongside this article. Had the Administration perhaps sharply reversed its basic policy between December and January? Was there some justification in the December events for Hillman's enthusiastic endorsement of the Administration which, in Murray's words, had been proposing legislation "to weaken and ultimately destroy labor union organizations"?

(Continued on page 4)

Said Philip Murray on December 4, 1945:

The Federal Administration is embarked upon a policy of continued appeasement of American industry in the face of industry's contemptuous attitude toward the American people and the government itself. The CIO is opposed to the basic policies thus pursued by the Administration....

For this reason, the CIO shall mobilize its entire membership and the American people to defeat this specific measure and all similar attempts directed against labor....

Said Sidney Hillman on January 21, 1946:

On behalf of the CIO Political Action Committee, I wish to express our deep appreciation of the firm stand you have taken in favor of wage increases to protect American workers against a drastic decline in living standards and to maintain the national purchasing power essential to a healthy economy.

Be assured that you have our fullest support in the stand you have taken as well as that of the great majority of the American people.

going through "valuable data" to discover just how much of a wage increase the packinghouse workers should get. And, according to Lewis J. Clark, president of the UPWA, it is on assurance from the government that the "fact-finding" board will recommend a "substantial" wage increase that he urged the strikers to return to work.

FACTS ARE KNOWN

But the "facts" in the packinghouse strike are already well known. Clark himself has stated them before. The union knows them, the company knows them and the GOVERNMENT knows them.

The facts are that the packinghouse workers are among the lowest paid in big industry. The starting rate is 77 cents an hour. Two-thirds of the workers receive less than 87 cents an hour, and half less than 70 cents. The packinghouse workers have received no increases except "fringe" increases all during the war. A 25

(Continued on page 2)

with the same aims as the old pattern used during the war. The new procedure is the Truman "fact-finding" committees, which are in fact wage-fixing committees.

It was this so-called fact-finding procedure which determined the Chrysler and Ford "settlements." These settlements had no relationship whatsoever to the original demands made by the unions. The settlements were not negotiated in any genuine collective bargaining between the unions and the capitalist (Continued on page 3)

IAM Lodge **Rejects 15%** Wage Raise

SAN FRANCISCO, Jan. 28 - The membership of San Francisco Lodge 68, International Association of Machinists unanimously rejected the proposals of two employer groups at a mass meeting. The employer groups, the Bay Cities Metal Trades Association and the SF Employees Association had offered a 15% wage increase.

The proposals, made to the uptown shops only, did not include the water front plants and shipyards. Lodge 68, IAM, has been conducting a threemonth joint strike with the Steelworkers Local 1304, CIO. The cooperation of the two unions has been an inspiring example of labor solidarity.

District 115, IAM, with jurisdiction in the East Bay, signed an agreement with the Employers' Group without consulting its member locals on the basis of the proposed 15% wage increase. Both Lodge 68, IAM, and Local 1304, CIO, have protested the signing of the agreement. and they are continuing to fight for a 30% wage increase.

The agreement signed by District 115 also provided for a two year nostrike pledge. Despite the length of the strike, the morale of the strikers is very high, and they are determined to win a 30% wage increase.

Workers Party Branches Back Sub Drive

By Reva Craine, Press Manager

The mail bag this week brought us many encouraging signs that LABOR ACTION's drive for 5,000 new subscriptions will go over the top. Workers Party Branches are getting behind the drive as final preparations for the drive are being made before the starting gun goes off. Individual readers of LABOR ACTION have been requesting subscription booklets so that they may join in the great drive to expand the circulation of the fightingest labor paper in the country.

The San Pedro Branch of the Workers Party writes: . "For the LABOR ACTION sub drive we want to raise the bundle order to 4,000 a week for the next period-starting immediately. The branch accepted a quota of 250 subs. We plan to cover one of the big housing projects here (without distributing sample copies first because most of the tenants have gotten the paper at the yards.) Also, we're concentrating on a couple of shipyards, the longshoremen and a couple of steel plants. And, finally, contacting will be directed toward subgetting and renewals.

"We want 2,000 extra papers next week, as we are planning a distribution to the longshoremen when they go on a day's work stoppage."

The organizer of the Reading Branch of the Workers Party informs us: "We accept our quota of 75. I am confident that we

can get more than this."

The LABOR ACTION staff is more than confident that Reading will go over its quota, judging by the activities of that branch. In recent weeks, the Reading Branch has been distributing close to 1,500 papers to striking steel workers who are receiving the paper most enthusiastically.

The Louisville Branch has accepted a quota of 50 subscriptions, and increased its bundle order considerably. The Cleveland Branch has also increased its bundle order.

A reader and supporter of the paper out in Minnesota has entered the ranks of LABOR ACTION Boosters by volunteering to participate in the subscription drive. We have had similar requests from others.

WS of Queens, New York, sends in a sub with the enclosed note: "Kindly send me a year's subscription to LABOR ACTION. Keep up the good work. Yours is the best paper of its kind."

How about joining the LABOR ACTION Boosters, WS?

J. R. of Merchantville, N. J., has already made a start by writing:

"I am enclosing a money order for one dollar and twenty cents for two six months' subscription to LABOR ACTION. Two of my fellow workers decided to subscribe after reading some of my papers. When the LABOR ACTION came this week I noticed the price had risen to a dollar, but I had already collected the money so am sending it on to you. If you can't send them the paper for sixty cents for six months, please return this money . order to me. The new subscriptions are . . ."

The notice you saw in LABOR ACTION referred a special offer of 4 six month subscriptions for \$1.00. (price has not been raised. On the contrary, for the dur tion of the subscription drive we are offering the spec rate of 25 cents for a six month sub. We have placed yo two subscriptions as yearly subs and your friends are ready receiving LABOR ACTION. Thanks.

We're all set to go now. Some branches have alread begun sending in subs. The first results of the drive v be reported in next week's LABOR ACTION together with the full list of branch and individual quotas.

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NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Ranks Kept in Dark on Ford Contract

By BEN HALL

Page 2

DETROIT, Jan. 26-In secret sessions and without the presence or knowledge of the elected National Ford Negotiating Committee, Dick Léonard, director of the Ford Department of the UAW, today signed an agreement with the Ford Motor Co. providing for a wage increase of eighteen cents an hour, or fifteen per cent.

The full text of the contract which still must be ratified by the top UAW officers, has not been made public and the fate of the notorious "company security" provisions, which would fine so-called wild-cat strikers, is in doubt. According to one member of the National Ford Negotiating Committee, the union repre-

Steel Strike Notes From Chicago Area

CHICAGO - Foremen at the Joliet to do with a repeat performance. Works of U. S. Steel have walked out in protest against corporation demands that they do the plant maintenance work. Their F.A.A. Union de- light and water shortages in the city mands support of the CIO strikers, of Gary, due to the steel strike, is by refusing non-supervisory work. plain steel corporation propaganda. The Steel Corporation forced foremen from the Gary Works through the Joliet picket lines with the assistance of state police. Company guards protested these tactics and the Gary foremen also refused to do the maintenance work.

Inland Steel Co. at Indiana Harbor imported 8 Mexicans from Texas to scab at their strike bound plants. Unionists at Indiana Harbor discussed the situation with the Mexicans who did not know they were going into a struck plant. They refused to work and the Company was compelled to the plants with union men. pay their return fare to Texas. Industrialists may learn that the Mexicans Steel are enjoying the awkward pohave gained much experience in the past. The Mexicans now living in this area realize how they were utilized by the bosses against their own interest as workers, and will have nothing make their own settlements.

of fining strikers after a wave of protests had greeted this proposal. In its place they substituted a bonus plan for non-strikers similar to the plan incorporated into the Kaiser-Frazer contract. But since the members of this Negotiating Committee have been left out of the final negotiations one can only guess at what dish the secret sessions cooked up.

