

DEFEAT THE "BALL AND CHAIN" BILL!

Industrial Powder-Keg In Detroit

DETROIT—The Detroit labor front was temporarily peaceful after two weeks of widespread walkouts and conflicts over issues related to reconversion, wage scales, government mishandling of the food situation and miscellaneous grievances. At the peak more than 50,000 workers were out in many plants, including three Ford plants, Chrysler, Packard, Hudson and others.

The issue which involved the largest number of workers was presented as a jurisdictional dispute between UAW-CIO maintenance workers and the AFL building trades. The issue, as presented in the daily press, was a battle between the two unions over which would control construction work in the building of new plants and the reconversion of old ones. This distorted picture of the issue was furthered by the leaders of the two unions, who placed the narrow interests of dues payments and personal prestige over the basic interests of their memberships and labor unity.



UAW STRIKEBREAKER

The AFL officials demanded that on all construction work done by AFL workers the final installation of machinery also be done by AFL men and walked off a Chrysler Corporation job to enforce this demand. The UAW on the other hand, demanded that UAW maintenance men be used for all construction work and that no others be hired so long as there were still UAW members available.

WHY STRIKES NOW?

What were really involved in these strikes and what caused thousands of UAW workers to strike in Ford, Packard and other plants were two more basic issues: unemployment and wages.

The only reason a jurisdictional dispute over jobs was possible was growing unemployment in the Detroit area and the struggle for the fewer and fewer jobs that remain. LABOR ACTION has reported on the continual mass layoffs in Detroit but one additional example can be given. The Ford Motor Company announced this week that only 71,675 workers

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"Talking" the FEPC to Death

As a result of a three-day filibuster against the Fair Employment Practice Commission bill by Senator Bilbo of Mississippi, the bill, to all practical purposes, has been defeated. The "compromise" reached by the Senate grants \$250,000 for the continuation of the FEPC. These same Senators have just passed a \$99,000, 000,000 War Department Bill. They are more than willing to vote appropriations for an imperialist war, but a bill to guarantee the right of workers to employment regardless of their race or religion must fight its way through violent opposition.

BILBO'S OTHER SUCCESS

This is not the first of Bilbo's filibusters against what he calls "damnable proposals." Last year it was Bilbo who was instrumental in the defeat of the Anti-Poll Tax bill. He prevented this bill from coming to a vote in the Senate by continuing to

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Firestone Out, Goodyear Strike in Third Week, "Pledge" Scuttled

BULLETIN

AKRON—Over 16,000 striking Goodyear workers on July 2 tightened their picket lines to keep out office workers on the sixteenth day of their strike, as the Indian-giving WLB in Washington carried through its threat to suspend the night shift bonus and "liberalized" vacation program granted the local last spring. Labor members of the WLB dissented from the Board's order, although continuing to oppose the strike.

President Wheeler of the Goodyear union told the press that in the event the WLB actually did rescind these concessions, "the strike will continue till we get them back."

Meanwhile the Firestone Local, which began its strike of 15,000 workers on July 1, continued its picketing and disregarded the first of the WLB's orders to return to work at once. In a long, formal statement, the local's Executive Board declared that the membership refused to work without a contract, that the company would not recognize the union unless the union accepted the entire contract submitted by the company.

The membership also voted to refuse to submit these items in dispute to the War Labor Board. The members have no confidence in that board.

The employees have come to appreciate the fact that a powerful company, such as Firestone, can prostitute the procedures and policies of that board to its own end. We have received little but delay, evasion and defeat from that board.

By BILL FORD

AKRON—On the fifteenth day of their courageous and inspiring strike, members of Goodyear Local No. 2, United Rubber Workers of America, CIO, again voted unanimously to reject the latest and dirtiest of War Labor Board ultimatums to return to work without their grievances having been settled.

New picket lines appeared also today in Akron around the five huge plants of the Firestone Tire & Rubber Co. which employ 15,400 workers. Members of Firestone URWA Local No. 7 decided to "shut her down," since the company refused to accept a suitable 1945 contract after the union had voted six to one several weeks ago under Smith-Connally Act provisions to call a strike.

At this writing all the major rubber companies in Akron are closed down, since Goodrich and General are this week closed for maintenance and repairs. This is the "hottest" strike situation that has faced the entire CIO movement, big industry

and the government since Pearl Harbor. No one here questions that a turning point in labor history is at hand.

UNION FIGHTS BACK

Lashing out hard at all governmental agencies striving day and night to break the strike, as well as against their contemptible sell-out international URWA leadership, Goodyear Local's leadership and membership have countered every stupidly reactionary attack on them with bristling statements and grim determination not to be moved.

Today the membership rejected vociferously yesterday's "command" by the WLB to return immediately to work under penalty that the WLB would withdraw maintenance of membership, check-off, night shift bonus and vacations, which had previously been awarded the local union. This threat only incensed further the already exasperated workers.

They took their today's action also in the face of the fact that William H. Davis, economic stabilization director, has ordered the cancellation of draft deferments of the 257 Goodyear workers under thirty, and CIO-PAC supported Governor Frank Lausche of Ohio has ordered State Selective Service to proceed. Davis ordered all strikers' draft status to be re-examined.

Russia Goes After Bases in Turkey

By SAM ADAMS

Stalin's Russia has now presented demands to Turkey which emphasize Russian imperialist-expansionist policy. It is reported that Russia demands of Turkey:

1. The return of the districts of Kars and Ardahan, adjoining southern Russia (the Armenian state).
2. The granting of bases in the Bosphorus Straits and the Dardanelles.
3. Revision of the Montreux Convention on the "Straits" (Bosphorus Strait, Sea of Marmora and the Dardanelles).
4. Acceptance by Turkey of territorial changes in the Balkans in favor of the smaller states.

Turkey's initial reaction to these demands is to oppose the first, second and fourth, while she is willing to consider the third, which relates to international regulation of the Dardanelles.

In the earlier years of the war, when Russia was allied with Germany, her seizure of territory was represented as a defensive measure aimed at guaranteeing her sovereignty. It should not be difficult to remember that the two wars with Finland and the subsequent incorporation of Finnish territory into Russia, the incorporation of the Baltic states, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, and the partition of Poland with Germany, were all represented as measures of defense.

"DEFENSE" OF RUSSIA

The Russian explanations were, of course, laughable to the world at large. The invasion of Russia by Germany and the consequent ending of their alliance made it possible for the Russian diplomats to say: See, we told you that all the aggressive acts we have taken were preparatory to an attack on us by Germany.

The slightest investigation of the facts would disclose that all the propaganda put out by the Russian Foreign Office was to the effect that the defense was against the Allied imperialists who threatened Russia because of her peaceful alliance with Hitler's Germany, Hitler's Germany, the world was told by these same diplomats, did not want war, but was forced into it by Anglo-French imperialism.

The defeat of Germany has changed matters considerably, but at this time the power of Russia in Eastern Europe, Asia Minor and in Asia generally, is so great, or to put it another way, Allied power there is so weak, that little can be done about Russia's expansion at this moment.

The demands now made on Turkey are not fundamentally different from those made on Finland, the Baltic nations, Poland, Rumania and Iran. Russia violates the sovereignty of those nations which are too weak to resist her great military power.

The warnings to Turkey by Red Star, organ of the Russian army,

bear a striking resemblance to the German Nazi press when demands were made on smaller countries by Hitler preparatory to enforcement of his demands.

Self-determination and the rights of all nations to their national independence mean as little to Stalin, whom Lenin called a "great Russian

2. Russia's demands for bases in the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles are also a restatement of the old Czarist demand. In Czarist days, Turkey was threatened with invasion, for Russia then wanted Constantinople and all of European Turkey. When Stalin demands bases in these areas it is only another form of in-



nationalist," as they do to other imperialists.

Consider the demands made by Russia on Turkey:

1. The return of the districts of Kars and Ardahan. "Return" is indeed a strange word. Kars and Ardahan were once part of Armenia when it was a part of the old Ottoman (Turkish) Empire. During the decline of this great empire, which stretched into Europe and the Middle East, Czarist Russia tried to partition it in its favor. Czarist Russia was frustrated in its first attempts by the British and the French in the Crimean War of 1853-56.

But Czarist Russia tried again in its war with Turkey in 1877-78. It sought to take Constantinople, the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles. England promised the Sultan to defend the country against any attempt to destroy it—providing, of course, that some dismemberment took place. This was a direct warning to Russia. But to appease Russia she was granted Bessarabia and the districts of Batum, Kars and Ardahan! The Austro-Hungarian Empire was given Bosnia-Herzegovina and the British took for themselves the island of Cyprus.

These districts were returned to Turkey in 1921 after the Russian Revolution. Now Stalin's Russia, feeling its great power, demands their return as part of Stalin's plan to resurrect the borders of old Czarist Russia.

What we are witnessing is a re-enactment of imperialist policy where whole countries, districts and smaller areas are exchanged, taken or occupied without the peoples involved being consulted or permitted to decide their fate.

It would seem that any demand for revision of these decisions would be addressed to those nations participating in the convention which decided the limitation of Turkey's powers over her own waters. But Russia's demands on Turkey are ob-

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Harlem and the Mayoralty Election

By SUSAN GREEN

All sections of the working people of the City of New York are vitally concerned about jobs and a guaranteed annual wage; about good housing and health centers; about post-war planning for a better life. And of all the working class millions of this teeming city, the people of Harlem are in direct need.

