

\$1,169,000

Three top General Motors Executives received \$1,169,000 in salaries for year 1944.

President C. E. Wilson received \$459,041.

Vice-President Ormand E. Hunt received \$359,519.

Vice-President Albert Bradley received \$350,519.

If you accept the companies' figures on average wages of GM workers as \$56.00 a week, the salaries of the three officials equal the wages of 20,876 workers!

If any worker wants to understand what capitalism really means, this is it.

Three company officials who would swoon at the mere thought of working a full day on the production line "earned" as much as 20,876 workers!

These are the officials, whose average weekly salary totaled \$2,248, who are fighting vigorously against a 30 per cent wage increase for all workers, who refuse to "open their books" for public inspection, who said to the union, "It's none of your damned business what our profits are."

Ford Offer Has Strings Attached

By MARY BELL

Having offered the Ford Motor Company an infamous company "security" plan, the UAW leadership, including Leonard, Thomas, Reuther and Addes, has no right to be "staggered" (New York Times, December 19) at the counter-proposal of the corporation made this week. Since Richard T. Leonard, head of the Ford UAW committee, showed such solicitude for giving the corporation guarantees such as would lead to a complete weakening of the union and which immediately focused the attention of General Motors on similar guarantees which had not been made to it, what could he expect but an attempt to strengthen these "security" guarantees?

The Ford Motor Company offered a pay increase of 12.4 per cent, or approximately fifteen cents per hour. But the wage increase was linked to a production goal of 80,000 units per month (November production was only 22,500 units) and a series of company guarantees. The latter include elimination of "unauthorized" work stoppages; management "prerogatives"; reduction of the number of union committeemen, and no new wage demands based on raised price ceilings. The company security plan included fines (that were less than the original proposal of the union) to be deducted from the check-off of dues and paychecks of workers, for instigation of "wildcat" strikes.

The avowed motives of Ford in presenting its "gamble" on a wage increase were indeed noble. They want the "confidence and cooperation of our employees." (Rather than that the union should have it.) They want to stay in production and keep men employed. (They don't want a strike.) They want to sharpen production skills and to "meet and beat competition." (True enough.) They want to break the "log-jam of post-war mass production" and "halt inflation" by bringing supply up to demand. (These are meant to sound public-spirited.)

The union rejected the offer. It falls far short of thirty per cent and is integrally bound up with union-breaking measures.

Just as the strength of the case

presented by the UAW against General Motors permeated the struggle of every CIO union engaged in a wage fight against a corporation—the UAW against Ford, the Oil Workers' negotiations and the pending Steel Workers' fight, the Rubber Workers, etc., so the show of weakness on the part of the Ford union, a retreat acquiesced in by the whole UAW leadership, has similarly infiltrated every union battle.

The UAW was the spearhead of the post-war fight of labor against capital to secure a living wage, full production and full employment. Their demand to open the company's books, to have a look at profit statements and to determine wage increases on the basis of profits without raising prices to punish the consumer, was a unique, revolutionary demand for the CIO.

The union leadership has exhibited a strange timidity in following up this demand. They behave as if they thought they had gone too far. They have in only one sense: they lack a perspective to follow up their militant demand. Once the corporation has refused the inspection of its books, or says on the basis of its figures that it cannot pay a decent wage nor assure full employment, what is the union going to do? The CIO leadership, while having made a denunciation of Truman, still corralled the labor vote through the PAC for the Democratic Party.

Since the corporations have openly confessed their bankruptcy, there is only one answer for the unions to the corporations' openly expressed alternative of a return to Hooverism: if the corporations cannot guarantee security through full production, full employment and a high standard of living, labor must manage production!

Instead of consent to the fact-finding stall of President Truman, labor must make a break once and for all with the capitalist parties of big business, their ten-year alliance with the Democrats and their present flirting with the "progressive" Republicans. They must turn the PAC into a genuine Labor Party with a labor program to set up a Labor Government in Washington!

British Commit An Indonesian "Lidice"

By JESSIE KAAREN

"Remember Lidice!" Under that slogan, the American people were asked to increase their sacrifices for the war, the workers were asked to put in longer hours and to forego their demands for higher wages. They were told to wipe out the shame of Lidice by buying more bonds. The story of how that small Czechoslovakian town was razed to the ground by the Nazis, its male inhabitants killed and its women and children imprisoned in reprisal for the killing of one Gestapo officer, was blazoned across the front page of every newspaper in every Allied territory.

Poems were written about Lidice, a town in the United States was renamed for it and the democracy-loving people of the world were asked never to forget that Lidice was a symbol for Nazi bestiality.

REMEMBER BEKASZI!

If the patriots who talked about Lidice were sincere in their feeling of horror, why don't they raise the same cry now over the small town of Bekaszi in Java that was burned to the ground by the British for the killing of a few British army officers? Why don't they start a wave of protest so strong that the British and their Allied backers will have to account for their actions to a public that is slowly having its eyes opened to the hypocrisy of the slogans under which World War II was fought?

As a matter of fact, the British have never had to take lessons from

the Nazis in the practice of bestiality. More than a century ago they burned whole villages to conquer India for the greater glory of the British Empire. And coming uncomfortably close to our own United States, only last week the marines shelled and wiped out a small village in North China because the authorities there refused to turn over to the Americans the assailants of a marine who had been killed in a village where he had no business being in the first place.

These events don't get the attention they deserve because it is British and American imperialism that is involved instead of German imperialism. While the spotlight at Nuremberg is turned on how the Nazis conducted their business, the fact that the British shelled the city of Surabaya with its tightly packed civilian population of a half million people because the Indonesians were audacious enough to fight for their freedom, got only second page notice.

(Continued on page 2)

