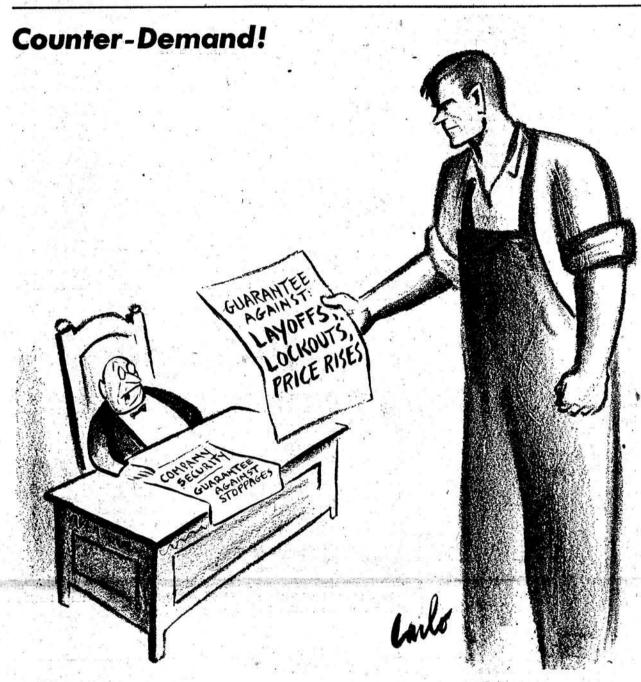
GREETINGS TO THE UAW CONVENTION: FORWARD TO LABOR POLITICAL ACTION!



Labor Action This Week --

is a special UAW issue. We have, as you can see, devoted the greatest part of the issue to greeting the UAW convention and discussing its problems. LABOR ACTION will have reporters at the convention. For an analytical report on the proceedings of the convention, don't miss-

Labor Action Next Week - -

which will be, as well, a sample of the EIGHT-PAGE LABOR ACTION. In addition to the reports on the UAW convention and other labor and world news in the regular section of the paper, the four-page magazine supplement will contain articles on the general labor scene, a page of international news and comment, educational features, articles on Spain and on U. S. imperialism, an analysis of Six Years of the Workers Party, a review of "Black Metropolis" and other interesting

DON'T MISS NEXT WEEK'S LABOR ACTION!

By DAVID COOLIDGE

The United Automobile Workers (CIO) will meet in national convention at Atlantic City from March 23 to March 30. This convention will convene hard on the ending of the General Motors strike and at the end of the general wave of strikes which have been going on for the past three months.

Undoubtedly all of the important aspects and problems connected with the strikes in the automobile industry will come before the convention. There was the matter of what the corporations call "company security"; there were the problems of wages, prices and the rise in the cost of living, arbitration, fact-finding boards, the intervention of the government and the demands of the unions in connection with wages, prices, profits and pro-

The most dramatic and far-reaching demand made by any union during the strike wave was the demand of the General Motors division of the UAW that the corporation open its books for union scrutiny in order that the union might investigate the corporation's claim that wages could not be advanced without an increase in the price of automobiles. This was in addition to

a demand for 30 cents an hour increase in wages. General Mo-

tors steadfastly refused to grant this demand, taking the position that corporation financial records are none of the union's business, that the books are not open even to the corporation stockholders, and that the union was trying to get "a finger in the ple."

The strike and the negotiations dragged on. The government entered with its conciliators. President Truman initiated the system of "factfinding" boards. These boards established a new wage formula which established wage increases for industrial workers generally of about 191/2

> In the matter of "company security," the UAW, under the leadership of Leonard, agreed to corporation protection clauses in the new Ford contract which were decisively rejected by the membership of Local 600 when submitted to a vote of that

> While the GM division of the UAW was struggling with GM for the 191/2 cents rise which the government had recommended, the Stalinist-led UER-MWA settled with General Motors for its GM workers for 181/2 cents without consulting with the UAW or without notifying the UAW that they were going to sign up.

> General Motors stood adamant against accepting the recommendation of the government that the GM workers be given a 191/2 cent increase. The corporation offered 181/2 and refused to budge from this figure. Finally the UAW proposed that the company agree to send the dispute to arbitration by an arbitrator to be appointed by the President. The company refused. A week or more later the UAW leadership accepted the corporation's offer of an increase of 181/2 cents an hour coupled with the few minor concessions.

ROLE OF LEADERS

These are the outstanding matters in connection with the procedure in the handling of the strike and the wage negotiations. There are other questions, however, which are of paramount importance in connection

(Continued on page 2)

Vote to Continue Strike

CHICAGO, March 17-By a tremendous majority, the members of Local 719, UAW - CIO, veted to maintain their picket lines around the Electro-Motive plant of the General Motors Corp. While voting overwhelmingly to accept the terms of the agreement recommended by the National GM Conference, the members of this militant local decided to stay out of the plant until General Motors comes across with an adequate local agreement. This after four months of lings. picket lines against the country's richest corporation!

After the recommendation of the executive board to refuse to accept the local agreement until it incor-

porated the position of the union on shift preference and the elimination of the merit spread in wage brackets, and after several militant speeches by rank and file members, the membership voted to stay out of the

By their action these UAW workers flung the charge that a strike settlement had been delayed by union politics right back into the teeth of General Motors and their paid hire-

The local union is faced with a real test now that the chips are down. Mass picket lines will have to be established to block any attempt at bringing in scabs. A thorough local

publicity job will have to be done to make the entire community aware of the issues involved, and the community's stake in a victory of the union. The local will have to insist that the International Executive Board give it some real financial as-

It is time that the top leaders of the CIO be put on the spot for not giving greater financial assistance to the GM strikers who spearheaded the attack against the corporations for the entire labor movement.

No one can deny that the tremendous display of fighting spirit and solidarity shown by the GM workers helped win gains for the rest of the labor movement. The national CIO has been remiss in its duty to the GM strikers who pointed the way to the future by linking the issues of prices, wages and profits. The rest of the labor movement can profit from this lesson. The least it can do is put the entire weight of all organized labor behind the fight of the locals that are still on the picket



R. J. THOMAS: CAUGHT IN UNDEMOCRATIC ACT

R. J. Thomas Pulls **Bureaucratic Trick**

DETROIT, Mar. 18 - A first-rate scandal involving R. J. Thomas, UAW-CIO president, in a brazen and bureaucratic maneuver to get votes at the coming UAW convention for his re-election, became known today following a meeting of Chrysler Local 7. Thomas' home local.

By JACK WILSON

DETROIT, Mar. 17-Ending of the

nation-wide General Motors strike

last week removed the last restrain-

ing force to the pent-up differences

in the UAW-CIO leadership over

policies. A bitter dispute involving

GM strike strategy and control of

the UAW flared wide open, with the

national convention beginning March

Spearheading the reckless cam-

paign to divide and confuse the auto

After the Detroit Free Press carried a story that six of the nine delegates from Chrysler had announced support for Walter Reuther, UAW director of the GM division, for president to replace Thomas, Thomas came to the union meeting and hurled wild charges that Reuther was another Homer Martin, and that he was trying to split the UAW. Thomas also denounced Reuther as a "factionalist" and a maneuverer!

Then a resolution with Thomas' approval was introduced by a Stalinist clique at the local meeting, which mandated the Chrysler delegates to . vote for Thomas!

Opposition speakers were cut off, a voice vote was taken and the resolution passed, according to a union man who left the meeting in disgust and who told this reporter the story.

The pay-off on this action is that the union meeting lacked a quorum and that the action was illegal! This was admitted by Tom Cunningham, union president and Thomas supporter, when questioned by Reuther supporters from the floor!

Cunningham and the Stalinist clique refused to permit a count of the members of the union present, knowing that it would prove conclusively what Cunningham admitted verbally, namely, that the meeting lacked a quorum!

workers and to discredit at any cost

Walter Reuther, UAW director of the

GM division, the Stalinist clique has

begun a major drive to gain controll-

The Stalinists are being aided by

the bloc into which they have maneu-

vered R. J. Thomas, union president,

and Philip Murray, CIO president,

who are supporting the wild and dan-

gerous charges which the Stalinists

are pumping into the ranks of the

ing influence in the UAW.

Even though this was true, Cunningham threatened the delegates, some of whom were present, with disciplinary action by the local union if they didn't follow the mandate of the resolution! One of the union delegates, a veteran, got up and told the packed meeting of Stalinists and Thomas supporters that he would vote according to his conscience.