The people of Harlem suffer doubly—once as working people and as Negroes. Unemployment hits them hardest; economic insecurity is more fearful to them because of discrimination. The housing shortage is felt more by the Negro people because of Ghetto-like restrictions, and rent gouging runs high. Hospitals, parks and playgrounds, so much needed in congested Harlem, are conspicuous by their absence. The post-war crisis will worsen conditions in Harlem.

POLITICS IN HARLEM

This part of the city has been dominated by the Communist-controlled American Labor Party, which in turn in this election is tied in with the Tammany-controlled Democratic Party. Something of a bomb exploded within this set-up last week when Abraham Thomas, ALP leader of the Eleventh A. D., and Kathryn Ward, secretary of the Communist Marcantonio Club of Harlem, announced their break-away from William O'Dwyer, to give their support to Jonah J. Goldstein, candidate of the Republican-Liberal-Fusion ticket.

The Harlem leaders stated that the Marcantonio Club membership felt that to support the ALP-Democratic

ticket headed by O'Dwyer would not be a true expression of the desires "of the people of the district whom the club has pledged itself to serve." About Judge Goldstein, the statement said that the Negro people have "an

abiding faith in his will, his determination and his ability to lead our city and all its people into a better world."

In spite of Marcantonio's denial of the rift in Harlem, it is a fact that

L. A. Workers Party Pickets G. L. K. Smith



LOS ANGELES—On June 25, over 150 anti-fascists responded to the call

in action with "bolshheviks." The SLP failed to reply. The IWW uttered its time-worn slogan: "No political action." The Socialist Workers Party refused a united front on the grounds that the demonstration would be isolated from the main stream of the workers and the union movement and give Smith an opportunity to see how weak the opposition was.

The demonstration, mobilized by only one organization—the Workers Party—proves that an even more effective united front meeting could have been held against Smith. While rejecting a proposal to hold a united front demonstration, the Socialist Workers Party appealed to AFL and CIO leaders, who thus far have confined themselves to protests to the mayor, to organize a movement. In this way it hopes to keep its "record" clean while actually rejecting a concrete proposal of action.

The fascist movement in the United States is only in its infancy, but it is growing. All the lessons of European fascism, which all these radical parties know full well, demonstrate that the broadest possible united front is necessary to combat this menace effectively.

What New Slave Bill Would Do:

1. ALL LABOR DISPUTES, before any strike action, must go through many months of mediation and fact-finding procedures. (This is something the capitalists have learned from the Railway Labor Act and the methods of the War Labor Board.)
2. IF THE ABOVE FAILS to satisfy the workers and they still want to strike, a Federal Labor Relations Board can then prescribe compulsory arbitration, if necessary, in the "public interest." (Public interest might, of course, be taken to cover anything from coal mining to diaper manufacturing.)
3. NO STRIKES ALLOWED in disputes over the meaning of a contract. That is, all grievances must go to arbitration. (Workers know what this means from their wartime experience.)
4. NO CLOSED SHOP, unless 75 per cent of the workers belong to the union and 60 per cent of the workers in the unit involved vote approval of it. Also the Federal Labor Relations Board must pass on the union's procedure for admitting and expelling members.
5. WORKERS MUST NOT engage in whatever might be considered "unfair labor practices" by another board which is to be established.
6. THE PAGES OF HISTORY are to be turned back to allow a wide use of federal court injunctions against unions.
7. The new FLRB to report to Congress within two years on the need for laws to make unions more "democratic."
8. PUNISHMENTS FOR VIOLATIONS of the law: Loss of union recognition, fines up to \$5,000, and jail sentences up to a year. Also damage suits brought by employers.

According to the Federated Press, a labor news service, the top union leaders of the AFL, CIO and railroad organizations were "momentarily stunned" when the Ball-Burton-Hatch "labor peace" bill was introduced in the Senate on June 20.

Philip Murray and William Green, presidents of the CIO and AFL, respectively, must have felt particularly aggrieved. Late in March these two gentlemen, together with Eric Johnston, president of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, proclaimed to the world that they had worked out a code which would all but do away with the class struggle.

This so-called "New Charter for Labor and Management" declared that all the "rights" of the corporations must be safeguarded: the "right" to private property, the "right" to a reasonable profit, the "right" to full direction of the operations of business.

In return, management was to join with labor to prevent any laws which might interfere with the rights to organize and to bargain collectively. Although the National Association of Manufacturers and the Automotive Council for War Production indicated that they were not satisfied with this program and wanted Congress to pass some good, strong anti-labor laws, the charter was hailed enthusiastically by President Roosevelt, Governor Dewey, Charles E. Wilson of General Electric, Winthrop Aldrich of the Chase National Bank and by scores of other capitalists and capitalist politicians.

The nation's most important newspapers and magazines were almost unanimous in praise. Many of them scolded the National Association of Manufacturers for its attitude. Their general line was this: that capitalists had everything to gain from a continuation of the no-strike pledge, promises to respect the profit system and the lessening of government interference.

Isn't it strange that these very same newspapers now approve the Ball-and-Chain bill as warmly as they approved the "New Charter" three short months ago? Doesn't this bill contain most of the anti-labor provisions demanded by the NAM and the auto manufacturers? Didn't the Charter promise to protect labor from "legislative enactments which would interfere with or discourage" the rights to organize and to bargain collectively?

No, there is nothing strange in the situation at all. The capitalists and their congressional agents and their newspapers are merely taking advantage of the weak-kneed labor leaders. They think that this Ball-Burton-Hatch bill will make Green and Murray support their peace pact with Johnston more frantically than before.

Every worker knows what his leaders have been telling him for years: Either labor must give in, no matter how badly the employers behave, or the most terrible laws will be passed—against labor.

Remember, for example, what R. J. Thomas, president of the Automobile Workers Union, told his members a little over a year ago:

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NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Goodyear, Firestone Strikes --

(Continued from page 1) which our land, sea and air forces have been delivering in the Pacific," President Wheeler commented in part:

"I wonder how many wires they have sent to the Goodyear company? How much longer is the government going to continue to drive, threaten and turn the heat on rubber workers? The government hasn't said a word to Goodyear about getting together with us to settle our grievances."

THE UNION'S POSITION

In another lengthy union communiqué earlier last week, the special negotiating committee of the local blessed the company, governmental agencies and Dictator Dalrymple, president of the URWA, in part as follows:

"This forced strike is, in effect, a lockout on the part of the company. The company changed working conditions in the Akron plants to such an extent that they became intolerable. Literally hundreds of rates have been cut by management without consultation with the union. This has resulted in lesser take-home pay to the workers. The company, along with their competitors in this area, are now engaged in a competitive race to place themselves in a favorable position with relation to consumer trade after the war. This competitive race has resulted in the reduction of hundreds of rates."

"Since the beginning of this strike the workers have received no effective help, or any help, from any government agencies or from the international union to settle the controversy. The workers cannot expect any expeditious or proper handling of these intolerable working conditions once they retreat from their present position. We see in this present policy of the company an attempt to break the union. If the attempt is successful here and elsewhere it will inevitably lead to a

lessened purchasing power on the part of consumers generally and another depression. Does anyone think that the people of America will remain quiescent again under such heartbreaking and ruinous conditions as oppressed them in 1929 and the early '30's?"

Another union telegram, this one addressed to Senator Connally and Representative Howard Smith, authors of the Smith-Connally Act under which the Goodyear strike was voted, 3 to 1, asserted the union's position in the strike.

The striking union has so far held

seven membership meetings during the strike. At the fifth meeting it invited Dalrymple to speak his piece. He was booed when he stepped on the stage and constantly through the meeting. Seldom if ever has a union official displayed Dalrymple's crude stupidity and arrogance. The membership meeting unanimously adopted a resolution calling upon Dalrymple to ask the company to meet with the union and to participate personally in the negotiations.

Dalrymple replied: "It breaks my heart to tell you this, but I cannot and will not do it as long as the strike is in progress."

President Wheeler had difficulty in restoring order amid cries of "throw him out." Dalrymple refused to call a special Executive Board meeting of the international to urge that the no-strike pledge be set aside to permit calling on the company to negotiate.

Yet the Goodyear strike in its fifteenth day today carries the support of the vast majority of Akron's 50,000 rubber workers. This is attested to by the fact that a telegram from John Brophy, national director of Industrial Union Councils of the CIO, rebuking the Akron CIO Council for its solid stand with the strike, will not be taken up by that body until its July 13 next regular business meeting.

Brophy demanded that the Akron CIO Council make an 180 degree reversal of their position. He said: "You are hereby instructed to withdraw and withhold all support for Goodyear strike and lend full assistance to the international union of the URWA in bringing about an immediate return of all strikers to work."

Akron workers just snorted at this insolent command, just as they do at Dalrymple's reactionary interventions. There is no question that the top leaders of the CIO are very badly on the spot in the eyes of local labor.