This agreement, negotiated by a three-man committee consisting of Leonard, Joseph McCusker, president of Ford Local 600, and Nelson Samp, secretary of the National Negotiating Committee, is a new blow at the fighting General Motors strikers. What the latter have been fighting for

The Mayor of Gary declares that the much publicized threat of gas,

Before the original strike date of January 14 the steel corporation had agreed to maintenance of their plants by union employees. Shortly before the strike on January 21 the companies asked for a mixed maintenance crew, union and non-union workers. The CIO refused this request and no non-supervisory workers were allowed to enter the plants. Now the steel corporation issues statements of plant damage due to the walkout in spite of the fact that the steel union is prepared at any time to maintain

Pickets at South Works of U. S. sition that U. S. Steel Corporation finds itself in as so many of the steel fabricators and producers prepare to desert the leadership of Big Steel and

sentatives dropped the original idea during two months on the picket been signed. The headline is false. It lines is being stolen from them in the conference halls.

Theft No. One: While the GM workers were fighting for their increase. Leonard tried to buy an increase from Ford at their expense. He proposed his "company security" plan, which would put the most militant elements in the shops at the mercy of the employers. This plan was endorsed by all top UAW officials.

Theft No. Two: The union officials have agreed to a new Little Steel formula and withdrew their demand for a thirty per cent wage increase under the pressure of the Truman auto fact-finding board, which recommended an increase of 191/2 cents per hour. This was accepted by the

union as a final "compromise" settlement. Theft No. Three: The top UAW officials agreed to the reinstatement of a form of incentive pay in the industry in their contract with the Kaiser-Frazer Co. Of this plan, Kaiser himself said: "It is an incentive plan that makes every worker feel

that his earnings are dependent on himself.' Theft No. Four: While the GM strikers announce their plans to in-

tensify their battle by stopping all GM tool and die work, the Chrysler and Ford negotiators, who have not led their men in a single day of real fighting, have now cut their demands BELOW THE PROPOSALS OF THE TRUMAN BOARD.

At the very moment when Leonard and his two assistants were signing the new contract, a meeting of Ford Local 400, at Highland Park, was taking place. The session was interrupted by one local member, who excitedly waved a copy of an early edition of the Detroit News with the headline: "Ford, UAW Sign 18 Cents an Hour Increase."

Carl Bolton, the local's representative of the National Ford Negotiating Committee, took the floor and heatedly denied that the headline was true. "There were no negotiations scheduled for today," said he, "therefore no agreement could have

is a feeler put out by the company to see if it can get us to settle for that low figure. It is an attempt to undermine our morale."

LABOR ACTION

But Bolton was mistaken. Details of the secret sessions appeared later in the day. They had been called at Leonard's request in an attempt by him to gain "prestige" as the first UAW representative to win a signed contract with one of the Big Three. And he won the race by only a few hours. However, it cost the Ford workers an additional 1/2 cent per hour. Shortly after the Ford contract was signed for 18 cents an hour increase, the Chrysler Co. signed up for an 18½ cent increase.

Jersey Steel **Strike Solid**

By SAUL BERG

NEW JERSEY-The striking steel workers in fifteen plants scattered through Northern New Jersey are holding firm in the second week of their strike struggle. Troy Jones, treasurer of Lodge 2044, United Steelworkers of America, CIO, made up of strikers in the Sacks Barlow Foundry, in an interview with LABOR ACTION'S reporter expressed his confidence in the ability of the workers to hold out until their just demands are met.

In spite of the extremely low minimum of 70 cents an hour for laborers now prevailing in the plant, the highest offer thus far from the company has been a 10-cent an hour increase. The majority of the skilled workers in the plant are molders working on an incentive system, but their demand is also for a time raise to be superimposed on the piece rate. Brother Jones remarked on the

contrast between the present struggle carried on by 700,000 strikers in absolute solidarity, backed by the strong CIO movement generally, with the situation in 1919 when the steel strike was much weaker, and not accompanied by other widespread strikes.

Negro--White Solidarity In Bethlehem Steel Strike

By WILLIAM GARFIELD

LACKAWANNA, N. Y. - Makeshift wood and cardboard shanties were thrown up and the tin barrel coke fires were built higher as the strike of 11,000 Bethlehem Steel workers in this city entered its second week reinforced by the nationwide strike action of the United Steel Workers of America, CIO.

All along the three-mile plant front, small but determined groups of workers stand guard over each plant gate. Other workers, usually in pairs, patrol the long stretches of fence between the fifteen or so entrance gates, to forestall any fencehopping by foremen or company men. Motorboats filled with grim steel workers patrol the ice-clogged Lake Erie approaches to the great steel plant to block any amphibious scab operations. Union patrol cars cover all the

land approaches to Bethlehem, while other cars bring hot soup, coffee and doughnuts, liaison and encouragement to the little groups of sentries. A union-manned sound truck specializes in instruction, information and morale. In strike headquarters workers and their wives and sweethearts work hard preparing and dispatching food, reinforcements and information to the men in the lines. The strike is solid!

NEGRO-WHITE SOLIDARITY

This solidarity is reflected not only in the precautions the union is taking against a repetition of 1919, but in the mood and spirit of the men themselves. Twenty-seven years ago the company imported thousands of Negro workers from the deep South to act as strike-breakers. Today, as if to pay back the twofold company crime of treachery and super-exploitation toward their race, many of these same Negro workers and their sons are the most active, enthusiastic and disciplined militants in the strike. Thus the unity of Negro and white workers is simply achieved in the realization of common problems and the necessity of common action. There is more than hard necessity

that keeps these men in the lines Everyone knows what the real anday after day, night after night, in the bitterest of weather. Listen to one of them gripe, this time against the strike leaders.

"What the hell," he says, "I been here sixteen hours straight, freezin' myself blue and these so and so's sittin' up there in the office don't even send no relief. A hell of a lot they care if we freeze to death,"

etc., etc. Somebody pipes up to answer him. "Why don't you go home to your family already, Shorty? There are plenty of guys the office can send down here if you'd only tell them you wanted to leave. Hell, you're only scheduled for four hours a day. Why don't you knock off and let someone else take your place?" Shorty doesn't reply for a moment.

Shachtman Meet Opens **Newark Hall**

NEWARK, N. J.-An attentive audience of 75 heard Max Shachtman speak on "Labor at the Crossroads," at the opening of the new LABOR ACTION HALL in Newark. The meeting, held under the auspices of the recently organized Newark branch of the Workers Party, was spirited and enthusiastic. The hall represents probably the finest headquarters any W.P. branch has yet obtained. The main hall seats 150 comfortably, and three sizeable side rooms represent ample facilities for small meetings of all kinds. During the question-discussion period, strikers participated from the

floor, giving examples from their own experience of the treatment afforded workers under the present economic system. The meeting was followed by refreshments and dancing. The chairman announced that similar Saturday night forum-socials will be held monthly.

swer is. Finally it comes out. "I don't want to go home," said

Shorty, "I like it here." Now they all laugh. The truth is a great relief. Despite the cold, the rotten food, the sleeplessness, most of them "like

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it here." "Here" is comradeship in a cause they don't have to be bulldozed into sacrificing for. "Here" is a chance to strike back against the boss class, a chance to be a cause instead of a casualty.

Meat Seizure --

(Continued from page 1)

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cents an hour increase, the original union demand, would not even compensate for the loss in pay due to the reduction to the forty-hour week. The cost of living is more than thirty per cent above the 1941 level and is still rising. And the profits of the meat packers are the highest in their history. The meaning of these facts is that the packinghouse workers need at least a 30 per cent wage increase to maintain their wartime living standard.

But these are not the facts in which the government has especial interest. It is interested in the fact that there has been an interruption in the system of production for profit. It is interested in keeping this system going at all costs. It is interested in defending the profits of the Armours, Cudahys, Wilsons and Swifts-because it is THEIR GOV-ERNMENT! The government "took over" the meat packing industry in the interests of the owners while the "fact-finding" board devises some sort of wage formula that will be "agreeable" to the packers and which they can get the union leaders to shove down the workers' throats.