LABOR ACTION

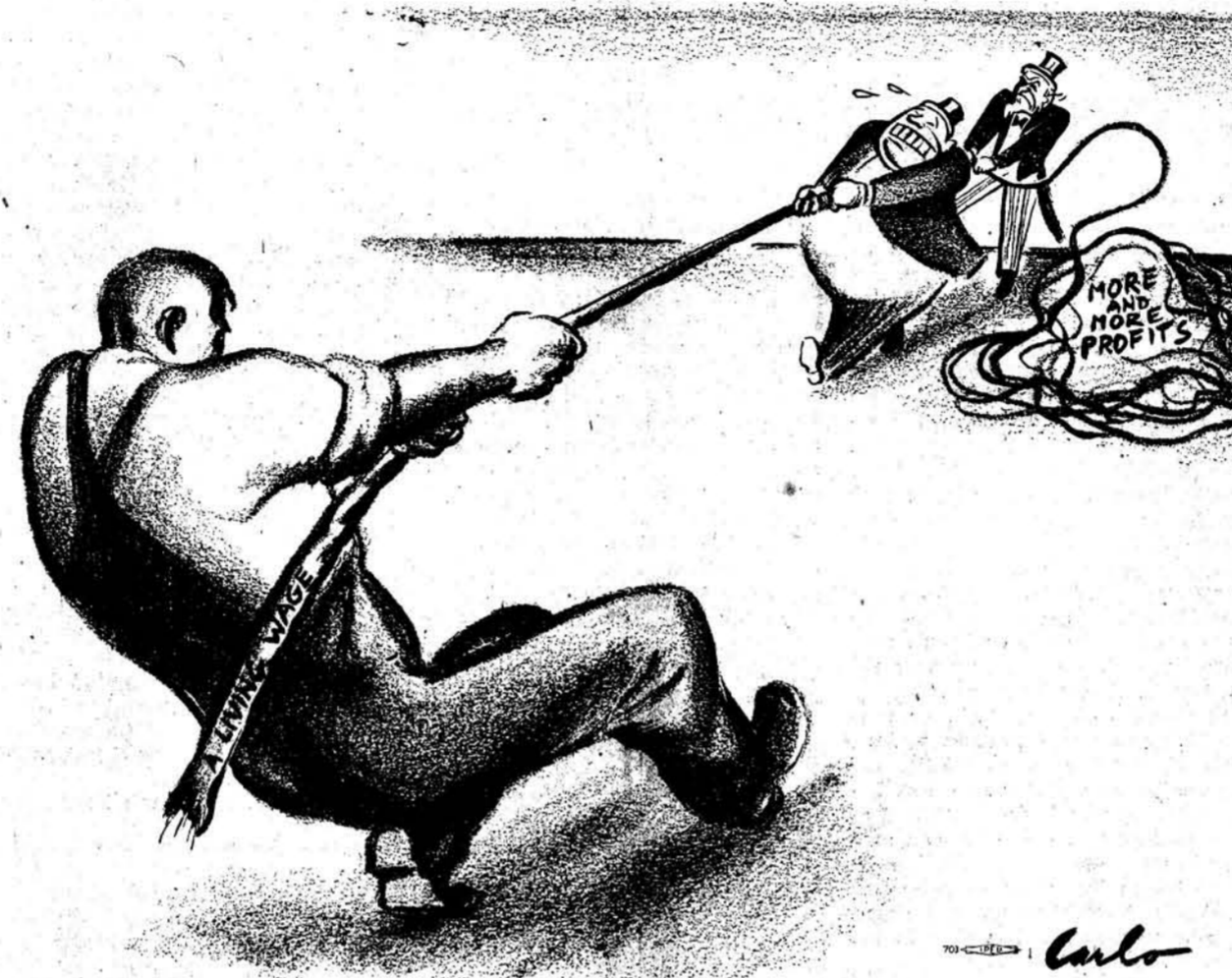
DECEMBER 24, 1945

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

ONE CENT

COMPANY "SECURITY" MEANS INSECURITY FOR UNIONS!

The Issue in the GM Strike



The URWA Convention

(At press time it was learned that the incumbent officials of the URW were re-elected to office: L. F. Buckmaster, as International president; H. F. Lloyd, International vice-president, and Chas. E. Lanning, Secretary-Treasurer.

George Bass, leader of Goodrich Local No. 5, was nominated for president, but immediately withdrew his name as a candidate.—Ed.)

By HELEN SCOTT

GRAND RAPIDS, Dec. 15—The first convention of an important CIO union to meet since the end of the war opened when 380 delegates from 180 locals of the United Rubber Workers Union assembled here yesterday to begin their sessions.

The mood of the convention had been set beforehand by the strike at General Motors, by the wave of anti-strike and anti-union legislation pending in Congress, by the imminent steel strike and by the attacks on Presi-

cial and moral assistance to the GM strikers; invited Walter Reuther to address the delegates; voted unanimously to condemn all forms of compulsory arbitration; hailed demands for "vigorous political action"; and applauded a speech from the floor calling for the formation of an independent Labor Party.

PROGRESSIVE BLOC

The progressive tendency at this convention is stronger numerically than ever before. The Akron delegation is headed by C. V. Wheeler of Goodyear Local 2, Ike Watson of Firestone Local 7, George Bass of Goodrich Local 5 and Howard Haas of General Local 9. These are men who led their locals throughout the war in battles with the rubber companies, in the course of which they fought against the strike-breaking policies of the International leadership, then headed by S. H. Darymple. They have all received resounding votes of confidence from their local membership in recent elections.

At this convention they are almost certain of the support of one of the biggest U. S. Rubber groups in the country, Local 101 of Detroit. In Lo-

cal 101 the Communist Party administration headed by John Marmon was completely wiped out and its four-year reign ended when it failed to win a single post in the recent local elections or to win a single convention delegate.

The present International leadership, an uneasy coalition of Stalinists and conservatives, has felt its control weakening and realizes that it may be unseated or curbed in power and influence at this tenth annual convention. A rift is developing in its ranks as the CP forces grouped around N. H. Eagle, general organizational director, prepare the groundwork for their new post-war, pro-Stalin policies, and seek to rally support for their own candidate for International president against Buckmaster. Buckmaster is caught in the middle. He cannot be elected president without the support of either Akron or the CP elements and must reach an agreement with one or the other or step down. Like R. J. Thomas in the UAW, he merely holds the balance of power between the two contending groups.

To avoid a catastrophe for his faction (Continued on page 2)

UAW Must Not Yield to Union-Smashing Demands

By JACK WILSON

Just before the opening of the hearings in Washington this week by President Truman's Fact-Finding Board on the auto strike, General Motors made public its full program for settling the strike.

This program constitutes a grave indictment of GM and the entire system of which it is such an important part. For GM openly advocates a return to the Hoover days of wage cuts, depressions, speed-up, union-busting and economic chaos.

It isn't strange either that not a single big newspaper, which has moaned loudly about the "unreasonableness" of labor, has a word to say about the GM program, which would guarantee industrial anarchy and depression.

GM demands the open shop, the approval of the speed-up, the elimination of the maintenance of union membership, "security" measures, a specific guarantee of the "rights and prerogatives of management" and an "anti-vilification" agreement.

GM also demands that "wages, hours of employment and other conditions of employment are the ONLY matters which are subject to collective bargaining."

This last demand has been a major point of dispute during the strike because the UAW has proved time and again that wages can be discussed seriously only in connection with PRICES and PROFITS.

The UAW has insisted that GM OPEN ITS BOOKS so that the UAW and the consumers know exactly what wages can be paid and what prices should be marked for GM autos. Unless these factors are taken into account, GM could pass any wage boost to the consumers, and thus rob the auto workers on the market through prices as well as in the shop on wages.

UAW AND THE PEOPLE

By now large sections of the people, as well as the auto workers themselves, have become convinced that wages can be discussed seriously only in connection with prices and profits. The UAW won much sympathy in the GM strike struggle precisely because it hammered home this point. Now GM wants the UAW to surrender this excellent program which placed the corporation in an obviously vulnerable position.

Likewise, GM is terribly anxious to avoid having a public inspection of its books, for contained therein is the full story of the fabulous war profits of this corporation.

The UAW challenges the theory of "free enterprise" by making this demand, for it has learned that the functioning of the economic system is a matter of national concern and not just the private property of a handful of powerful industrialists like the du Ponts.

GM puts its demand for an open shop in this fine language: "The union and the corporation shall rec-

(Continued on page 2)

Chicago CIO Meet Backs GM Strikers

By R. MILLER

CHICAGO—An appropriate answer to Truman's union-busting proposal was given by 1,200 Executive Board members, committee men and shop stewards of Chicago unions attending an emergency wage conference on December 12 at the LaSalle Hotel. The conference was organized to support the strike of UAW Local 719 against GM's Electromotive Diesel Corporation in the suburbs of Chicago.

Sponsoring the conference were the UAW, UE, FE and Packinghouse CIO local unions, all of these unions being at present engaged in wage negotiations with their respective companies, and making preparations for an immediate strike.

All of the speeches and resolutions of the conference had as their main point an attack on Truman and his proposal for a "fact-finding board." It was pointed out everywhere that the Administration has been giving lip-service to all pro-labor legislation in Congress but now it is actually carrying out the policies of big business by proposing this legislation, which is aimed at breaking the present GM strike and preventing the steel, electrical, farm equipment and (Continued on page 4)

Prices Up; Ceilings in Jeopardy

By SUSAN GREEN

Prices are going up! The Kiplinger letter of November 17 to businessmen predicts: "The prices of most things consumers buy are heading upward."

Recently Senator Taft complacently declared that a ten percent cost-of-living increase would be "a secondary consideration" if full peacetime production could thereby be established. This is only another way of stating that the industrial overlords will bar full production until they get higher prices.

These incidents are more than straws in the wind. They are signs of the drive unleashed by business to sweep away all price controls.

Price Administrator Bowles, inside and outside of Congress, is fighting for the very life of OPA. The National Association of Manufacturers seeks the end of price control within sixty days. Bowles warns big business that its aim is "reckless," "utterly foolhardy," "a most dangerous threat to the future health and success of our entire free enterprise system."

HOW BOWLES FIGHTS.

Bowles accuses the powerful lobbies of manufacturers, wholesale and retail dealers and real estate boards

of a determination to "make a killing on uncontrolled rising prices and rents"—which is of course true. And he is chagrined that these naughty boys are doing this bad thing in spite of the fact that, under OPA, "The truth is that never in our history have business profits been so large and business failures so few, and this applies to practically all types and sizes of business."