URW #5 30-Hour Resoluton

WHEREAS: Cutbacks in military production are resulting in layoffs of thousands of workers throughout the country, and are already affecting the rubber workers, and

WHEREAS: Neither government nor business has any planned program to guarantee employment to the 57,000,000 workers in industry and to the 11,000,000 returning war veterans, and

WHEREAS: Labor is determined not to go back to the days of relief and WPA and feels that it has the right to a job that is secure and to a wage that will meet the rising cost of living, and

WHEREAS: Only by cutting down the work week and spreading the work can mass layoffs be prevented, and

WHEREAS: The United Rubber Workers have traditionally fought for the thirty-hour week and established it in important parts of the industry, and

WHEREAS: According to the OPA the profits of the rubber corporations have increased 612 per cent since the beginning of the war, and

WHEREAS: The tax law provides that these enormous profits shall continue after the war by means of tax refunds to the corporations, while there are no provisions to safeguard the jobs or the living standards of the workers, and

WHEREAS: The rubber corporations, like all other big corporations, have laid away huge reserve funds which they plan to use to destroy the labor movement and to guarantee continued profits to the coupon clippers, while workers stand in line at the employment offices begging for jobs,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED: That we recommend that the United Rubber Workers adopt as point No. 1 in the fight against layoffs the thirty-hour week at no reduction in weekly take-home pay, and immediate steps be taken to incorporate this provision in all contracts with the rubber corporations, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: Should the corporations refuse to agree to this demand that we use all the economic strength of the union in a determined fight to achieve this demand, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: That this resolution be given the widest publicity, be sent to all local unions of the URWA, to the National CIO, to President Truman, to President Sherman Dalrymple, to the Akron Industrial Union Council and to the public and labor press.

Detroit, Industrial Powder Keg --

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were employed by the company on June 1 as compared to a war-time peak of 165,000. By December 1 employment in all Ford plants was expected to drop to less than 15,000! And this is only one company.

In the face of this growing mass unemployment, the labor leaders prove themselves unable and unwilling to fight for a genuine solution to the problem: full unemployment guaranteed by the government. Instead they defend a government that is completely discredited by its admitted unwillingness to take any steps to meet the crisis, and spend their time fighting with their fellow bureaucrats over the dues of workers who manage to retain jobs.

The question of wages is clearly indicated in the fact that UAW maintenance workers earn from 20 to 50 cents less an hour than AFL workers on identical jobs. Again, the top leadership, instead of fighting for the general wage increases that are demanded by the membership and are entirely warranted by the skyrocketing cost of living, pretend to help the membership by demanding the exclusion of AFL workers from jobs.

FRANKENSTEEN SPEAKS

That these issues were clearly understood by the UAW workers was shown by the anti-leadership turn that the strikes took and by the bitter attacks on the workers by the top leadership. In one of the most vicious speeches yet heard, UAW Vice-President Richard Frankenstein, candidate for Mayor of Detroit, tried to conceal the issues of wage raises and full employment by denouncing the strike

as a "jurisdictional dispute." He called the rank and file strike leaders a "mobocracy." His only answer to the multitude of problems faced by the working class in the present period was the broken-record refrain: "Go back to work."

The maintenance strikers began going back to work June 29 after an agreement had been reached in Washington between top CIO and AFL spokesmen which left the situation exactly as it was before except for a decision to refer all disputes between the two organizations to a joint arbitration committee. This cannot be considered more than a breathing spell for the labor bureaucrats before the struggle for wage increases and jobs breaks out again in another form.

Adding to the militancy displayed by the rank and file in the Maintenance strike was a three-day strike of workers at the Briggs Conner plant which threatened to sweep the city. It started with the walkout of 3700 day shift workers who protested against the total mismanagement of the food situation by the OPA and the government.

Faced with having to buy lunch-wagon sandwiches containing only peanut butter, jam and beans, and being unable to buy any meat in the city's butcher shops despite a tremendous black market in meat, the workers demanded sufficient meat before they would work. They charged the government and the OPA with aiding and abetting the black-market dealers and profiteers, pointing out that there was sufficient meat in the city but that no one was

making it possible for the workers to get it.

BRIGGS STRIKE

Supporting the demands of the Briggs workers were most of the other UAW workers in Detroit. A committee representing 50,000 workers marched on the City Hall and district OPA headquarters on June 23 demanding a solution to the food shortage. Represented on the committee were officers of Briggs Local 742, De Soto Local 227, Dodge Locals 3 and 140, and Chrysler Local 7. The OPA head ducked out and refused to meet with the workers' representatives.

This strike, too, was settled only temporarily. Before returning to work, the Briggs workers made it clear that their's had been a protest strike and that unless considerable improvement in the food situation were evident they would walk out again in a week and call for support from the entire UAW.

FORD'S ATTACK

An additional factor in the Detroit situation was the openly announced intention of the Ford Motor Company to end its contract with the UAW. Harry Bennett, Ford's chief thug and gunman masquerading under the title of personnel manager, denounced the contract with the UAW as a "scrap of paper." This charge has some truth in it since the Ford Company has been guilty of wholesale violations of the contract in all its plants. Layoffs without regard to seniority, firings of committeemen, intimidation of union members, discrimination and many other

offenses have become common practice in Ford plants. But Ford, apparently, doesn't even want to be tied down by what remains of the union contract.

That Bennett's union-busting statement should be clear to all, a Ford spokesman later explained that the company was "considering" abrogating its contract with the union.

The provocative action of the Ford Company caused Joe McCusker, newly elected President of Ford Rouge Local 600, to announce that he and the local officers felt that the union's no-strike pledge should be rescinded.

It is obvious that the "peace" which reigns in Detroit will be a short-lived one. The pressing problems that face the auto workers are not being solved and until they are there can be no peace. Chief among these problems are three:

1. FULL EMPLOYMENT. The capitalist government has no intention of planning for full employment and labor leaders show no sign of fighting for it. The next step is for the ranks of labor to organize politically so that they may control the government and plan prosperity for the nation.

2. WAGES. The Little Steel Formula must be broken and a \$2500 annual wage must be guaranteed to every worker.

3. THE CORPORATIONS ANTI-LABOR OFFENSIVE. The unions must discard their no-strike pledge and their reliance on the traitorous "friends" of labor. Independent mass union action, including the general strike, must be undertaken to restore the strength of the unions.

Harlem and the New York Elections --

(Continued from page 1)

Democrat, O'Dwyer. But where on earth do Abraham Thomas and Kathryn Ward get the gall to proclaim the "faith" of the Negroes in the Republican, Goldstein? And how, in the name of facts, has the Republican, Goldstein, proved "his will, his determination and his ability to lead our city and all its people into a better world"?

DEMOCRATS AND REPUBLICANS

Both the Democrats and Republicans are cut from the same cloth. They are both political parties of the capitalist class, of the ruling class, of the boss class. This class does not want economic, political or social equality between white and black working people. Whatever disunites the working people strengthens the ruling class. Its policy has been, is and will be to divide and rule. Both O'Dwyer and Goldstein represent the same class of capitalists, rulers, bosses. Whatever the differences be-

tween the candidates may be, they are superficial compared with this basic likeness.

That the Negroes of Harlem want something else, and break away from the Democrat, O'Dwyer, is good. That their leaders are turning their support to the Republican, Goldstein, is bad. Their leaders want to make the soot on the bottom of the Republican kettle appear whiter than that on the bottom of the Democratic pot.

The Negroes of Harlem and of the entire country must turn to a class program and a class party. The Workers Party has entered the municipal campaign with such a program. Max Shachtman, mayoralty candidate of the Workers Party, stands for certain definite things:

WORKERS PARTY PROGRAM

A job for every worker regardless of race, color or creed—without any ifs, ands or buts.

A guaranteed minimum annual wage of \$50 a week for every worker so that he can live like a human being fifty-two weeks of the year—without discrimination of any kind. Not for war but for peace, a \$250

billion five-year program to provide decent housing, health centers, nurseries, playgrounds and public works in general for the use of black and white people alike.

Taxing the colossal war profits of big business and the huge war incomes of the rich, and not the pay envelopes of the poor.

These are some of the working-class demands in the platform on which Max Shachtman is running for mayor. He is not saying that his "determination, will and ability" will make a better world—though he has plenty of all these ingredients. What he says is that the working people can make for themselves a better world—if they stop supporting capitalist candidates and capitalist parties.

The demands enumerated above can all be realized by the Negro and white workers if they use their overwhelming political power to form an independent Labor Party—not a party like the American Labor Party or the Liberal Party. These are only tails to the kites of the Democratic and Republican Parties. No—what labor needs is a party entirely free

from all capitalist, ruling class, boss influence—a party of workers, black and white.

Los Angeles Readers:

LABOR ACTION FORUM At St. Paul's Church 21st St. and Naomi, Los Angeles

July 16—

Churchill and-or the Labor Party

FREE ADMISSION

Questions, Discussion Welcome

"Ball and Chain" Bill--

(Continued from page 1)

"Public opinion has become inflamed against our union. Word of these strikes is going to our millions of men in uniform.... We must restrain ourselves and our hot-headed brothers today. If we do not, there will be no union after the war. In fact, restrictive legislation, worse than anything now on the books, will be enacted before the war ends, and we will be behind the eight-ball before we even have a chance to do the post-war job that will be required."



SADDER, BUT NO WISER

How the press applauded this statement! The capitalists and their hired writers understand the labor leaders very well. They expect them, of course, to protest very loudly against the new bill, then to say to their members: "See how public opinion is swinging against us because of your strikes. You fellows will have to live up to the 'New Charter' or this terrible bill will surely pass."

The capitalists count on the labor

leaders to confuse, divide and demoralize the workers and so make it easier both to pass and to enforce a law like the one now proposed.

LABOR'S HISTORY

Thousands on thousands of trade unionists have come to understand this game. They remember how the CIO had to be built not so many years ago. They have not forgotten the great strike struggles necessary to overcome corporation and government resistance in the automobile, rubber and steel industries—yes, even in the department store field.

They remember that the no-strike pledge was supposed to result in "equality of sacrifice" and was supposed to last for the duration of the war only. They have not forgotten R. J. Thomas' boast that he took part in leading great strikes before the war and would do so again, if necessary, after the war. They observe that this same Thomas now approves a so-called "New Charter," praising labor-management "unity" in the war and promising to continue it after the war.

