LABOR ACTION 8 PAGE WEEKLY: STAR1ING AUG. 5th A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR JULY 22, 1946

PRICE RISES HIT WORKERS' POCKETS **UAW Calls National Stoppage to Halt Price Jump**

DETROIT, July 17-Hundreds of thousands of members of the United Automobile Workers Union (CIO) went on two-hour-long stoppages to protest against rising prices. The nation-wide demonstrations showed the UAW again taking the lead in militant labor action to halt price profiteering.

The Detroit demonstration-in which a mighty throng of 80,000 packed Cadillac Square-heard Walter Reuther, UAW President, call for buyers' strikes as a means of demonstrating against rising prices. Reuther singled out the meat industry as a notorious profiteer and urged buyers' strikes on meat.

Similar demonstrations were held throughout the nation by the UAW. (Full reports in next week's LABOR ACTION.)

By BEN HALL

DETROIT, July 15 — At the call of the United Automobile Workers Union, thousands of workers supported by members of Negro, veterans, consumers, and labor organizations will demonstrate in Cadillac Square on the afternoon of July 16 to protest the end of price control.

This demonstration is the direct outcome of a mass meeting attended by over 1000 CIO shop stewards and local union officers two weeks ago where Walter Reuther, outlining the program of the policy committee of the UAW, called upon Phillip Murray to convene a United Labor Conference of all American labor to discuss action to repulse the anti-labor offensive of Congress and to restore price controls. At this meeting resolutions were passed asking the CIO through Murray to call a one-day national labor holiday and failing that, insisting upon a one-day work stoppage in the Detroit area.

But Murray has been totally silent throughout the price crisis. He has outlined no program of his own and is reported to have vetoed the idea of a one-day national holiday and to have frowned upon even a stoppage of work in the Detroit section. The stration is therefore a compromise with the views of Murray. It is not called as a general 24hour work stoppage. Instructions to local unions are to shut down the plants for part of a shift in agreement with their respective employers and if this agreement is not forthcoming to close the factories "for not more than two hours on any one shift on the day of the demonstration." To repeat: it is the UAW which is calling this demonstration. Similar actions will be called on the same day, where possible, wherever the UAW has strength. The International Executive Board of the CIO has yet to be heard from.

Big Four Talks Get Nowhere

By HENRY JUDD

About the only item agreed on at the recent Paris Conference of the Big Four was that the meeting had gone on long enough and the time had come to adjourn. So, after endless talking, the Foreign Ministers have all returned to their respective countries, each anxious to blame the other and explain how his own proposals were the only true "peace" plans put forward.

In his speech to the American people on July 15, Secretary of State Byrnes presented his standpoint on the Paris Conference, and the coming Conference of the 21 victor nations scheduled for July 29. After an apologetic speech, Byrnes concluded with the hope that the new 21-Power conference will produce more substantial results towards a real, international peace. But the very tone and content of his talk denied his own belief in this. Actually, this new conference will have little power to change or alter previous decisions or "deals" of the Big Four.

The New Ceiling



By EMANUEL GARRETT

With mass indignation running high against the intolerable price situation, union and consumer bodies are organizing a series of protest actions. Spearheaded by the nationwide stoppages called for July 16 by the UAW, plans are taking shape in city after city for a wide variety of action.

Local demonstrations and activities are being organized in preparation for a nationwide Buyers Strike. In New York some 70 organizations have announced five mobilization points from which picket lines will isuue on July 23. AFL truckers in Minneapolis are planning a mass "work holiday" on July 31.

Connecticut CIO unions are planning a statewide buyers strike. Philadelphia unions are picketing stores, and planning a

Ask CIO to Adopt UAW Wage Plank

By JACK WILSON

DETROIT - A demand that the national executive board of the CIO meeting in Washington on July 18 adopt the essential features of the GM strike program as a guiding policy for all CIO unions is to be presented by Walter P. Reuther, UAW-CIO president. The GM strike program proposed higher wages without price increases.

This announcement was made at the wage conference of delegates from all Chrysler locals, who voted to authorize a strike to eliminate bad working conditions and the speedup and also to reopen wage negotiations to meet the rising cost of living.

In addition, the international executive board of the UAW-CIO authorized a strike of 18,000 workers of the Briggs Manufacturing Corporation after two months of negotiations failed to settle speedup, pay docking, senjority, wage differentials and reinstatement of discharged workers. Both the Briggs and Chrysler plants in the past few weeks have been the scene of many slowdowns and spontaneous

mass demonstration. Buffalo organizations are mobilizing mass picket lines. The National CIO Executive Board which is scheduled to meet on July 18, will discuss action on the price situation.

ONE CENT

These are actions in the right DIRECTION, and LABOR AC-

TION calls upon its readers to join in the protest, to participate in the buyers strikes. In so doing, however, we call attention to the fact that a buyers strike is limited in effectiveness and value. As we have said before, it can serve as a noteworthy demonstration of mass anger and determination to halt price increases. To actually hold the price line, and to hurl it back to a reasonable level, more, much more, is required

A systematic campaign uniting union activity with consumer action on a national scale is obviously indicated. Unless the unions, that is, the organizations of labor, are involved on a national scale and agreed upon an aggressive policy of wage and price action, everything else that is done will prove to have little value. Thus, the proposal made by the UAW. through its president, Walter Reuther, that Philip Murray ask the CIO Executive Board to call for a united labor conference of ALL CIO, AFL,

The program outlined by the UAW embraces three main points: 1) The calling of protest demonstrations in every community on July 16; 2) A

(Continued on page 4)

CIO Vets for Profit Tax to Pay for Bonus

nus.

taxation."

sales tax.

UAW PLAN

By WALTER JASON

One of the significant developments on the question of a veterans' bonus occurred least week in Michigan at the special session of the state legislature called to take up the matter of a state bonus for Michigan veterans. There was little doubt in anyone's.

mind that the special session would vote overwhelmingly to approve a state bonus. The Michigan plan calls for a bonus of \$10 a month for every month a soldier spent in the states, and \$15 a month for each month of overseas duty, up to the maximum of \$500 for any veteran. Other provisions take up problems of surviving dependants, etc.

The Michigan plan involves payment of around \$270,000,000 or an average of about \$280 per veteran. It goes before the voters of the state for failed. The UAW-CIO vets said they approval in November, since the Michigan constitution provides that such an expenditure must be made by constitutional amendment via referendum vote.

Of course, there is nothing new in the idea of a state bonus. Massachusetts and Illinois alrady have approved of the idea, and the Massachusetts veterans already have been paid. What is significant in the Michigan state bonus development is the attitude of the veterans organizations

Se.

NO PROBLEMS SOLVED

The fact of the matter is that while some progress was made toward drafting peace treaties with Italy and the Balkan powers, not a single one of the basic problems of Europe was resolved. The questions of Germany; the disposition of the Ruhr; Austria's future; economic and trade rights in the Balkans and more than a dozen other questions related to the Italian and Balkan treaties were not resolved.

Germany still stands as the major obstacle in the strenuous efforts of the Big Four imperialists to agree among themselves. So far apart are the powers on this question that afa presentation of the opposing ter points of view, the whole conference wound up without the slightest effort (Continued on page 4)

and, in particular, the UAW-CIO veterans committees. In other states the

cost of the state bonus is financed by

An attempt was made in Michigan

to propose a sales tax on cigarettes

and beer to meet the cost of the bo-

a sales tax in one form or another.

Senate Logrolls New Bill Continuing Price Debacle

The Senate has just passed an OPA which directly touch the pocketbooks Extension Bill which legalizes price profiteering and sets a premium on gouging the people. The bill is but another proof that the Congress of the United States is the governmental expression of the interests of big busi-

ness. This time the senators went almost all the way in giving the profiteers a free hand on the price front, dressing up the fraud with the imposing title of "Office of Price Administration Extension Bill."

The bill consists almost wholly of exemptions on those commodities

of the working men and women of this country. These exemptions are granted in food, clothing and, as we shall point out, rent control. Here is what the representatives of

big business did: They exempted from price control:

> meat poultry milk butter

cigarettes, cigars, smoking and chewing tobacco petroleum and grain

They passed a so-called rent control measure which would leave the matter up to the individual states where the interests of the real estate and landlord lobbies are even more effective than in Washington.

The senators, representing the capitalist interests of their various states, proceeded to "scratch each other's backs" by trading votes on amendments. Senators from dairy producing states voted for meat exemption amendments of the "meat senators" in return for a mark-up in prices on milk, butter and cheese.

(Continued on page 2)

walkouts which are an indication of **Railroad Brotherhood and independ** the mass discontent developing in the auto industry.

RESURGENCE OF MILITANCY

Three factors are responsible for the resurgence of militancy among the auto workers. They are, first, had working conditions, centering around issues like ventilation, etc.; second, the auto companies systematically are introducing speedup in an effort to gain more productivity per man and thus actually cutting wages. The third factor, one that has hit every worker in America, is, of course, the sky-rocketing cost of living that has wiped out wage gains previously won in militant struggle in the auto and other industries. Realization that this problem is not solely one of the auto workers and that the auto workers should not be left alone in spearheading the American labor movement, has brought

more support to the excellent idea that the GM program be a national CIO policy. Time and again Reuther and his associates insist that contracts must be negotiated on the basis of higher wages without an increase in prices and that higher wages must (Continued on page 2)

ent unions, is the kind of proposal dictated by the situation. In the absence of such a national conference, and it is unlikely that the CIO Executive will call such a conference, it will be up to the individual unions to organize the kind of action that is most meaningful.

A buyers strike, we have said, is a valuable demonstration, but a limited one. What then can be done? First of all, the very actions organized around a buyers strike and similar protests can serve to initiate more effective means of price control: namely, committees of workers' (union) representatives and housewives to control prices in each neighborhood, and linked for effectiveness through national bodies.