The fraudulent character of this entire maneuver of the Thomas-Stalinist bloc is shown by the fact that the union delegates were elected on the basis of Reuther's program and for his candidacy as president. They were elected by over 2,000 votes apiece, yet a small meeting with less than 150 present tried to change the expressed will of the ranks in the

"And Thomas talks about democracy! He sat there watching the clique do its work!" said the union man to this reporter.

The unprincipled nature of this whole situation was also shown by the fact that Thomas attacked Reuther for once writing: "Yours for a Soviet America" and for talking so-

The source of this alliance between the Murray-Thomas wing of the top CIO leadership and the Stalinists is their joint responsibility for the dissatisfaction of the GM strikers over the isolation and prolongation of the strike, the failure to settle any major plant grievances and the retreat from the excellent original strike demands of the GM workers.

IAW Caucuses Dispute GM Strike Strategy

The sensitivity of Murray to his role in the whole strike wave revealed itself in his speech before the CIO executive board meeting yesterday in Washington. Murray heatedly denied a report that he had interceded with the Truman fact-finding board to urge them not to recommend more for the GM strikers than he had obtained for the steel workers, namely 181/2 cents an hour wage increase. Charles Wilson, GM official, had said as much in negotiations with the UAW leaders.

Fishing in troubled waters, the Stalinists have attributed the spreading of this story to the Reuther faction and have done everything possible to intensify the factional heat among the leaders of the CIO.

As a matter of fact, both Murray and the Stalinists know that the dissatisfaction and widespread criticism of Murray's role in the GM strike does not stem from any such company-inspired story. It was not taken very seriously by anyone. The chief criticism of Murray is the undenia-



WALTER REUTHER: SHOULD STICK TO GM PROGRAM

ble fact that his terms for settlement of the steel strike were a direct blow at the whole demands and fight of the GM strikers. His formula: "Higher wages, higher prices for the corporations," was the direct opposite of the GM strikers' demand for higher wages without an increase in

Murray likewise knows, just as R. J. Thomas knows, for he was in on the GM negotiations, that GM officials challenged the UAW negotiators to bring Murray to the conference table, because "Murray will settle for 181/2 cents, just like he did in steel." Murray is reasonable, Reuther is unreasonable, the GM officials chanted.

Nor can Murray explain away his silence on the GM strike in its last few weeks, his failure to come out strongly in support of their just demands. This policy lent support to the talk among auto workers that Murray was afraid for his prestige if Reuther got a better contract with GM than Murray got in the steel

There is another big question that remains unanswered yet about the GM strike. What was Murray's role

Workers Union covering 25,000 GM workers organized in the UE? This secret pact shocked the whole labor movement, coming as it did in the middle of the GM strike and carried out brazenly by the Stalinists. Even R. J. Thomas denounced it in blistering language.

in the secret deal made by the Sta-

linist leaders of the United Electrical

The Daily Worker, in defense of this deal, stated on Friday, March 15, that "UE leaders worked closely with Murray in line with general CIO strategy." It is also known that Lee Pressman, Murray's general counsel, was here the week that the UE signed the pact with GM officials, though UAW leaders did not know of his presence. Was Murray a partner in this secret deal, as the Daily Worker says? Auto workers want to know the answer.

The Murray-Thomas-Stalinist bloc is trying to evade these major issues or any real discussion of GM strike strategy, by asserting that Reuther was responsible for the prolongation of the strike. Thomas now claims the GM strike was called six

(Continued on page 2)

Aid Your Paper in Fund Drive!

By PAUL BERN

Organizer Local New York, WP

American Labor is on the march. But it has run into the snag of dependence on capitalist politicians, principally Truman. No, labor itself did not depend on Truman. It was either on the picket line or prepared to go on the picket line. Its union leadership, however, depended on Truman with the result that instead of meaningful wage increases, we have Truman's "Big Steal" formula and rising prices that are eating away our wage gains.

The UAW-General Motors program was a sure winner. Increase wages 30 per cent! Stop price rises! Open the books! Hundreds of thousands of working men were on the march to

ripped by Murray and those other union leaders who spent their time conferring with capitalist stooges in government, instead of with picket line captains.

Labor won on the picket line. But what it won, has been stolen in Washington through government-approved (and union leadership conceded) price boosts. Even in the UAW, which waged the longest and most dramatic strike, the leadership retreated before "fact-finding" boards and under government pressure instead of relying for victory on the GM program that had won millions to labor's cause.

You have been reading our analysis in these events in LABOR ACTION every week. This is only one of la-

win those demands, but they were bor's fights that we have been writing about. To cover all the problems of labor, international as well as domestic, we need more space.

> LABOR ACTION must keep going forward. For this we need an eightpage paper. And we are planning to start publication of this eight-pager on June 17. The extra four pages will appear as a specially planned and edited magazine section.

On April 1 we are going to publish a sample copy. Our readers will then see what we have in mind.

To establish a permanent eight page LABOR ACTION, the Worker Party has started a \$15,000 fund drive. Part of the fund will go t LABOR ACTION. .

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NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Forward to Independent Labor Political Action! --

with the GM strike. In the first place, it is necessary to emphasize that there was no solidarity of opinion among the UAW leadership or the CIO leadership concerning the issues of the strike, the demands or the way in which the strike should be conducted.

It seems clear that Reuther alone among the top leadership defended the demand for opening the books. Murray, Thomas and Addes certainly expressed no enthusiasm about pressing this demand on GM. There is good reason for believing that Murray was against it. It is reported that Murray took the position that such a demand would put GM on the spot and make it difficult for the corporation to retreat from its position that it could not grant a wage increase without price relief.

It is certain that the top leadership of the UAW was not functioning in harmony in relation to the uniform problems which confronted the automobile workers and which had provoked the strikes. They did not understand that not only the automobile manufacturers but the whole of large-scale capitalist industry was embarked on a campaign for weakening the unions, for holding wages at a minimum while they put pressure on THEIR government for an increase in prices.

These trade union leaders did not understand the significance and the import of the not too subtle demand of Ford for "company security." This is the best that can be said for them. If they did understand this issue, then they stand out as the most brazen capitulators and betrayers.

In proof of this charge we can cite the action of Leonard, who was in charge of the Ford division, in agreeing to include the most monstrous company security clauses in the new Ford contract; and at the very time that another group of UAW workers were engaged in the toughest sort of struggle with another automobile manufacturer.

REUTHER'S CONDUCT

It is necessary to say something about Reuther's conduct also. Although he understood the issues far better than the other leaders of the UAW and the CIO, he acted in a very cowardly manner. He was always ready either to retreat when he should have stood his ground or to remain silent when he should have spoken out. He had nothing to say about "company security." He did not tackle the question put by GM concerning the attitude of the union if at some future date the company's books demonstrated that the corporation was losing money. Reuther could not face this question because there is only one answer, and Reuther cannot give this answer.

That answer is: if GM of capitalist business enterprise cannot pay wages, decent wages, then the only solution is workers' control of industry. The only solution is for capitalist industry to come under the control and operation of labor. While this eventuality is inherent in the demand for the opening of the books, Reuther was not prepared to accept the consequences of the slogan which he had initiated. The reason was, of course, that to combine wages, prices,

profits and production into one demand is really to transcend the confines of traditional trade unionism and face the necessity for independent working class political action.

Reuther has given no indication that he is ready for this step. Consequently he had to retreat, resort to arbitration proposals, run to the government, accept whatever the government offered and participate with the others in botching the demands of the workers. The strike was miserably handled both from the side of simple trade unionism, and from the side of the real and important political issues involved.

To the extent that Reuther permitted the real issue to be obscured. to the extent that he remained silent while Murray, Thomas and others were scuttling the demands of the workers and collaborating with the capitalist government to defeat the excellent program which he has advanced, he must bear the major blame for the failure of the workers under his supervision to win a victory over GM.

Because Reuther failed to stand up and fight for the 30 cents an hour increase, because he failed to face the real implications of the open the books slogan, that is the POLITICAL. implications, because he too encouraged the workers to place their confidence in the government of the capitalists at Washington, because he failed to tell the workers that the only road for them is through independent working class political action, Reuther stands out today as just one of the more enlightened leaders in the field of pure and simple trade unionism. But this is not enough and a hundred, a thousand or any number of Reuthers scattered through the labor movement would not be enough to solve the really fundamental problems of the labor movement and the working class to-

MAIN PROBLEMS

This leads into a consideration of the main problems which ought to be the concern of the delegates to the forthcoming UAW convention. Already the faction lines in this international are being drawn. There is nothing incorrect about this provided the factions are prepared to go before the delegates with clearcut programs which differentiate one from the other. If they are mere "power cliques" organized around ambitious top leaders, then they can have nothing worth while to offer and should be rejected out of hand by the delegates.