They have seen the coal miners (against whom a capitalist President and his War Labor Board, a capitalist Congress and the whole capitalist press stirred up the greatest possible "public opinion") defy the no-strike pledge and force both operators and government to yield large concessions—and without years of stalling, either.

They know from countless experiences, during and before the war, that the corporations, whatever peace pacts they may sign, have no intention of engaging in genuine collective bargaining—unless they are forced to. They see that the class struggle cannot be written out of existence by any so-called charter.

They are now learning (those who did not already know it) that labor's

"friends" among the capitalist politicians call themselves "friends" in order to be in a better position to advise workers that they must not fight for their rights or organize a political party of their own.

Labor's future, both on the economic and political fronts, depends on how quickly the rank and file can organize to replace their peace-



STILL ON HIS KNEES

unto-the-death leaders. There are signs, especially in the activities of local union officers in Detroit and Akron, that the workers are thrusting toward the top a new leadership. The present leaders, it is clear, so fear the struggles that the future must bring that they can see only one path to follow: to bludgeon the workers into submitting "voluntarily" to most of the conditions of the "Ball-and-Chain" bill, in the hopes that the bill will then not be passed.

"Talking" FEPC to Death--

(Continued from page 1)

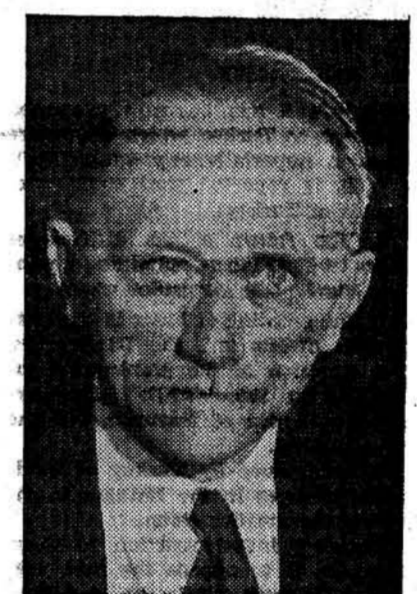
have against it until the Senate agreed to "table the motion." During the Anti-Poll Tax debate Democrats and Republicans joined together to defeat a motion to enforce the cloture rule. The cloture rule is just a limit on the time allowed a speaker. The Republicans, who were supposedly in favor of the Anti-Poll Tax bill, stated that to pass the cloture rule motion would be an "infringement" on the rights of the Senators and establish a bad precedent.

However, the infringement, on the rights of the ten million Southerners who are deprived of the right to vote was permitted to continue.

During his lengthy tirade termed by Senate McKellar "a disgrace to the Senate," Bilbo stated that "if this bill is passed it is so far reaching they will be up here going into every office on Capitol Hill and saying you'll have to stick some Jews in your office." At first violently opposed to any attempt to allow the FEPC to continue even for a six-month period, he at last agreed to compromise on a \$250,000 appropriation.

The temporary Fair Employment Practice Commission, which has

been functioning on an appropriation of \$500,000 a year proved to be an ineffective method of combating discrimination in industry. It was set up by President Roosevelt in an effort to pacify members of the March on Washington movement when they threatened to hold a mass demonstra-



SEN. "JIM CROW" BILBO

tion of Negroes in the nation's capitol.

EVEN FEPC WEAK

The commission was, as its own administrators admitted, very weak. In "difficult" cases it would appeal to the President to enforce its decisions. The President would then appoint a special "investigating" committee which would confine itself to investigating and making reports. The commission was powerless against the large corporations who had enormous financial resources to combat their case in the courts.

With their budget cut in half the commission will be even more incapable of taking any effective action against a company that discriminates in the hiring of its employees.

By passing this pitifully inadequate appropriation Congress has shown that it is uninterested and incapable of combating discrimination against the Negro and other minorities.

The only way to establish an effective anti-discrimination program is to establish a strong independent political Labor Party that will fight for the interests and welfare of the working class.

Russia, Turkish Bases --

(Continued from page 1)

viously an attempt to obtain a bilateral agreement and then confront the other powers with an accomplished fact. Turkey, of course, is defenseless against such demands. The fate of her areas will be decided by foreign powers.

What a commentary on imperialist politics! Can you imagine what a howl would be raised by the big powers if Turkey demanded defensive bases at Leningrad or Odessa; if Belgium demanded defensive bases at Dover on the Channel, or if Mexico asked for defensive bases at New Orleans or Tampa. What a hue and cry would be raised by the big powers about their national sovereignty and territorial integrity! Their rights would be enforced by military

power. These same rights do not apply to the smaller nations because they do not have the necessary military power to "achieve" such rights.

4. The final demand, calling for changes of European and Turkish territories may be for bargaining purposes or to strengthen the Russian puppet states in the Balkans.

What will be the outcome of this latest dispute? It depends almost entirely on the acts of the other powers. Great Britain is greatly disturbed by these demands and because Russia has already expressed interest in the international commission at Tangiers (Gibraltar) and in the Board of Directors of the Suez Canal, claiming to be vitally concerned with an outlet to the Atlantic and Indian Oceans. Such an expan-

sion of Russia would seriously affect British control of the Mediterranean Sea, which she regards as an empire lake leading to her prize possession, India.

Obviously the problem will be solved by an agreement between the big imperialist powers. The important lesson in this affair is that it shows that the war, presumably fought as a "war of liberation," had nothing whatever to do with the lofty principles of the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms.

The real wishes and desires of the people are completely ignored as the big powers move them around like so many chess men. An imperialist war can only give rise to imperialist politics. That is what we observe daily.

Shachtman Election Meetings

The Workers Party Election Committee began its job of bringing its platform of full employment and socialism, on which Max Shachtman, national secretary of the Workers Party, is running as a candidate for Mayor of the City of New York, to the neighborhoods of the metropolitan area, with a series of three meetings during the week of June 22.

In Queens, speaking at the hall of the United Cracker Workers, Ernest Lund, author of Plenty for All, directed his remarks to an audience primarily composed of factory workers from the Queens industrial plant area, a group vitally concerned with the problem of achieving full employment in the post-war period.

Comrade Lund urged the audience not to throw away their votes by supporting the discredited candidates

of the discredited old-line parties, but to join with the Workers Party in the fight to make America "truly God's country," a garden spot of human contentment, of security, of culture, of leisure, of a true brotherhood of man."

David Coolidge, labor secretary of the Workers Party, spoke on Friday, June 29, at a meeting sponsored by the Harlem Branch of the Workers Party. Explaining that it was necessary for the Workers Party to pit its candidates against the candidates of the New York political machines because there was no other candidate running on a program for, of and by labor, Comrade Coolidge urged the workers of New York City, Negro and white, to organize a party of their own and to support only that party which has a program based on

the concrete and all-time needs of the working class.

In Brooklyn, Steve Parker, LABOR ACTION writer, speaking at Labor Action Hall, 276 Fulton Street, discussed the Workers Party's ten-point program for reconversion, the only program that provides a practical solution for the problem of full post-war employment. After the meeting several members of the audience signed up with the Shachtman for Mayor Committee, pledging donations and working help for the duration of the campaign.

These are only the first of a series of meetings, indoor and out, that the Election Committee has planned for the summer and fall in its all-out effort to bring the platform of the Workers Party candidate for Mayor to the attention of widespread groups

A PAPER IN THE INTEREST OF LABOR

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Workers Party Program for Organized Labor

FOR THE UNEMPLOYED AND VETERANS:

- 1. Full unemployment insurance beginning with \$30 a week for single men and women and graduated upward for dependents to all workers for whom government and industry do not find jobs. 2. Absorption of all workers thrown into unemployment during reconversion by reduction of the work-week with no reduction in weekly take-home pay. 3. Two years' base pay grant to all demobilized veterans, with the option of trade school and higher educational facilities at government expense, guarantee of adequate family maintenance and guarantee of decent jobs.

FOR THE POST-WAR:

- 4. A job for every worker with a guaranteed minimum annual wage of \$2,500 per year. A rising standard of living, by means of government planning to insure the highest national production and income. 5. A guaranteed \$5,000 annual income to all workers' families by means of a planned rise in

the national income and a thirty-hour maximum work week.