A BASIC PROGRAM

But that, too, is insufficient. Labor has it in its power to control prices at the source. For example, the 3-point price control program which the UAW is now championing, and in which the central plank is a buyers strike, can be given real meaning only if it's linked with the GM Program ad-

(Continued on page 4)

Workers Party Candidates Denounce May

Max Shachtman and Ernest Rice not to mention a hundred bloody None of the veterans organizations McKinney, Workers Party candidates except the AVC had anything to say for Congress from the 15th and 22nd on this vital question. The AVC said Congressional Districts, charged this that it was against any "regressive week that the deal made by a Mr. But the UAW-CIO veterans delega-Garsson with Representative May through which the American people tion had plenty of say on the subjct. Many speakers at the public hearings were indirectly fleeced out of many hundreds of thousands of dollars is denounced any attempt to foist a sales only one of the instances in which tax on the common people to pay a the imperialist war enriched the bonus. Attempts to get the CIO vets to approve payment of the bonus from profiteers at the expense of the work-

ingmen and of the middle classes. the present three per cent sales tax Their statement reads: "Reading like a sordid story in some were against all sales taxes. George yellow newspaper, the incident of bri-Buckley of the UAW-CIO vets debery and corruption between a Reppartment told the legislators that the CIO wanted to abolish the present resentative in Congress from the State of Kentucky and a businessman who started with a letterhead and ran it up to some seventy million dollars il-The CIO vets had proposals, howlustrates what the profiteers did while workingmen were sweating away sixever, for financing a "wage adjustment," as they called the bonus. A tax ty hours a week in war plants and on corporation profits, on high intheir sons were dying on the shores comes, and similar taxes to hit the of four continents from North Africa and France to Indo-China and India,

(Continued on page 4)

islands and atolls in between."

"The story unfolding in the presence of the Senate War Investigating Committee is a simple one. A man named Henry Garsson and his brother, using a letterhead with which they founded their business, were able to secure millions of dollars in war contracts and substantial advances in cash with which they acquired a factory building and some machinery. This beginning they expanded into a paper empire of war contractors in a short period of time. They emerged with a holding company and some sixteen subsidiary corporations. The Erie Basin Metal Products Company, one of the corporations in question. spent over a million and a half dollars in three years for rent and maintenance on a plant originally valued at one hundred and twenty thousand dollars.

"The enormous profits from these enterprises, of course, went into the pockets of Henry Garsson and his as-

sociates. And testimony given before the Senate War Investigating Committee indicates that tens of thousands of dollars was paid to the Cumberland Lumber Company for which the ordered lumber was never delivered. Many of the checks thus paid were endorsed by A. J. May before being

The New York Local of the Workers Party announced this week that its drive to gather twelve thousand signatures for the purpose of putting Max Shachtman and Ernest Rice McKinney on the ballot will begin on Saturday, July 27. Petitions are now at the printer and will be ready in advance of the day designated. The entire New York membership of the Workers Party is being mobilized to make this intensive campaign effective. Help the Workers Party put two revolutionary Socialists on the ballot!

deposited and Representative May admitted that he had used his influence to see that contracts went from the various corporations controlled by the Garsson brothers.

"Henry Garsson and his associates

are relatively small time businessmen and swindlers who were trying to cash in on the millions of dollars being made available to corporations who were willing to handle war contracts. The Garssons were pikers compared to the billion dollar corporations controlled by the Morgans, the du Ponts, the Fords, the Chase National Bank, the National City Bank, the Bankers Trust Co., and the Guarantee Trust Co. who were able to make billions of dollars in profits out of buildings, plants and machinery which they borrowed from the Federal government and in which the bankers invested hardly a cent of

sons is that the giant corporations did everything in a more legal and more polished manner. Congressmen do not have to be bribed by the aluminum trust or the sugar trust directly. They

have long standing connections as excorporation lawyers with these gigantic monopolies. Or they are investors of long standing in the stocks and bonds of the gigantic corporations. In their daily gyrations in Congress they always defend the interests of "private enterprise" by which is meant the interests of the monopolies in re-taining their profit-making control of American production.

"The crime committed by the aluminum, tin, steel, auto, rubber, and chemical dynasties against the American people, a crime of manufacturing enormous profits for themselves out of an imperialist war, a war for the protection of foreign investments and foreign markets-this crime is greater in magnitude than the crime of the Garssons who did the same thing on a

(Continued on page 3)

their own. "The difference between these gi-

gantic swindles and the relatively small swindle engaged in by the Gars-

Page 2

LABOR ACTION

July 22, 1946

A Boss's Dictionary

Revolution:

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Boilermakers Fight Bureaucrats

By VINCENT S. WHEELON

SEATTLE, Wash .- The struggle between Local 104 of the Boilermakers Union and the undemocratic leadership of the international to which it is affiliated, has reached a climax in recent weeks. The dispute reached a head when Local 104, in an economy move, cut the salaries of the local officials and the international leadership, headed by Charles J. MacGowan, ordered the local to restore the pay cuts.

Two members of the local lodge resorted to a court order restraining the international officials from determining the pay of local officials. The final hearing, before the Kings County Superior Court, will probably not take place until November 17.

"Spend every cent if we have to," was the attitude taken by the members at a recent meeting as they vied with each other to shout over the microphone their vigorous condemnation of the arrogant, dictatorial stand of the international's clique in Kansas · City.

Behind the pay issue is their bitter resentment at changes forced in the Brotherhood's constitution at the international convention held early in 1944 which set four-year terms for subordinate lodge officers. Previously elections were held annually. In April of this year Local 104, by a vote of more than 200 for and only three against, requested the executive couneil to hold elections during 1946.

LOCAL UNION AUTONOMY

In order to head off a possible attempt of the MacGowan crew to take over the local union, two Seattle lodge members, Nick Hughes and John Grosso, filed petitions in court for the restrainer and obtained a favorable ruling. The court held that the local union's by-laws, not the international constitution, controls salaries for subordinate lodge officials. In their answer to the court's order, International Vice-Presidents Otto Mursener, Tom Crowe, Bill Williams

allege "it has been the custom and practice in the case of any action of the members of any local fixing salaries of officers . . . to be subject to examination . . . by the international president."

After members of the local union voted to reduce salaries of elected and appointed officials, the executive council convened in Denver, on April 8 and summoned representatives of the lodge to explain the economy

AN ARBITRARY DIRECTIVE

Upshot of the meeting was an arbitrary directive sent to Local 104 ordering the lodge to restore pay cuts from the date of the reduction. International officers, at the same meeting, approved sending Crowe, Mursener and Williams to Seattle to investigate the local union. At a subsequent meeting of Local 104, where the Kansas City communication was discussed, the members voted to hold in abeyance the pay restoration order but to send representatives to meet

(Continued from page 1)

come from profits and must not be

There is no indication as to what

reception this program is going

to meet at the national CIO board

meeting. At the Chrysler conference,

the Stalinist bloc turned down a reso-

lution to support this program and

substituted instead a resolution to

reopen negotiations on wages. The

fact that R. J. Thomas, opponents of

Walter Reuther, is sitting on the na-

tional CIO executive board as a CIO

vice-president representing the auto

workers, rather than Reuther, is hard-

ly an indication that Reuther can ex-

pect a favorable response from Mur-

ray.

with the international trio.

passed on to consumers.

session in a hotel room. Grosso, one of the local-union representatives, asked Williams: "If we refuse to adopt said recommendation (salary restoration), does that mean that you will not hold any hearings concerning the matter, and you will in-

stall a governing board in Local 104?" Williams replied, "Yes, that's it." Mursener interjected, "There is no need to argue any further-that's all we have to say." Then the international representatives worked over the local committee members, demanding that they impress on the lodge the necessity for obeying the directive. The committee refused. At a following meeting of the local, the membership voted to give the Kansas City threesome full cooperation in

continuing the investigation. Instead, MacGowan wrote from Kansas City on May 20 a letter stating: "I now direct the officers of Lodge 104 to immediately restore, retroactive to the date the reduction was effective, the salary of each of the officers on Lodge 104 . . . I fur-

UAW Seeks Support in CIO--

What followed was a star-chamber ther direct that no mention of this matter be made in your 104 RE-PORTER."

> The editor of the Reporter, the local union weekly, on the contrary, printed the entire communication on the front page of this tabloid-size paper in a two-column spread under the headline, "Verboten."

> He added the following paragraphs: "The 104 Reporter was born in struggle and established to bring information and news to the only people who really count: the working people, the membership of Local 104."

"This letter is therefore published to remind the International Executive Council and President MacGowan that they exist only because of the tolerance of the dues-paying membership and not vice versa.

"Boilermakers Local 104 has a longstanding tradition of fighting militancy and union democracy. This record was built from a membership capable and sometimes eager to spit in the employers' eye and equally eager to do battle for the right of every man to speak his piece."

Cops Raid Youth **Club** in Cleveland

CLEVELAND-In a brazen violation of civil rights four police entered the home of Homer Steiner, 3278 E. 123rd St., and attempted to intimidate a group of Negro and white youth who were attending a meeting of their interracial social club.

Several months ago a group of Negro and white youth decided to form an interracial social club with the purpose of furthering better race relations. The club has since engaged in such activities as going to Euclid Beach, a public amusement park; to Euclid Creek, a public picnic ground; swimming in a public pool, bicycling,

Last Monday night the club members were eating ice cream and drinking soda pop following their meeting when two police walked in and demanded to see Mr. Steiner. One of them walked into the kitchen while the other made herself at home in the living room. The cop in the kitchen said he had a complaint. When asked what it was he ORDERED Steiner into the living room. For ten or fifteen minutes they refused to say what the complaint was, or who had made if. When asked if they had a warrant to enter the house, the cop said, "See this badge. We don't need a warrant. We've a right to be here." When asked to produce a warrant

or to leave the premises, they flatly refused to do'either. The cop then pulled out a little black book and began to take the names and addresses of everyone in the house.

Finally, the nature of the "complaint" was brought out. The sponsor and his wife were accused of contributing to "juvenile delinquency," on the grounds of giving liquor to the youth. These youth had never had a drop of alcoholic beverage either at their club meetings or at their social activities. The club members vehemently confirmed this.

The cops found absolutely nothing that no reliance whatever can be wrong. There was no liquor found. All put on this big businessmen's con-

the members attended the club with the permission of their parents. The social activity of the club was beyond reproach. Mrs. Hackney, the leading police investigator, acknowledged the following day to two of the members' parents that she had found nothing wrong with the club.