A VALUABLE LESSON

In his back - to - work statement, Clark said that in the "final analysis" the union leadership reserves the right to be the "judge" as to whether or not any recommended increase is "substantial" in meeting the needs of the workers. He implies that he will call another strike if the increase is not suitable. However, this means. little as far as the workers are concerned in gaining their original 25cent demand. Almost at the beginning of negotiations, he backed down to accepting 171/2 cents. And under the pressure of the government, he will accept whatever minimum he can by some means palm off on the workers.

The American workers have a valuable lesson to learn from the government intervention in the meat packing strike. That lesson is that the present government is the government of the capitalists. It inter-

Readers of Labor Action Take the Gloor. Democratic Union, but took the sen- front of all working class organizathing on General Motor's part to there are certain glaring omissions.

Auto Worker Raps Competitive System Editor:

On Sunday, December 30, 1945, while looking through one of the ing back time. All that counts with cooperate with the ILWU. Detroit newspapers, I came across a General Motors is profits and new What is aimed at in the CONTENT full page paid advertisement sub- ways to make profits. If they of the plan is shown in other parts mitted by General Motors titled, "Here Is the Issue." There was one particular paragraph that made my blood boil to quite a high degree, so I just had to write down what I thought so that my boiling blood would come back to normal. I hereby quote the paragraph which the corporation's profits. Which shall was typical of capitalistic progaganit be? da. "Is American business in the future, as in the past, to be conducted as a competitive system? Or is the determination of the essential economic factors, such as costs, prices, profits, etc., upon which business success and progress depend to be made politically by some governmental Editor: agency instead of by the management appointed by the owners of the business for that purpose?" Now I would like to discuss the past and the future of the compétitive system in a few lines. Why does General Motors, bring up the issue of the competitive system? What has that to do with the 30% wage demand the General Motors' workers are asking for? Is this competitive system between General Motors Corp. and General Motors workers? I thought competition was between one corporation and another. (When the chips are down, the real competition is between capitalism and labor.-Ed.) All this competitive system is about is this: If General Motors has to give in to the 30% wage demand under pressure from the workers and the union, they claim it will threaten the competitive system because a 30% wage grant would mean that much less profit for General Motors.

win over public opinion on their Beside the waterfront teamsters, the side. Then I ask: for whose prog- most important are the Sailors Union, ress? General Motors is no more the Master, Mates & Pilots and the interested in the progress of man- East Coast longshoremen. These are kind than Father Time is in turn- the unions which do not at present

United States, or the workers anywhere. Instead they have been based fundamentally upon the interests of the rulers of Russia, as transmitted through the Communist Party. Compare the way Bridges talked in 1934 when Russia followed a left policyagainst the League of Nations, etc., with the way he talked in '37, say,

tence merely as an objective state- tions against all the feudal and bourment of fact. The article was no extensive treatment of the whole Argentine situation. It confined itself to Fourth International. The deepening the meaning of the latest demagogic measures of Peron. By the way, the next issue of the New International will carry a fuller article on Argen- Party, but I talk about what is now.

geois elements, are the small group of Trotskyites, our comrades of the of the revolutionary situation may bring changes in the rank and file and in the leadership of the Socialist

Let's take another part from this paragraph. "Who does the business success and progress depend ongovernmental agency or management?"

Whose business success and progress are they (G.M.) talking about? Their own interests or the general public's interest? Let me answer it this way. First this so-called government agency represents the capitalistic class by guarantees of profits and through huge tax rebates for the corporations. So how can General Motors charge that government will interfere in the competitive system? Government will do the exact opposite at the expense From this list of maritime unions of the worker. This is just some-

weren't interested in making greater profits, they wouldn't refuse the 30% wage increase. Profits is the basis on which capitalists exist and that is why they must refuse. General Motors workers, you must decide either for the betterment of your living standards or for

> -JERRY O'MALLEY Auto Worker

Discusses Bridges' Unity Proposal

In a special stop-work meeting, 7,000 San Francisco longshoremen on January 12 enthusiastically endorsed a report of ILWU President Harry Bridges outlining plans for the creation of one big union of maritime and harbor workers. Bridges' proposal is to be presented to a conference of various maritime unions to be held in Washington, D. C., on February 4. It was proposed as the absolutely necessary basis of achieving basic longshore demands: a six-hour day, thirty-hour week, no overtime and \$1.75 per hour.

Such a program of uniting craft unions into one big industry-wide union is undoubtedly a progressive one. It was so accepted by the longshoremen. But something more is needed beyond the formal proposal of amalgamation. This "something more" is the real content of the proposals, the intent and the desires of the proponents of the plan. What is needed is a genuine rank and file approach to the problem, a worker-toworker approach between the different crafts, not the continued maneuvering of bureaucratic officials hiding behind phrases about "rank and file" and "unity."

This content can be determined by looking at the details of the plan so far, and Bridges' speech about it; and by looking at the record in action of the Bridges leadership of the ILWU. The plan proposes amalgamation of the following unions: National Maritime Union, Marine Cooks & Stewards, Marine Firemen, Marine Engineers, Radio Operators and the Inland Boatmen, with the West Coast longshoremen doing the proposing.

of Bridges' report. The unions omitted from the list were by no means neglected in the report. The Sailors Union and its secretary, Harry Lundeberg, came in for frequent mention, being referred to as scabs. Bridges flatly stated that Lundeberg was just looking for an opportunity to scab on the longshoremen, not only by manning the ships behind a longshore picket line, but also by putting men on the docks to work.

The longshoremen and sailors have found themselves in policy conflicts over a long period of years, but does any longshoreman actually think that Lundeberg or the membership of the Sailors Union would really engage in trying to break a strike of longshoremen fighting to win better conditions for themselves? That is the rankest kind of nonsense and

worse. When Bridges talks about unity. he is not talking about genuine unity of all the workers in the maritime industry. His "unity" means supremacy of the Bridges-Curran Stalinist leadership, and the destruction of all opposition. It also means bitter and perhaps bloody inter-union fights. For years the West Coast waterfront has been the scene of conflicting policies and of struggles between Bridges and Lundeberg, and between the unions they lead, the Longshoremen and the Sailors. In the course of these conflicts a great gap has opened between these groups of maritime workers, whose close cooperation in 1934 made that victory and the foundation of both unions possible. Now it is true that Lundeberg has made some mistakes and has pulled some inexcusable things, as for example, his testifying for the government in the Bridges deportation case. But it is a scandalous lie to say that Lunde-

berg or the Sailors Union are scabs and every waterfront worker knows that. Furthermore, it is a fact that Lundeberg and the Sailors Union have fought almost single-mindedly for the interests of the sailors. And this is a great deal more than can be said for the Bridges-Curran leadership in the maritime unions. The policies followed by Bridges

and Curran and their cliques in the various CIO maritime unions have never depended basically upon the interests of the workers in the maritime industry or the workers in the when Russia was all-out for collective security. Or compare Bridges in '39 after the war started, through '40 and '41 up to Hitler's attack on Russia, with Bridges following that attack. Compare Bridges' policy in the North American Aviation strike with his no-strike policy in the years that followed. And make the same comparisons for Curran, for Walter Stack,

for Mervyn Rathbone, and all the rest

of them. All this discussion of what is the basis for the policies adopted by Bridges, Curran and their cliques in the Firemen's Union, the Cooks & Stewards, the Radio Operators, etc., is necessary, because workers must learn to look behind the form of their proposals for the real content and meaning of them. That doesn't mean that their policies are always wrong. Sometimes they make a very good proposal, such as this one for amalgamation of the maritime crafts. But it does mean that it is likely to be made for very bad reasons, that the proposal is likely to have a very bad actual content.

Amalgamation of the craft unions in the maritime industry into one big union for the industry would be a tremendously progressive step. It would strengthen the working class as a whole, and particularly the maritime workers in their struggle for decent conditions for living and working. But it must be a genuine amalgamation, or at least a genuine move for unity. It must not be a subterfuge hiding another attempt to destroy the Sailors' Union.

San Francisco, Calif.

Explains Argentine Article Sentence

-ROBERTSON.