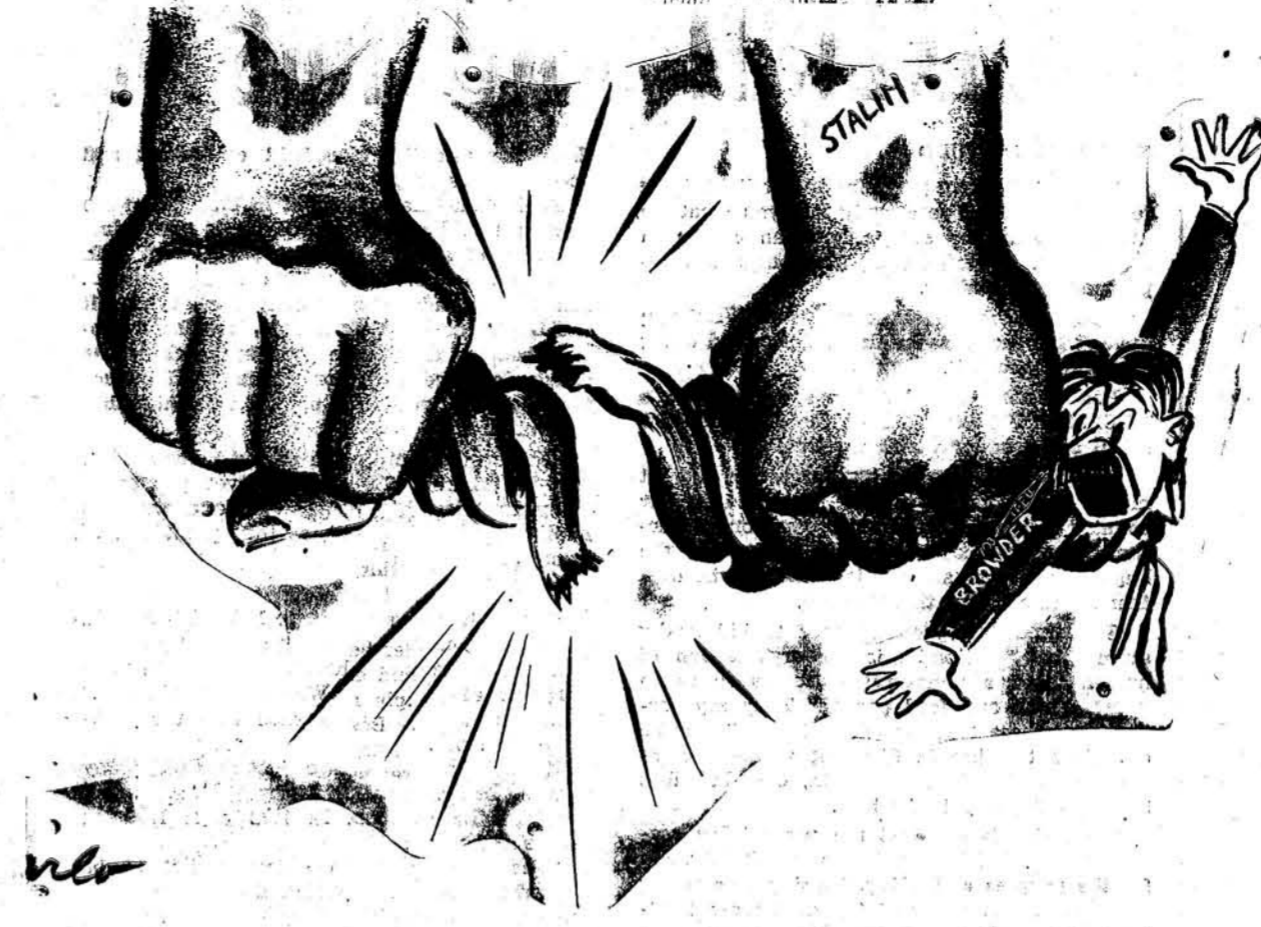
THESE AIMS TO BE ACHIEVED THROUGH:

- 6. A \$250 billion five-year program to provide decent housing for all, extensive public works, rural electrification and modernization. 7. Conscription of all war industries; 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. 8. A 100 per cent tax on all war profits above a five per cent maximum on invested capital; a \$25,000 ceiling on total individual income, and a graduated capital levy on all accumulated wealth over \$50,000 to cover war costs and provide post-war security for labor.

THIS PROGRAM TO BE CARRIED OUT BY:

- 9. Control of production by democratically-elected workers' committees. 10. An independent Labor Party and a workers' government.

ONE TURN TOO MANY.



Communist "New Turn"-III

By DAVID COOLIDGE

As we demonstrated last week, Foster & Co. were marching arm in arm with Browder and without protest up to the time of the appearance of the Duclos article. They knew better than to protest even if they actually disagreed because they were fully aware where the position taken by Browder came from. Stalin's GPU representative was always present to see to it that Browder and all the rest carried out the decisions of the Kremlin. This of course is what makes the feeble protestations of Foster appear so ridiculous and puerile today. Foster did not decide his "line" in 1941 or 1942 and he is not deciding it day.

RUSSIAN LINE DOMINATED

Right here it is necessary to inject one observation lest the reader get the impression, from the above quotations, that either Foster or Browder was a revolutionist or a communist in the period between the signing of the Stalin-Hitler pact and the German invasion of Russia in June, 1941. Despite the fact that the CP leadership could write so radically during that period, it was only a spurious radicalism. Its function was to harass the American capitalists and government, in the interest of the pact which Stalin had made with Hitler.

After the attack on Russia, the CP leadership threw off even this spurious radicalism and openly embraced a program of full, complete and uncritical support of capitalism, the Roosevelt government and imperialist war.

The Foster line today is in all essentials a return to the spurious radicalism of the period of the Stalin-Hitler pact. And for the identical reason: the protection of the bureaucratic and reactionary interests of the Kremlin. This will be brought

out clearly when we examine the recent resolution of the Foster majority: "The Present Situation and the Next Tasks."

For the moment this point can be illustrated by Foster's comment on Browder's stand on "socialism in our country." Foster wrote that Browder was "correct" to take the position that socialism was not an immediate political issue. This is Foster's position in 1945. But it was not his position in March, 1941, as the quotations above proved. In his pamphlet "Socialism," socialism WAS an "immediate political issue." He even went so far as to discuss the "dictatorship of the proletariat." Socialism was the only way out for the American working class. And Browder, in his writings, was in full agreement with Foster.

Roosevelt drew the country into war "by the Hitlerian tactic of concentrating upon a single step at a time. . . . We Communists conspire only in the open, as the sun conspires against darkness and night. . . . The present imperialist war will be brought to an end by . . . revolution in one or more of the major countries of Europe. . . . The destruction of these democratic rights is an inseparable part of the Roosevelt "power bill." (The word "power" here is really a quotation from the Chicago Tribune.)

After June, 1941 (when Hitler invaded Russia) Foster changed his line. (Or better, Stalin changed HIS line.) Not only was socialism not an "immediate political issue" but even the suggestion that the working class should resort to independent political action (as proposed by the Workers' Party) and form a Labor Party was viciously opposed by Browder and Foster together.

Foster writes today that Browder was wrong in his opposition to the use of mass education to teach work-

ers the principles of socialism. But when were Foster and Browder in disagreement on this point? There is no record of such disagreement. Did Foster write his pamphlet "Labor and the War" in 1942 to give the working class some socialist education? "This is a just war. . . ." said Foster in that pamphlet. "Attempts of . . . pseudo-socialists . . . to condemn this war also as an imperialist war constitute help to Hitler."

MISLEADING THE WORKERS

How could the worker members of the CP understand this man or their party when just the year before he had compared the Roosevelt Administration with that of Woodrow Wilson. In March, 1941, he wrote: "What a deadly parallel it makes with World War today." Roosevelt, wrote Foster, was leading us along the same "fatal path" as Wilson "with even more ghastly results in prospect."

The record is clear and we remember it. It is in print for every worker to read, over and over. It exists in every union and in every organization where the Stalinists were permitted entry and tolerated. In their craven and debauched support of the imperialist war, in their depraved and brazen fight for the continuation of the infamous no-strike pledge, in their advocacy of piecework wages (incentive pay!), in their organized orgy for the complete subordination of the unions to the capitalist employers and the Roosevelt government, the Fosters, Browders, Minors and Hudsons and all the rest of the Stalinist leadership do not appear before the working class with clean hands. They are dripping, not with the blood of capitalism and imperialism, but with the blood of the working class!

(Another article will appear next week)

NEW YORK ELECTION

- Hooverism • New Deal • War Deal

(We reprint this week the beginning of a series of excerpts from the pamphlet, "Jobs and the New York Elections," put out by the New York City Workers Party and written by Walter Weiss, staff writer for Labor Action.)

Who will get your vote for Mayor in the November election? You say that you haven't given the matter any thought? You say that you spend your time worrying about whether you'll have a job and enough pay to live in? So do we all.

Then why not vote for a party that wants what you want and has a program for getting it? You say that there isn't any such animal? You say that the only jobs the politicians worry about are juicy jobs for themselves? In that case, voting would be a waste of time.

BUT THE FACT IS that you have it in your power to make the coming election different from all past elections. You can show the way to the workers of the whole country—the way to security and plenty for all the people of America.

THE WORKERS PARTY IN THIS PAMPHLET TELLS YOU WHY AND HOW.

Early in May, LaGuardia announced his retirement.

At once some people, including leaders of both AFL and CIO unions, proclaimed their affection for LaGuardia and demanded that the Democrats and Republicans choose a candidate who would continue "honest, clean, able. . . government."

Other voices (the Daily News) said New Yorkers were fed up with honesty and wanted the return of Jimmy Walker and the Tammany machine, so the city could have some fun again. This might mean a little "honest graft," but that wouldn't matter much.

We are opposed to any kind of graft. The workers certainly get no benefit from it. But who could be against fun?

The trouble is that it's very hard to have fun when you're unemployed. The editors of the Daily News undoubtedly had both jobs and fun in Walker's day. The records show, however, that for every 100 New Yorkers who had factory jobs in the 1925-1927 period, there were only 55 in the summer of 1932. Some fun for the workers who were pounding the streets!

About this same time employed workers were having fun, too—making ends meet. Just compare the average wages in New York City machine and metal shops for the fall of 1929 and the fall of 1933:

Table with 3 columns: Year, Men, Women. 1929: Men \$35.00, Women \$18.00. 1933: Men \$23.00, Women \$13.00.

That's enough about fun. Now, let's have a look at clean and able government under LaGuardia.

Six long years after 1932, in the summer of 1938, the factories of our city were still employing only 82 workers for every 100 of the 1925-27 period. Average weekly earnings in all the city's factories were about \$28.50.

This doesn't tell the whole story. There were thousands of young workers who had no chance for real jobs at all. The best they could hope for was the CCC or the NYA. Remember?