The whole raid on the club pointed. to just one thing-a brazen attempt to smash an interracial group. There was no complaint. The cops weren't even interested in telling what the complaint was, two thirds of their time being consumed in taking names and questioning the club members.

an oral and when you w shad a

New Price Bill --

(Continued from page 1)

gress for any genuine price control. The only hope for the people lies in Southern senators voted for "norththe labor movement and its struggle ern" amendments in exchange for price control exemptions on tobacco against price profiteering. The UAW products, petroleum, and in the case has already adopted a fighting fivepoint program to meet the immediate of Georgia voted that "any ceiling on problems created by the abolition of southern pine for pulpwood must be price control. This program calls for: as high as that on timber from other 1. Establishment of flying squadrons

price increases.

to restore price control.

to halt evictions. The senators made a deal for the 2. A buyers' strike against markedcotton interests. up goods.

They made a deal for the sugar interests. erans, consumer organization against

They made a deal for the railroad interests. And while the senators and repre-

areas."

sentatives have now joined their respective committees to send a common bill to the President, prices on all important commodities necessary for day to day living have shot up all

over the country. President Truman has already made it clear that he will veto this bill which he described as "in terrible shape," and which "couldn't be any worse." But the President's role in fighting for price control is itself so shoddy that even Harold Ickes was led to declare that Truman "wants an OPA without any price control." It is abundantly clear, however, from the events of past weeks alone,

The War Department announced last week that as of September 1, the General Electric Company would take over operation of the government's \$347,000 atomic bomb plant at Hanford, Wash. The beauties of private enterprise....

3. Demonstrations of workers, vet-

4. A national protest labor holiday.

5. A united labor conference of all

unions to work out a plan of action

Joined to the UAW "GM program"

which called for opening the corpora-

tion's books and wage increases with-

out price increases; there is a real

chance to defeat the price profiteers

and their agents in Washington.

Private Enterprise

The False Position of the SWP on the Question of Prices and Wages

By ERNEST ERBER

The end of OPA price controls confronted the working class with a crisis of major dimensions. The spiralling prices wiped out within a matter of weeks the gains of the recent strike wave. Every worker began to understand that the fight to keep wages on a par with soaring living costs was like trying to fill a tub without first stopping up the drain. As a result, labor, fresh from its strike struggles for higher wages, wheeled about to

mendous socialist content in this position because it knew that the workers' fight along this line would lead beyond the framework of capitalist economic relations, as General Motors itself so well understood when it fought against it. The Workers Party understood what was at stake in the GM program because it had been taught to think in terms of programs that are transitional from capitalism to socialism-programs that the workers fight for as the only effective answer to their problems and which lead in "the effort to realize them, beyond the framework of capitalism. And if not realized, as is more likely at this stage, this form creates a transition in the thinking of the workers from the old routinist union concepts to new, revolutionary concepts. The latter is, of course, the first and foremost function of a transitional demand. The actual realization of transitional demands is related to the revolutionary period.

the GM workers could control GM prices except through workers control of production? And what is the first step toward the latter other than "Open the books?" Who cares what Reuther had in mind or what he agitated for? The real question is: once the union has come out for control of GM prices and access to the books, what should we agitate for? Here is the real opening for the Marxist. Here is the real chance to grab hold and go to town. How did the SWP room

against price increases is not a hopeless one. What sectarian nonsense! Straight

out of the book of De Leon, but not of Trotsky! If the slogan "Wage Increases Without Price Increases" is to be rejected because it spreads illusions. what about all the other planks in the transitional program? Will the housing question ever be solved under capitalism? Of course not. Do we tell workers to fight for housing? Of course we do. Does not this apply to every other demand we raise which is add or subtract jot or tittle As a result, when the GM program incompatible with the continued existence of capitalism? Of course it is. was formulated, the SWP strategists Then wherein is the crime of the sloplaced it alongside of their party's gan: "Wage Increases Without Price transitional program and approved Increases"? Again we insist that its everything that was familiar ("Open real crime, in the eyes of the SWP, is the books") while rejecting everything that "is not our slogan" (Wage that it had the misfortune of an illegitimate birth instead of being sired Raises Without Price Increases). by SWP's Political Committee. This BLIND TO GM PROGRAM becomes abundantly clear when Felix

(transitional) program with regard to the question under discussion." (their caps)

For them the transitional program of the 1938 Founding Congress is the last word on the subject. That which Trofsky considered a "first approximation" and advised the movement to implement and adapt for the different countries and changing situations has been canonized into an unchanging and unchangeable article of faith to which it is sacrilege to either

ous. Perhaps they immediately saw that the GM demand was an incorrect substitute for the demand of a sliding scale of wages which is the central wage-price demand in the 1938 program. Were this the case, the SWP had the duty of taking issue with the GM program, of subjecting it to criticism, of proposing the sliding scale formula in place of the "no price rise" formula.

Did they do it? Not a word. During the GM strike, the SWP' maintained

your time. Go out and get more money."

The OPA, says the SWP, is nothing but a tool of the monopolists to increase their profits. Good. But now that the monopolists do not need OPA and want to get rid of it (or seriously modify it) don't they do this too in order to increase their profits? Is this of no concern to the working class? At whose expense are profits in-

creased? But price control is hopeless under

Of course, Reuther's fight on this been exposed as disastrous to the laprogram will have at least this result-it must bring some statement from Philip Murray on national CIO policy. For the last two weeks in the crisis of OPA, the American labor movement has been confronted with the amazing spectacle of absolute silence from Philip Murray. This is tantamount to an admission of bankruptcy by Murray and his associates on meeting the issues around the rising cost of living, inflation and the whole problem of a national CIO

wage policy. Murray's formula for settling the steel strike (higher wages by allowing the steel industry higher profits step forward or a step backward on to be passed on to the consumer) has this vital question.

bor movement. The inability of the GM workers to get higher wages without higher prices was caused mainly by Murray's settlement of the steel strike on his inadequate formula. The auto workers are determined not to permit this to happen again.

In the coming struggles in the auto industry, the UAW-CIO wants CIO backing for the progressive policy of higher wages without price increases. By the end of the session of the national CIO executive board, it will be shown whether the CIO takes a

going to movies, etc.

attack on a new front-the price front.

From coast to coast the trade unions took the lead in local actions to oppose price rises. They picketed stores, they demonstrated, they called buyers' strikes. The American workers, despite their traditional political backwardness, recognized that efforts to tie wages to rising prices was now only a defensive effort to avoid the worst effects of the inflationary movement. They knew that the offensive had to be in the direction of price control, both through their mass struggles and through their political pressure upon government.

A STEP FORWARD

"This realization by the workers that wage increases have meaning only when linked to the fight to control prices is a tremendous step forward in their social consciousness. It means a break with the old, time-worn concepts of unionism that regard as the sole function of a trade union the fight for "more money." It means that the workers can no longer be content with viewing only the small segment of 'the economy marked "wages." They must concern themselves with the economy as a whole - wages, prices, profits, control of production and, eventually, nationalization of industry.

Wags relate to the immediate employer. Prices are a question of the economy as a whole. This increasing understanding of the broad social and economic questions of the day on the part of the workers is something for the Marxist to seize hold of and drive toward a Socialist solution. This was the tremendous significance of the GM strike program-linking wages to prices and profits and proposing to make them all subject to check and control by the union. The concepts pioneered by the GM strike are now being forced upon the working class as a whole. The entire labor movement must now make the GM slogan its own - "Wage Increases Without Price Increases." The settlements of John L. Lewis in coal and Phillip Murray in steel based on price increases for the corporation are now revealed to be hollow victories.

The Workers Party from the outset seized hold of the GM program and sought to pound home its meaning to the working class. It extracted the heart of that program-labor's control of prices at the point of production and throughout the distributive process-and sought to link it to every fight for more wages. The Workers Party immediately realized the tre-

Having made this introduction to the question of the fight for price control, the GM program and transitional demands in general, we now turn to the specific subject of this article-the miserable role played on these questions by our rivals and would-be teachers in the strategy of working class politics, the Socialist

THE SWP'S FALSE POSITION

The Militant.

In contrast to the Workers Party and Labor Action, the SWP has understood nothing about the tremendous developments going on about them. To read their press one wonders where it is published or in what year it was written.

Workers Party and their newspaper,

Their root error is that they failed to understand the GM strike program. They viewed it merely as a militant trade union program. The demands for union price control were viewed as mere "propaganda" to win public support. They endorsed the slogan of "Open the books" but they saw no connection between this slogan and the demand that wage increases be granted without price increases. As far as they were concerned the slogan of "Open the books" somehow accidentally wandered into the GM program. But since they regard "Open the

books" as their own child, they were able to recognize it no matter where it turned up. The fact that union control of prices at the point of production is the first form of workers control of production never occurred to them because the GM program did not plainly label it so. As a result they criticized the way in which the slogan of "Open the books" was used. In their reply to Felix Morrow's criticism of the SWP policy on the GM program they say: "Reuther, however, never agitated for this slogan in the revolutionary spirit of our transitional program which conceives this as a bridge to workers' control of production." How else did the SWP theoreticians think that

Of this splendid opportunity to press for a drive toward a socialist solution along the road of transitional program-of this they could say no better than the following hair-raising pronunciamento:

"The second slogan 'Wage Increases Without Price Increases' is not our slogan and we do not accept it." (!!!) What the SWP is really saying is

this: "How dare they meddle in such matters, these UAW unionists who have not even been issued a license to practice revolutionary politics! If what they want is a slogan that goes beyond hum-drum unionism, they should know where to come. Our address is 116 University Place, New York City."

slogan of "Wage Increases Without Price Increases" to perdition, they must speed it on its way with a few vigorous kicks in the form of "arguments." Says the same statement:

"The erroneousness of this formula consists in the fact that it directly links together the struggle for higher wages with the fight against high prices.' That's right, re-read it. It still reads

the same. It would be bad enough for a Marx-

ist party to walk right pass the GM program in broad daylight and fail to note anything unusual about it. above all when every two-bit commentator is raging that it is unusual, and outrageously so. But to walk right up to it and spit in its eye for linking wages and prices, the very thing that marks it off from routine union programs, for that it is not enough to be simply ignorant-or even exceptionally ig-

norant. For this a mad genius is required, capable of intellectual mayhem against all that passes for common sense among men.