A group of officials of certain UAW

locals have already declared for Reuther for president against Thomas, who will be a candidate for re-election. Addes will be a candidate for re-election and there will be a scramble for the post of the DESERTER Frankensteen. Up to now Reuther has had nothing to say about his plans or intentions. Thomas has announced with his usual moaning that Reuther is simply after his job. That seems to be his program at the moment: to keep Reuther from getting his job. Addes wants to keep his, and Leonard probably is ready to fight for a There will be all manner of jockey-

at the convention. The Stalinists will be present, ready to jump into any opening which will give them the opportunity to increase their dangerous and suffocating influence in the labor movement. As is their custom, they will be prepared to make blocks with any groups: Reuther, Addes, Thomas, the ACTU or the professional "red

baiters." Philip Murray is probably giving attention to the internal situation in the UAW. He will surely be interested in the struggle over the union leadership, especially with the candidacy of his friend R. J. Thomas. It would not be surprising if Murray should appear at the convention to pour oil on the troubled internal waters and throw his weight behind the candidacy of Thomas.

THE BIG JOB

While all these things will take place, none of them will solve the pressing problems with which the convention should concern itself. Whether Thomas is re-elected or whether he is replaced by Reuther is not really of any basic importance. Whether one man or some other man is made a regional director is not of any basic importance. The problems of the automobile workers or of any union and its members cannot be correctly dealt with by emphasis on such a trivial matter. It would be a very sorry spectacle to see the delegates to this convention wrangling over whether Thomas or Reuther should be president, and engaged in bitter factional dispute and votesnatching over the question as to which man should be the union's president for the coming year.

Organized labor and the working class in the United States today has one big job to do: TO ORGANIZE ITSELF POLITICALLY AS A CLASS. That is our task right now, We must subordinate all other tasks to this: THE ORGANIZATION OF AN INDEPENDENT WORKING CLASS POLITICAL PARTY, a National Labor Party based on and organized by the trade unions.

Through its own LABOR PARTY the working class could establish a WORKERS' GOVERNMENT in the nation to replace the present CAPI-TALIST GOVERNMENT at Washington. The WORKERS' GOVERN-MENT would begin to solve the problems of the working class just as the present CAPITALIST GOV-ERNMENT at Washington attempts to solve all the problems of the capitalist ruling class.

.This is the really important and serious problem before the labor movement today. This is the important and serious problem for the UAW convention to deal with. This is the question which indicates what kind of program the UAW and all of labor needs. This is the question around which the whole convention should revolve: THE ORGANIZA-TION OF LABOR FOR INDEPEN-DENT CLASS POLITICAL ACTION.

This is the criterion by which all candidates for office should be judged. To all of them the question should be put and put directly: "Brother Thomas and Brother Reuther, are you for independent working class political pay rise in the post of vice-president. action now? Are you ready to break with the Republican and Democratic ing, maneuvering and horse trading Parties and support a motion in this

Party? Are you, Brothers Murnay, Thomas and Reuther, ready to start now to TURN THE PAC INTO A LA-BOR PARTY?"

FOR A LABOR PARTY

The experiences of labor during the war and their experiences following the war give all the evidence needed for this position. Labor fought the war for the ruling class capitalist imperialists in the U.S. and the world is a shambles today. Starvation, misery, nakedness and the threat of a third imperialist world war. In the U.S., right at the close of the war, a concerted drive by the capitalist ruling class to make the unions mere appendages of the big corporations: a sort of luxury for big business, so long as the unions act in a "responsible way" and grant "security" to the big corporations.

The CAPITALIST GOVERNMENT at Washington has demonstrated that it stands ever ready now, and will in the future be ready, to come to the aid of its wards: the big corporations. This government has demonstrated what it is and to whom it will guarantee "security."

Under the CAPITALIST GOVERN-MENT at Washington, whether Republican or Democrat, the working class and the unions will be faced with new trials and tribulations. Higher and higher prices for food, clothing and shelter. This means lower and lower real wages. Price rises granted by the government of the capitalist ruling class, tax reductions; protection and security. Mounting profits, mounting dividends and bigger interest payments to the gilded loafers who hold the bonds of the big corporations.

In such a situation, and every delegate to the UAW convention knows that this is the situation, the one way out, and the only way out, is for LA-BOR TO MOVE INTO WASHING. TON: into the White House, into the Capitol, into every government department and bureau.

The one way out and the only way out is for labor, through its own political party, to take over in the country; to assume the POLITICAL, ECONOMIC and SOCIAL leadership of the nation. This is the real problem for the UAW convention; this is an issue worth fighting over, to organize caucuses and factions around. It is essentially a part of the GM program which we discuss elsewhere in this issue. This is a program to run for office on. Any other program today is a waste of time and the union's money. More than this, any other program is a program of defeat for the labor movement.

Next Week:

LABOR ACTION next week will contain an analysis drawing the lessons of the recent country-wide General Electric and Westinghouse

Fund Drive Needs Vigorous Spirit

By NATHAN GOULD, National Organizer, Workers Party

Eleven branches and the National Office have entered the running on the Fund Drive. These have contributed a total of \$3,667.50 toward our goal of \$15,000. That is to say, we have realized 24 per cent of our total quota. We are already well into the third week of the drive. The schedule of the Expansion Fund Committee calls for 30 per cent fulfillment by the end of the third week. 75 per cent by the end of the sixth week. If the figure of your branch in the percentage column reads under 30 per cent, your branch is behind schedule. Only four branches are on or ahead of schedule. These must not relax their lead. Branches behind must drive forward at redoubled effort.

Seven branches have not yet entered the race. These are Boston, Cleveland, Louisville, San Francisco, St. Louis, Streator and Youngstown, We are certain that some of these have already collected funds in behalf of the drive but are withholding them pending accumulation of larger sums. Branches should send their sums in weekly.

What is required, particularly of the branches that are behind the schedule, is a short but vigorous sprint.

Branch	Quota		Contributed	Per Ce	n
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Buffalo, N. Y.	200.00	20.1	110.00	55.	
New York, N. Y.	5000.00		2418.50	48	3
Reading, Pa.	50.00		10.00	20	
Chicago, Ill.	750.00		100.00	13	
Philadelphia, Pa.	350.00		40.00	11	
National Office	3850.00	7.0	400.00	10	
Detroit, Mich.	1250.00		100.00	08	
Akron, Ohio	500.00		10.00	05	
Los Angeles, Cal.	1000.00		50.00	05	-
Seattle, Wash.	300.00		5.00	01	
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Dispute GM Strike Strategy --Caucuses

(Continued from page 1) weeks too early and that it was prolonged because Reuther was "unrea-

THOMAS AND REUTHER

This ignores the fundamental fact that the major Reuther policy, higher wages without higher car prices, rested four-square on the overwhelming desires and needs of the auto workers in general and the GM strikers in particular. In his own blundering and weak fashion, Reuther the major grievances still existing. tried to stick by the policy which everyone knew the vast majority of GM strikers wanted. He refused to settle the strike on the terms and policies which Murray and Thomas favored, for it would have meant a real defeat in the strike!

Of course, everyone knows that Thomas, worried about his job as president of the UAW, is just hitting blindly at Reuther, picking up his arguments from the Stalinists bee has no program for th union. He denounces "smart strategy" and "people with a message" and "strategists" as though this were the issue. He ignores the well-known fact. that at every turn of events in the GM strike he signed joint declarations of united policy with Reuther, and that, as president of the UAW, and the man mainly responsible for policy, he was a total bankrupt.

Thomas and the Stalinists ignore the fact that at every important crisis

could do is to enlarge on the theory, not merely make

threats. I think that the working class will make

Yours for a social revolution,

Can you enlighten me on this subject? How can

in the strike, the national GM delegate conference approved the strike policies pursued, and that the only real criticism of Reuther was his constant retreating from the original 30 per cent wage increase demand, and the settlement of all issues.

In the vote on the terms of the settlement of the GM strike 18 delegates voted against accepting the settlement because it wasn't sufficiently good. The chief weakness of the settlement was the failure to eliminate Thomas and the Stalinists wanted Reuther not merely to retreat but to capitulate before GM.