These young people, all over the nation and in New York City as well, came to be called the "locked-out generation." They weren't in favor of dirty machine politics, but clean government but clean government couldn't solve their problems, either.

By the middle of 1940, with the war in Europe already giving business a boost, New York factories still employed only 90 for every 100 in 1925-27.

But, because the working population had increased, the census of 1940 showed the following picture for jobs of all kinds, factory and otherwise:

Table with 4 columns: On WPA, Seeking, Employed, etc. 82, 3, 15, 100.

Out of every 100, there were 18 unemployed (as compared with 15 in the United States as a whole). Of the 18, the WPA and similar projects took care of only 3.

Let's put it another way. According to the census, over 635,000 New Yorkers were altogether unemployed or on WPA.

The Negroes of the city, "last to be hired and first to be fired," were worst off of all. About 28 of every 100 were unemployed, and only eight or nine of the 28 were on WPA.

That's how "clean and honest" government solved the job problem.

But, the top labor leaders say "we aren't for clean government all by itself. We're against reaction. We're for Roosevelt's program. LaGuardia was honest and a New Dealer besides. That's the kind of candidate we're demanding from the politicians."

Good! Now we're getting down to something more important. Not clean or dirty politics in one city, but Old or New Deal politics in the country as a whole.

Old Deal politics, Hooverism, failed completely. And New Deal politics? In spite of some long overdue reforms, the New Deal fell far, far short of solving the problems of the workers. The story for New York has been told above. For the whole United States, the record shows that in 1939, the last year before the war, there were at least ten million unemployed.

Finally, we all did get jobs—not from the Old Deal, not from the New Deal, but from the War Deal. Only the war solved the unemployment problem—temporarily—in its own murderous way. And, for all its blood and destruction, the war did something else of value. It made clear to everybody how abundantly America can produce.

Here is the record, for a few key years, of the total national production of goods and services:

Table with 2 columns: Year, Production. 1929: \$90 billions. 1932: \$55 billions. 1939: \$88 billions. 1944: \$195 billions.

Who accomplished this "miracle of production," as the newspapers call it? Not the capitalists. They refused to risk their money on new war plants in spite of big tax favors. The government invested \$5.00 for every \$1.00 invested by private industry.

Editorials

New Wave of Labor Militancy

The rubber strike in Akron, the recently ended strikes of the auto workers in Detroit and the great number of strike votes taken all over the country indicate the rising dissatisfaction of the American workers with the actions of the Administration on outback unemployment and wages.

It has become only too clear to the workers that the capitalist Administration in Washington is mainly occupied with guaranteeing profits for private industry and personal wealth to the industrial and financial rulers of the country. The problem of unemployment and a declining income for labor is of the least interest to the Washington politicians.

While surplus property disposal is effectively organized to benefit big business, while private enterprise is being taken care of by post-war refunds and reduced taxes, and while everything is done to guarantee markets for business, Washington is altogether too busy to concern itself seriously with the needs of labor.

Right now, legislative halls are echoing and re-echoing with bills and demands to curb unionism more effectively. This anti-labor drive in congressional halls coincides with the anti-union drive of business itself.

The labor leaders are utterly frantic, not so much about the failure of the capitalist politicians to enact legislation to guarantee the livelihood of labor, but about the militant measures resorted to by the great rank and file of the union movement. On the one hand they threaten,

cajole and carry out strikebreaking acts against the workers, and on the other, they plead on bended knees that the politicians do something—or else labor will get out of hand and become completely uncontrollable.

Instead of organizing the militant rank and file of the labor movement which has borne the brunt of the war effort and now faces the terrors of reconversion, for a struggle in its own behalf, the labor leaders act in a confused and bewildered manner. They have not one program for reconversion and wage increases. They have many programs. But there is no concerted, unified and organized drive by the labor officialdom which could redound to the benefit of the workers.

What labor needs is a powerful reconversion and post-war program based on the needs of millions of American workers. There is no better program for labor than the one offered by the Workers Party which appears on this page. Such a program is predicated on the conception that big business, which profits from the exploitation of labor and which has earned super-profits in this war, piling up billions in reserves, should pay for reconversion.

But this requires that the labor officialdom get off its knees, remove its signature from labor-management peace charters and fight for labor's interests. It means that labor officials should quit thinking and acting like servants of big business.

Epitaph on Polish Independence

Those who have hailed the reorganization of the Polish government as a sign of its democratization and a guarantee of the independence of the country do not know what they are talking about. Poland remains a Russian puppet state. The enlargement of the government by the inclusion of five new men, four representing the Peasants Party and one socialist who does not represent his party, has not altered the real character of the regime.

In the first place, Stalin passed on the eligibility of those who were asked to serve in the government. Of those he okayed, five were chosen, but only on the guarantee that they would be pro-Russian!

In the second place, these five new members have no posts of any importance. Three-fourths of the government is made up of Stalinist-Communists and their followers or servants. That is to say, the real power remains in Russian hands.

But even more important than this, the country as a whole is firmly in the grip of Stalin's Polish representatives. The elections which are being prepared are already stacked. Opposition leaders have killed, imprisoned, or deported. The un-

derground movement has been dispersed by terror. When the elections are held all effective independent forces which fought throughout the German and Russian occupation for the national liberation of Poland will have been thoroughly destroyed, leaving a clear field for Russian domination of Poland.

As in all other cases of territorial adjustments and readjustments growing out of this "war of liberation," the people have nothing whatever to say about their fate. It is being settled for them by the bunglers who call themselves statesmen and politicians. But there will be no real freedom and independence for the people unless they achieve it by their own efforts against all the Powers.

NEXT WEEK:

Communist "New Turn"—IV, by David Coolidge

Southern California Ship Repair Victory

Davis' Minimum Wage Proposals, by S. Lawrence



By REVA CRAINE Stalinist Imperialism in the Ukraine

Under the guise of uniting the Ukrainian people, an agreement was signed between Moscow and the new Czechoslovak government whereby Ruthenia, or the Carpatho-Ukraine, is ceded to Russia.

The agreement states that this action was taken "in accordance with the desire shown by the population of the Carpatho-Ukraine," although no mention is made of the manner in which this "desire" has been expressed in recent times. The hint by the Czech premier some months back that the question would be settled by popular vote died a quick death.

The Ukrainian people have for decades been the pawn of imperialist machinations on the European continent. The violation of their desire for national unification and national independence dates back to before the first world war when they were under the domination of Russian Czarism and Austro-Hungarian despotism. At the end of that war, the treaty-makers who had pledged themselves to abide by the right of self-determination of nations once again trampled on the clearly indicated wishes of the Ukrainian people.

Unification at the end of the first world war could have meant only one thing: the Ukrainian people organized as a united Soviet Ukraine, that is, a workers' Ukraine federated

with the other workers' republics established by the Russian Revolution of 1917.

To prevent this, and thereby weaken the first workers' government, the imperialist victors divided up the Ukrainian people, parceling out the Western Ukraine to Poland, and the Carpatho-Ukraine to the newly-established Czechoslovakia. This latter territory was later organized as the autonomous province of Ruthenia under Czechoslovak rule. Thus was the Ukrainian nation forcibly kept dismembered.

As war once drew near, the Ukrainians were subjected to further shifts. In 1938, Hitler took Ruthenia from Czechoslovakia and handed it to Hungary in exchange for an alliance. In 1939, as one of the stipulations of the Hitler-Stalin pact, Russia obtained Western Ukraine when she seized the eastern half of Poland.

The Yalta agreement of the Big Three gave Western Ukraine to the Ukrainians once more. The latest move, cession of Ruthenia to Russia, has finally "united" all the Ukrainian people in Europe.

But this is a far cry from the national unification and independence which the Ukrainian people have so long wanted. Unification under the dictatorship of the Kremlin means unification in a prison, not national freedom.

DIFFERENCE UNDER LENIN

In the early years after the Russian Revolution, the many nationalities federated in the Soviet Union enjoyed all the privileges of nationalhood plus the advantages of cooperation. The Soviet constitution provided that the Soviet Union be based

on voluntary adherence, and granted to each nationality the right of self-determination, including the right to separate from the Union, if it so desired. Finland obtained its separation from Russia without even having to go through any prolonged negotiations. Lenin simply signed the request placed before him.

The right of national self-determination, that is, the right of a people to decide for itself how it shall be governed, was one of the many democratic rights achieved by the workers' revolution in Russia. But this right, as well as all other democratic rights, has long ago disappeared in oligarchy. Just as these other rights remain only on paper in that country, so does the right of self-determination.

TROTSKY'S POSITION

As far back as 1939, Leon Trotsky, in writing about the question of the Ukraine, indicated that national rights, guaranteed by the Russian Revolution, had disappeared. He advocated the organization of an independent Soviet Ukraine as the only means by which the Ukrainian people could obtain national unification and freedom.

Everything that has happened since that time, the forcible annexations and incorporations of territories by all the imperialists, especially the Russian, indicates that the struggle for national freedom cannot be left to be carried on in the negotiating chambers of the big powers, but must be conducted by the masses of the people themselves as a part of the struggle for all democratic rights and socialist emancipation.

CP Leaders "Confess" Their Mistakes

By John Stewart

Currently, in conjunction with the change of line in the Communist Political Association, a public discussion is being carried on in the columns of the Daily Worker. We reprint below a few choice quotations to reveal the "CP Mind."

The tone of the letters, all from leading members of the CPA, affords an interesting insight into the psychology that totalitarianism breeds in human beings. Such examples of self-abasement are not rare in the Stalinist movement.