PRICES UNDER CAPITALISM But this is not all. The crime of "directly linking" up the wage and price question is not the sole crime of the GM program and its slogan of

ter its beaten and battered corpse.

prices under conditions of capitalist Not only does this formula proceed on crooked lines which link prices and wages, but, according to the SWP,

Morrow is condemned for his efforts to legitimatize the slogan with the argument that Morrow is "proposing a FUNDAMENTAL REVISION of this

—With the Workers Party

NEW YORK CITY

CITY OFFICE-114 West 14th St., -open all day until 7 p.m. Tuesdays, Wednesdays and Thursdays-open until 10 pim.

But perhaps they were convinced of

more than the fact that the GM price

slogan was strange, new, and, there-

fore, to be avoided. Perhaps they were

convinced that it was had and danger-

The Brooklyn-Utica Branch will hold an open air meeting on Tuesday. July 23, at-8 p. m., on the S.E. corner of Utica and Eastern Parkway. The topic is Palestine. All friends are invited to attend.

HARLEM BRANCH

2143 Seventh Ave., 2nd floor, Wednesday, July 17, 8:30 p.m. Meeting on price situation.

DOWNTOWN BRANCH

Labor Temple, 242 East 14th Street, near Second Ave., Wednesday, July 17, 8:30 p.m. Meeting on price situation.

YORKVILLE BRANCH

Rand's Harlem Terrace, 210 East 104th St., Manhattan. "The Price Crisis." Thursday, July 18, 8:30 p.m. Speakers: Irving Howe, Eleanor Mason.

PHILADELPHIA

HEADQUARTERS, 1105 Walnut St. For information of other Workers Party branches and LABOR ACTION offices, write to the National Office 114 West 14th St., New York 11, N. Y.

SOCIALIST YOUTH LEAGUE Sunday evening, July 21 - Albert

The Socialist Youth League, youth section of the Workers Party, has youth units in the following cities: Manhattan, N. Y.; Brooklyn, N. Y.; Philadelphia, Pa.; Baltimore, Md.; Boston, Mass.; Detroit, Mich.; Chicago, Ill.; Cleveland, Ohio; Madison, Wis.; and Seattle, Wash.

If you live in any of these cities and desire to attend the youth meetings, write to the Socialist Youth League, 114 West 14th Street, New York 11, N. Y.

the silence of the tomb-both in regard to criticism of the GM program and in regard to proposing the sliding scale of wages.

Why? Was it because they decided to be discreet and not get involved until they exactly knew where they stood? No. The real fact is that they remained totally blind to the real significance of the GM program. They could see no transitional demand inherent in the GM program except "Open the books," which stuck out so that a totally blind Marxist would stumble over it if he could not see it. They viewed the GM program as nothing beyond the level of militant unionism. This is the beginning of all their troubles. After this, refusing to admit their blunder, they sought to extricate themselves with arguments

ones.

Having failed to see the significance of the GM program initially and having their noses rubbed in it later by the growing price crisis they were forced in **RETROSPECT** to polemize against the slogan of "Wage Increases Without Price Rises" and counterpose the slogan of the "Sliding Scale of Wages" as the central slogan in the fight against rising prices.

that only led from one contradiction

to another and from bad ones to worse

Now that the price question has become the central issue before the labor movement as a result of the end of OPA, the SWP is driven into the sectarian and reactionary position of trying to force the mass struggle away from the price control front back into the narrow confines of simple wage demands. Now that workers are forced to think of the economy as a unit-to link wages, profits and prices-the SWP tells them that "prices are not our business, let's get more wages." Now that trade unions are forced

out of their pure-and-simple collective bargaining role and call mass demonstrations, buyers strikes, political pressure actions-in short, embark upon a political struggle-the SWP tells them to go back to the old narrow wage struggle a la John L. Lewis. When this, the most non-political working class in the world, struggles for its bread by increasingly political weapons, the SWP gives them nothing beyond the advice of "strike at the point of production."

When trade unions everywhere are swarming down on the heads of the politicians demanding laws for rent control and other price control measures, the SWP says "You're wasting ing one's neck.

capitalism? So is an attempt to maintain the' workers' living standard through a sliding scale of wages. The fight for price control, above all when its central demand is the GM program formula of price control at the point of production, sets masses in motion on a level far higher than a mere wage struggle and forces them to think in broad social and political terms.

It is the struggle for price control that is paramount today. The struggle for a sliding scale of wages is subsidiary to it and applicable in a far more narrow, trade union sphere.

What would a member of the SWP do in a union where it is proposed to call a mass demonstration in front of the city for rent control legislation? Would he get up and say it is a waste of time and propose a sliding scale of wages as the means of covering rent increases? (In this case he would be following out the narty line)

Or would he get up and call for an effective bill" and that it is time that "Labor's voice...should have been heard in Congress demanding drastic measures against the profiteers and price gougers" and link it up with a speech for the Labor Party? (In this case he would be contradicting the party line just as it was done in THE MILITANT editorial on page 4 of the July 6 issue.)

The plight of the SWP on the price question is another lesson in the murderous logic with which an initial blunder will raise hob with the political line of a party until it is corrected. Every effort to adhere to the false premise and conduct a political line in consonance with it will not merely perpetuate the error but will drive its proponents into ever worsening predicaments. No half-baked union progressive could have ended up in as reactionary a position in the current pric crisis as did the SWP.

A union progressive, operating without theory and unemcumbered with the need to be logical and consistent, finds it easier to respond to a correct course on the price question than do the highly-vaunted half-theoreticians of the SWP. Those who use a program as a substitute for thinking end up worse than those who operate without a program. Caught in the contradictions of their sliding scale of wages formula in the midst of a mass fight for price control they arrogantly and stubbornly refuse to re-examine their initial blunder in the GM strike and serve as an excellent example of how to act when one's intent upon break-

CHICAGO -LABOR ACTION, 1703 West Madison St., Room 3, Chicago 12. Telephone: CHesapeake 5798. Office hours: 3-5:30 p.m. dally, ex cept Sundays. Tuesday and Wednes-

LABOR ACTION HEADQUARTERS

UAW five-point program, Admission:

10 cents.

DETROIT

"Wage Increases Without Price In-

Center. NEWARK

in Newark at 248 Market St. Friday, July 26, at 8:30 p.m., AL-BERT GATES, Editorial Board Labor Action, speaks on "Labor's Fight Against Inflation," an analysis of the

But not content with consigning the

AKRON

lowing classes: (1) Tuesday evenings at 8 p. m.—"THE FIGHT FOR SU-

BOSTON Wednesday-8 P. M.

BUFFALO

day evenings.

HEADQUARTERS: 3773 Gratiot (at

Mt. Elliott). LOS ANGELES New office now at Cooperative Cen-

ter, 4203 So. Hoover, Los Angeles. New program of classes starting soon. creases." Another charge is hurled af-Goldman speaks on "Why We Joined ne Workers Party," at Cooperative

"This formula likewise (!) contains the false implication that it is possible to effectively stabilize commodity

anarchy and disintegration." it also throws sand in the eyes of the workers by implying that the fight



CIALISM." (2) Wednesday afternoon at 2 p.m.—"THE WORKERS PARTY, THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY." Write to Box 221 for further informa-

LABOR ACTION Educational Forum, Otisfield Hall, Dorchester, Mass.

HEADQUARTERS at 639 Main St.

July 22, 1946

13

0



A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR Published Weekly by the Labor Action Publishing Ass'n . 114 West 14th Street, New York 11, N. Y. CH. 2-9681 (Third Floor) Vol. 10, No. 29 July 22, 1946 EMANUEL GARRETT, Acting Editor ALBERT GATES, Editor MARY BELL, Ass't Editor

Subscription Rate: 60c a Year; 35c for 6 Mos. (75c-40c for Canada, Foreign, New York City, Bronx) Re-entered as Second Class Matter, May 24, 1940, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. Under the Act of March 3, 1874

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

FOR THE UNEMPLOYED AND VETERANS 1. Full Unemployment Insurance'

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

2. Less Hours-More Pay

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

3. Jobs and Full Opportunities for Veterans

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

FOR THE POST-WAR WORLD

4. Jobs for All at a Guaranteed Annual Living · Wage:

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 Planned Rise in National Income

A guaranteed \$5,000 annual income to all workers' families by means of a planned rise in the national income and a thirty-hour maximum work week.

6. For a Democratic Peace

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

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

7. Full Social, Political and Economic Equality for Negroes

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

THESE AIMS TO BE ACHIVEDED THROUGH 8. Slum Clearance

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

9. Nationalization of Big Business

Nationalization of the banks, big industrial monopolies and transportation systems, and no handing over of government-built and owned plants and facilities to private ownership. 10. Taxing the Profiteers

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

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

Control of production by democratically-elected workers' committees

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

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

Sidney Hillman's Career In "Business Unionism"

By DAVID COOLIDGE

The sudden death of Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and chairman of the CIO Political Action Committee, should command the attention of all workers who lay claim to any concern with the economic and political problems facing the labor movement in the United States.

Hillman was not an ordinary labor leader and his death was something more than the mere "death of a labor leader." Certainly, there were

in the ante-room of the Democratic Party's GHQ. "Clear it with Sidney" was a sort of baptismal benediction which was a rare honor for a "poor Lithuanian boy." Sidney Hillman had arrived politically!