Dear Editors: Saul Berg's disapproval of my use of the sentence "At long last a Democratic Union of anti-Peron forces has been formed to defeat him and his military clique in the election," in an article I wrote on Argentina, must, of course, be narrowed down to the words "at long last." This was a manner of expression and had no political content. The editors did not seem to think the words gave the coloration of approval of the all-class tina and the present situation

Comrade Berg's formulations of what would happen if the Socialist Party ran its own candidate, are interesting. Factually, at the present moment the Socialist Party-as far as I could gather from my reading-is not a class-struggle party. The only people today advocating the united

As to Comrade Berg's conclusions regarding a Radical Party (coalition) election victory, it is too soon to sayin view of the heat under the political pot-that the anti-fascist struggle would be, for long, transferred "from the streets to the sedate halls of parliament."

-SUSAN GREEN

venes in strikes as a strike-breaker in the interests of the capitalists. If the workers are to begin the fight for their just demands they must resort to independent political action. And the first step toward this is the formation of an INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY BASED ON THE TRADE UNIONS.

With the Worker's Party

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The Workers Party School announces a lecture on Marx's "Capital," the last open session of the seminar on Vol. I. at the Stuyvesant Casino, Second Avenue and Ninth Street, Room 42, on Friday, February 15, at 9:00 p.m. sharp. Admission, 25 cents.

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> Speaker: SAUL BERG Organizer, Newark Branch

Workers Party Friday-February 8-8:30 p.m. "The Socialist Answer"

(What is Socialism? How will it end unemployment, poverty, war?) Speaker: ROBERT SHAW Columnist, LABOR ACTION

Friday-February 15-8:30 p.m. "The Program of The Workers Party" (How Do We Propose To Get

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SAN PEDRO

every Wednesday evening at 8:00 every Thursday evening at 8:00 Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday

February 4, 1946

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On Our Slogan for France

The resignation, as head of the French government, of Charles de Gaulle has served to lift the lid higher from the crisis of France. After defeat and occupation by Germany, and "liberation" and occupation by the Allies, France lies upon the reefs of economic disaster. Inflation and black marketing are rife; even staple foods are missing from French diets, and the people face the terrible realities of poverty and hunger.

national blackmail weapon of Stalin. If the SP-CP-CGT slogan meant that real governmental power. i.e., control of the basic instruments of state power, the ministries of Defense and Interior, would fall into the hands of the Stalinists, we would oppose and would urge every worker to oppose such a development. The control of government by Stalin's puppets in Poland, the Balkans and Yugo-

slavia has meant the swallowing up of the inde-

TABOR ACTION

One-Tenth of the Nation Narman and the Strike Wave By J. R. Johnson

By J. R. JOHNSON

The great strikes have shaken the thinking of the whole country and certainly the thinking of the Negro masses.

This can be seen in the new tone of the Negro press. As is usual with it, the conflict between capital and labor is viewed from the point of view of Negro interest. Their conclusions, however, go far beyond wage increases for Negroes.

The following is from an editorial in The Pittsburgh Courier of January

Negroes are on the picket lines and around the conference tables, and every news photograph of massed workers shows a large number of black faces.

The implications of this development are terrific when viewed from the standpoint of race relations.

It means that the working masses, black and white, are comrades in a sense that they have never been before, with identical interests and equal participation and understand-

Since economic considerations are from the broader social aspect the antagonisms that have characterized relations between the two groups are bound to be undermined.

If it can be brought home to all workers, regardless of color or creed, that their interests are identical, a tremendous gain has been made which the most extreme anti-Negro propaganda will be unable to erase. The method of argument is important. The editorial does not argue from U. S. government. "See," they say,

black unity. It is concerned with bet- . gro and colonial problems." Judge tering the status of Negroes. There is a strike of national importance and the writer's heart swells with pride to see Negroes on the picket lines and taking part in conferences at which great national decisions are being made. Seeing black faces in photographs of the American masses is of great significance for him.

From such a basis the enthusiastic recognition of white and black solidarity is completely genuine. We accept it on that basis. We do not criticize but welcome the editorial's conclusion that this common action and common publicity are good for race relations.

ONLY IN LABOR'S RANKS CAN NEGROES BE EQUAL

But there are deeper implications even on the strictly Negro basis of the editorial

Where else in American life have Negroes ever played, or will they ever play, a role among the ranks and in the leadership, the kind of role that they are playing today? In the always basic, it stands to reason that army they are segregated by the government. Brigadier - General Davis, the highest ranking Negro officer, is a kind of show-piece. He goes round the world seeing after the welfare of Negro troops. In the U. S. government Negroes participate on the higher levels, and not too high either, as representatives of Negroes.

Ralph Bunche, the solitary Negro in the State Department, is paraded at international conferences by the

Pass the FEPC Bill NOW!

By CHRIS WARREN

The Fair Employment Practice Commission Bill has again claimed the full attention of the United States Senate. The Senators from the South have spent the last ten days fighting the passage of the bill with one of their most sinister devices-the filibuster. The purpose of the filibuster is to beat down the opposition by talking continuously, not yielding the floor to the opposition and holding up action on all the other issues before the Senate.

The anti-FEPC, poll tax Senators have been very successful so far. The Chairman of the Senate is Mc-Kellar from Tennessee who has a slight visual defect. He can see the hands of only those Senators from the South who are opposed to a permanent Fair Employment Practice Commission. When McKellar needs a rest he appoints a Southern Democrat, who continues the same -policy, in his place.

The FEPC Bill has been subjected

tion in hiring by employers unlawful.

These Senators were fairly quiet during the years of warfare. Negroes and Jews found employment in war industries. The manpower crisis precluded any action against Negroes working in government offices. Now that the war is over the Southern Democrats are anxious to return to the "normal" way of living. Senator Hoey of North Carolina assured the Senate for almost two hours on January 24, 1946, "that there is no race problem in North Carolina." The "problem" arises when "radical elements" stir the Negroes into demanding such "Bolshevik" requests as higher wages, better jobs and an end to segregation.

WHAT HAS TRUMAN DONE

The Fair Employment Practice "pro" must be made to understand Commission Bill would make it unthat labor will not tolerate their using the FEPC Bill for publicity purlawful for an employer to refuse a poses and then letting it quietly drop job to a worker because of his color or religion. It would be a permanent because of strong opposition. Write commission with power to enforce its your Congressman. ABOVE ALL, GET YOUR UNIONS decisions. It is a essary piece career. Bilbo, Eastland, Maybank and legislation - and like many other AS MANY UNIONS ALREADY others have fought violently against items of legislation that would bene-HAVE, IMMEDIATE PASSAGE OF every attempt to make discrimina- fit labor, black or white, it is get- THE FEPC BILL!

any theoretical necessity of white and "we have a Negro to deal with Ne-Hastie is proposed as Governor of the Virgin Islands because of their predominantly Negro population. At all conferences of big business in the U. S., Negroes are conspicuously ab-

sent.

It is in organized labor and labor alone that the Negroes can play a full part either in the ranks or in the leadership. If today the Negroes do not get full and complete representation in labor activities, it is because the dominant class in society is the capitalist class which is anti-Negro. Where labor ruled and the working class was dominant. Negroes would at last be free and equal. A working class society would have to transfer to the new social and political relations that fundamental equality which, rooted in production, even today drives labor towards equality in race relations.

The Pittsburgh Courier likes to see Negroes in photographs of the masses and at conference tables. So do we. But the only society where this will be the rule and not the exception is the society of organized labor-Socialism. We do not wish merely to improve race relations. We wish to abolish the whole idea of race relations and substitute HUMAN RELA-TIONS. That's what the Courier wants too. Experience and thought, but above all experience, will convince Negroes that the road to the achievement of equality in all spheres is the road to labor's power, the road to Socialism.

ting a terrific kicking around. Lest

anyone get the idea that the re-

sponsibility is wholly that of a few

Southern Senators, let him first con-

sider the fact that virtually all the

"filibusters" are in Truman's party.