But the super-profit-seeking big boys remain unimpressed. Their spokesmen, in and out of Congress, press the attack on price control. Nebraska Wherry, Republican from Nebraska, produces two ladies' slips, both peach color, one of good material and fit, and the other like a shapeless sack. The first, the Senator points out, was made to sell at \$1.95 but OPA ceilings forced the maker to discontinue the line. Whereupon the second garment, shoddy and sack-like, was put out by another manufacturer, as a new model to sell at \$3.95. This, according to the Senator, is evidence of the evil of price control—not, of course, of the crooked profit-scheming of private enterprise, which incidentally, Bowles also fully supports!

More confusion around price control is contributed by the government.

On one hand, through Bowles it is supposedly trying to keep prices down; on the other hand, Stabilization Director Collet tells manufacturers that they can ask for price boosts if the average hourly wages of their employees have been upped thirty-three percent since 1941, that being officially set as the rise in prices since then.

LEAKS IN PRICE CONTROL

So we ask: If, as Mr. Bowles so adequately proves, profits are better than ever before in history, why should manufacturers be allowed higher prices? It is also quite pertinent once more to call the lie on government figures. The cost of living since 1941 has been hiked not thirty-three percent but conservatively forty-five percent and more likely fifty percent, according to CIO President Murray's figures.

Not only is Bowles thus left out on a limb by other government departments, he is himself acting like a dual personality. While he shouts for all to hear that leather profits for 1944—along with textile profits—were 730 percent over prewar prices, he grants shoe manufacturers a four and half percent price increase. Of course he hastens to assure the public that

the retail prices of shoes will not rise, but that wholesalers and retailers will absorb the increase.

Naturally the big-business foes of OPA point up these inconsistencies of Mr. Bowles. While they benefit from his "control of prices" upward, as with coal, steel, building materials, meat, milk, to mention only a few, they prefer no control at all. Poor Mr. Bowles, so bravely "helping the consumer" with an eye cocked to keep profits the highest in history—and getting no thanks from big business!

To complete the picture of the current price situation is the exposé of the black market in textiles. While low-income families pay twice and three times more than before the war for worse clothing, OPA price violations have been allowed to skyrocket to between one hundred and two hundred percent above ceilings. Every type of clothing, fabrics, linens, sheets, pillow cases, towels, blankets, sold in every little store on every Main Street, are under black market control. An ex-GI cannot get a suit of civilian clothes and his young wife cannot get household furnishings. Cheese cloth is being sold for marquisette at three and four times more.

(Continued on page 2)

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Auto Workers Continue the Fight --

(Continued from page 1)
ognize the rights of the employees
and applicants for employment to
elect or refuse membership in any
union, to maintain or resign from
such union...

the auto workers against the injustices of this brutal system.
Since the UAW provides some protection against this system of wage slavery, GM wants to break it or turn it into a company union.

to agree to a suppression of FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND OF PRESS.
For example, union members call C. E. Wilson a rich, arrogant, ruthless, power-mad capitalist.

the day. The program of this ruling class in the United States is totally reactionary and can bring only depression and chaos.
There was only one GM plant where the du Ponts and Wilson carried out their program in full...

MASS ACTION

By David Coolidge

Ford hasn't accepted the "security plan" presented by the UAW leadership.
The young scoundrel probably feels that if he holds out a while longer, Thomas, Leonard, Reuther and Addes will come forward with something better.

posal was connected with what was going on at GM. Reuther had run way in front of the IEB with his radical GM demands for opening the company's books and determining the price of automobiles.

ity" of the owners of GM is the du Pont family and the top managers of the corporation. It is difficult to believe that this management does not reflect the "thinking" of itself and of the du Ponts.

FOR A NEW SPEED-UP

The reason for these proposals is clear from another infamous demand: "That the international union will

Rubber Workers' Convention--

(Continued from page 1)

tion, Dalrymple, former president, who had been responsible for suspending, expelling and fining members in one local after another, resigned some time ago to make way for Buckmaster, who, it was hoped, would prove more palatable to the ranks.

LEADERS SUDDENLY "RADICAL"
Both the Buckmaster and the Stalinist sections of the old leadership obviously hope that their past crimes will be overlooked in the unanimous enthusiasm for the excellent seven-point program of the URW.

made to labor in the last elections. Those elected by the PAC, he said, "have given as much assistance to us as a man with two broken arms and legs." Unemployment and a new war threaten us, said he, and we must press for "vigorous political action."

LABOR PARTY ISSUE
That they have not yet learned this lesson was evident in the discussion on the resolution on political action. The Resolutions Committee reported out a brief resolution of only five lines calling for a full-time director of political activities.

weak conclusion did not correspond to the devastating attacks on Truman and on the so-called friends of labor. "I believe," he said, "that what we really need is an independent Labor Party."

The most hotly debated question before the convention will be the question of U. S. Rubber Local 101. Twelve members of the local were expelled and 572 members fined as the aftermath of a work stoppage in 1944.

Political Physiology
"Declaring that General Motors did not 'cry unless they are being hurt,' the committee [UAW strike strike strategy committee - Ed.] told the rank and file that the company had been crying their eyes out, and 'every meeting proves that we are pinching their main nerve that leads from their pocketbooks to their tear ducts.'"

withdraw objection to local unions negotiating and agreeing to pay plans which provide for rewarding individuals for increased productive effort.

This is fancy language for the speed-up. GM wants the UAW to agree to the speed-up! Every auto worker knows what this means. There is incentive pay for increased production. Then comes the inevitable cut in rates, and an auto worker finds himself doing twice the work for the same meager pay.

BUSINESS MANAGER'S PRESS ACTION BY PAUL BERN

Police officials can drive a wedge through the few pickets that have been in front of General Motors plants, but not through the thousands that the union is now rallying. General Motors is really on a union-busting rampage but the thousands of auto workers who have simply left their machines and thereby closed down the largest manufacturing company in the world will not permit the busting of their union or the strike. Thousands will now be out in a fighting mood.

LABOR ACTION SUBS RECEIVED:
New York 13
Detroit 10
Philadelphia 8
New Jersey 7
Chicago 6
Los Angeles 4
Minnesota 3
Buffalo 3
Reading 3
Cleveland 2
Other States 3
Total 62

(Continued from page 1)
Unbleached muslin is palmed off as taffeta—at taffeta prices.
THE TEXTILE SCANDAL
But here is the pay-off on the textile scandal. While the Justice Department promises to go after the black marketeers in textiles, the government itself is holding a load of cotton. It owns 4,705,000 bales and has 2,000,000 more under loan.

be served by the capitalist government concerned with the "rights of private enterprise" and with maintaining unprecedented profits.
To control prices in the interest of the worker who produces the goods and of the housewife who needs the goods, something else is required. LABOR ACTION and the WORKERS PARTY have consistently called for the formation of price-control committees of these very workers and housewives.

LABOR ACTION will be out too. We have covered all aspects of this most important strike, analyzing, supporting and constructively criticizing to strengthen unionism. A VICTORY IN THIS STRIKE IS A VICTORY FOR ALL WORKERS.
We ask all our agents to be out giving full support to this struggle of the auto workers, distributing papers and OBTAINING SUBSCRIPTIONS.

The Special Offer for The New International is being extended for one month, to February 1.
One year at only \$1.50.
One year and a copy of the new book, "The Fight for Socialism," at only \$2.50.
"The Fight for Socialism," a book on socialism and labor, written by Max Shachtman, editor of The New International, will soon be off the press.

Out of this composite picture of the price situation, let us see where we can make rhyme or reason—rhyme or reason for the worker and for the housewife who are threatened with a further price squeeze.
There must, of course, be price control. Without it, the profit-just of private enterprise let loose in the present market, would result in stratospheric prices and ultimate catastrophic collapse. However, the OPA is like a kettle-cover that doesn't fit and lets the steam escape all around. Textile prices one hundred to two hundred percent above ceilings vividly demonstrate the point. Also demonstrating the point are Mr. Bowles' own figures showing that pre-tax profits of department and other stores in 1944 were 1324 percent above 1936-39, and that profits of all businesses have been the largest in history. The OPA has proved that the needs of the common people cannot

As Americans, we cannot afford to be very pious about the British. The rocket shells, the ammunition, the airplanes, even the uniforms on the Dutch soldiers, were made in the U.S.A. Right now, a battalion of Dutch marines trained in this country is en route to Java. The Allied army in Java, which consists of Dutch and British soldiers (aided by Japanese), will shortly consist of 150,000 men, according to newspaper estimates.
There is far more public protest in England, Australia and India over the barbarities being committed by the Allies in Indonesia than there is in the United States. The political immaturity of the American labor movement and the weakness which

LEFT JABS By SHAW

The auto workers and other strikers throughout the land have made an extremely fair proposition to the corporations. "You say you can't afford to pay the increased wages that we ask. Very well, then. Show us your books. We have no desire to put you out of business (yet). If your profit and loss statement shows that you can't increase our wages, we won't ask for it (today)."