POLITICS OF CLASS COLLABORATION

But in contemplating his own personal success. Hillman, like the whole host of labor leaders, developed a blind spot for the still humble and obscure status of the hundreds of thousands of members in his own union and the working class as a whole. These millions had not arrived and they could not with the Hillman formula and the Murray-Green formula; which was basically the same as Hillman's. For implicit in this formula is the myth that the road to similar success is open for every immigrant and to every toiler. Implicit in such a formula is the belief that capitalist society and capitalist democracy are precisely what they are said to be by the defenders and benefactors of capitalism. Under such a formula there can be no significant difference between the exploiters and the exploited, between the owners of property and the propertyless, 'between' those who hire and those who are hired. To be sure there are "the poor" and "the rich" but the labor leaders, such as Hillman, always obscure the fact that such distinctions are not what is basic to an understanding of the main problem facing the working class. They obscure the fact that "the rich" are one class in capitalist society and "the poor" are another. The Hillmans obscure the fact that not only are "the poor" and "the rich" separate classes but, also, that those separate classes will remain so long as capitalism remains, that the interests of the two classes are in irreconcillable conflict, that there is an incessant class struggle between the two classes, that the toilers must press this struggle everlastingly under capitalism. The Hillmans obscure the fact that this struggle between the workers and the owners can only end successfully for the tollers when capitalism has been destroyed, when the workers are the ruling class and the government of the nation is a workers' government.

One-Tenth of the Nation By J. R. Johnson

"Operation Dixie" has the most potent ally possible-the economic upheaval that is breaking up the old South.

There is taking place, below the Mason and Dixon line, a classic example of the penetration of heavy industry into a predominantly agricultural area, with the usual social and political consequences.

Cotton is no longer king. Naturally the cotton industry is still of most importance. But the war brought in industry on a scale unknown before. There was a Bell airplane plant near Atlanta with 29,000 workers. At the Oak Ridge atomic bomb plant in Tennessee there are 39,000 workers. There is a 15 million dollar alkali plant being constructed near Houston. Texas. There is a ten million dollar plant (plastics and rayon) rising in Kingsport, Tennessee. In Dallas, Texas, a plane factory is working on six million dollars worth of plane orders. Chemical plants are being built in Texas, Louisiana, Virginia. Southern businessmen are greedily striving to cash in on these new and modern sources of exploitation. But with this type of exploitation is born a new type of industrialized worker.

Cotton itself is undergoing striking changes. The mechanical cotton-picker is here. It can pick a bale of cotton in half the time and for a quarter of the cost of human labor. The sharecropper and the tenant farmer do not face complete extinction—capital does not work so scientifically and exactly. But this invention and the rotary chopper, the mechanical stripper, and other types of mechanized labor, will soon throw thousands upon thousands of croppers and tenants out of employment and permanently alter the conditions of labor of those remaining. Here again is being born a new type of agricultural worker.

NEW DEVELOPMENTS

This economic movement has already shaken the labor force to its depths. During the war some three million workers migrated north, east and west. But vast numbers stayed or came out of the backwoods to work in the new industries. Many made wages that seemed to them fabulous -thirty dollars a week, sometimes fifty.

The old economic theory used to teach that the labor displaced by the mechanization of agriculture automatically found re-employment in the expansion of industry. First of all it was never altogether true. Secondly whatever truth there was in this theory has shrunk to shreds since the great crisis of 1929.



twenty dollars a week. They are waiting for new jobs in the new industries at war wages. Many of them will wait in vain. Others are drifting from job to job, making a few dollars whenever it is absolutely necessary and waiting for the new kind of job. Negro women are drifting unwillingly back into domestic work. But not for the old five dollars a week. They demand 12, 15 and even 20 dollars. That is Southern labor today.

It is with these seething economic tendencies in mind, clashing with one another and with the old South that we can understand the political tendencies that have recently appeared. Prominent among those who are moving with the new trend in economy is Governor Arnall of Georgia. He defeated the notorious Governor Talmadge some years ago.

"Pappy" O'Daniel in Texas is threatened by a college professor, Homer Rainey, dismissed recently for 'radicalism." The Huey Long machine in Louisiana lost its last stronghold a few months ago-the mayoralty of New Orleans. Bilbo in Mississippi had one of the hardest fights of his life in his recent election. The economic movement has shaken up Southern politics.

Statement on Rep. May - -

(Continued from page 1)

lower and more sordid scale. But this crime remains unexposed and unmentioned by Congress because there are bigger interests and a wider number of congressmen and politicians in high places involved. In this crime, not only Congress but the whole Truman administration, the whole industrial and banking system, the whole American economy are involved. And no one except the revolutionary Socialist dares expose it because it would shake the entire capitalist system at its very foundations. "Today the Garssons and their families, the C. E. Wilsons and their families, the families of the Lamonts, the du Ponts, the Winthrop Aldriches and

Those anxious to profit by the latest industrialization like to think of themselves as "liberal." Intellectuals and humanitarians, in harmony with the new trend, are busy trying to reconcile the old with the new. The most striking manifestation of this is the Southern Conference for Humane Welfare. Its leaders and supporters are determined to reduce racial prejudice, introduce "equality of opportunity," and various other admirable things by means of what they call 'education."

These liberals and this liberalism are just a hundred years too late. "Operation Dixie" will give them an organized working class which will stunt their liberalism before it is out of baby clothes.

Instead of listening to the milk and water progressivism of Arnall and the pious platitudes of the Human Welfare Conference, the Negroes are listening to the CIO.

The stage is being set for dramatic conflicts in which old problems will be solved by modern means. This is so important that next week I shall devote a column to an analysis of what is now taking place in the South and the general line of future developments. It will be possible to grasp some of the greatest lessons of modern politics from a close examination of what is taking place in the South today.

country manors are no problem. Try as they may they cannot spend the gigantic sums of money in war profits which poured into their bank accounts in the years 1941 to 1945.

"And just as the families of the war profiteers are not interested in genuine price control so the congressmen, a majority of them are not interested in genuine price control. It is only the workers families, the small income families who suffer when butter goes up to \$1.50 per pound and milk goes up to 20 cents a quart.

"The American workers need trade union committees and housewives committees to enforce price control. The American workers need a guaranteed living wage because they have no accumulated war profits to fall back upon. And we pledge ourselves to fight for such a program as candidates of the Workers Party for Con-

Who Caused The Pogroms **In Poland?**

For the second time in as many weeks, the Jews of Poland-their ranks already decimated by years of Hitlerite murders-have been the victims of anti-Semitic terror pogroms. The town of Kielce, in which the first outbreak occurred, witnessed another mob attack against the few Jews who remain there.

The total number of Jews killed in these pogroms now totals forty-one.

These anti-Semitic crimes in Poland are the result of a convergence of political factors which reveals glaringly the rottenness of European society today. There are three main forces involved: (1) the Stalinist-controlled Polish government together with the hundreds of thousands of Russian troops stationed in Poland; (2) the Catholic Church; (3) the underground guerrilla troops which oppose the Polish government and remain loyal to the "government-in-exile," the outstanding public representative of which is General Bor.

Let us see what the responsibility of each of these is for the pogroms-for they are ALL partly responsible

(1) The Stalinist-Controlled Polish Government: In last week's LABOR ACTION we asked the question, and we repeat it here: Where were the thousands of Russian army troops stationed in Poland? Why were these troops, plus their efficient overseer, the GPU, unable to-or uninterested inpreventing the pogrom? How explain the factthat the Russian army troops and the GPU, usually so thorough in the suppression of dissident revolutionists, were so lax and inefficient in halting a pogrom?

As a matter of fact, evidence has leaked out that the officials of the Stalinist-controlled Polish government were inexcusably lax in trying to halt the pogroms. The Polish government, to cover up its negligence and responsibility in the matter, has even arrested the local commanders and deputy commanders of the security police and "citizens militia." This means, in effect, an admission that the local Polish officials were aware of the pogroms and did nothing to prevent them; or that they did nothing during the course of the pogroms to stop them. And where was the local Russian Army commander? Drinking vodka while Jews were being shot?

In The New York Times of July 16, 1946, W. H. Lawrence reports that "It is the opinion of all neutral observers who have been in Kielce that the secret police and military did not act with normal speed or strength against the mob. It is pointed out that in a country where gunfire is normal rather than unusual in breaking up crowds, no shots were fired at the group that killed the Jews and that none of the mob was killed even after it had killed forty-one Jews and four Poles."

Coming after the assertion in The New York Herald Tribune of July 14, 1946, that the local Polish government officials knew of the pogroms 24 hours before they took place, this dispatch throws a glaring light on the role of the Polish government.

The Stalinist-controlled Polish government and its master, the Stalinist army, stood by and tolerated a vicious, murderous pogrom. Their present attempts to find a scapegoat is merely sloughing off responsibility.

(2) The Role of the Catholic Church: Shortly after the pogrom, the leader of the Catholic Church in Poland, Cardinal Hlond issued a statement charging that the pogroms were provoked by the Polish people's resentment of the Jews because many of them were leaders in the unpopular govrnment. This statement, coming as it did while the blood of the martyred Jews still stained the streets of Kielce, could be and of course was interpreted as a tacit bat on the back for the pogromists.' After all, if their reasons for killing forty-one Jews were understandable



times when one could entertain legitimate doubts as to whether Hillman was a labor leader other than in a perfunctory, formal or fortuitous sense. For it could be said that he was more than a labor leader while at the same time less than one. Hillman rose to prominence in and with the labor movement. His base was always his own Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the labor movement in general. He was not one of those capitalist politicians or employers who flashes his old union card or boasts of his trade union beginnings many years or decades after he had ceased to be a part of the working class.

Hillman was a part of the working class and of the labor movement. Yet, to say that he was a "labor lieutenant of capital" would be correct but to equate him and his role with the capitalist and the role of the capitalist would be incorrect and misleading. It would not aid the working class to understand its own role in modern capitalist society and the part played by the trade union bureaucracy.

A PROPONENT OF "BUSINESS UNIONISM"

From the earliest days in Chicago, the youthful Sidney Hillman-a poor Lithuanian immigrant, a Jewish "pants presser," one of the crowd around Jane Addams' Hull House-must have been possessed with the notion of becoming a "successful" American as well as a successful trade union leader. After his activities in the strike against Hart, Schafner and Marx, the many militant struggles of the garment workers, and the final stabilization of the union, Hillman continually oriented the union along the lines of the trade union philosophy of Sam Gompers.