The first wave of enthusiasm and cheers that greeted the settlement dampened somewhat when the GM strikers learned that the grievances were not adjusted. In fact, there is every possibility that some locals might not go back to work, according to Thomas, because there are so many issues left unsettled.

Only two weeks ago the UAW top leadership admitted that the local plant grievances were a major point of difference between the corporation and the union. These grievances included elimination of outmoded speed-up piecework systems in 15 plants, the elimination of the so-called "merit spread" in 35 plants, safety and health problems in 41 plants. Since the strike is settled, the local unions must now try to get these grievances adjusted on a local scale,

and obviously they can hardly call strikes after the workers have already been out 113 days.

The fact that the national strike settlement did not include "company security" proposals, gives the GM workers a weapon which other UAW locals do not have, for at Chrysler and Ford the whole shop steward system is jeopardized by the signing of company security proposals which are a direct threat to militant action by workers under the direction of shop

There is every indication that most workers in the auto plants are more directly concerned with their plant problems than the factional dispute

raging in the top leadership of the union. The burning issue of seniority in the plants is creating heated dissension, and violent argument, because rehiring is not being done on a straight seniority basis, and the corporations are inciting the differences among the workers.

. Unless these major union problems, as well as the whole strategy of the UAW in GM and at Ford and Chrysler are discussed and settled, the UAW convention may degenerate into the kind of dirty, unprincipled politics which is the hall mark of the Stalinists, and which furnishes the most fertile field for their insidious

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CHELSEA BRANCH, Wednesday, March 27, 8:30 P. M.—THE UNO AND POWER POLITICS. Speaker. Steve Parker, LABOR ACTION Staff Writer. Telephone CH 2-9681 for address of meeting.

BROOKLYN BRANCH, Wednesday, March 27, 8:30 P. M. SOCIALISM AND DEMOCRACY. Speaker: Irving Howe, LABOR ACTION Staff, Place: 276 Fulton Street, 3rd Floor. HARLEM BRANCH, Wednesday, March 27, 8:30 P. M. THE AUTO AND STEEL DYNASTIES (The Story Behind the Strikes). Speaker: E. Victor, Labor Secretary, Local New York, 2143 Seventh Ave., Room

YORKVILLE BRANCH, Thursday, March 28, 8:30 P. M. SOCIALISM AND DEMOCRACY. Speaker: Y ving Howe. Telephone CH 2-9681 for address of meeting.

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WORKERS PARTY SIXTH ANNIVERSARY

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Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor Our reader refers to Carlo's car-

toon which LABOR ACTION ran in conjunction with the steel and other strikes. "If they can't run them, we can!" applies, however, not merely to the steel strike and auto companies but to all of big business which engaged in a drive to smash union standards, lower wages and increase

prices. Workers control of production, for which LABOR ACTION and the Workers Party stand, is also the logical implication of the United Auto Workers Union demand to open the books. The issuance of this cardinal demand in the UAW'S struggle with the General Motors Corporation was designed to expose the hollow argument of the corporations that they can't pay a living wage, that they must have price "relief," company "security." (Oh, those poor, starving corporations!)

An examination of General Motors books would show that they could have paid the whole 30 per cent demand of the workers and still have made more than their pre-war average profits, not to speak of the government's profit insurance given to corporations for their "sacrifices" in producing the weapons of mass mur-

If perchance the opening of a corporation's books would show a genuine inability to pay without maintaining the profit standards to which the corporation is accustomed, the conclusion is the same: abolish profits and take industry out of the hands of those who are governed only by considerations of profit.

What is the meaning of workers'

HOW CAN WORKERS RUN THE FACTORIES?

this step soon.

it be done?

I have your paper which was given to me by one of your members et a strike meeting. I was impressed by the cartoon on the front page,

"If they can't run them, we can!" For some time I have been thinking along the same lines. Upon perusal of your paper I failed to

control of production? First, it means

the taking over not of a single in-

dustry, but of every plant of every

branch of every industry, by demo-

cratically elected committees of work-

ers. It means the wresting of the

means of production, which are the

livelihood of the vast majority of the population, from the absentee owners,

the coupon clippers, the Sixty Fam-

ilies, the handful of monopolists who

own and control this wealth through

their appropriation of the labor of

others. Workers' control of produc-

tion would be a step towards replac-

ing economic dictatorship with eco-

nomic democracy, towards transfer-

ring social wealth to the producers

hands other than those it rests in

now, is recognized even by the offi-

cial leaders of labor. Walter Reuther

knew-his threat-or rather, promise-

of workers' control was implicit in

the slogan "Open the Books!" which

he used, whether he intended to

fight until it was realized or not, to

squeeze a wage increase out of the

GM corporation,

That industry is transferrable to

of that wealth, the workers.

find any article explaining this idea. The least you

Even Philip Murray, CIO president, recognizes that it is not ordained by heaven that the capitalists manage industry until eternity. In the third day of the steel strike, the United Steel Workers Union urged seizure of \$1 billion worth of Defense Plant Corporation steel facilities (N. Y.

Times, Jan. 23). The union resolu-

tion declared: "The American Government owns over \$1,000,000,000 worth of the most the Government until the steel corporations accept the President's deci-

modern steel plant facilities now under control of the very corporations which have flouted the President's decision. These facilities should either be made available for private operation by individuals such as Henry J. Kaiser who, in the interest of the nation, has accepted the President's wage decision for his steel employees, or should be operated by

While Murray is for practically

anyone taking over the plants except

the workers he professes to represent,

he is forced to recognize that at least

"75 per cent of the Defense Plant

The limitations of nationalizing only one industry, or part of an industry were shown in the objections made to Murray's proposal. For example, steel ingots were produced in an electric furnace owned by the DPC at Duquesne, but it would be necessary to roll, these on Steel Corporation

equipment before they could be shipped elsewhere. Needless to say, the privately owned corporations would sabotage the invader in their field, whether it was Kaiser, the government or the workers. We know how the present government would run the plants, too. We know that during the war the government seized plants only to continue

es and rise to newer heights, to socialism.

LOUIS KONOWAL

Philadelphia, Pa.

Corporation's facilities were suffi-

ciently integrated to be taken over

and operated by individuals not con-

nected with the steel corporations en-

gaged in the present dispute." (N. Y.

operating them at huge profits for the corporation owner's (Montgomery Ward, for instance), while the striking workers were forced back to work. The present government

obeys the orders of the capitalists whom it represents.

That is why we couple the slogan of workers' control of production with the slogan for a workers' government. Those who man the production lines of the country, who, together with their families and dependents constitute the majority of

the country, those who produce the wealth of the country but who are denied a say in the disposition of that wealth, those who are deprived of the fruits of their labor-they should run the country. A workers' government would thus abolish the dictatorship of the bourgeois or capitalist class that now exists and replace it with the most democratic society in the world. This workers' government would eventually eliminate all class-

ROLE OF LABOR PARTY

We call upon all readers of LABOR ACTION, who share the sentiments of our reader, to join the Workers Party in the fight for a new, socialist so-

In order to achieve a workers' gov-

ernment, the first immediate step to be taken by the labor movement is to make a complete break with capitalist politics. We have just witnessed how the results of the magnificent struggle on the picket lines have been robbed in Washington, on the political front. Labor is disfranchised politically when it has no party of its own, with a program in its own interests, but only chooses from among different capitalist can-

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NEWARK

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A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

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EMANUEL GARRETT, Acting Editor MARY BELL, Ass't Editor ALBERT GATES, Editor

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

FOR THE UNEMPLOYED AND VETERANS 1. Full Unemployment Insurance

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

2. Less Hours-More Pay

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

3. Jobs and Full Opportunities for Veterans Two years' base pay grant to all demobilized veterans, with the option of trade school andhigher educational facilities at government expense, guarantee of adequate family mainte-

FOR THE POST-WAR WORLD

4. Jobs For All at a Guaranteed Annual Living

nance and guarantee of decent jobs.

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

5. A Planned Rise in National Income

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

6. For a Democratic Peace

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

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

7. Full Social, Political and Economic Equality for Negroes

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

THESE AIMS TO BE ACHIEVED THROUGH 8. Slum Clearance

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

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

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

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

Control of production by democratically-elected workers' committees.

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

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

One-Tenth of the Nation

Labor's Responsibility to the Negro

were insulted, shot up, murdered, arrested, their property destroyed and some of it looted.