Veterans in GM Strike Lose G.I. Bill Benefits
The bosses use every device in the books to crush the militancy of the working class. The government (that is, the political agents of the bosses) does not even pretend impartiality in labor-management conflicts. The lesson is obvious. Labor must take political power. It must organize its own political party, a Labor Party, absolutely independent of the boss parties.

The recent elections in Austria, where the Stalinists almost won NO seats in the Parliament, is a hopeful sign of the growth in intelligence of the electorate. Unfortunately, this expression of sentiment is as yet formless and without clear direction. Thus the Conservative Party was the chief beneficiary. Again and again history shows us the need of a revolutionary party as the VANGUARD of the working class, channelizing the discontent in the proper direction.

Open your books, you self-confessed bankrupts and corruptors of human dignity! And if you can't pay us those increases and still stay in business, then get out! We'll show you that the working class can run your businesses without you and your herds of parasitical coupon clippers!

The Palestine police force, which is doing such an excellent democratic job of shooting down Jews for the heinous crime of trying to find a place of refuge, is recruiting Arab youth for its forces. The longer the British can foment disunity between the Arabs and Jews, the longer they can preserve their imperialist position in the Near East. The crying need is for Arab-Jewish unity on the basis of militant opposition to Britain, national independence, free and unrestricted immigration.

We-Do-Not-Desire-an-Inch-Of-Foreign-Soil Department
Russian occupation troops have refused to allow Iranian troops to reinforce besieged garrisons in the north of that country, where a sudden desire for "cultural autonomy" afflicted great numbers of people simultaneously. Stalin is doing it in oil, too.

Among other "reforms" instituted in Stalinist-controlled Poland is the piecework system of pay, something that all progressive labor unions have fought against for years.

The editor of an Army newspaper was "busted" recently for criticizing the slowness of demobilization and the use of Liberty ships for Japanese prisoners, instead of for transporting them home. The charges were... distribution of "seditious and inflammatory matter."

Having recently acquired a refrigerator, the Missus and I were the recipients of the epithet "filthy rich" from a friend. In my usual learned Marxist manner, I asked the friend to define for me what constituted being wealthy. "Being wealthy for a worker means having to borrow very little money in order to make ends meet." Say it again, brother, say it again!

The Indonesian Lidice --

(Continued from page 1)
And, in addition to reprisals against the village of Bekaszi, which was burned with gasoline torches, another village was bombed from the air after the civilian population was given two minutes' notice to clear out. Trucks escaping the village were machine-gunned by British soldiers. No, the British have nothing to learn from the Nazis!

results from not having a political instrument of its own is nowhere more revealed than in the labor movement's failure to take strong action on an event of such world-shaking importance. It must be emphasized over and over again that the magnificent fight of the Indonesian nationalists is a progressive one. They

are fighting for the democratic right of self-government, a right promised in that forgotten Allied document, the Atlantic Charter.
Remember Bekaszi!
Hands off Indonesia!
Three hundred and fifty years of slavery under Dutch masters are enough!

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This Is to Remind You to Spend
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LOS ANGELES FORUM:
"How to Fight Native Fascism"
Lessons of the Campaign Against Smith
SPEAKER: HAL DRAPER
ORGANIZER, WORKERS PARTY
Friday, January 4th at 8:00 P.M.
Embassy Auditorium
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843 Grand

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Editorials

Nationalize Big Business!

The labor movement has not fully recovered from the shock it received when President Truman proposed, ten days or more after the workers had taken to the picket lines, the establishment of a fact-finding commission to determine the issues in the General Motors strike. The union leaders rose as one man to reject the President's proposal which was coupled with a request that the auto workers, without any guarantees whatever, should return to their jobs.

What explains this solidarity of the labor movement? Did it arise only because the President's proposal, coming after a long period of negotiations between the union and GM, with all the facts made public already, was an obvious ruse directed against a union fighting for the security of its workers? Did it arise only because the President's action revealed an unmistakable support to industry against the workers? Such things have happened before and the labor movement did not always close its ranks in struggle.

No, the labor movement recognizes that this time the President has made proposals which imperil the labor movement in a period when the whole issue of the existence of unionism and the security of the working class is involved.

The people of the country face grave problems in this post-war period, a period marked by the increasing power and wealth of the monopolistic ruling class, fattened up by excessive war profits. The labor leaders see that in this post-war period the workers and the overwhelming mass of people in the country are confronted with the need of struggle to win a living wage and security against a well-organized capitalist class which resists fiercely any encroachments on its profits. And when the Administration acts as it does, it merely adds to the evidence that it is a government of, for and by big business.

Two Steps Backward

It didn't take very long before the auto-workers learned that the proposals for "company security" given to the Ford Company by Richard Leonard, UAW chief in charge of the Ford division, would become the program of every automobile company now engaged in a wage fight with the union. Leonard's proposals, endorsed by every international officer of the UAW, including Reuther, were a stab in the back of the GM strikers who are carrying on a brilliant struggle against one of the biggest and wealthiest corporations in the world.

The Ford Motor Company replied to Leonard by saying that his company union proposals were indeed interesting but did not go far enough. They believe that if a union leadership is willing to cut off the right arm of its organization, it might as well give the left one too.

General Motors was quick to pick up the lead given it by Leonard's program of betrayal. GM not only demands company security, but wants to return to the good old open shop conditions which would put it in an excellent position to smash the union at a more opportune moment.

R. J. Thomas and the Labor Party

R. J. Thomas, president of the UAW, after desperate trying, hit the front pages again. This time he released a letter sent to Prime Minister Attlee requesting the British Labor Government to intervene in behalf of the GM strikers because it is a large stockholder in the corporation. Thomas asked: How can it refuse? Isn't it a Labor Government?

As was expected, Attlee, through his appointed representatives, replied that the government did not own the stock but because of wartime conditions held it for private British investors (see "Mass Ac-

tion" on page 2 of this issue). We shall return to this theme at another time.

There is an interesting lesson contained in what Thomas undoubtedly regarded as a clever maneuver. If a labor government in a foreign country can be expected to aid a strike of workers in the United States, what could not a labor government here do for the workers? Obviously, if the workers of the United States had their own political party and had taken power, the GM strikers would be in a powerful position to win their just demands from

ness. Though they do not clearly see what course to adopt, the labor leaders nevertheless understand that it is necessary to fight Truman's policy, else the labor movement will succumb to the power of capital.

SOCIAL BANKRUPTCY OF BUSINESS
The big business interests which dominate the life of the country will not permit any substantial cutting into their enormous profits. That is why they resist the just wage demands of the unions. But, if they cannot operate their industries and still provide security and a living wage to the workers, it is obvious that they are social bankrupts and should be told to get out. That has been the logic of the position of the UAW in this struggle.

That is the position of the Workers Party and LABOR ACTION, which have declared that monopolistic corporate industry should be nationalized under workers' control to operate in the interests of the people and their well-being.

Yes, what is needed is this kind of nationalization which rests on the principle of carrying on production in the interests of the people and not profit. But it is obvious that this government of big business cannot and will not carry out such a nationalization of big industry. For that the workers of this country need a party of their own which would fight for government power and establish a workers' government, a government of, for and by those who work in order to live, to carry out such a program in the social interests of the overwhelming majority of the people.

The need for a Labor Party is, we believe, obvious. The need for a government of the workers is necessary. The labor movement, if it is to carry out its great tasks successfully, should put on its banners the slogans: For an Independent Labor Party! For a Government Of, By and For the Workers!