He became increasingly a proponent of what has been called "business unionism." He was for fewer strikes, less militancy, and more peaceful agreements on the basis of "understanding" of and concern with the welfare of the industry.

"There is no chance to bargain efficiently with an employer," said Hillman, "whose business is not prosperous; labor must be industry conscious." Here was the "poor Lithuanian boy" speaking who was no longer a poor Lithuanian Jewish immigrant but an "American citizen." Here was a man speaking who, in the language of Hoover, believed that "American workers had more bread and butter than any other workers in the world."

Not only this, but Hillman was strongly impressed by the fact that a "poor Lithuanian boy" had become the confidante of a president (Roosevelt) of the mightiest nation in the world. He was an integral part of the saga of America. Or so he thought.

Sitting beside Knudsen, of General Motors, in the Office of Production Management and helping to determine the course of war production, he had arrived. As head of the CIO's PAC, he was at least

3

Because he had a false concept of the meaning of being an American citizen, because he was not a militant and class conscious leader of the toilers of the land, Hillman was satisfied that the PAC be a mere gathering of workers' votes for the Democratic Party. Hillman measured success by his own particular standards. According to this kind of leadership the working class does not need a political party of its own: the parties of Morgan and Owen D. Young, Bilbo and Taft are good enough for the workers and their families.

This attitude, this class collaboration, this bootlicking of capitalist politicians and of capitalist society as advocated and practiced by the Hillmans of the labor movement is the chief curse of the working class and its mass organizations. It will not pass with the passing of Hillman. He was only an outstanding labor leader who was catapulted to prominence by the Democrat capitalist politicians because he was willing to do a job among the workers which the capitalist politicians could not themselves do. They do not have the confidence of the working class. Hillman not only was willing but he had prestige and ability. He could organize and speak, think and plan. He was "labor statesman."

These are the main lessons for labor to learn from the career of Hillman. He summed it up very well himself when he took the position that the working class should not be class consciousness with all that it implies but "labor must be industry conscious." That was really what endeared Hillman to Roosevelt. That is what the capitalist ruling class means by "responsible trade unionism." That is what they call the correct approach to harmonious labor-management relations.



Imperialism—New Style By IRVING HOWE

Is the lion nestling against the lamb?

Are the imperialist powers voluntarily surrendering their colonial possessions, suddenly convinced-as if by a miraculous conversion-that the peoples whom they have exploited and enslaved for decades should now be "given" their freedom?

This is the eager interpretation which the capitalist journalists, including the inescapable liberals, have given to recent events in the Philippines and India. They point to the Declaration of Philippine Independence and to the British plan for India as proof that imperialism is gradually becoming obsolete, that it "doesn't pay" and that the free brotherhood of man is soon to appear-all these blessings the result, not of a socialist revolution, but of capitalism's magnanimity.

A pretty and touching picture, with one flaw-it isn't true.

THE ECONOMY OF THE ISLANDS

Let us take a glance at the Philippines. The sugar economy of these islands is intimately connected with and at the mercy of American Big Business. In the Philippines a native variety of semi-feudal agriculture is buttressed by American dollars and bayonets (not to mention American rhetoric and religion which provide moral solace to accompany inhuman economic exploitation). The islands' economy is dependent on American investment. To rebuild slightly the destroyed cities such as Manila-victims of World War II-the Philippines must borrow from the U.S. government, thereby placing themselves still more at its mercy. American naval and army bases dot the islands. And in return for U.S. loans, American businessmen receive equal economic rights in the Philippines, which in view of America's vast financial superiority, means unquestioned American domina-

The Philippine laborer still breaks his back to enrich America's Trusts. The "suggestions" of the American ambassador-which are given point by the twin symbols of this country's civilization: the dollar sign and the bayonet -are the same as commands.

Why then the formal declaration of independence?which, of course, whatever its limitations, we support. For several reasons: (1) It is a great moral-political advantage for American imperialism to be able to point to its action in "freeing" the Philippines.

The substance of its economic exploitation remains as before, but the removal of the more blatant political form of colonial dependence is a good talking point for political press agents and other scoundrels. In a world increasingly sensitive to colonial problems, the U.S. can point to its behavior in the Philippines secure in the knowledge that only such rude people as write for LABOR ACTION would mention America's economic domination of most of Central and South America.

THE METHODS OF IMPERIALISM

(2) The move is calculated to head off the continued movements for total independence among the Philippine people

Though not generally known in America, there has been a series of violent struggles for independence in the Philippines ever since Aguinaldo defied the Americans when this country took the islands away from Spain. During the Second World War this desire for national independence spread like a prairie fire through the Far East-a fire which touched Philippine hearts and which is not yet halted. Happy though the people may be at their formal separation from American overlordship, they will not long be satisfied with the mere shell of freedom: they will want their meat too. And that means to rid their country of American domination, be it through the dollar or bayonet. Which leads us to the most important point:

(3) We are witnessing, this writer believes, a modification of the methods of traditional imperialism. In its infancy capitalist imperialism found very often that political-military domination was a necessary prerequisite for economic exploitation. Thus, the marines were often sent by Big Bluster Theodore Roosevelt to help United Fruit in Central America. The British ruled politically so that they could milk their pounds and shillings from those whom they claimed to be civilizing.

Today imperialism does not always need to resort to such methods. Some of the weaker powers such as France and Holland have used force, brutally and without restraint, to suppress colonial revolutions in Indo-China and Indonesia. But in both the Philippines and India, the ruling powers have been forced, when pressed, to surrender formal political rule to maintain their economic control. For we are living in a world in which the processes of concentration of wealth and power develop at an increasing pace: real independence of action on the world arena is increasingly the privilege of two or three great powers alone. Even countries themselves once imperialist come under the domination of the irresistable powers: Poland and Czechoslovakia under Russian sway; Belgium, Holland and to a lesser degree France under Anglo-American influence. (Britain itself, though still the possessor of the largest empire in the world, jigs to America's tune; in a sense, Washington is the receiver of London's empire.)

The world comes under the sway of the few major super-powers. If Bulgaria is formally independent-it even has its own flag!-is it not actually a pawn in Russia's hands? If Egypt is formally independent, is it not still under Britain's thumb? And does not the American dollar throw its long shadow over the whole world?

Imperialism then can in certain circumstances forego direct political rule. Its economic grip over the colonial world persists nonetheless. It may be a new style of imperialism, but there's still the same smell to it.

To say however that formal independence attained by the Philippines and perhaps tomorrow to be attained by India does not yet mean full and true national freedom-this is not the same as saving the struggle for national independence is meaningless or futile. On the contrary, it merely underlines the fundamental Trotskyist idea that for the colonial nations to reach full independence, their struggle must be led by the colonial working classes who will drive out every wedge of imperial domination and struggle against their "own" capitalist class which is every ready to compromise with the foreign imperialists.

This Cardinal Hlond has a long history as a supporter of political reaction in Poland. His scandalous statement, giving succor to anti-Semitism, is however not an isolated individual quirk; it is typical of his type which, in the name of Godliness, always ends up supporting reaction and privilege.

(3) The Underground Guerrillas in Poland: Virtual civil war reigns in Poland today. Underground guerrillas opposed to the Stalinist government conduct constant harassing moves against the Polish regime. It is difficult to form a rounded estimate of these underground forces, but it seems reasonable that they are mixed in character. Undoubtedly among them are many elements sincerely desirous of achieving Polish liberation from the imperialist oppression of Stalinist Russia, elements which are not anti-Semitic. And there is undoubtedly also a considerable anti-Semitic fascistic fringe to the underground forces, which could well have played a role in the pogroms. Such Poles, filled with ultranationalist fanaticism, might have fallen prey to precisely the kind of anti-Semitic demagogy which Cardinal Hlond peddles.

We see, therefore, the putrefying social forces in Poland which set off this anti-Semitic tragedy. Stalinist indifference and possible complicity; Catholic reaction; ultra-nationalist fanaticism - these manifestations of a society in decay brought the terror to Kielce. And so a few more Jews followed the path of millions of their brothers, victims of ignorance, superstition, brutality and poisonous racialism-the marks of the contemporary world.



LABOR ACTION wishes to extend its condolences and revolutionary greetings to its comrades in China in their loss of Comrade Chen Chi-chang.

Comrade Chen, a member of the Central Committee of the Chinese Trotskyist organization and a splendid leader in the movement, died at the hands of Japanese secret police in China, over three years ago. This tragic news has only recently been revealed, along with the heartening news that the Chinese comrades have survived the imperialist war and have re-organized their movement to participate actively in the revival of the Chinese labor movement.

Chen Chi-cheng, who devoted long years to his revolutionary activity under the exceptionally difficult and hazardous conditions that exist in China, was a fine type of revolutionist and political leader. He takes his place among the many victims of the Fourth International, martyred to fascism and re-1.11 LO V HIDE SUBJ IN LASS 94 D action.

LABOR ACTION

"The Fight for Socialism" -- a Must Book Explaining the Program of the Workers Party

his head in agreement."