Now, however, comes the final injustice. The Negroes are going to be tried by the same government whose official storm troopers led the mob in the pogrom.

It is alleged, and powerful evidence given, that patrolmen and members of the state militia had stolen Negro property. In the business establishment of Julius Blair the clock was shot from the wall, the juke box was wrecked, the cloth was cut from the billiard table. But in addition all cigarettes, cigars and ice cream were missing. Now, during the time that these were lost, all civilians were barred from the Negro area. Who committed this vandalism and this theft?

Negroes are being charged with having concealed weapons. Yet these concealed weapons, so called, were taken by the police without any war-

Thirteen of the defendants are held in \$5,000 bond on an attemptto-commit-murder charge. Thus it is the persecuted Negroes who are in the dock.

On the other hand, nothing was being said by law and order in Columbia about the wrecking of the Negro community. Nothing is being said about the two Negroes killed by the police in an alleged jail break. The Negroes have been attacked but only two white arrests have been made in the case.

LABOR ACTION and the Workers Party call upon organized labor in particular to demonstrate in every way its solidarity with these persecuted American citizens. Their troubles are not over. The more unwarranted has been the attack upon them, the more shameless will be the brutality and ferocity of the Columbia authorities in constructing a gigantic frameup of their victims.

The Negroes in Columbia, Tenn., note of the political behavior of the Washington government.

> President Truman has a certain procedure, perfected by his predecessor, President Roosevelt. It works as follows: Organized labor demands higher wages. Truman, recognizing that labor means business, declares himself in favor of 191/2 cents. But, at the same time, he grants price increases to capital which nullify the rising wages.

The nation as a whole demands a permanent FEPC bill. Truman sends a resounding message to Congress in favor of the bill. But his followers in Congress sit back and allow the Southern senators to talk the bill out of existence.

Now comes the Columbia pogrom. This is a matter for the Attorney General, Tom Clark. Last week he issued a solemn statement. As you read it, bear in mind the equally solemn statements issued by Truman about the necessity of raising labor's wages and of passing an FEPC bill. This is Clark:

"We have come thus far in the unsettled postwar period without great disorder. However, symptoms of increasing intolerance have been noted

"It is my desire that you immediately devote special attention and investigation to protection of all Americans in their civil liberties, regardless of their race or color. Special attention should be paid to laxity or inefficiency of peace officers of any category,

"I am seeking to determine the causes of potential disorders no matter how minor they seem. In these days of rapid transmission of information, an outbreak in one locality might well inspire similar conditions in another."

PATIENCE EXHAUSTED

Attorney General Clark knows the danger in which the Negroes stand. He puts himself on record as recognizing the explosive situation in the country today. But he, more than

anyone in the country, knows that his statement is mere talk, designed for the record and to give the nation and the Negroes the impression that the Department of Justice will punish these official persecutors of

the Negro people.

By J. R. Johnson

It is merely the Roosevelt-Truman technique repeated in relation to the Negroes in Columbia. And if its hypocrisy stands out with exceptional crudeness in this case, it is because the Negro people are not sufficiently organized to make their resentment sufficiently felt in the offices of government.

When faced with the result of Negro resistance to persecution in Detroit, Roosevelt's Attorney General, Biddle, made the following proposal: Prevent Negroes from going North. He believed obviously that in the South the combination of federal and state terrorism was sufficient to keep them subdued. Having thus demonstrated his conception of democracy, Biddle is now in Europe helping to try Nazis for, among other things, persecution of the Jews and violation of civil liberties!

There is no end to the shamelessness of these two-faced liberals in regard to the century-old persecution and humiliation of the Negro people. But, thank goodness, there are signs that there is a very definite limit to the patience of all persecuted people, Negroes included.

CHICAGO MEETING!

"THE NEGRO IN CHICAGO"

Book Review of "Black Metropolis"

Wednesday, March 27 Room 3, 1703 W. Madison, 8:15 P. M.

Auspices: Workers Party

Editorials Organized labor, however, must not only act. Organized labor must take No Truth in Report on Russia

A group of CIO leaders who visited Russia a of their own state. How much more necessary it is few months ago have issued a report to CIO President Murray. Since this report will probably be given wide publicity by various Stalinist union leaders, a few comments are in order here.

It is really a remarkable report. From a few of the signers, like Len De Caux and Reid Robinson, one expects a lyrical whitewash of Stalinist Russia. But it is a little surprising that non-Stalinist CIO leaders like Haywood, Carey, John Green and Emil Rieve have also signed their names to a report which, if it is not merely dishonest, is a masterpiece of naiveté.

Now these last-named CIO leaders, for all their limitations, have a lot of experience in trade union work, in strikes, in negotiations. They have functioned in free trade unions. Yet they go to a totalitarianized country like Stalin's Russia, in which the "trade unions" are merely puppets of the state and play absolutely no independent social role; they "examine" the activities of these "unions" with a straight face and they then report to the CIO about the "benefits" provided by the "trade unions" in Russia and their "similarities" to American trade unions.

As everyone familiar with the methods of Stalinism knows, there is a pattern used there to becloud visiting firemen. They are dined and wined by the high dignitaries they are given whirlwind tours; they are taken to ballets and other performances-all with the object of preventing them from getting first-hand contact with the ordinary shop workers. Of course, even if a foreign visitor did manage to sneak away from a vodka session with the bureaucrats, no Russian worker who valued his skin would dare talk to him. For every Russian worker knows that the GPU makes a special point of checking on the activities of foreign visitors and that to express the mildest criticism to a visitor would mean signing one's death warrant.

But it seems that our friends from the CIO delegation-some of whom can be properly skeptical and hard-headed when it comes to similar dodges used by American bosses—were quite taken in by the whole performance. Their report is almost ingenuous in that respect. On the question of how trade unions work, they talked-not to individual workers IN PRIVATE-but to Director Peter Kazakov! On social insurance, they talked -not to individual workers IN PRIVATE-but to Director A. I. Gurbonov. Now of course the "directors" (read: bureaucrats) gave them glowing reports: THEY find little wrong in Stalinist totalitarianism-it certainly works to their advantage.

But let us ask these CIO leaders: if you wanted to find out about conditions in the General Motors plants, would you talk to the "labor relations director" of the corporation? For that, despite their titles, is what these so-called directors are in Russia. In Russia the "trade unions" are not free; they are organs of the ruling bureaucratic class. And everybody who doesn't wear earmuffs over his eyes knows that.

If the CIO visitors had really wanted to find out the facts, instead of getting themselves buttered from head to toe, they could have asked some questions such as the following:

Do workers in Russia have the right to strike? Why not?

(Of course, the apologists for Stalinism say they don't need to strike because it's "their" state. That's like the bosses in America saying workers don't need to strike because the company "looks after" their interests. As a matter of fact, more than twenty years ago, when Russia was REALLY a revolutionary workers' state, its leader, Lenin, insisted that workers have the right to defend themselves against the bureaucratic encroachments

today for workers to defend themselves against the police terror of Stalinism!)

If workers in Russia are dissatisfied with conditions, can they form their own party to express their political desires? When trade union and national elections are

held, why are workers not allowed to run opposition slates against the leaders hand-picked from above by the bureaucracy? Had the CIO leaders asked such questions, they would have come to the heart of the matter; the

fact that workers in Russia not only don't live in anything remotely resembling socialism or a workers' state; but that rather they suffer under a tyrannical dictatorship which, though different in social type, is as oppressive as the worst kind of Fascist But even these visitors somehow let slip into

their report some damning information which indicates the real nature of Stalinism. For instance, they report that the dominant method of payment in Russia is by piece-work. Every trade unionist in America knows that piece-work is an evil method, that it leads to speedups and cut-throat competition. (In Russia, the speedup is called Stakhanovism.) Why glorify it in Russia?

And why do they glorify the "wage-incentive system" against which American trade unions have fought so bitterly when the employers tried to

They report that the regular workweek in Russia is a "mere" 48 hour week, and that though hours have been cut since the war, wages have remained stationary. But they "neglect" to mention that the average work week during the war was around 60 hours and that real wages were so low that if they had been cut now together with the reduction in hours, there would have been a real danger of dropping below the subsistence

The CIO delegation, however, comes to the real point when it reports that there is a severe "shortage of most consumers goods which makes a worker less concerned with the amount of his wages than with finding commodities which he can buy for them." In that one sentence there is more truth about the plight of the Russian workers than in all the rest of the report. This sentence shows the truth: the standard of living of the Russian workers is extremely low although the standard of living of the Russian bureaucrats is comparatively luxurious. (In one plant, the report mentions, there is a ratio in wages of 10 to 1 between the managers and the workers! That sounds very similar to conditions in America, doesn't it?)