The latest convert to company security is that great "friend" of labor, Henry Kaiser, to whom R. J. Thomas went on bended knee pleading that he enter the automobile manufacturing business by reopening the Willow Run plant. The Kaiser-Frazer Corporation also demands its own kind of company security and is preparing "an interesting and novel" plan. We know what these "interesting and novel" plans are. They are designed to weaken the unions and to secure the profits of company owners and the high salaries of officials.

The stupidity and rank betrayal of the UAW leadership in the current situation is bad enough when it relates to the struggle of the UAW. But Leonard set a precedent for which the whole labor movement will have to pay. For the big monopolistic corporations, utilizing the Leonard proposals made to Ford, will confront every important international union in the country with the same kind of demand for company security. The way to stop this is for the rank and file of the UAW to reject any company security plan of its officials and then to get rid of an officialdom that acts like a collective office boy for the powerful auto barons.

tion" on page 2 of this issue). We shall return to this theme at another time.

(Continued in last column)

THE NUREMBERG TRIALS

By STEPHEN PARKER

Twenty-one German Nazis, leaders of German fascism who enslaved the German working class in 1933 and subsequently tried to carve a world empire for German imperialism, are on trial for their lives in Nuremberg. Their judges are their accusers: the representatives of the United States, Great Britain, France and Russia. The verdict is almost inevitable: the defendants will be found guilty and sentenced to death.

Thus the brutal apostles of fascism will meet their well deserved deaths. Never was the working class confronted with a more capable and better organized enemy. The European earth is literally strewn with the bones of the enemies of the "New Order," who were sadistically destroyed because they stood in the path of National-Socialist power.

Six million helpless Jews were destroyed by this brown fascist plague. The German working class was ruthlessly crushed, their organizations were smashed and their perspectives were warped for perhaps years to come.

Millions of European slaves were conscripted to work in their war factories.

Everywhere the Nazi heritage is seen: desolation and suffering, horror and desolation.

THE TRAGIC ASPECT
Nuremberg is a tragedy of world-wide dimensions. The first part of the tragedy rests in this: the victims of Nazism are not the judges of it at this trial. Where are the representatives of the German working class? Where are the remnants of the Jews? Where are the slave laborers? Why are they not trying their Nazi enemies?

In their stead are the prosecutors of the victorious Allied alliance. Had they lost the war perhaps they would now be occupying the prisoners' dock and the Nazis sitting on the tribunal. But the real reason that the Nazis are being tried are twofold. The first reason is that they had the impudence to try to wrest an empire for Germany that the Allies had appropriated for themselves. The second reason is that they lost the war.

That is the crime of the Nazis. But in the entire structure of law there is no place where the waging of war is labeled as a crime. For capitalist powers constantly revert to the use of war, always in the interest of legitimate self-defense, of course. To hear each imperialist power speak one would think that each war that they were involved in was always a "defensive" war. The country they war against is always the "aggressor."

This is a convenient device which is later ratified by treaty. After the First World War the Allied powers ruled the world. They made this legitimate "outlawing war." This meant that any attempt by one of the defeated imperialist powers to re-allocate the world could be called a war of aggression. If the victorious powers should then become involved in a war, they would indeed be in the

position of waging a defensive war, defending their ill-gotten booty of the preceding war.

No, for the imperialist powers, war is not a crime. It is only a crime when their enemies resort to it. For even on the very days that the trial at Nuremberg takes place the Allied countries themselves wage war, only this time it is a war for "civilization," for "law and order," for "democracy."

Even as the trial takes place, the British show how seriously they take the "outlawing of war" by using tanks and planes against the helpless Indonesians. By what stretch of what lord's imagination are the British waging a legitimate war of defense in Java?

And the French troops are defending what parcel of French soil when they trample on the independence aspirations of the Indo-Chinese?

And how do the Americans "defend" Kansas City by having the marines fight in China?

And what are the Russians defending when they loot and pillage and deprive the inhabitants of the countries that they occupy of their basic liberties?

NEW CONCEPT OF LAW
This new conception of international law, which makes it a crime when the enemy does what is perfectly permissible for you to do, is a heavy factor in the indictments, which consist of four counts.

It covers part of Count One, which is called "The Common Plan or Conspiracy." And it covers all of Count Two of the indictment, which is called "Crimes Against the Peace." Here are detailed the many peace treaties the Germans violated. They include the Treaty of Versailles, the imperialist peace concluded at the termination of the First World War; the Treaty of Locarno and the Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact, among others.

As has already been pointed out, these were treaties imposed by the imperialist powers who won the First World War, to maintain the status quo and their imperialist domination of the world.

The Nazis are not only being tried for waging an aggressive war, though this from the imperialist viewpoint is their great crime, but also for their crimes against humanity. Their crimes against humanity include not only the war atrocities of the Nazis, but a large section of the indictment is devoted to their crimes against the German people.

The indictment thoroughly outlines these crimes. Included are the brutal discrimination against the German Jews, the suppression of all political opposition, the destruction of the free trade unions and the elimination of all democratic rights. The indictment rightly points out that this was done to prepare Germany for war. It even points to the suppression of pacifism for this purpose.

Why are these things said only for the political purposes of a trial and

ignored by the imperialist propagandists on all other occasions? How does this jibe with the incessant chauvinistic campaign conducted against the guilt of the German people?

And what about the crimes committed against the peoples of their own countries and possessions by the prosecuting countries? The Nazis alone did not have a monopoly on concentration camps, as the inhabitants of Russia, India and many other countries know from experience.

Let all who commit these crimes be punished.

THE MEANING OF "ORDERS"
There is another very interesting aspect to the trial and that is the question of individual guilt and individual responsibility. The imperialist ruling class conception of armies is the unquestioned obedience to discipline. Orders are always to be obeyed; never are they to be questioned. This discipline is the cornerstone of the functioning of armies.

In these trials the representatives of the German armies are being tried. Their defense is that it is not the function of a general or anybody else to question the orders that come from the state. They say that if they did, armies as a homogenous entity would cease to exist and in their stead would rule the "undisciplined rabble."

Since all armies have the same conception, it is not accidental that the organs of the militarists in other countries have protested the inclusion of the German military leaders in the trial. The Army and Navy Journal, for example, has protested that it will now be impossible for a gentleman to embark upon a military career.

The reasons are easy to surmise. If a general can refuse to administer an order given to him from above, then why can't a colonel do the same? And if it is proper for a colonel to doubt, then why not a lieutenant? And going down the scale, why not an enlisted man? If this conception is upheld, protest the militarists, how will they ever be able to wage another war, when each execution of each order becomes a matter for each individual to decide?

The capitalist class is making a dangerous situation for itself. General Eisenhower was asked whether an American soldier under this conception should have the right to refuse to obey an order which he felt to be a moral crime. His only reply was that not one American soldier in a hundred thousand could be found to do what the German soldiers did. Then, if that is so, it is a problem for each individual soldier to decide, but of course Eisenhower could never agree to that. What the "leaders of society" do not understand, or if they do, keep silent about, is that the rank and file soldier is subjected to the morality of imperialist society in a most intense degree during war. The responsibility for "war crimes" rests not on the head of the rank and file soldier, but on the heads of the political leaders and their military subordinates, the general staffs and the officer caste.

FRENCH COMMUNISTS JOIN 4TH INTERNAT'L

(From the British Socialist Appeal)
In the Isère Department (Grenoble), three prominent former members of the Communist Party, disgusted by the opportunist policies of Stalinism, have issued a statement giving their reasons for joining the P.C.I. and the Fourth International.

Jean Raffin-Dugens entered the Socialist Party in 1898. A teacher, he was persecuted for his political ideas and deported to a small village in the Isère. Elected to Parliament in 1910, he with two other Socialist deputies alone voted against the war credits. During the war, he adopted an internationalist position and was with Lenin at the Kienthal Conference. In 1920 he founded the Communist Party in the Isère, leading the majority of the Socialist Party into the C.P. During the occupation, he disapproved of the chauvinist policy of the C.P., and at the time of the liberation he refused to stand for the municipal elections together with reactionary elements of the Resistance movement. After 47 years of militant political activity, he found himself expelled from the C.P. He has now joined the P.C.I. and stood as a Fourth International candidate in the recent elections.