The Jim-Crow bloc and Truman

are both members of the same capi-

talist party. Truman can make pretty

speeches about FEPC legislation, but

it was Truman who reversed the de-

cision of the FEPC when it ordered

the government-operated bus line in

Washington to hire Negroes. He has

yet to do a concrete thing to press

the passage of the Bill, no more, for

example, than he has done to press

passage of the anti-poll tax bill

which has been shoved back and

forth from the Senate to the House.

the Congressmen. Those who are

Pressure has to be brought on all

TO DEMAND.

GIs' Return Used as Pawn For Big Army

-By Jack Wilson

A serious indictment of the War Department's demobilization slowdown was contained in a report of a special Senate sub-committee appointed specifically to investigate the soldiers' charges against the brass hats.

Even accepting the War Department's claim that it needs 1,500,000 men in July-and, from our point of view, we do not-the Senate committee deaclared bluntly that this simply proves there is no need for hoarding 2,000,000 other men in the Army now by means of the demobilization slowdown.

WHY THEY WANT A BIG ARMY

The Senate committee insists that the Army let these men out immediately. The committee stated bluntly there was no justifiable reason for the demobilization slowdown.

The question then arises, if 2,000,000 officers and men are "surplus," even according to the testimony of the brass hats, why are they being kept in the Army? Here we come to the crux of the whole demo-

bilization issue.

The War Department wants a big Army to carry out the foreign policies of the Truman Administration. These policies are imperialist. They are rule by force, domination of a victorious imperialist power over millions of people. The army of 1,500,000 the War Department wants on July 1 is the instrument for carrying out these foreign policies. Since we are against imperialism, we are against the use of American troops abroad. We demand that all of them be returned and released!

The demobilization slowdown enters into this because it is a pressure move of the brass hats against the American people, both in order to maintain an army of at least 1,500,000 in July, and also as part of a clever campaign to force peacetime conscription on the American people.

AGAINST PEACETIME CONSCRIPTION!

When Secretary of War Patterson this week declared that the army would keep its promise of releasing all but 1,500,000 men by July he was trying to accomplish two things: He said this promise would be kept if 400,000 replacements were found! This obviously is intended to create another "manpower crisis" in May when selective service expires. The second purpose of Patterson and the brass hats is to have the American people so preoccupied by the "manpower crisis" that no one will ask the question, why 1,500,000 men?

The "manpower crisis" is intended to be another big barrage for compulsory military training. Just as the brass hats sought to utilize the GI demonstrations for presenting the same argument: "You want the boys back? Give us replacements." And meanwhile they present suggestions for compulsory military training.

Each move of the brass hats exposes another aspect of their long-range campaign for compulsory military training. The reason for this maneuvering is clear. The American people in overwhelming strength and numbers are against conscription! They may be confused and groping when it comes to understanding the implications of the Truman foreign policies, but one thing is certain. They don't want large armies, and militarism, and a Third World War!

Certainly there is very little evidence to demonstrate that any of the brass hat maneuvers have gained ground for them. The blast by the Senate sub-committee is the latest illustration of the unpopularity of the brass hat views!

The fact that in May a major test of atomic power is going to take place likewise presents

The formation of the new tri-party cabinet contains the same elements that were present in the de Gaulle régime: Socialists, Communists and Popular Republicans. Even the program of the new cabinet for solving France's financial crisis, enunciated by Felix Gouin, Socialist President, is merely a whittled-down version of the program of Mendès-France, de Gaulle's financial minister. Therefore, the more the government crisis changes, the more it remains the same, until a definitive break is made in the three-party bloc.

A CP-SP-CGT GOVERNMENT

Because LABOR ACTION believes that only the working class, through its independent revolutionary political action, can solve any of the fundamental problems that afflict society today, we base our program for the solution of the French crisis on the mobilization of the French workers. As the first step toward a solution, we believe that the Communist Party and the Socialist Party, as parties supported by the majority of French workers, should form a government together with the trade union movement (CGT), making a complete break from the capitalist parties.

But, as we indicated above, the formation of a Socialist-Communist-CGT government is merely the beginning of a solution, just as the elevation of the Labor Party to governmental power in Britain was not in itself a solution. Just as the English workers have illusions about the Labor Party, so the French workers have illusions about the Communist and Socialist Parties. The only way to dispel these illusions and to advance the workers in revolutionary socialist consciousness, including in that the creation of a genuine revolutionary party, is for the workers to exhaust their experience with these parties, to see them exposed as incapable of solving the problem. These parties, pretending to speak for the working class, must be made to take governmental responsibility, to cut loose from the de Gaullist MRP.

An important element of difference must be taken into account, however, between this government in France and the Labor Party or any other government which bases itself on the workers but in substance acts to preserve the capitalist system. This element is the Communist Party, the inter-

pendent labor movement by the Stalinist bureaucrats and the systematic efforts at extinction, by Moscow's secret police, the NKVD, of whatever revolutionary socialist fragments exist.

COMPLETE STALINIZATION IMPOSSIBLE

We do not think that such a development can occur in France today. The relations among the Big Three and the conditions in France are such that Stalin cannot include France in his collectivized sphere of empire. For the Stalinists to take power in France would be a provocation of such moment that it would lead immediately to the outbreak of a Third World War. The fall of France to Russia would mean a Stalinist Fortress Europa and a Stalinist Asia as well. We doubt if the capitalist powers can permit that. More important, however, we doubt that the Stalinists can so decisively vanquish the working class as to establish their totalitarian rule. In addition to this, the necessity of France for

United States assistance in food and finances runs through all the current discussions on the solution for her present crisis. As Anne O'Hare McCormick put it in the New York Times of January 28: "... It is obvious, most of all to the Communists, that they can get a political line from the Soviet Union but not the kind of help France needs to survive."

The maneuvers of Thorez and Duclos and other Communist leaders are therefore limited to the prevention of the formation of a "western bloc" which would align French foreign policy with the British and Americans.

The Socialist Party, for its part, is also opposed to the Stalinization of France. But instead of relying on the French working class, of mobilizing it for genuine socialist action, it runs to the native capitalist parties and the Anglo-U. S. camp.

Thus, while we support the slogan, for an SP-CP-CGT government, we add immediately as quintessential supplementary slogans: for workers' democracy, for complete freedom of speech and of press, and all other democratic slogans which will serve to safeguard the French workers against Stalinist totalitarianism and advance revolutionary organization. For only with this program can the slogan be made meaningful.

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Would you like to read LABOR ACTION's opinions on the elections just held in Germany? We don't have room in this issue.

We have omitted many, many news stories, features, letters from readers and even Carlo's cartoons this week and for many weeks for one reason only-

FOUR PAGES ARE NOT ENOUGH!

Join the drive for a bigger and better LABOR ACTION!

See Press Action column, page one.

to many filibusters in its turbulent

Price Rises, Wage-Fixing --

(Continued from page 1)

employers. The agreements were the result of shadow-boxing between the union and the employers after Truman's "fact-finding" committees. had recommended that wage increases amount to around 191/2 cents an hour. The only struggle which took place between labor and the employers was one to inveigle the capitalist employers into accepting a recommendation made by THEIR capitalist government.

The capitalist press hailed the Ford and Chrysler "settlements" as setting the pattern for future settlements. This is nothing more than nonsense or mere journalistic trickery. The pattern was set by Truman's "fact - finding" committees. Ford and Chrysler only decided to accept this proposal made by their government. The UAW had already accepted this scheme for settlement of the GM strike. Murray had accepted for the steel workers. The packinghouse workers had already been sent back to work by their leaders, with the naive statement that "our strike is not off."

"COMPANY SECURITY"

Not only is the capitalist ruling class continuing its offensive through pressure on the White House and its Congress but it presses its demands on the unions for "company security." A security clause is written into the Chrysler agreement. It reads as follows: "The union agrees that it will not oppose the discharge or discipline of anyone who instructs, leads or induces another employee to take part in any unauthorized strike." While this "security" clause is not so drastic as that agreed to by Richard Leonard for the Ford workers, it is just as much a betrayal of the interests of the workers. This clause should be rejected by the Chrysler workers. They should insist on the opportunity to vote for or against this clause. If a company wants to fire one of its employees for what-

ever cause, that is the company's affair. It is the business of the union, however, to handle the case under the grievance procedure and see that justice is done both the employee and the company.