The CIO delegation has let itself be bamboozled. Where it should have talked to workers, it talked to managers. Where it should have searched into the real content of social life in Russia, it was satisfied with recording the superficial forms which, everyone knows, are merely a mockery. Where it should have seriously investigated, it merely passed on the pap fed it by the bureaucrats who wined and dined it.

What would you think of a trade union leader who went to negotiate with the boss for higher wages and ended up by reporting to you what a swell fellow he was? Not much, of course. What then is one to think of trade union leaders who go to the prison camp of Stalinism, gravely repeat all the lies and nonsense given to them by the wardens and don't really try to discover the real conditions of the inmates?

WORLD_POLITICS

By IRVING HOWE

Without attempting a complete analysis, I want to devote this column to some preliminary notes on the

(1) Will There Be a War Soon? Or, Rather, How Soon Will There Be a War?

Any expectation that the Second World War would some way put an end to imperialist conflict can now be put to rest. Any expectation that the very horror of the atomic bomb would force the imperialist powers to desist from war can also be put to rest. The forces driving imperialist countries into war surmount individual desires and individual fears

On every side, the victors of the war are quarelling over who is to control the vital resources and strategic areas of the world. American imperialism, which has one of its main economic stakes in China, comes into sharp conflict with Russia in Manchuria, where the Stalinists have walked off with half of the industrial plant. In the Near East, the British-with the Americans panting on their back-are struggling against Russian encroachments on their imperialist holdings, which means primarily oil. It is difficult to remember a situation in which the nature of imperialist conflict, the unabashed race to grab and despoil, has been as open and cynical, By comparison, the struggle around the Versailles Treaty was a friendly discussion.

There will probably not be a war in the immediate future. The powers are not ready for it yet. War preparations take time. The peoples of all countries are emotionally tired, physically exhausted, politically skeptical. And it will take time to prepare new stockpiles of war material, to "reconvert" to atomic war.

But war is on the agenda-if imperialism is allowed to continue. The new imperialist conflict issues from the ranks of the "united victors" of the second world war.

(2) What Is Russia After? How Far Will She Go?

The basic Russian strategy seems to be to take advantage of the common knowledge that America and Britain are not prepared for immediate war and therefore to indulge in imperialist raids. London and Washington will send notes of protest, but the bureaucrats of the Kremlin are not much impressed by diplomatic rhetoric. It seems highly likely that Stalin will not go so far as to force the Allies to prepare for immediate war. For all of the factors which make immediate war unappetizing for Britain and America operate as well with regard to Russia; she too has suffered economically from the war.

So the Russians proceed to make a raid here and a sortie there; grab the factories in Manchuria; march into Northern Iran and present the British with an accomplished fact; grab an oil field in Hungary; denude Poland of its factories. But we do not believe that at present they are likely to cross that line which the Allies are now drawing; the line which says "You can't go further than this without war."

(3) Does Internal Crisis Provoke Russia's Moves?

There is less information about the internal situation in Russia than about any other country in the world. Nonetheless, from the little that does creep past the censors and from a general analysis of the nature of Stalinism, we believe that Russia is in no way exempt from the general rule that in every class society external crisis is inevitably bound up with and in part stems from internal crisis. The imperialism of Russia is motivated by social forces basically different from those of highly developed capitalist countries. The latter seek outlets for capital investments, but the Russians seek places in which to replenish their badly battered indus-

trial plant, places where they can raid directly and on the primitive basis of simple looting. It should be remembered that there has been not the slightest loosening of the internal totalitarian régime in Russia; that, on the contrary, Stalin's recent speech insisted on continued

This policy means a continued scarcity of consumers goods, which the people in Russia had been told would be increasingly available after the war. And that the masses are dissatisfied with this is evidenced by the continued and remarkable propaganda in the Russian press warning its soldiers not to be overly impressed with the "riches" they have seen in Bulgaria, Poland, Austria and such countries. (That gives you a real picture of the standard of living under Stalinism; that the soldiers are impressed by the conditions they see in the most primitive and hunger-stricken countries of Eastern Europe. Stalinist Russia has not even been able to give its people the living standards of . . . Bulgaria, or

Another interesting indication of internal crisisthis should not be magnified to mean immediate serious internal struggle in Russia—is an article in the March 8 Prayda which compares the present situation to 1920, a period of famine, internal revolt, disorganization and practical breakdown of industry and agriculture.

And so the bureaucracy engages in imperialist raids, each of them calculated to ease the internal strain, to replace its worn out and misused industries; but none of them solving its basic problems.

(4) What Are America and Britain Going to Do Now? Will There Be a Military Alliance?

Churchill's call for a military alliance between America and Britain has been cold-shouldered by Washington and not commented on officially by London. That should not divert us from the fact that America and Britain are operating in joint imperialist action. Neither of them can meet the threat of Russian imperialist competition without the aid of the other. There may be no official military alliance; Churchill's speech was probably a mere trial balloon to test public reaction to the idea; but in practice there is already a virtual military alliance, (Churchill's role is worth noting. This Tory and Mussolini admirer is unofficial ambassador of the British Labor government. Churchill is free to go off on any individual tears, and the government is not obliged to take responsibility for its ambassador, ex officio. A convenient arrangement!)

America of course is in the dominant position! As the only creditor nation in the world it is in a position to dominate its partners. This is true even though at the moment Britain seems more aggressively in opposition to Russia. British imperial interests are more directly threatened in the Near East than are American interests. But regardless of relatively minor differences between them, American and British imperialisms are being welded into a military bloc. That America, in the process, is also horning in on its partner-well, that's imperialism.

(5) What Position Should Workers Take Toward These Developments?

To say that war will probably not break out immediately is not to deny the gravity of the situation. The world has begun to tread the road to war once more -this time, toward atomic war.

The pace of disintegration and degeneration of the imperialist world increases. The Second World War has hardly ended and the clear outlines of the Third can already be seen. Could there be any more persuasive and convincing argument for our insistence that the workers should not support ANY imperialist power in its war moves, and that socialism is today essential for the very PRESERVATION of humanity?

By JAMES M. FENWICK

THE VETERAN AND LABOR'S STRUGGLE

The returned veteran is proving a terrible disappointment to the capitalist class.

The capitalists had hoped that the yeterans could be déveloped into a cohesive anti-labor body while they were serving in the armed forces. Through such shoddy journals as "Stars and Stripes," and through other forms of indoctrination, the officer dupes of capital continually harped upon the high wages at home as contrasted with a soldier's pay, strikes, which were supposed to have created shortages at the front and slowed down demobilization, and the Earthly Paradise enjoyed by draft-deferred civilian workers.

Such agitation never really took hold, many soldiers in the end having come to believe that it was just one more example of army propaganda. Once home, the veteran was able to see exactly how much truth lay behind it. '

With unimportant exceptions the veteran has placed himself in the forefront of recent strike struggles. In the recent G.E. strike in Philadelphia, for instance, it was the veterans who formed the spearhead of the anti-injunction demonstration, courageously breaking the police lines and battling with the mounted cops.

There, where the working class was meeting the blue-coated strikebreakers of the capitalists in pitched battle in the streets, the veterans cast back their reply to the slander of the military propagandists during the war, when all one could do was bite one's tongue and wait.

LABOR MUST TAKE THE INITIATIVE

Veterans have assimilated themselves into the ranks of the organized labor movement with relatively little conscious intervention by labor itself. More must be done.

History has taught us that the labor movement can neglect the veterans only at its own peril. In Germany it was the dissatisfied veteran who formed one of the bases of the fascist movement which finally destroyed organized labor.

The union movement must fight for the progressive economic and political demands of the veterans, beginning with a reform of the GI Bill of Rights where it seeks to make a scab of a veteran by refusing him compensation when he is on strike-up to and including a guaranteed annual living wage for all veterans who are unemployed.

Labor should initiate the formation of labor veterans' posts, which will bring veterans into the closest possible relation with the organized labor movement. Similar close relations should be established with independent veterans' organizations such as the Amvets, AVC, VLA, etc.

A TIMELY WARNING

tionary organization.