Horace Martin, a railway worker, came to the Socialist Party in 1895 and joined its Communist fraction as early as 1918. A militant trade union leader, he was active in the underground C.P. during the whole period of the 1939-45 war. Unable to subscribe any longer to the C.P. policy of capitulation, he voluntarily resigned from the C.P. and enters the

Charles Martel, a typographer, joined the Socialist Party in 1913 and adopted a revolutionary internationalist attitude from the very beginning of the 1914-18 war. At the front, he organized actions of fraternization between French and German soldiers and published several clandestine papers opposing the war. After the war, he was one of the foundation members of the C.P. in the Isère. He specialized in peasant problems, and as such visited the kolkhozes in the U.S.S.R. He was struck there by the inequality in the conditions of the leaders and the workers, and by the arrogant manner of life of the bureaucracy. On his return he was expelled from the C.P. on account of his criticism of the U.S.S.R. and of the political line adopted by the C.P. in Germany. He has now joined the P.C.I.

In their statement, these comrades of the "Old Guard" give their reasons for keeping up hope: "In face of the capitulation of the Communist Party (amongst whose foundation members were are proud to be reckoned), a new revolutionary party, the Internationalist Communist Party (P.C.I.), French section of the Fourth International, is taking up Lenin's tradition of internationalism and class struggle, and every day sees its influence growing among the masses." And they conclude by an appeal to the younger generation: "It is to you, comrades, that we wish to speak. We are old and some of us will not see the victory of the proletariat. But this victory is certain. We appeal to you to keep courage, remain steadfastly in the battle, and to join the Internationalist Communist Party, which is today the only revolutionary party, the only party which fights for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat by a régime of soviets."

French section of the Fourth International after 50 years of political activity.

French section of the Fourth International after 50 years of political activity.

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OFF LIMITS
By James M. Fenwick

PART I
THE BRUTALIZATION OF THE AMERICAN SOLDIER
Early last September, I, along with 450 other men, left northern Bavaria for eventual redeployment home. Bavaria is hauntingly beautiful, but now most of it is an indescribably complete and depressing ruin. Everywhere wander children, old men and women, and young, mutilated Wehrmacht veterans, picking their way through the rubble, trying somehow to live.

On one occasion we stopped beside a freight train loaded with displaced persons. We all got out of our freight cars to stretch. Standing on the loading platform beside a pitiful heap of personal belongings was a young woman. One of the men of our unit walked up to her, coolly lifted her dress over her head, and slowly inspected her as if she were a slave on the block.

The woman stood there in her filthy underclothing, afraid to move or object, torn with rage, tears and shame. Only my buddy and I protested. "Put that woman's dress down!"

The soldier turned to us, still holding up the dress, spit casually and said: "What the hell's it to you?"
Yes, yes... what was it to us?

THE WAR HAS DEBASED ALL HUMAN VALUES
That little incident defines very well the plight of millions of people in Europe today. Certainly at no time within the memory of living man has the value of human life sunk so low. And it demonstrates very well, also, the brutalization which has taken place of an unfortunately large number of American troops in Europe.

It is a little surprising, even for a class-conscious veteran, to return home and find how little actual knowledge exists on the conduct of the American soldier in Europe. And it is equally surprising, when stories are printed in such magazines as Life or even Politics, to find how cautiously the argumentation is advanced and how carefully the documentation is adduced in support of the facts.

For there is not a GI who was in combat in Europe who cannot tell scores of stories which are so vile that many soldiers endowed with a sense of human decency have come to feel that mankind is essentially bestial and irredeemable. The French and Belgian press have been full of denunciations of American soldiers—a harbinger of a full-scale political revolt against American imperialism's domination of Europe. In Germany, where the Americans have behaved many times worse, the Germans are in no position to protest.

"YOU ARE WORSE THAN THE GERMANS!"
A French professor in Paris who had formerly been a liaison officer with the British, who had lived in both the United States and England, and who bitterly disliked the Germans, once told a group of us that in their personal relations with the French the Germans were models of correctness compared with the Americans. A Belgian Trotskyist in a small mining town who can by no means be accused of chauvinism, summed up the situation by saying: "The American soldiers treat us like conquerors, not like liberators."

Yet what soldier who was there can forget those bright summer days of late August and early September, 1944, when it almost seemed that the war had meaning? Everywhere were crude signs hung across the houses: "Thanks to our Liberators!" "Long Live the Americans!" Everywhere crowds thronged the streets, offering tomatoes, pears, apples, cognac, wine, mint drinks and bread. Everyone was laughing, clambering up on the vehicles and kissing the Americans, even while shots were still echoing in the streets. Children were held up to touch the fabulous Americans as they passed by. The FFI (French Forces of the Interior) appeared in the open, proudly wearing their tricolor brassards. The long night was over. The Hitler empire, which was to endure for a thousand years, was falling to the ground in dust.

Hardly a year later one of the common jokes current in Paris was, "The Americans liberated us from the Germans. Now who'll liberate us from the Americans?"

What happened in the interim?
R. J. Thomas--
(Continued from second column)

the profiteers who run the GM corporation.
It may be objected by some that since Attlee did not intervene, why should an American Labor Government behave any differently? Wouldn't it pursue the same reactionary course as the British Labor Party? Not necessarily. U. S. labor has the opportunity to enforce its labor party to adopt a much more militant program than the British. And we think that it would do precisely this, if only for the reason that an American labor party would be born in an epoch of sharp struggle, whereas the British has had several, decades to ossify. We believe that the social crisis of capitalism is such that the labor party would take a radical path, indeed. But R. J. Thomas is a little impudent. He has yet to come out for the principle of a labor party.

The current struggle of American labor for a living wage shows how a capitalist administration can set back the labor movement. In order to win its struggle on the economic front, labor must wage a struggle on the political front. That is, it must build an independent labor party.

ATOMIC ENERGY: for Barbarism or Socialism?

A SERIES BY THE EDITORS OF LABOR ACTION

PART V

"Modern bourgeois [capitalist-Ed] society, with its relations of production, of exchange and of property, a society that has conjured up such gigantic means of production and of exchange, is like the sorcerer who is no longer able to control the powers of the nether world whom he has called up by his spells." *Communist Manifesto*, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, 1848.

Socialism was a necessity long before the creation of the atomic bomb and the promise of a vast improvement in technology that is inherent in atomic energy. In the Atomic Age, socialism is incalculably more necessary because the only alternative under capitalism is death or barbarism for the entire population of our planet.

While capitalism has provided the trained workers and the technology, i.e., the machines, plants and techniques which are necessary for a socialist reorganization of society, it long ago ceased to provide for the simple wants and needs of the plain people.

We want peace, instead of bloodshed and destruction. We want security and jobs, instead of insecurity and joblessness. We want decent homes for our families and good and plentiful schools for our children. We want comfort and prosperity, instead of slums, child labor, low wages, unemployment and starvation. We want democracy and freedom instead of totalitarianism, bureaucracy and racial and religious conflict.

But in our modern civilization, with its huge industries, intricate machines and abundant natural resources, capitalism is unable to provide us with these elementary wants. It is unable to avoid periodic world wars. It is unable to give independence and freedom to the colonial areas of the world, but dooms them to serfdom and poverty.

Under this system of capitalism, or "free enterprise," a handful of monopolists control the wealth and power of the country. They own industry, banking, mining, transportation. They own our jobs. They own the Congress and the President because they finance the big business parties which put these men into office. They send our young men to war to protect their vested interests. They have the power of life and death over all of us.

THE INSANITY OF CAPITALISM

The insanity of this system of monopoly capitalism is that it creates inequality, poverty and unemployment and all the crises of society because it produces too much! Not, to be sure, in relation to human needs, but in relation to the market. While the monopoly capitalists are united against the workers and their political and economic organizations, they are in competition against each other and against their capitalist counterparts abroad. They all try to outproduce and outsell each other on the market because the mainspring of capitalist production is profit, not human needs.

Consequently, a clothing manufacturer, instead of taking a poll of the number of people who need clothes, produces as much as he thinks he can sell at a profit. So does his rival. The market becomes glutted, because there are more clothes

produced than the consumers can buy—not, of course, more than they need.

In addition, the producer takes his profit on his clothes out of the hides of his employees; the workers are not able to buy back what they have produced in the clothing factories. This is one of the important aspects of the capitalist crises of over-production. The clothing manufacturers also compete with each other. Their motives are not the needs of the harassed housewife or the struggling worker but: how much profit can we make?