The union is, or should be, the representative of the worker ONLY and the protector of HIS interests. To do justice to the union member, therefore, is not the same thing as to do justice to the company. Over a million workers are rendering justice, but only partial justice, to the capitalist employers and the capitalist ruling class today through the strikes which are taking place. It is not the business of the labor movement and the working class to grant security to the capitalist ruling class. Let the capitalists protect themselves-if they can.

President Truman comes over to the side of his capitalist masters openly with the statement that capital and labor are both striving for power. He added something about the public interest and that labor and capital would have to get together in the interest of the public welfare. This statement must have evoked a few chuckles in the ranks of the NAM and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. WHICH WAY TO POWER?

Special Offer:

These capitalists know that they already have the power. Truman

LEON TROTSKY THE NEW COURSE

With Essay by Max Shachtman

HENRY JUDD-INDIA IN REVOLT

knows this also. They have power because they are the owners of the land, the mines, mills, factories and banks. They have economic power, social power and political power. They only have to strive to retain this power. That is what they are concerned with today. That is what Truman is also concerned with: to see to it that the capitalist ruling class retains its economic, social and political power. That is what Congress is concerned with. That is the reason for Truman's "fact - finding" committees. That is the reason for the dozens of anti-labor bills in Congress. That is the reason for court injunctions against strikers. That is the reason why the police charge into

The working class is not striving for power. Not yet, Mr. Truman. We of the working class are only beginning to understand that we ought to be striving for economic, social and political power. But for that the working class needs and must have a POLITICAL GENERAL STAFF. Right now a Labor Party: a mass party based on the trade unions, independent, militant and with a program based on the struggle of the working class against the capitalist ruling class.

workers' picket lines all over the

country.

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MAX SHACHTMAN—SOCIALISM, THE HOPE OF

HUMANITY



ties for the introduction of peacetime. conscription and the growth of militarism in America are bound to increase rather than diminish in the next period.

The fight against conscription can bring fruitful results provided the pressure for bringing the GI's back home now intensifies and the labor movement also increases its expressed opposition to conscription. This struggle is an important part of the work of the Workers Party!

PHILADELPHIA READERS!

JAMES M. FENWICK

Organizer, Philadelphia Branch,

Workers Party

Will Speak on:



Friday, Feb. 8 Odd Fellows Hall 71st and Woodland Ave.

8 P. M.

Admission 25c

Page 4

LABOR ACTION

Workers Party National Committee Meeting Plans Political, Organization Expansion Drive

متحد المحاري لارتز ومعريك يعتره

meeting of the full National Committee of the Workers Party was held last week-end in New York City. Out of 26 members and alternates, seven were recently returned from the armed forces. The party has followed a policy of placing those who were members of the committee before is opened. leaving for the Armed Forces in their original posts on the committee after their discharge.

This meeting (plenum) of the National Committee which is elected by the highest authority in the party, the national convention, was also the first gathering of that body since the end of the second world war. It met to consider the problems of the party in the post-war period and to prepare resolutions for the coming convention of the Workers Party next summer.

The meeting, therefore, could not but be most fruitful, because of the presence of many of its ablest members who had been absent during the war years, and most productive, because the end of the war enabled the committee to draw a balance sheet of the party's policies for the coming convention.

MANY ISSUES DISCUSSED

The long and substantial agenda of the convention contained the international resolution, with the estimation of Stalinism and the question of France as sub-points under that heading; the situation in the United States; a review of the "unity question" between the Workers Party and the Socialist Workers Party; the resolution on the character, tasks and perspectives of the Workers Party; the reorganization of personnel, and the general plan for expansion of the party and its publications in the coming period. On all these issues there was vigorous and long debate, and on some questions the presentation of

NEW YORK, Jan. 28-A three-day record because of our limited space, any but the positions adopted by the plenum. However, readers who follow LABOR ACTION and the New In-" ternational will have ample opportunity to acquaint themselves with contrary views in the party, especially when the pre-convention discussion The committee considered the in-

ternational question first with Ernest Erber as reporter. The plenum reviewed the party's position on the special conditions of the European working class under Nazi oppression and the central importance of the slogans for national liberation and democratic needs, and found that its views have been confirmed by events. It further concluded that the party's great contribution to what has been called the "national question" in Europe is equally valid today in the continuing conditions of national oppression.

As the international resolution states: "The war has made national oppression the condition of life for the overwhelming mass of humanity. It has resulted in the domination of the world by a few nations-in the last analysis two, the United States and The resolution outlines the third world war in the making, underscores heavily the need for the reconstitution and regroupment of the revolutionary socialist parties of the TION, we wish only to add one sec-

Fourth International and sets as the strategic aim of all Marxist parties "the setting of the masses in motion by means of (1) the struggle for democratic demands and (2) the struggle for the economic demands that serve as a transition from capitalism to sobourgeoisie, which is in turn backed

Linked to the international question was that of estimating more precisely the character of international Stalinism and the Communist parties of the world on the basis of a report by Emanuel Garrett. The resolution contrary resolutions. We cannot here on this question, which considers the

nature of international Stalinism as a totalitarian, reactionary force in the light of the party's analysis of Russia as a bureaucratic collectivist society, did not represent the finished opinion of the committee. It will be put before the Workers Party as material for a fruitful and educational discussion out of which a finished analysis of the issue in its theoretical and practical points will arise.

A SLOGAN FOR FRANCE

Also connected with the international question was the slogan proposed for France for the creation of a government composed of the Socialist and Communist and CGT (trade union) 'representatives. In utilizing the slogan, the committee attaches paramount importance to complementary, "protective" slogans as safeguards against the dictatorial policies of Stalinism. However, as the resolution (which was partially printed in last week's LABOR ACTION) states: "No other central political slogan is possible for the revolutionary Marxists, and none corresponds better to the needs of the situation, than the slogan of a 'Government of the Socialist Party-Stalinist Party-C.G.T.'" Space limitations make it impossible for us to repeat the resolution in any detail. In referring our readers to last week's LABOR AC-

tion of the resolution that we were unable to include last week: "If. contrary to this analysis, the Stalinists should now be on the verge of taking state power in France in their own name, or in the name of a coalition with the Socialist Party which would, along with the French

by Anglo-American imperialism, prove to be as impotent to prevent the consolidation of Stalinist state power as their equivalents have proved to be in Poland and Yugoslavia, then an altogether different con-

CGT Government. The Fourth International would then have to recononly its whole European and international perspective, but also its whole concept of the character of our epoch. Nothing less than such a reto the Fourth International if it were confronted by the reality of the consolidation of Stalinist power on the European Aflantic, which could mean nothing else but the complete domination of Europe and Asia, at least most of Asia, by Stalinism.

"There are, however, altogether insufficient grounds for any such analysis and conclusion . . .'

THE UNITED STATES TODAY

Because of the emergence of the United States as the colossus of world imperialism, the international and United States resolutions (the latter reported to the plenum by Albert Gates) converged to a great degree. However, just as the wealth and power of the United States are manifest to the world at large, so are the wealth and power of the native capitalist class manifest to American workers. The U. S. reaches its pinnacle in a period of world decline: hence, its very strength is its weakness. Inside the country, the enormous feats accomplished by U.S. capitalism to win the war, produce an overwhelming sentiment among the workers-"We did it in war, why can't we do it in peace?'

The resolution takes cognizance of the growing social-consciousness of the American working class demonstrated in the post-war strike wave, and such new strike demands (open the books, check on prices and profits) as are put forward in the General Motors strike. It reiterates the central immediate political slogan which has been advocated by the Workers Party since its beginning, the formation of an independent labor party by the U. S. working class.

In this connection, the resolution devotes a section to analysis of "third party" signs, that is, sentiments and plans for a third party which is not based on the workers and the unions, but upon an alliance of workers, middle classes and liberal capitalists, and hence, is not a labor party.