Gerald L. K. Smith, the fascist, has instructively indicated what the capitalists have in mind for the veteran. He and his associated human filth have been stumping about the country seeking to create an organization known as the Christian Veterans

of America. Basing themselves on well-known grievances of veterans, Smith's men are seeking to give a young, militant base to their anti-labor, completely reac-

Labor should draw the proper moral and orient toward the veteran.

The veteran problem is not small, and it will persist. There were around 14,000,000 men and women in the armed forces of this country in the course of the war-or more than 27 per cent of the estimated civilian labor force as of March. 1945. At this moment there are 2,500,000 veterans unemployed.

Further, the United States is embarking upon a program which envisages the direct or indirect economic, political, and military domination of the globe. This means the maintenance of large permanent armed forces by United States capital. It means a continuing and increasing veterans' problem. It means constant efforts by the bosses to pit the veteran against the organized worker in the unemployment and war crises which are inevitably coming.

The problems of the worker and the problems of the veteran flow from the identical tainted source-capitalism. For it is capitalism which produces war. It is capitalism which produces unemployment and inhuman working conditions.

The bond between worker and veteran which has been welded on the picket line must be perpetuated by common action in the tempestuous days to come.

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GM Strike Program Is Central UAW Issue

By EMANUEL GARRETT

Any proper estimate of the 113 day strike of the General Motors workers must begin and end with the GM STRIKE PROGRAM. The strength and real meaning of the battle waged by the workers against the mighty auto corporation lay in the GM program. Its weakness lay in the extent to which the workers were forced to retreat from this program by the connivance of the top CIO and UAW leadership.

We have already devoted many articles in LABOR ACTION to the GM program and we shall come back to it many times because it represents a high point in the development of American labor's struggle. It is not easily forgotten; and we propose to do our part in seeing to it that it is not forgotten, but that, on the contrary, it is raised again and again, and in MORE advanced form.

The GM program has, of course, a particular significance for the auto workers who will be meeting this week in national convention. It will be THE issue before the convention. We do not as yet know whether the candidates for office will be judged on the basis of their adherence or repudiation of this program. It is, however, our opinion that they OUGHT to be judged on this basis.

The Meaning of the Program

Let us first consider this program, then relate it to the strike and the outcome of the strike. The GM program can be divided into three parts, as follows: FOR a 30 per cent wage increase; AGAINST any price increase; OPEN THE BOOKS! And the three can be united in a single demand LINKING wages, prices and profits.

The special significance of this program should be immediately apparent. There is here a difference in QUALITY. The wage question is here raised in a new and revolutionary way. It is not merely a demand for higher wages, important enough in itself. It asks, as well, for a voice in DETERMINING wages and, with wages, prices and profits. Thus it challenges the very bases of capitalist rule, of "free enterprise."

Consider the implications: the workers tell the boss that they are convinced he is able to pay a wage that will compensate for the rise in prices and provide some minimum of a decent living standard; they have facts and figures to prove it. They are equally convinced that he can make more than enough profit without raising prices and therefore tell him that they will not permit any wage increase to be passed on to the consumer in higher prices. BUT, they go FURTHER! They tell the boss, in this program, that THE WORKERS, through their democratically chosen representatives, will decide HOW MUCH PROFIT the boss shall have, WHAT PRICE he shall charge, WHAT WAGE he shall pay.

That, and that alone, is the meaning of OPEN THE BOOKS! These decisions on wages, prices and profits are traditionally the prerogative of the employer-except in so far as he is backed up against the wall by labor militancy and forced to

disgorge a few cents in wages. Thus, by linking with the "Big Steal" fraud which set the pattern the three together and demanding a voice in their determination, the GM workers were, in effect, challenging the system of free enterprise AS A SYSTEM, and elevating the quality of labor's struggle for economic demands, for security.

Toward Workers' Control

The necessity, of course, does not end there. As socialists, we of LABOR ACTION recognize that there are implications that were not tapped either by the leadership that formulated the demands. or by the workers who held out for 113 days. But these 113 days are proof that the workers understood the importance of the principle for which they were fighting (whether they would have described it in these words or not). They did not voluntarily assume this sacrifice, and be assured those 113 days were a hard sacrifice, for a miserable one cent difference, regardless of how the union leadership later distorted the issue. For, even after they had retreated from their original demands, the spirit with which they began held them to the fight. Surely no one is fool enough to think that they manned their picket lines for the one cent difference between the insulting offer of the corporation and the insulting recommendation of Truman's "fact-finding" board, 181/2 inadequate cents against 191/2 inadequate cents.

Victory on the GM program would have inevitably involved the rest of the labor movement in a struggle for the same. And, so compelling/is the logic of the GM program, that the necessity of pursuing these demands to their inescapable conclusions would have risen in the concrete circumstances of struggle: toward nationalization of industry under workers' control-yes toward outand-out socialist measures!

The industrialists have revealed themselves as incapable of operating industry for the benefit of society. They have revealed that their interest in profit stands in CONTRADICTION to the interest of the great mass of society for low prices, decent wages at guaranteed jobs-or, in other words, for SECURITY. Therefore, an invasion of the rights of 'free enterprise' must inevitably raise, as the next step, the necessity of wresting industry from the hands of the industrialists, of nationalizing indus-'try and placing it under workers' control. The political reflection of this is a WORKERS' GOV-ERNMENT, as the political reflection of "free enterprise" is capitalist government.

Responsibility of Leadership

The GM strikers had to retreat, but their program is still the essential pivot of a UAW program. The retreat was not the fault of the strikers. Not by any means! Had the top CIO leadership not worked against them but with them, the GM strikers could have written their program into the

What happened, though? Murray gave away the battle (for which the steel workers were as prepared to stand fast as the GM workers) by taking direction from the White House instead of from the union ranks. He permitted Truman to get away

of 181/2 cent wage increases for which labor will pay through higher prices. Thomas and the auto union leadership settled with Ford and Chrysler for far less than the GM strikers were asking; and agreed to the infamous company security proposals to boot! Reuther, who began the strike brilliantly (although he never drew the full conclusions of his own stand) and captivated the imagination of every worker by the dramatic presentation of the strikers' case, fizzled under the pressure of the top leadership. After an inspiring beginning which rallied virtually everybody except the monopolists behind the strikers because there was no mistaking as to who was defending the price interests of consumer, poor farmer and white collar worker, Reuther pathetically collapsed into acceptance of Truman's "fact-finding" recommendations.

Add to all this the fact that the union bureaucracies for the most part deliberately withheld aid from the GM strikers. Where union treasuries should have been taxed heavily to help the GM strikers, most unions gave nothing or little. There were in this dismal pattern only a few exceptions -notably, the AFL's International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, which contributed substantially. Add also the strike-breaking blow delivered by the Stalinist leadership of the UE with their scab settlement.

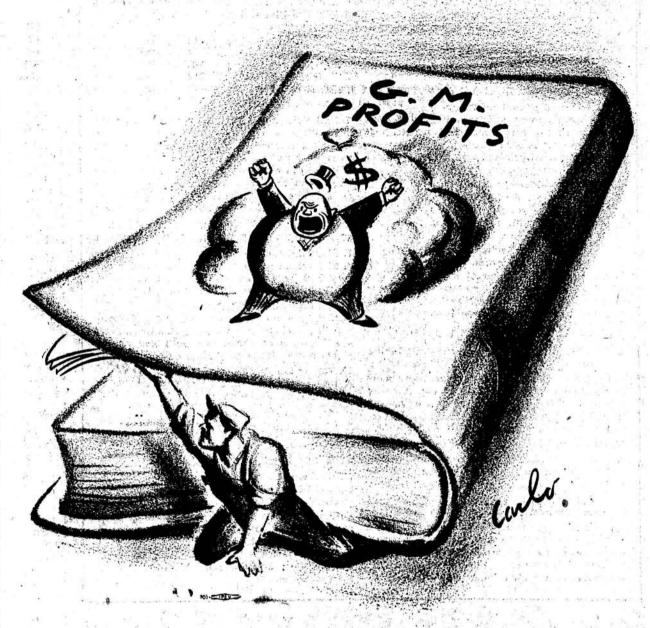
Contributed a New Concept

The course of the strike, down to its settlement for 181/2 cents, is known to every worker. The GM strikers evidently held out as long as they could. Though they had to retreat from their original demands, they wrote an important page in labor's history and contributed much to the labor movement. We say that 181/2 cents is inadequate and that it is being stolen from labor in price increases. Yet the fact remains that the bosses would not have granted this miserly 181/2 cents and would have boosted prices anyway, if the GM workers hadn't taken to the picket line and been followed there by other workers.