What happened in 1929 is the direct result of this capitalist method of production. The "free enterprise" system broke down. The "enterprisers" sat back and rested on their accumulated profits since they were unable to make any more and the majority of the population was left "free" to starve or sell apples to each other.

Under Roosevelt's New Deal, the government stepped in to bail out the capitalists who could not get industry going. Industrialists were paid by the government for not producing. People were hungry while big and little farmers were paid to plow under wheat and corn, and to destroy steers, hogs, sheep, etc. People needed clothing while manufacturers were paid to destroy cotton and wool. Yet in January, 1939, there were still 12 million unemployed workers in the United States.

INTERNATIONAL CAPITALISM AND WAR

In our present-day United States capitalism, monopoly in finance, industry and agriculture controls economic life. The bigger, stronger and richer enterprises have swallowed up the weaker and smaller. The monopolists decide on production, profits, prices and wages, just as they dominate the economy of the country and decide the fate of tens of millions. While this monopolization of economy reduces competition at home, it intensifies competition on an international scale where giant trusts and combines engage in fierce struggle on the world market. Since all of the world is divided up into national states with national barriers or colonial countries subject to their imperialist masters, the inevitable result of this great competitive struggle among the nations is war. It was this competition among nations which led to both world wars with a couple dozen minor wars between them. This fact alone indicts capitalism as the great obstacle to human progress.

After the second world war began, capitalism performed a "miracle." Unemployment came to an end. Everybody was put to work. Every factory was going full blast. The government spent twenty billion dollars in four years to enlarge old plants and build new ones. But all of this was done for homes for the people to live in, decent clothes to wear, schools for our children or medical facilities. It was done to produce bullets, bombs, tanks, planes, battleships, artillery, and finally the atomic bomb.

And what are the results of this war we were told was fought for freedom from want, freedom from fear, freedom of speech and freedom of religion; for the Atlantic Charter with its declaration of self-government for every country; for the "One World" envisaged by Wendell Willkie, and for

the "Century of the Common Man" promised by Henry Wallace?

There are 60 million military casualties, a figure equal to the combined populations of Belgium, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, The Netherlands, Greece, Norway, Switzerland and Sweden! There are over \$1,000,000,000 (yes, one trillion dollars) in war costs, that is, an expenditure of resources, machinery and human science used to maim, kill, torture and destroy—which equals a \$5,000 home for almost every family on the entire globe, including the multi-million populations of the Orient which have not yet in their majority risen to the level of city slum-dwellers.

These bald figures do not take into account the cost of the war in terms of the destruction of formerly existing wealth and living standards which has taken place in Europe because these costs cannot be reckoned. You cannot chart the physical and spiritual waste of Europeans living in latter-day barbarism. They dwell in caves, dugouts or without shelter. They starve or they pillage. They are wracked by disease. They have exchanged the concentration camp for the slave labor camp. This is the end of World War II.

TOWARD A COMPLETE CHAOS

All this was done without the atomic bomb. That is why we say socialism was a necessity long before the development of atomic energy. Now that we are in the Atomic Age, as long as capitalism endures, the crises of capitalism will only be accentuated. There will be bigger and "better" weapons of destruction.

During the decline of capitalism, with every new discovery which improved the productive technique of capitalism and made possible a saving of human labor and a refinement of the product, the benefits have not been distributed to mankind. The more advanced become the tools of our society, the more wealth becomes polarized at one end, and poverty at the other. We see the phenomenon of poverty in the midst of plenty. It is a little more difficult for American workers to understand this than workers in other countries, because we live in the capitalist colossus of the world. But on a world scale capitalism has reduced the standard of living and decreased the freedom of mankind. It has produced privation and totalitarianism in most of the world. The industrial application of atomic energy can only accelerate this worldwide process of decline. It will continue to make the rich richer, and the poor poorer. It will continue to divert more and more production into armaments production, to protect the monopoly of wealth by the few.

How can we trust this system of capitalism which has produced two world wars in a single generation and which has been unable to solve the simple problem of security for the masses of the people, to develop atomic industrial power for the benefit of mankind? It has been suggested that the formulae be turned over to the Du Ponts in this country for industrial application. To the Du Ponts, monopolists who determined the corporation's policy in the current General Motors' strike, who have avowed they can't afford to pay 300,000 workers a living wage!

But, then, say some, the United Nations Organization may take over atomic power, since it is so destructive of even capitalist interests, and "outlaw" or "control" atomic energy. The UNO, however, is composed merely of the governmental representatives of the capitalist nations, plus the equally exploitive, although not capitalist, representatives of Russia. The UNO is not even a democratic organization of the nations represented. It is dominated by the Big Three—England, the United States and Russia—who are themselves locked in fierce struggle on who shall dominate the world. These victor powers are now engaged in the enslavement of the defeated and small powers. Witness the British in Indonesia and Indo-China. (It is not merely the Czechs who had their Lidice at the hands of German conquerors.) Witness the Russians in Iran and most of eastern Europe. Witness the United States in Germany in concert with her allies, or the way she links in the atrocities of her partners.

Capitalism produces more and more for destruction. It has not been able to use its vast technical and material resources for constructive purposes. It is truly the sorcerer in our quotation from Marx and Engels at the beginning of this section, unable to control the powers it has conjured up. If Marx and Engels saw this in 1848, it is all the more true in a period of the production of atomic energy. It is too much for capitalism to handle. Socialism only becomes doubly necessary as we observe how capitalism may destroy the whole of civilization in its efforts to control and utilize atomic energy.

The way in which the atomic project was developed gives us a clue as to how socialism can organize atomic and all other production for the benefit of humanity. The government furnished two billion dollars for its secret project. It corralled scientists from all over the world. With this "internationalized" science, cooperative labor, unlimited resources, and without the object of profits as the central aim of the project, it produced the atomic bomb. This was done through government planning.

Even prior to the bomb development, the government stepped in to organize production for war. It told business what to produce and how much. It furnished the orders. It guaranteed the profits. It made the labor available. It afforded a priority system to make materials available. War production was government-planned.

The capitalist government did all of this planning for bloody and violent war, for the taking of human lives, for destruction.

If planning of production and full employment is possible in war, why is it not possible in peace?

It is, but only by socialist planning. We have seen how the capitalist government has already released its wartime plans and controls with the end of the war. We know it was unwilling to organize and plan production to assure full employment during the depression.

The scientists recommended a world society as an alternative to world destruction by atomic weapons. In proposing this, they recognized, although incompletely, the socialist solution to capitalist insecurity and barbarism.

The Tasks Before the Shipbuilders' Union Convention

For some time now, Communist Party dissatisfaction with the Shipbuilders' Union national leadership they helped elect, has been whispered about among those in the know in the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipworkers of America, CIO.

With the union's annual convention scheduled to open in Atlantic City on January 7, the cleavage was acknowledged openly when information about the November caucus at the Hotel McAlpin in New York City leaked out.

The caucus was organized by leaders of the Communist Party's work within the union. Their guns were aimed chiefly at Vice-President Grogan, National Organizational Director Gallagher and Secretary Ross Blood. Less openly, Communist leaders said that "Green would go too, unless he went along."

While a majority of those attending the caucus were not Communists, some being fellow travelers and others just interested in learning what was up, there was little doubt as to who organized the meeting.

Lou Kaplan, Stalinist whip at last year's convention, was in the saddle and Walter McManamon, Nat Levin and Mike Shapiro were other prominent IUMSWA figures active in the caucus leadership.

CP IN ACTION

To understand the lay of the land, it is necessary to review briefly some of the events at last year's ship convention. At that time, party-liners like Kaplan from Local 16, Goodwin from Local 9, a group from Local 43 and a few others scattered about, managed to organize a fairly smooth working caucus that agreed on a slate which contained a minority of actual CPers, but many whom the CP thought would be pliable stooges.

On the question of program for the union, both CPers and non-CPers were in complete agreement. They were for retention of the no-strike pledge; for continued support to the War Labor Board, and opposed to the

formation of an Independent Labor Party.

The Stalinists, however, distinguished themselves by being more vehement in their defense of this program, and in the violence of their attitude towards those who disagreed with the program of appeasement.