Workers' Government.

are the consequences for society."

leader shout, 'We don't want any politics in the unions,' he nods

velops the idea of political action and state power, leading the

reader to an explanation of an independent labor party and a

Again, in the same style, the important Chapter IX entitled

"Suppose you do not join in the fight for socialism. Suppose

"Socialism-The Alternative to Barbarism," begins with a direct

you do not organize and work for its victory. Will the society you

live in remain just as it is, will it move forward, or will it slip

backward? This question is of vital concern to everyone, espe-

cially to every worker. It is most important to understand what

will happen to capitalist society, if it is not replaced by social-

ism. To answer the question, let us examine the direction in

which capitalism is moving, why it is moving that way, and what

It might also be added, on the score of style, that the "theo-

retical stuff" is not reduced to abstractions over which a reader

would have to puzzle to no avail. Wherever possible the economic

theory is clothed in illustrative material and developed in terms

of living meaning to the worker. A good example of this style

the story of capitalist depressions at the end of Chapter III.

lucid and clear-cut throughout. This reviewer was struck par-

ticularly with the first section of Chapter VII, the section en-

titled "The First Steps of a Workers' Government." So much is

said, and so clearly, in a few short pages! The section answers

the questions so often repeated! "Shall the property of the big

capitalists be confiscated without compensation?-Shall all pri-

vate property be nationalized immediately?-Shall economic life

be centrally organized and planned?-Shall economic life be

is drawn: "The Workers' Government has taken the first impor-

tant steps toward the achievement of Socialism!" It is a conclu-

When these questions are succinctly answered, the conclusion

Now a few remarks about the excellence of the content, so

SOCIALISM-THE ALTERNATIVE TO BARBARISM

address to the reader and what he may be thinking:

Against this common vulgarization of politics, the writer de-

THE FIGHT FOR SOCIALISM, The Principles and Program of derhanded in order to line his pockets or to climb up the ladder A CHAPTER THAT REQUIRES THOUGHT the Workers Party, by MAX SHACHTMAN-New International of officialdom, he says, 'That is politics.' If he sees a man getting a summons for speeding cancelled by telephoning a friendly Publishing Co.-Price \$1. ward-heeler, he says, 'That is politics for you.' If he hears a labor

Reviewed by SUSAN GREEN

Page 4

1985 G. B. B. B. B. 198

"The Fight for Socialism," Max Shachtman's book on the why and how of socialism, fulfills a long-felt need in our movement. Here is a book of 182 pages, easily tucked into a coat or overall pocket or into a handbag, for reading in subways, trolleys and buses. Here is a book that gives in broad outline what every contact and newcomer to socialism wants to know.

Because the coverage is so comprehensive, this little book can serve as the basis and outline for further study. A class conducted with "The Fight for Socialism" as the textbook, would lead to that kind of inquiry and discussion that would net the students a pretty sound grasp of the principles and program of socialism, which are, of course, the principles and program of the Workers Party. Likewise can an individual by himself, making an acquaintance with these fundamentals through the pages of Comrade Shachtman's book, feel impelled to further study of points only concisely developed in this necessarily concise little book.

This does not mean that it is merely a base for further study and cannot stand on its own. Quite the contrary. Comrade Shachtman has written not only a very readable and intrinsically informative book, but an enjoyable one as well. Several distinctive factors of style have contributed to this result.

A SMOOTHLY WRITTEN AND CLEAR BOOK

First, while the writing is expository, explaining as it does such phenomena as the economic laws of the capitalist system, the democracy of a workers state, the composition and function of the revolutionary socialist party, it is not weighted with lead. Rather the logical sequences flow so smoothly that for pages at a time it is like reading a narrative.

In the second place, Shachtman had in mind when writing, and put down on paper, certain capitalist myths, capitalist-inspired objections and legitimate workers' doubts which have to be answered. Picking at random, here is how the section "What Is Politics?" of Chapter VI begins:

"What does the word 'politics' mean to the average worker? It brings to his mind a picture of graft, bribery and corruption. If he sees two men fighting madly to grab off a rich office-plum, he says, 'That is politics for you.' If he sees a public figure (or sometimes a figure in the labor movement!) doing something un-

entitled "The Need for a Revolutionary Socialist Party." Here are no routine formulations. Introducing the division dealing with "The Principles and Program of the Workers Party," we

is often very confusing to a worker. He will say: 'How am I to tell which party is the right one for me to join or support?' Or. 'Why don't all those who are in favor of socialism unite into a single party?' Or, 'If you cannot agree among yourselves, how

"It should not be too hard to answer these questions," continues Comrade Shachtman. "When a worker learns that a tool is useful and necessary, he does not throw up his hands in despair merely because there are many varieties of that tool offered to him. He reads carefully the claims made for each variety and the description given of what it can do, and he judges from experience which one really serves the purpose best."

A BOOK YOU'LL WANT TO HAVE

The chapter goes on to lay all the cards on the table so the reader knows exactly where the Workers Party hails from, what it stands for, where it is going. There remains no doubt as to the Workers Party's position on revolution, on immediate demands, on democracy, and so on. Then this unequivocal revolutionary party is compared with others, the Social-Democratic and the Stalinist parties, so that the reader can have a basis for making his choice, or at least for studying further in order finally to make his choice. One criticism of this excellent Chapter VIII is that it could stand a few more sub-heads for more facile reading.

ism." A member of the Workers Party or any socialist confronting a worker who needs an explanation of a certain subject, can refer to chapter, subdivision and page of Comrade Shachtman's book. This reviewer can hear herself saying to a friend who, for example, might object to a workers' state as being opposed to democracy: "You ought to read pages 122 to 130 in "The Fight for Socialism.' This section entitled 'Between Capitalism and Socialism' answers all your doubts and misgivings. Do you want to borrow my copy or would you like to buy your own?" And, of course, this reviewer would have on hand her own copy-as well as one to sell.

A Report from France Where Hunger Reigns

PARIS, FRANCE, July 1-One of the first things you learn in France is to wipe your plate clean with your small an American who receives sugar in supply of bread. This compares favorably to the plate-licking we did when we were kids in the United States. except that here it is a fundamental economic necessity. As one of our French friends explains, it is foolish to leave the juices of the meal lying on the bottom of the plate, then to be tossed down the drain. The necessity for dishwashing is reduced or elimi-

Today the bread shops were closed

and we had no bread. There was little

to eat. Without bread, the French diet

is a reducing diet with serious conse-

quences. People grumble at one an-

other, they glare a bit and stare out

of bare windows. The little children,

gaunt, hungry-looking, stare at an oc-

casional well-fed American soldier

Prices range from 20 francs at the

central market ("Les Halles") to 60

francs in the outlying markets. But

there are thousands of poor workers

in Gay Parce who do not have the 20

Visualize what happens in America

when coal and railroad stoppages oc-

cur together. In France this has taken

place for virtually the last two years.

Limited electric power. No hot water

for bathing. Even the public "la

douche" which charges from 12 francs

up is very expensive for the poor

worker of Paris. And la douche is

open only on Friday, Saturday and

Sunday. The lines are long: you wait

and wait for your turn. The soap does

everything but lather.' People cannot

clean themselves properly. Diseases

Think of a meal without oil, or

cooking without meat not for one day,

or two days, but for weeks at a time.

bread and some cheese you have the

same drab meal day in and day out.

Waiting in line for hours for a few

potatoes of doubtful quality and some

equally questionable string beans is

The number of women who faint

while queuing up for the small food

With only a few vegetables, your

which breed on filth are growing.

CONSTANT DEPRIVATION

an everyday occurrence.

No coal in winter-time for heating.

Cherries are plentiful this year.

nated.

who saunters by.

francs to buy cherries.

tion which defies description. Where other foods would find it difficult to eat a full chocolate bar, the Parisian worker suffers from a crying sugar lack in his diet. For one chocolate bar, a Frenchman will pay many francs, so that he can give his children something sweet. Milk is practically impossible to obtain as French dairy herds were reduced during the war.

There is a veritable sugar starva-

July 22, 1946

STARVE WITH EASE

Counting up all the grammes allotted on the ration cards we discovered that if it were possible to obtain all the food listed on the cards, even at poor quality levels, a poor French worker could starve to death with ease. Most of the time the items listed are not available in sufficient quantities and as for quality there is no such thing.

When packages arrive in Paris, militants in the working class-incredible as this may sound-send the contents on to their starving worker brothers in Germany and Austria. To them, the phrase "workers of the world, unite" is no joke. They realize their German and Austrian brothers are in a near-death condition and it is their task to preserve the prole-

tariat in these smashed countries. With Communist and Socialist Parties composing a substantial part of the French government, no real steps have been taken to improve the food situation. On their part, both the American imperialists and the Stalinist rulers of Russia have utilized shipments of food to influence French elections and opinion, always, however, limiting the amount of food.

In terms of human misery and degradation, as compared to the situation in America, it is appalling to find in France hundreds upon hundreds of cripples, misshapen persons, sickly people. All our friends have colds. Tiny epidemics of disease break out. Without new clothing for the war years, the French workers are ragged and down at the heels.

No new suits are available except to those with enough money to pay the enormous black market prices. Shoes are increasingly present, but most Parisiens continue to wear sandals, straw contraptions, or inflexible cork or wood platforms which injure the foot. Few women wear socks or stockings. In rainy weather the straw shoes practically dissolve, the clothes become even more shabby. The strugmasses who can least support such a gle to live is flerce and unrelenting. JACQUES.

Price Rises Hit Workers' Pocketbooks --

(Continued from page 1) vanced by the union in the General Motors strike. Elsewhere in this issue, you will find a discussion of this program, and its meaning in the present price situation.

The GM Program, in linking wages, prices and profits, in seeking to give labor a voice in determining all three, gets to the very heart of what labor must do. That is to say, laber must intervene directly, and at the point of production, in halting the price gouge. The same goes for all other problems related to the price and commodity situation, and there are many-such

as the problem of shortages. Let us take the Packinghouse Workers Union (UPWA) as an example of what could be done. The packinghouse workers are demanding: (1) \$1.00 an hour minimum; (2) A guaranteed annual wages (3) A cost of liv-ing bonus; (4) Elimination of wage differentials. All these are excellent demands. But they could go a lot further towards helping both the packinghouse workers, and the people of the United States generally.

LABOR ACTION that meat, like wheat, butter, etc., was available, but that it was being kept off the market deliberately by the profiteers in order to boost prices, and also, in this case, to try to whip up a little phoney sentiment against the workers who were making necessary wage demands. It bears out our charge that meat couldn't get into the black market unless the packers put it there. And this has every relation to

prices! Just as the sudden appearance of butter, which last week was strictly an under-the-counter-commodity, has every relation to prices. It means that the profiteers are out to milk the consumer; that they'll withhold commod-

boost their profits. That is where laob enters.

Suppose, in addition to the four demands the UPWA is making, it added several others in line with the GM Program. Suppose it told Armour and Swift that, in addition to a wage increase, the union wanted the right to examine the books of the company, wanted a voice in determining what profits, prices and wages should be, and that it would not permit an increase in prices. If UPWA did this, it earlier, 219.4 a week earlier, and 178.5 would AT ONE AND THE SAME a year earlier. TIME, be defending the price interests of the great mass of people, and tries. These industries employ workit would be challenging the bankrupt ers. These workers have their unions.

needs of a people.