The new role of American imperialism requires the "establishment of a permanent conscripted military force as its weapon abroad, as well as at home, to secure its international and domestic power" The resolution proposes as part of the party's campaign against the attempt to "Europeanize" American life the utilization of its slogan Let the people vote on conscription." A report on the failure of the WP-

SWP unity negotiations, caused by the refusal of the Socialist Workers the paper. Party to agree on unity, was discussed. Readers of LABOR ACTION and members and sympathizers of both parties know that in response to the proposal of the Minority of the SWP, the WP took a firm stand in favor of unity. We cannot expand on this point here but LABOR ACTION will continue to carry material on the question of unity, and the inexcusable attitude of the SWP on this matter. Of utmost interest to members and



ORGANIZERS ASSIGNED

In discussing the responsibilities of the leadership of the party and the problem of recruitment, the plenum surveyed the distinctive ideas and features of the party, which include not only its political ideas on the nature of Russia, the significance of the national question, and its program for the American working class, but also its concept of party democracy as basic to its revolutionary socialist nature. The weakening of the party cadre, or leadership, during the war and the necessity for strengthening it in the future were recognized.

Under the reorganization report, made by Max Shachtman, a number of important practical steps to heighten the effectiveness of the party were decided upon. James M. Fenwick was assigned as organizer for the Philadelphia branch; Ben Hall was assigned as organizer of the Detroit branch: Albert Gates was assigned to the Ohio region (Emanuel Garrett will be acting editor of LA-BOR ACTION in the absence of Comrade Gates-Ed.); Don Murrain was assigned as organizer for the Buffalo branch; Nathan Gould was made national organizer, and the assignment of Paul Bern and Eugene Victor as organizers for New York by the New York party was approved. Various committees were elected, among them a trade union committee and an educational committee.

A'motion to launch immediately a \$15,000 fund drive to assure the expansion of party activities and to help make LABOR ACTION an eight-page paper was passed, LABOR ACTION in the future will carry details of the fund.

The plenum further decided to put the party's forces behind the 5,000 subscription drive for LABOR ACendeavor, with due re-TION which begins on February 1. spect for their existing

At an informal session several days after the regular meeting of the plenum, the committee members discussed LABOR ACTION. The concensus of the meeting was that the character of LABOR ACTION is basically what it should be: a popular paper presenting the program of Marxism in a manner that the American workers can understand. The participants in the discussion also felt that the principal lacks in



February 4, 1946

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WHY WE FOUGHT THE PEACE AIMS THE REALITY IN 1946: OF THE UNITED The United States has seized and plans to holo STATES AND GREAT BRITAIN, AS STATED

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THIRD: They respect

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and they wish to see

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CHILL IN 1941:

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through outright control or through "trusteeship" numerous islands in the Pacific. The United States and England occupy large parts of Germany. Russia has seized Esthonia, Lithuania, Latvia, part of Poland and extensive areas in the Orient. She occupies or basically controls parts of Austria, Rumania, Bulgaria and Germany. She has raised the demand for the control of Tripolitania. France demands Briga and Tenda from Italy. She likewise occupies part of Germany. The United States, England, France and Holland are busy reconquering colonial countries wrested from them by the Japanese. An additional, if less obvious, form o faggrandizement is the economic domination of almost all the countries of the globe except Russia by the United States dollar.

By James M. Fenwick

One-half of Poland, over the violation of whose sovereignty by the Nazis in 1939 Britain declared war on Germany, has been seized by Russia without the consent of the people involved. Part of Germany has been forcibly given to Poland. The rest of Germany and Austria has been partitioned among the United States, Britain, France and Russia-without consultation of the people involved. Bulgaria and Rumania are ruled through "the freely expressed wishes of the NKVD and the Russian army. The colonial peoples of India, Indo-China, Indonesia and Palestine are ruthlessly shot down by the imperialists who "desire to see no territorial changes." The Japanese Empire suffered extensive territorial changes, over which its population had no voice.

What resonant phrases! What a brutal reality! Britain continues her bloody armed intervention in Greece against the continuously expressed opposition of the overwhelming majority of the people. For their crime of desiring to govern themselves, Britain slaughters Indonesians behind a screen of British censorship. Indians, who demonstrate because they wish "to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them" (by the British) are casually shot down. France, completely equipped with American arms, has been coldbloodedly destroying the Indo-Chinese independence movement.

The United States occupies and politically dominates the Philippines and part of Korea, despite the often expressed will of the native populations. Chinese demonstrate for the withdrawal of American troops. Russia militarily and politically dominates huge areas in the Far East and in eastern Europe. Though the political rule of Hitler has been overthrown, Germany is not permitted to govern herself.

This means, on the one hand, the right of all imperialist nations to exploit the great raw material producing countries of the world such as India, Indo-China, Indonesia, etc., who are now opposing this "enjoyment" by armed force. On the other hand, it means that a country like Germany, whose merchant fleet has been destroyed, whose country is a catastrophic ruin, has the right of "access on equal terms to the trade and raw materials of the world." That is pure hypocrisy. The war was fought for the subjugation of competing imperialisms such as Germany and Japan, and the right of "Allied" imperialisms to exploit the colonial areas of the world.

Translated into non-diplomatic language, this

Trotsky, Nuremburg Trial --

Russia."

cialism."

(Continued from page 1) Bolsheviks such as Kamenev, Zinoviev and others, connived with Leon Trotsky, together with the German General Staff and the government of Hitler to act as Quislings in a war against the Soviet Union.

These trials were universally condemned by all but the Communist Parties and agents of Stalin, as frame-up trials. This was also the verdict of the independent Commission of Inquiry set up in the United States headed by the famous educationalist, Dr. John Dewey, which investigated all the available evidence over a period of many months.

During the war, the Stalin régime years we have been the object of a and its agents in this country through world-wide slander campaign directthe Daily Worker, have assiduously ed against us on the basis of the

in the October Revolution of 1917 and of history, of the struggle of the were in fact true, or that the Moscow Trials were a gigantic frame-up.

It is alleged by the prosecution at Nuremberg that the secret Nazi preparations for war are being brought out in public court. If this is true. then there must be documents in existence proving or disproving the vast conspiracy alleged by the prosecutor at the Moscow Trails, Vishinsky (who is also attending the Nuremberg Trial), to have existed between the Nazis and Leon Trotsky. Our Party, and all the sections of the Fourth International, have a vital interest in this case. For many.

workers for socialism, your Government, as the representative of the British labor movement, has the moral duty to pursue this matter so that the validity or otherwise of the Moscow Trials can be established once and for all in the eyes of the world working class.

Nuremberg Trial.

We further request you to make it possible for the Revolutionary Communist Party to have legal representation at the Nuremberg Trial with (a) a watching brief; and (b) the right to intervene and question witnesses as well as some of the accused at Nuremberg, who were directly linked with Leon Trotsky by the prosecutor, Vishinsky, in the infamous Moscow Trials. Yours sincerely, Jock Haston, Gen. Sec. Revolutionary Communist Party.

Labor Needs Its OWN Party Now to Win - -

We ask you, through your representative at Nuremberg, to bring out the relevant issues in the Moscow Trials, to call upon the Russian representative to produce the "evidence" relating to the connection between Leon Trotsky and his son with the Nazis, as a vital part of the present

spread the story that there were no Quislings in Russia because they were all exterminated during the Moscow been taken up by even wider circles.

Now that the Nuremberg Trial is taking place, it is possible in open court, before the public gaze of the whole world, to prove either that the charges levelled against Trotsky and the other collaborators of Lenin

"evidence" at the Moscow Trials. We believe that this is an opportunity not only to vindicate ourselves, but Trials, and this line of argument has the memory of Leon Trotsky, Whatever you, your party, or your government might think of his theories and political ideas, he was, you will agree, a distinguished socialist revolutionist who dedicated his whole life to the emancipation of the working class from the wage slavery of capitalism. In the interests of truth

news, theoretical material and features of interest to the party members, will be filled by an expanded paper and an expanded staff. Documents and resolutions of the

such

plenum will be in the hands of members of the Workers Party shortly for the pre-convention discussion period. LABOR ACTION will try to carry as much of this material, and discussion articles based upon this material, as space permits.

to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing, for all, improved labor standards, economic advancement and social security.