All the more interesting therefore, is the Communists' attempt at this time to blame the union's weakened position and its failure to organize more than 240,000 of the nation's war-time million and a quarter shipyard workers, on the national administration.

Now, with dissatisfaction rampant among those shipyard workers who haven't been laid off yet, the Stalinists are trying to escape responsibility for the destructive "do nothing" program they so ardently fought for.

They have gone so far in this attempt as to issue a four-page, unsigned paper by the thousands, charging that the group in the National Office is destroying the union. The paper was published in Baltimore and mailed all over the country. General Executive Board member, McManamon, a party-liner, is up on charges over this.

One quotation from last year's convention transcript is enough to show how these people acted. On page 88 of the transcript, delegate Smorodin, CP wheel horse at Local 1 says, "I say that the no-strike pledge is a better, a newer and a more powerful weapon than our strike weapon ever was."

And if you had the nerve to disagree with Smorodin's dishing out of the CP line, hetchet men like Walter McManamon, GEB member from Local 43, would run you out of the Union.

In Baltimore's big Bethlehem Yard, McManamon and the Party boys were riding high. In membership meetings and in the Local 43 Yardsbird, McManamon attacked with violence every union member or steward who dared call for some form of opposition to the union-busting policies of the Bethlehem Corporation. "Agents of Hitler, super-militants and Jap tools," McManamon and his buddies screamed.

And today they are saying "Look how Local 43 was destroyed." They

tell the truth for once. All hell was knocked out of this one giant local; but they shouldn't be so bashful. They can claim a major share of the credit for this job.

LINE IS CHANGING

Now the Party line is changing. The interests of Russia call for militancy. And as usual, without regard for the interests of the union or the working class or without a by-your-leave to their position of yesterday, they switch overnight. From beggars to fighters and from fighters to beggars if necessary or when the "call" comes from the party bosses.

For honest union men, especially those who always recognized the need for fighting, progressive policies, it is important that they be thoroughly familiar with these things and with the dishonest part played by the Stalinists in the labor movement.

It is especially important, because at certain periods the needs of Russia's foreign policy resulting from sharpened Big Three relations may lead to a union policy here which could be militant in order to embarrass the Administration.

This might be such a time. Recognizing the dissatisfaction within broad sections of the union, and the rising

tide of progressivism, the CP is now trying to give leadership and direction to this development.

GENEROUS JOHNNY GREEN

But what about the national Administration? What have they been doing? There is no better way to dig into this than to quote from a speech made by President Green at the shipbuilding conference at Colorado Springs on December 4, 1945. Said Green:

"The money saved for the U. S. Government was estimated for the year of 1942 alone by the Union as follows: Voluntary acceptance of the abolition of premium calendar days, \$70,000,000.

"Acceptance of compromise of the change in basic dates due under the cost of living formulas of the four zone agreements, \$135,000,000.

"Acceptance of less than the cost of living wage adjustments, \$400,000,000. Total \$605,000,000.

"This sum represented what the workers were deprived of in 1942, by reason of the failure of the attempts to stabilize the cost of living. By this time it has amounted to well over a billion and a half dollars."

That is an exact quotation as printed in the December 10 Shipyard

Worker. Green goes on to admit that he gave away this billion and a half of shipyard workers' money, solely on the basis of President Roosevelt's promise that the cost of living would be stabilized.

Green also tells in his speech that the union had an escalator clause in their contracts that would have guaranteed wage increases if the cost of living went up but he voluntarily cancelled them out in return for a promise that was not kept.

BEGGING FOR CRUMBS

Even simple intelligence would indicate that retention of the escalator clause was the best guarantee possible against a cost of living rise. If the President succeeded in stabilizing prices, then the escalator clause wouldn't operate. But Green and his co-officers threw this out the window.

Now in pleading for a wage increase, Green admits these crimes against simple intelligence. He hopes to win sympathy from both industry and Government officials, who, having profited so handsomely, might give shipyard workers a small increase as a token of appreciation.

But at last reports, even this crumb might be denied the shipyard workers. The Shipyard Worker,

the union's national organ, ran glaring headlines telling the world that they would be the first union to get an across-the-boards wage increase. They were certain that after all they gave voluntarily to industry that the big boys wouldn't let them down. They had planned to come into the convention with their crumbs and by making a lot of noise, make the crumbs look like half a loaf.

But alas, those cruel shipyard owners have ganged up. They have left them high and dry. They might give the crumb, but they are making them sweat for it.

What a shameful position for a once powerful union. Beggars at the boss's table. That is John Green and his administration today. Green, the militant left wing Socialist who led a fighting bunch of New York Shipyard workers to victory over powerful industrial forces is today but a shell of that man, both physically and spiritually.

Today, with layoffs drastically reducing the membership from its peak of 240,000, the weak, appeasing policies, the incompetent leadership and its reliance on promises, have placed the union in an extremely bad position to do any fighting for its needs and rights.

MILITANT PROGRAM NEEDED

Ship employers now threaten that work will be shifted to any one of a number of non-union yards, if the boys don't like what they are given. And the threat carries weight because National Organizational Director Gallagher did about the worst job of organizing in the CIO, 240,000 out of over a million and a quarter shipyard workers. A pretty bad record!

But even great ability or genius couldn't have gotten anywhere with the program the administration called its own. Shipyard workers have to cut loose from all the appeasement and favor-seeking from politicians. They have to return to the fighting ways of the pre-war period.

To do this, a vigorous, militant program must be adopted. A real campaign to organize the unorganized must be put into motion. The union

should lead a fight for organization of a Labor Party. In a union whose leaders placed so much faith in the promises of Democratic Party politicians, one only has to look at the record, to see how fake were these promises. Yes, especially shipyard workers should know the need for their own political party. The union must also end its ties with the Government agencies.

Finally, the Union must return to the words of its preamble, "Rights are not won without struggle." It must stand on its own strength. And it must try and select leaders who can stand up on their own two legs—some have been stooping so long they may never be able to straighten up again—and fight for a progressive, hard-hitting program.

In this fight, progressives must be very careful. Their growing strength will make them subject to all kinds of overtures. The CP has already indicated support for a Labor Party and opposition to reliance on the Government agencies. They hope that this may lead to more than just programmatic agreement between them and the progressive support they need so badly.

Indications are that Green will run with Grogan, Blood and Gallagher. The latter is elected by the GEB.

Opponents to this group will come (unless nose-counting shows too little strength) from among Andy Reeder, President of Local 1; Bill Ramsey, President of Local 2; Mike Shapiro, a regional director; Miatco of Local 1 and a Local 16 man. Reeder and Ramsey are not Communists and Reeder has spoken out several times in favor of a Labor Party.

McManamon will of course be part of this group. The role of Philip Van Gelder, Secretary-Treasurer now returned from the army, isn't too clear. Van Gelder was generally classified as a "fellow traveler" in the past. What his views are today will be demonstrated by his activities at the convention.

The General Motors Strike in Chicago --

(Continued from page 1) packinghouse workers from winning their just demands for thirty per cent increases.

Each speaker except one carefully avoided even hinting at labor taking a step in the direction of supplementing the economic struggle by REAL political action—namely, the creation of an independent Labor Party out of the PAC, to be labor's own political arm. Brother Parks of the Packinghouse Workers Union suggested the formation of a third party, unfortunately failing to state what kind of party he wants. Yet the mere mention of a break with the two old-line parties brought down the

house in applause! In the past, labor has had some sad experience with certain third parties, primarily those which not only failed to base themselves firmly on the union movement but particularly because they lacked a real program for labor's independence.

Unfortunately, the committee on arrangements for this conference was completely controlled by unionists following the Communist (Stalinist) party line. This was shown further by many speakers who directed their fire against the Administration's imperialist policies in Europe and Asia. Yet all these same speakers who are at present making very militant speeches are the same men who all

during the war spoke for the Administration's anti-labor no-strike pledge policy at home and imperialist war policy abroad.

LABOR ACTION was distributed and very well received, many workers also buying copies of the latest Workers Party pamphlet, Security and a Living Wage. On seeing the fine reception LABOR ACTION received, the Stalinist ringleaders of the conference organized a squad which went around demanding of workers that they turn over LABOR ACTION to them without having read it. But in very few cases did they succeed in browbeating these unionists.