The situation duplicates itself in every industry, in every part of the country. We are not listing the upward movement of prices because anything we print today will be dated, will be too low by tomorrow. Merely as an illustration: Dun & Bradstreet, the Wall Street statistical firm, reports that its daily index of prices for 30 commodities had climbed to 229.6 on July 15 as against 228.9 three days

These commodities represent indusclique of food monopolists who pit These unions could push the price

fard Rulery

spiral downwards. How? By moving into action along the lines of the GM Program. By organizing labor and consumer action. By coordinating this campaign on a national scale.

Prices are out of hand. But the situation is NOT beyond our control. JOIN IN THE BUYERS STRIKE. JOIN THE PROTEST DEMONSTRA-TIONS. JOIN THE PICKET LINES. ORGANIZE COMMITTEES OF WORKERS AND HOUSEWIVES TO CHECK ON AND CONTROL PRICES. PRESS FOR A NATIONAL GET YOUR UNION INTO ACTION IN LINKING WAGE AND PRICE

available is going down only slowly. Meanwhile the grain merchants are

making fortunes-out of the misery of an underfed population. The black market in meat and all other basic foods is enormous. It pervades all economy, shifts the burden of suffering onto the backs of the worker terrible load.

ities, resort to every strategem to their selfish motives against the food This bears out the charge made in

democratically managed and controlled?"

sion that really flows from what precedes.

A meaty chapter, requiring very thorough chewing, is VIII,

read: "There are several parties which proclaim the same goal. This

do you expect me to agree with any of you.'"

One final tribute to the utility value of "The Fight for Social-

CONFERENCE OF OUR UNIONS. DEMANDS!

UAW Rallies - -

PROFITEERING IN MEAT

In their paper, The Packinghouse Worker, they expose the profiteering of the Big Four Packers, not merely in meat, but in butter, eggs and cheese (of which they control about half of all interstate sales). The Packinghouse Worker goes further in exposing the utter callousness of the meat monopolists. Until OPA collapsed entirely, meat was virtually unobtainable-and shortages were as severe a problem as impossible prices. Meat is now beginning to emerge on the market at fancy profit-making prices. But, says The Packinghouse Worker, "cold storage holdings in the United States on May 1 was almost as high as the previous year." At the very moment when the Big Packers, Armour, Swift and their colleagues, were screaming that meat was unavailable because the workers were on strike or because they had no cattle to slaughter, "total meats in storage amounted to 669,445,-000 pounds, approximately 55,000,000 pounds more than on May 1, 1945."

CIO Vets

(Continued from page 1) rich were suggested by the CIO veterans.

Naturally the legislators ducked this "hot potato." The November vote will not include any proposal on the financing of the bonus except that a special bond issue will be made to permit payment of the bonus.

But the UAW-CIO veterans gave every indication that their struggle for a real bonus, not one paid for by themselves or organized labor, or the working people in general, has just begun. The hopes of the Republican and Democratic politicians that they could buy the veterans votes received a serious setback because of the attitude of the UAW-CIO veterans.

In the coming struggle for a federal bonus, in which the UAW-CIO veterans can be expected to play a big role, the skirmish in Michigan is a good starting point and an xcellent example for veterans everywhere. Grab the war profits to pay the veterans. That central idea should be the strategic aim in every fight for the veterans.

Big Four Talks Get Nowhere --

His

(Continued from page 1) to make a "deal." Austria was not even discussed.

The imperialist nature of each of the participants is revealed in the various proposals on Germany. France wishes to carve living chunks of German territory out of that occupied nation-the Saar and the Ruhrand force millions of Germans into producing solely for the French capitalists. Molotov, Stalin's no-man, is opposed to this (to the intense embarrassment of the French Communist Party), but he "merely" wants \$10 billion in reparations from Germany, in the form of the produce of German workers. How many billions he has



already looted from German-occupied territory Mr. Molotov has not yet reported.

MILKING THE GERMAN COW

America and Britain, working closest together, propose a loosely-federated Germany of all the occupying powers as the most favorable method of achieving a harmonious milking of the German cow. All Four Powers are motived solely by the desire to keep Germany in bondage, prepare strategic strong points in their maneuvers against each other and suck what they can out of the defeated people.

The imperialist character of the Conference is further underlined by the nature of the agreements actually arrived at. Italy is, to put it mildly, given the works. Her Navy and mer-

chant fleet are divided up among the Allies, and the question of the Italian colonies-final settlement of which has again been postponed-has been settled at least in so far as Italy is concerned. Furthermore, Italy must pay \$200 million in reparations to the Russian "Workers' State." The process of driving Italy further toward the status of a tenth-rate nation has been all but accomplished. On the question of Trieste, Stalin's

Russia has again won a partial victory for its imperialist practices, and taken a big step forward toward dom-

kans. The compromise over Trieste gave Russia a foothold in this area. denied the Trieste population the elementary right to express themselves on the matter, and in creating a socalled international zone, merely succeeded in legalizing the New Danzig area of the present war. Nobody considers the question really settled, and the city is already claiming leadership in the scramble for the area to have the "honor" of setting off World War III.

In general, the Paris conference

Erber on National Party Tour

Ernest Erber, Editor of The New International; will conduct a speaking tour in behalf of the National Committee of the Workers Party. This tour is being organized in connection with the campaign of the Workers Party against rising prices, the housing crisis and the runaway inflation which the bosses and their government are imposing on the country.

Hibbing	August 1
Minneapolis	
Chicago	
Detroit	
Louisville	28-2
61 J J	00.0
Cleveland	
Akron	
	September 1-
Akron Buffalo Newark	September 1- 3-
Akron Buffalo	September 1- 3-
Akron Buffalo Newark	September 1
Akron Buffalo Newark Philadelphia	

Reports of the meetings which Comrade Erber will address will appear regularly in future issues of LABOR ACTION.

All readers interested in hearing Erber's talks are urged to get in touch with local branches of the Workers Party or to write to our office for further information. Advertisements for these meetings will also appear in LABOR ACTION.

ination of another area in the Bal- marked the continued victory of Stalinist Russia on the diplomatic and strategic field. The Russians held firm in central and southeastern Europe (Germany, Austria, Poland, the Balkans). This accounts for the apologetic tone of Secretary of State. Byrnes. In the sinister game of preparing bases and achieving diplomatic successes as preparatory measures for the next yar, imperialist Molotov is still one up on imperialists Byrnes, Bevin and Bidault.

Jersey CIO Backs Phelps Strikers

NEWARK-The Union County, New Jersey, CIO Council, thoroughly aroused by the strikebreaking efforts of the Phelps Dodge Corporation, whose Elizabeth plant is the scene of the oldest strike in New Jersey, is planning a county-wide stoppage of work in sympathy with the striking UE members. Union officials have set July 24 as the deadline for a settlement or substantial progress toward a settlement of the strike, before proceeding to schedule the general two-hour stoppage.

The company has made several strike-breaking moves lately, including attempts to bring in men and materials by water at Elizabethport. Hence its rage at the union's militant response-re-enforced picket lines in defiance of an injunction handed down by one of New Jersey's famous anti-labor judges.

The 2,000 strikers are determined to carry on the six-month-old strike until their demands are won. The company has offered 181/2 cents an hour increase, but has refused any retroactive pay, in spite of the fact that the contract expired long before the start of the strike. However, the corporation has plenty of money to spend on full page ads denouncing the strike and on printed mailings to the strikers describing "communism" as the issue that prevents a settlement.

Thousands of CIO factory workers in Union County, including Singer Sewing Machine and General Motors, stand ready to come to the aid of the strikers in the coming weeks.

(Continued from page 1) buyers' strike; 3) United resistance to rent increases. The general objective of these three points is sumarized in the slogan: "Congress must be forced to act." The main point of emphasis for all UAW policy has become to achieve the restoration of price controls by Congress.

Even the idea of a buyers' strike is linked up with a fight to force Con-

gress to act: for it is obvious that the people cannot refuse to buy the necessities of life forever. There must be some point at which the strikes can come to an end. The UAW program proposes: "We must urge all our members and every consumer to buy only the minimum of food, milk, and absolute necessities until Congress enacts a price control law with teeth in it and the administration staffs the OPA with men with guts enough to resist big business pressure."

The terrible weakness of the UAW program is this: It makes everything depend upon action by CONGRESS after it has been proved to the hilt that this Congress is the sworn enemy of price control. Suppose Congress does NOT enact and enforce a real price control bill? And that is the unfortunate likelihood. What shall labor do then? There is no reply in the UAW program. The program adopted by the UAW

for the General Motors strike insisted that wage increases could be achieved without price increases by the simple device of taking them out of the profits of the parasitic capitalist class. It is necessary to go at least one step

Jenny Lynd Hall

further now. We must have a program of ACTION by labor to carry out the ideas of the GM Program and that involves a program to stop price increases.

The workers themselves must control prices! We cannot and must not rely upon Congress ... that is the road to defeat. FOR PRICE CONTROL BY LABOR!

The UAW proposes to control the price of housing (rent) by mass flying squadrons which will compell the landlords to keep down the rents. The same idea must be applied to ALL commodities (for housing is itself a commodity and its price is the rent). The workers in the mines produce the raw materials. The workers on the railroads transport the raw materials to the factories. The workers in the shops fabricate the parts. Other workers finish and assemble the products. More workers transport the product to where it can be sold to the consumer. BUT THE CAPITALIST CON-

TROLS THE PRICE! Let the workers form union committees for the purpose of regulating and setting the price of the products that they themselves produce. These committees can control the price of the product at every stage of production. That is the only practical program for price control. It is a thou-

sand times more realistic than reliance upon a Congress which represents the landlords, capitalists and bankers.

Price Control by Union Committees!

ATTENTION OAKLAND, CALIF., READERS:

ALBERT GOLDMAN

will speak on

Workers Party Program For American Labor

Sunday, July 28 - 8 P. M.

2229 Telegraph Avenue, Oakland

C.

Auspices: Workers Party and Labor Action