Of more interest to the working men and women who have to contend with these people in the labor movement is the fact that with the exception of Browder, all of them "confess" that they have been following a policy harmful to the interests of all workers, black and white. They, who call everyone who does not agree with them a fascist, "forgot" that monopoly capitalism with which they have been cooperating during the war, breeds fascism!

They didn't "forget." Despite loss of membership and increasing unpopularity with the labor movement, they collaborated with monopoly capital and upheld the no-strike pledge as long as this policy served Generalissimo Stalin. Now that differences between Russia and the United States have increased, a stiffer policy towards the government and business by the Communists serves Stalin for the present.

The grovelling confessions of errors by pretended leaders of the working class follow. They show why no worker should pay the slightest attention to, or follow, these American agents of Stalin, these misleaders of labor.



"SELF-CRITICISM"

James Ford, member National Committee CPA, Negro leader, perennial vice-presidential candidate for the Communist Party:

"I share fully in the responsibility for the opportunistic line which has led our organization into the swamp of revisionism. Earl Browder bears the major responsibility for changing the political course of our organization. But the National Board, with the exception of Comrade Foster, has a grave burden of responsibility to bear also, and likewise the entire National Committee.... My error here is grave, especially in regard to what I did to create illusion... among the Negro people."

Daily Worker, June 25.

John Williamson, national secretary CPA:

"While we were grappling to answer correctly new events that didn't square with our analysis... it was only the sharpness of the criticism of the Duclos article that forced us to re-examine basically our political analysis—and then painfully to extricate ourselves from the swamp of opportunism that bound our feet and blinded our eyes...."

"I forgot that the roots of fascism were in monopoly capitalism as a class.... This led us to idolize the Roosevelt section of monopoly capitalism; to ignore basic characteristics and nature of imperialism.... and led some comrades to declare that 'the epoch of imperialism is gone'.... We mistakenly thought the agreements between governments automatically meant agreements between classes.... These theories all led to the creation of illusions in the minds of our own members.... Firstly, we must recognize that the tremendous influence of bourgeois ideology on the nation as a whole... has penetrated our ranks and our thinking.... Our revisionism endangered the world struggle against reaction.... I think Comrade Foster is too generous to us. All the rest of us cannot shirk responsibility for the errors that were made.... Each of us—and speaking for myself first of all—must come before the membership with the greatest humility."

Daily Worker, June 24.

Robert Minor, a vice-president of CPA, National Board member:

"I am among those who must take a substantial share of the fault for many of the errors which are criticized in the first place as Comrade Browder's errors."

Daily Worker, June 16.

Bob Thompson, member National Board CPA:

"I must say I have not been able as yet to arrive at an explanation which fully satisfies me either for the errors which were made personally by myself or collectively by the National Board.... I drew a number of very shallow conclusions from my experiences and observations during this war.... My responsibility for the opportunist mistakes made by no means consists of passive acceptance of these mistakes, serious as that would be in itself. I believed in this line, and during my period of active participation in the leadership of the CPA I have contributed within the limits of my capacity, to elaborating and applying this line."

"I think one of the factors in my errors has been a very superficial understanding of the past history of our Communist movement.... a failure to appreciate the role of Comrade Foster.... It is only in connection with this last point that I can explain the stupidly arrogant manner in which I often failed to pay proper attention to the point of view presented.... by Comrade Foster.... I wish to make it clear, however, that this is only an initial step in my participation in our movement's self-critical examination of individual and collective errors."

Daily Worker, June 16.

(Continued in last column, this page.)

Part III: America's Permanent Housing Shortage

SOCIALISM AND POST-WAR HOUSING

By MARIAN GOULD

Today, ladies, we are going to get right down to fundamentals. I've already told you what we socialists want for every American citizen in the way of healthful, adequate homes in well-planned communities.

Now let's take up the question of WHY you haven't got them, as the first step toward doing something about it.

Bad housing and housing shortages are a NECESSARY PRODUCT of the CAPITALIST social order under which we live.

This is so because the lust for profits is what makes the economic wheels go round in our country today. All economic production and activity are organized to make profits for the huge corporations and the individuals who own them. And only for that purpose.

Sometimes the professors try to kid us by saying that "economics is the organization of human labor and natural resources so as to house, clothe and feed people." They say further that these "factors of production" can be organized together in different ways—such as capitalism, socialism, feudalism, etc.—but that the capitalist way is the best.

We socialists say that the present-day economic system of the capitalists does NOT work for the purpose of feeding, housing or clothing the people. The needs of the people are SECONDARY AND INCIDENTAL to the running (or stopping; depression) of America's factories, mills and mines.

(Now we'll get back to houses and why they remain "dream homes" for most American housewives.)

The basic and essential needs of the non-owning men, women and children (who are the vast majority of our population) are only satisfied if we save sufficient dollars to create a MARKET DEMAND for what we want.

There is not, and has never been under capitalism, sufficient market demand for housing to make it PROFITABLE for the private speculative building industry to construct workers' homes.

Because, after the nation's manual and white collar workers have used the eighty per cent (and often more) of their wage dollars it takes to buy a minimum of clothes and food in the commodity market, the remaining twenty per cent of their low incomes is not enough to buy

them the essential household equipment and decent homes to put it in.

As Fortune magazine said in 1938, when \$30 a week was good wages: "There is one prime necessity of a good life that \$30 a week will NOT provide in most urban communities... and that is adequate shelter. And where it WILL provide adequate shelter, it will not provide housing on a scale even approaching the standards of comfort, convenience and luxury that the \$30 a week man obtains from his other expenditures."

(Fortune, the magazine of big management, errs in thinking \$30 a week ever purchased many luxuries; but it did enable a worker's family to get by, except, as they point out, in terms of housing.)

Over a hundred years ago Friedrich Engels, one of the founders of modern scientific socialism, first wrote on the housing shortage in "The Condition of the English Working Class in 1844." Socialists have been concerned with the problem ever since.

Engels' strong language, just as valid today as when he first wrote, cuts through to the very heart of the problem. In 1872 (The Housing Problem) he said:

"The housing shortage cannot fail to be present in a society in which the great mass of workers are exclusively dependent upon wages, that is to say, on the sum of the foodstuffs necessary for their existence and for the propagation of their kind;

"In which violent and regularly recurring industrial vacillations determine the existence of a large reserve army of unemployed workers and also drive large masses of temporarily unemployed into the streets;

"In which workers are crowded together in masses in the big towns at a quicker rate than dwellings come into existence for them under the existing conditions, so that there must always be tenants for the most infamous pigsties.

"In such a society, the housing shortage is no accident; it is a necessary institution, and can only be abolished, together with all its effects on health, etc., only if the whole social order from which it springs is fundamentally refashioned."

The "existing conditions" that Engels spoke of in 1872 are still with us. Low income is the

main factor in perpetuating the housing shortage. The other principal factor is the fact that the private, profit-seeking construction industry cannot build decent and sanitary homes for less than \$4,000. Even U. S. Housing Authority construction, which was economical, mass-scale and pared off all luxuries, couldn't bring costs per unit much below \$4,000.

Add those two facts together with the following and you get the situation today:

Only families with annual incomes of over \$3,000 can afford homes costing \$4,000, or the \$40 equivalent monthly rent. (According to the National Resources Planning Board and other housing authorities.) Only families earning an average of \$57.70 a week can afford respectable, healthful, modern homes.

Nineteen per cent of all U. S. families got \$3,000 and over in 1942.

The other eighty-one per cent got less than \$3,000 a year, wages that condemned them to live in slums and hand-me-downs, cramped, old-fashioned, poorly located.

Even that's not the full picture of America's housing shortage. According to the Encyclopedia Britannica's 1944 Year Book, 47 per cent of all American families earned under \$1,500 a year. What kind of homes can these citizens afford?

There is no decent low-cost housing in this country for that 47 per cent of our people—except a few scattered U.S.H.A. units. It has obviously never been PROFITABLE for capitalism to even bother at all with this portion of the population.

So we see how "free enterprise," working through the capitalist commodity market, plus the perennial low price paid for that cheapest of all commodities, human labor-power, and the devil take the hindmost philosophy of our rulers—have all resulted in today's chronic housing shortage, to which "war housing problems" have only contributed.

Namely, acute shortage of decent homes for over half the population and unplanned, sprawling, ugly, unhealthy and dangerous cities where thousands of thwarted, lop-sided, unsatisfactory human lives pay the high penalty of capitalism's unquenchable thirst for profits.

Next week: The American Way of Life: Our Cities.

Simla: Move To Stop Indian Independence

By P. Prentiss

Indian independence is on the order of the day. The masses of India know it. The Indian national leaders know it. And no less are the British imperialists aware of it. The calling of the India Conference at Simla by Field Marshal Viscount Wavell, Viceroy of India, to "settle" some of India's complex problems, is done in the hope that the Indian national leaders, representing a small group of Indian capitalists, will compromise themselves and the Indian masses once again with the British.

In 1942, when the farce enacted by Cripps proved such a complete flop, the British were badly shaken by the outbreaks of strikes and riots and revolutionary mass activity that followed. Not only the British but Messrs. Gandhi, Nehru, Asad, etc., leaders of the Congress Party, were also badly frightened. The national leaders did their best at that time to stop the revolutionary actions of the masses, fearful lest the struggle sweep from merely a national struggle against British imperialism to a revolutionary victory of the Indian workers and peasants and do away with Indian capitalism.