N. 4 236 5 1.212 SIXTH: After the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny, they hope to see established a Hillman, leader of labor's Political was indeed due from Hillman, but peace which will af-Action Committee, is trying to make not the letter he wrote. Called for ford to all nations the by the message was a letter to the means of dwelling in politics, there's something quite dif- CIO workers exposing Truman, not safety within their own supporting him; a letter to the CIO boundaries, and which will afford assurance workers telling them that neither judges and governors. Hillman in- Truman nor the PAC-aided boss conthat all the men in all the lands may live out gressman can or will act against the their lives in freedom from fear and want.

SEVENTH: Such a peace should enable all men to traverse the high seas and oceans without hindrance.

ETERI VE MULTER

EIGHTH: They be-

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fullest collaboration" is the same type of collab oration that exists between the hangman and the hanged. The "economic advancement" of Germany is furthered by the pillage of machinery, destruction of plants, limitation of production, and appropriation of coal. "Allied" countries are permitted to exist on even a low level thanks only to huge American loans. Colonies of Great Britain are prohibited by law from having independent trade relations with other countries. Everywhere, tariff barriers impede free trade. Where countries could theoretically engage in trade, the war has so weakened their economy, destroyed their shipping and prevented the accumulation of an excess, that trade stagnates.

Peace! "After the final destruction of Nazi tyranny" fighting rages in Indonesia, Indo-China, China, India and Palestine. Even before World War. II was over, the monarchs of capitalism began their hopeful whispering of a World War III against Russia. Freedom from fear! And the whole world quakes before the atomic bomb, knowing that capitalism, completely irresponsible, and caught up in its own contradictions, will hardly hesitate to destroy the globe itself. Freedom from want! The Nazi tyranny is dead, and in Europe and the Orient whole populations, where they are not barely subsisting, are starving and freezing. Life has coasted almost to a stop.

"Such a peace" is proving almost unendurable. Who may "traverse the high seas and oceans without hindrance"? Only the United States, British, French and Dutch armies of occupation being sent out to hold down all the colonial peoples of the globe and the defeated populations of Germany and Japan. (The freedom for these soldiers to return home is more limited!) Only the vultures of the foreign offices of the world, busy weaving the oppression of other peoples, only the inquisitors of world capitalism, tightening the screws of economic plunder everywhere-only these are free to travel. But the Jews-those who are still aliveand the other oppressed people of Europe who wish to flee the agony of life on the continentwhere is their freedom "to traverse the high seas"?

"The abandonment of the use of force" proceeds in normal capitalist fashion-that is to say, by the continuing application of it. Demobilization in the United States and England moves slowly. In France it does not move at all. Feverish scientific research in armaments continues. As steps "to lighten for peace-loving peoples the crushing burdens of armaments," the War Department plans a 1,500,000 man army by mid-year, and Truman advocates peacetime compulsory military training. Every session of the United Nations Organization becomes a tug of war over the atomic bomb, colonies, sources of raw materials, and military bases. The complete destruction of civilization is being prepared!

> THEY LIED TO US! The War Was Fought for **CAPITALIST PROFITS!**

(Continued from page 1) The fact is that the month had seen no change at all for the better. To the automobile deadlock was added the steel owners' resistance to a wage increase. Congress had recessed after a vicious spurt of antilabor proposals without in any way moving toward a constructive solution to the problems of reconversion.

On the opening of the new session Truman sent his wordy message, which merely restated the things he proposed during the last session. It was a program he had failed utterly to fight for then and which promised little now.

On the most important question of employment, Truman now recommended not his own, but the Senate version of the Full Employment Bill -which even Senator Barkley dismissed as "a bill to guarantee every man a job if he can find one."

The President continued to push for his fact-finding bill, whose essence is to break strikes by making them illegal for thirty days after they become necessary. He covered up the auto owners' brutal refusal to budge an inch, their insistence that the auto workers work for a huge cut in take-home pay or not at all. Truman drew attention away from where it belonged by trying to make it appear that Congress and not Truman was responsible for the situation. If only Congress had passed his fact-finding bill months ago, the strike would have been settled then. How illogical! General Motors never denied the "fact" of its ability ot pay. It merely refused to pay.

Step by step Truman tried to push the steel workers back in their demands. First he appointed a fact-

grinding, labor - binding committee over the protest of the entire organized working class. His committee recommended a cut of twenty-two per cent in the demands of the steel workers. The owners refused to meet even this figure, after Murray accepted it for the union, and the workers showed what they thought of it by a complete walkout and strike.

Truman now insisted that the workers go back to work at his figure, a cent an hour less than his own committee recommended. Of course he overlooked the little detail that the owners had rejected that figure too. Murray, however, accepted the 18.5 figure on behalf of the steel workers.

Murray's weak act of accepting Truman's cut showed him anxious to end the strike, even though the terms mean a slash in weekly take-home pay. The owners therefore continued to stand pat. While the steel workers lose their wages week after week the owners were and are protected against any loss in profits by tax rebates passed by Congress and initiated by Truman's own Secretary of the Treasury.

HILLMAN JOINS THE DANCE

Hillman's letter to Truman came at the gravest point in the situation. Truman firmly invited labor to yield; he was patient with capital but impatiently dismissed labor's urgent demands as a mere desire for power in the abstract; he offered nothing of his own except to invite labor to give up. And from Hillman, chairman of the CIO-PAC, there came nothing but a message of "deep appreciation of the firm stand ... of the patient and constructive effort."

daily learn whose side the government is on. It's the bosses' cops that beat us up; it's the bosses' judges that enjoin us against picketing; it's the bosses' Congressmen that stack the cards when they make the rules: it's the bosses' President who demands that we cool off for thirty days. In the shop we know better than to rely on cops, judges or government administrators to fight our battles for us. We send our own men to bargain with the boss and we form our own picket line to make sure that the boss listens.

On the picket lines we workers

Youth Tour

Shirley Waller, secretary of the National Provisional Committee for a Socialist Youth League, began an organizational tour on January 11 which will take her to various eastern and midwestern cities. Comrade Waller can be used for speaking engagements and may be contacted at the following addresses:

February 6-20, Detroit, Mich. (Labor Action, 3773 Gratiot, Detroit.)

February 22-March 7, Chicago, Ill. (Youth Action, 1703 West Madison Street. Chicago, Ill.)

March 8-12, Madison, Wis. (Write to Chicago address.)

March 13-20, Chicago, Ill. (Same address.)

March 22-25, Detroit, Mich. (Labor Action, 3773 Gratiot, Detroit.)

jures labor's interest when he promotes the idiocy that we workers can get the legislators to do what of congratulation.

us believe that when it comes to

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bosses and for the working class. Called for was a letter breaking PAC we want them to do by cajoling them, from the boss politicians, proposing by praising them, by sending letters the election of workers to Congress, proposing a workers' political party On the day following the Presi- by changing PAC into an indepen-

| The January issue of The New Internation tains a number of articles on events of curren | al, just off the press, con- nt interest- |
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| THE STRIKE WAVE—Its Roots in the F | |
| LESSONS OF THE DETROIT ELECTIC POST-LIBERATION STRUGGLE IN T | ON-Martin Harvey |
| Also articles on the situation in German | Saul Berg |

Jeffers and James M. Fenwick.

The current issue reprints two documents dealing with the unity negotiations between the Workers Party and the Socialist Workers Party, as well as a letter addressed to the Fourth International by Felix Morrow.

Discussion articles and book reviews round out this issue.

Because of increased printing costs, the price of The New International has been raised to twenty-five cents for a single issue and \$2.00 for a yearly subscription.

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dent's message to Congress, a letter dent Labor Party. T