LIKE CRIPPS AFFAIR

At Simla an attempt was made to re-enact the Cripps affair. The British proposals this time came no closer to Indian independence than before. For one thing, the British Viceroy was to retain all of his old powers over the army, police, taxes, finance, banks, etc. Some of the "trusted" Indian leaders were to be given more political control in the Executive Council. As for the great bulk of the Indian masses, they were not even represented at Simla.

One of the main issues that the British representatives have constantly brought to the fore at the conference is the religious differences between the Indian people. This is presented as a bar to complete independence. Mohammed Ali Jinnah, who is the leader of the reactionary Moslem League, plays directly into British hands by his aim to build a separate Moslem state within India, thus weakening the fight for national unity and independence. This demand to represent all of the Moslems in India in the new government met with opposition from Gandhi's All-India Congress Party, which claims to represent both Moslem and Hindu Indians on a political basis.

The press reports constantly play up the difference between Hindu and Moslem and this aids the "divide and rule" policy of the British. The Moslem-Hindu conflict has been artificially maintained and stimulated for years by the British in order to maintain their grip on this vast country and its riches.

Gandhi's last-minute unexplained decision not to participate in the conference seemed to indicate that he harbored no great hopes for its outcome. Obviously Gandhi was aware of the temper of the Indian masses, who are determined to gain their freedom. He remained at Simla to advise the All-India Congress Party but was unwilling to risk the full responsibility of what would follow. In this way he put himself in a better position to disarm the movement when the struggle flared up again.

BREAKDOWN OF CONFERENCE

But things did not run smoothly at Simla. After four days of talking and political maneuvering, the conference broke down. Jinnah and Gandhi have retired to their respective corners and Lord Wavell is biding his time. The conference is expected to reconvene again in a couple of weeks but shows no more promise than the Cripps affair of a few years back.

Gandhi commented on the failure of the attempt of the British and Indians to reach an agreement. He declared that it was "his hope and prayer that things will come out right for both India and Great Britain. What a hope! Things have been coming out right for Great Britain for years but at the expense of the miserable Indian masses. The only way things can come out right for India is in the struggle for real independence, which will strike a blow at the British Empire.

The real purpose of the India Conference at Simla is to pacify the growing demands of the Indians for independence. By buying off the national leaders, by pitting Moslems against Hindus, the British ruling class hopes to quash the revolution.

The struggle for independence in India will not down. What the national movement needs is a clear-cut program which can achieve this indispensable need for the Indian masses. Such a program cannot begin to state its aims unless it puts at the top of its aims: immediate and complete independence of India.

CPA Confessions--

(Continued from first column, this page)

Charles Krumbein, national leader of CPA: "Our wrong post-war perspective orientated many of the workers we influence to rely on the 'intelligence' of their bosses and then we wondered why they did not respond as they should have to recent reactionary events. The reason is to be found in our class-collaboration policy. We helped to stifle independent working class action while calling for the same."

Max Weiss, member National Committee CPA:

"As a member of the National Committee who voted for, accepted and fought for the false policy which we are now correcting, I have a personal responsibility before the Communist movement and the non-Communist workers who put their trust and faith in our leadership for the mistakes of the national committee. My criticism of this false policy is therefore self-criticism. My responsibility for the revisionist mistakes which we are now in the process of correcting is an indication of important deficiencies in my own grasp of Marxian essentials.

"...The Teheran conference didn't throw us off balance. We were already off balance on many important questions before Teheran."

"Socialist Call" Caught in a Lie!

Dear Editor:

In the June 18 issue of The Call a pretty wise-cracking article appeared concerning Max Shachtman's last visit to Chicago. In view of the confusion that has been sown as a result of this misleading and dishonest nonsense, I feel it my duty to frankly deny the contents of the article in The Call and bring forth the real issues involved.

As a former member of the Young People's Socialist League, I find it difficult to understand how people who call themselves socialists lend themselves to such things.

First of all, I am one of the people who signed the manifesto in the May 21 issue of LABOR ACTION stating the reasons why we resigned from the YPSL. To my knowledge, I sincerely cannot see how we have gone back on our word. We resigned from the YPSL purely on an ideological basis and mainly because of some of the undemocratic things that have been manifested and are being practiced by Virgil Vogel, chairman of the YPSL, plus the noose that was squeezed around our necks from the parent party. Consequently, there was only one solution for my comrades and me and that was to resign and get out.

The next blunder that The Call put forth regarding Shachtman's visit to Chicago, was an absolute distortion of the truth. Shachtman came not only to address Chicago workers at a public meeting, but came with the full knowledge and expectation of debating with Virgil Vogel. Shachtman was duly disappointed. It was Shachtman who was willing to participate and lay his cards on the table. It was Vogel who shied away from a discussion of politics. It is silly to say that Shachtman was trying to win away YPSL members in Chicago and use them in order to build a mass base for his mayoralty campaign in New York City. Would Norman Thomas campaign in Canada in order to become the President of the U. S.?

All in all, we emphatically deny the article in The Call. Those of us who joined the Workers Party are

Several weeks ago LABOR ACTION carried the statement of a group of leading members of the Young People's Socialist League, affiliated to the Socialist Party, who resigned from that organization to join the Workers Party.

These young comrades joined the Workers Party because they believed it to represent the true interests of the working class. They joined it because they believed that the program of the Workers Party offered the only hope for the emancipation of the American and international working class and showed the way to socialism. And, finally, they joined it because they could not accept the reformism of the Socialist Party, its lack of a consistent program, its confusion on the war reflecting positions from social patriotism to ineffectual pacifism.

These young comrades, in taking the step to join the Workers Party, rejected the Socialist Party because it did not have a truly socialist program or practice.

On June 18, the official organ of the SP, The Call, printed a lying comment on this group, saying that three of them "reconsidered" after signing a manifesto printed in the WP newspaper." It also stated that "Max Shachtman, Workers Party boss (!) went far afield to create a 'mass' base for his mayoralty campaign in New York. He spent most of his time recently in Chicago in an attempt to raid the Young People's Socialist League there."

The replies of four of those who are supposed to have "reconsidered" are fitting indeed to this misrepresentation. So much for the very, very "moral" Socialists, who object to the "amoral" revolutionary socialists of the Workers Party.

loyal members of our party. We feel secure, because we are in a Marxian organization that is not divorced from the working class but is in it.

Madison, Wis.

Dear Comrade:

To the best of my knowledge, there is no truth in the statement recently made in The Call to the effect that three of the former Yipsels reconsidered about joining the Workers Party.

Fraternally yours,
Eleanor Guthman.

To the Editor:

I am one of the former members of the Chicago Young People's Socialist League who signed a statement urging other members of the League to join the Workers Party. This statement was published in LABOR ACTION.

In the June 18 issue of the Socialist Party newspaper, The Call, Kenneth Rogers, in his column, "On the

lookout," says the three of us "reconsidered" after signing the manifesto. This is an obvious attempt to leave the impression that we resigned from the Workers Party and went back to the Young People's Socialist League.

Why didn't Mr. Rogers elaborate on the nature of our "reconsideration"? If by "reconsidering" Mr. Rogers meant that the League leadership tried to hold private "conferences" with us individually in order to urge us to return to the YPSL and to bellow all the derogatory names they could think of about our present affiliation (they have a remarkable ability to call names—one has even achieved notoriety for this via the magazine, Politics); if by "reconsidering" Mr. Rogers meant League and Socialist Party persons banged on the door of our office and hurried up and down the hallway while we were holding a meeting; if by "reconsidering" Mr. Rogers meant we had to listen to the harangue of the YPSL national organizer and to

New York gets a chance to vote for an independent labor candidate and a program for achieving full employment. Get signatures in your shops and organizations. Help the committee's work in the neighborhoods. Join the Shachtman for Mayor Campaign Committee and get into the fight NOW!

You can obtain petition blanks from the Campaign Committee at 114 West 14th Street, New York 11, N. Y. Telephone CHelsea 2-9681. The Campaign Committee also appeals to all sympathizers of LABOR ACTION to help finance the Shachtman-for-Mayor campaign. Only workers, socialists and friends will support a working-class candidate!

NEW YORK ELECTION CAMPAIGN

The Workers Party Election Committee announces the opening on Friday, July 6, of a campaign to get 15,000 signatures on an independent nominating petition which will enable the name of Max Shachtman, Workers Party candidate for Mayor of New York, to be placed on the regular ballot.

The election laws of machine-ridden New York State make it particularly difficult for the names of independent candidates to be placed on the ballot. It is no problem at all for the candidate who runs under the emblem of the old, established parties. His name goes on the ballot automatically. But the Democratic and Republican machines, never anx-

ious to face competition or to permit independent political action, have seen to it that independent candidates and groups are handicapped by the requirement that they submit a legal minimum of 7,500 signatures on an independent nominating petition. In actuality, twice that number of signatures are needed, for election board officials are only too anxious to disqualify signatures on the slightest legal technicality.

The undemocratic nature of a procedure that penalizes individuals and groups of small technical and financial resources than the established parties is obvious on the face of it. All those who are interested in the democratic right for a truly free bal-

lot must protest this handicap and sign the nominating petition, which will permit the name of Max Shachtman to be placed on the ballot. Otherwise the workers of New York City will not be permitted to express their sentiment for full post-war employment and independent labor action.

The petition drive, which will last until October 2, will start off with a series of mobilizations in Harlem. The second week of the drive will see a series of mobilizations in the Bronx, climaxed by an open-air rally in that borough on Saturday, July 21.

The Election Committee asks that all friends and supporters of LABOR ACTION help achieve the democratic right to a place on the ballot. See that



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