More than that, the GM strikers have contributed a new and progressive concept to labor-not at all new to socialists, but new to the American union movement. And this concept is sure to come, must come, before the UAW convention as a vital issue. Whatever authority Reuther commands in the UAW now, and his prestige is considerable, is traceable back to the GM program. It is a testimony to the attractiveness and basic correctness of this program that, despite his vacillations and hesitations, Reuther has drawn wide support BE-CAUSE of his association with this program.

The GM workers have done much for the labor movement. Their delegates can do more now by pressing for the GM program at the UAW convention. There is more than one indication that the great majority of UAW workers are ready to adopt this program as their own. It is certainly the indicated basis for judging the qualifications of officials running for office. For, we repeat, the MAIN issue before the UAW convention is the

Who Says It's None of Our Business!



Woman Worker and the UAW

By P. PRENTISS

During the peak of the war production there were 350,000 women enrolled in the UAW-CIO-the largest number of women members of any trade union in this country. Since VJ Day, in the Ford Motor plants

alone, the drop in the percentage of women workers has been from 22 per cent to 4 per cent. A survey taken during the war in the UAW-CIO showed that 85 per cent of the women intended keeping their jobs after the war. They did not go to work for patriotic purposes or "pin money" then, and today they need jobs more than ever to support themselves and their dependents or to supplement the meager earnings of their husbands, which do not keep up with the high cost of living.

With the end of the war and the closing of the war plants, the women who had been so lauded for their war work were the first to be thrown out of work in the chaotic reconversion period. With the inability of the big capitalist industries to supply anything that even resembles "full employment" in peacetime, the old forms of discrimination against women again appear on the scene. Federal statistics today show that four million women in the United States have lost their jobs since VJ Day. Every woman who needs a job to keep her children clothed and her ice box full understands the real meaning behind want ads that read "First-Class Mechanics Only" or "Men Only."

During the war the women who went into the union movement learned how to fight for such things as equal pay for equal work, equal seniority and upgrading. They learned that their needs were the same as those of their union brothers, that their struggle was part and parcel of the working class struggle.

It is the job of the union to fight for such clauses as "equal pay for

all of its members. The fact that an equality clause was included as part of the GM contract is proof that the UAW workers in Detroit at least do not want to see the millions of unemployed women become a labor reserve that will tend to force wages down.

Today it is the job of the unions to fight for a realistic, full employment program that will give all who went to work, regardless of sex or color, the opportunity to work.

The Workers Party has such a program for all working men and women to support.

We want a guaranteed annual wage for every werking man and woman. If this country was rich enough to spend billions during the war for the purpose of mass-murder and destruction. surely it is rich enough to guarantee a minimum of clothing, food and shelter for every worker for the purpose of security.

2. We are for a 30-hour week at the same minimum wage. This is one way of putting an end to the millions of unemployed. Since women are the first to be fired, it is they whe will be the most concerned with

3. We want a \$250 billion housing and public works program for the next five years. This is not being unrealistic in view of the fact that \$300 billion was consumed in three and a half years for death and destruction.

This program would mean that our children would not grow up in slum areas and that there would be adeequal work" in its contracts so as not quate playgrounds and nurseries.

Akron URW Delegation Hikes Pay Settlement

By GEORGE WHITNEY

AKRON, March 18-The membership of Goodrich Local 5 and Goodyear Local 2 of the United Rubber Workers have voted to accept the agreement recently negotiated in Washington with the Big Four rubber companies. This agreement provides for an 181/2 cent raise' and double time for Sunday work.

The agreement in full was read to

Akron Meeting! "Lessons of the Strike Wave" Speaker: ALBERT GATES Editor of Labor Action March 29 8:00 P. M. Admission: FREE

Old Workmen's Circle Hall Raymond Street at Wooster Auspices: Akron Branch of the Workers Party

clear and gave a full report of the entire negotiation proceedings. This report confirmed LABOR ACTION's report on the agreement. Bass reported that the last 51/2 cents of the 18½ cents was gotten solely through the militancy of the Akron delegation, who maintained that nothing short of 181/2 cents would be satisfactory or acceptable to the rubber workers of Akron. The Akron delegation (representing about half the rubber workers in the URW) was deserted in the end even by the international officers, who tried to swing acceptance of an offer which was less than 181/2 cents. International Vice-President Lloyd went so far as to enlist the aid of Allen Haywood of the CIO to convince Bass that he shouldn't hold out for the full 181/2

Bass reported that the 181/2 cents agreed to by the steel workers really out of the 181/2 cents. The Big Four cause rate adjustments on certain for 30 cents, 30-hour week, double

the membership of the Goodrich Lo- originally held out for the same type jobs, night shift bonus, etc., all came time for Sundays, time and a half companies, General Electric, etc., covered everything. The first offer from the companies was 16 cents on the basis described above which would have meant a raise of no more than seven cents.

The Akron delegation, supported by four or five locals from other sections of the country (notably the Gadsden, Ala., local), led the fight for 181/2 cents with not one cent to be used for anything other than the straight raise. They won out over the rest of the international and the international leadership. They got 181/2 cents straight, double time for Sunday work, agreement that further on - the - job wage adjustments would be made and, what is to the great credit of the entire URW, they did not give the big corporations any "company security" clause. The represented less than that figure be-

cal by George Bass, president of the of agreement with the rubber work- agreement also provides for the re- for Saturdays, etc. It is now more local. He pointed out several things ers and their biggest argument was opening of the wage question when- than evident that this could have that had not previously been made that the 18½ cents given by the steel ever the cost of living so dictates. been won as easily as the 18½

> Further substantial on-the-job rate adjustments have been made and are being made. For example, Goodrich Local reported to the large membership meeting that adjustments had been made in addition to the 181/2 cents in two divisions. The engineering division received adjustments for all employees ranging from four cents to 16 cents, with the average being 12 cents. This means that the engineering division received an average raise of 301/2 cents.

> There was great pressure from some backward sections of the international to settle early for "what we can get." The Akron delegation held out for 181/2 cents with no strings attached. "We told them," said Bass, "we had to have it because the rank and file membership of Akron would accept nothing less. It was 181/2 cents or strike." The URW originally asked

No More Drowning Your Tears in Beer

the Akron rubber workers.

Maj. Gen. Charles P. Gross of the Board of Transportation, in arguing for the 10-cent subway fare, stated: "I personally

had the rest of the URW, internation-

al officers included, held firmly with



York is so depressed by Saturday night that he spends a hell of a lot for his entertainment. If we can make the subways less grim, maybe families will be able to save money Saturday nights."

All Out for Next Labor Action Sunday!

By REVA CRAINE, Press Manager

The third of the series of nation-wide LABOR ACTION SUNDAYS has been organized for the morning of March 31. On that day, at 10:00 a.m., every branch of the Workers Party is mobilizing all its members and friends for the purpose of selling subscriptions to the paper that is every day gaining in popularity and influence with new groups of workers.

This LABOR ACTION SUNDAY takes place just one day before the appearance of the sample issue of our forthcoming eight-page paper. As a special greeting to this forerunner of the NEW, ENLARGED LABOR ACTION, every Workers Party member and supporter is going to put in a full four hours in an effort to push the Subscription Drive way over the top.

On page 2 of this issue you will find the addresses of all the mobilization points in the country where you can join with members of the Workers Party on LABOR ACTION SUNDAY and greet the first Eight Pager by participating in the Subscription Drive. If your city is not listed, write to our New York office for information.

LABOR ACTION BOOSTERS WRITE

This week the St. Louis Branch of the Workers Party went over its quota by sending in 22 subscriptions to LABOR AC-TION. The comrades from that city assure us that they are only getting warmed up in the drive and that more subs may be expected from that city before the drive is over.

The Akron Branch in a rather long report on its activities

in the Sub Drive concludes with:

"In the bulletin you speak of the necessity for going over the quota for a number of reasons. I might report that this corresponds in every respect with our own feelings and plans on

the drive. We have no intention of slackening off as soon as the quota is in sight or is reached. As a matter of fact the plan that will be presented to the next branch meeting is for a continuance in a slightly modified form of our efforts as a permanent function of the branch, that is, weekly house-to-house canvass-

We want to welcome into the ranks of Labor Action Boosters a group of comrades in Columbus, Ohio, who have just entered the drive with four subscriptions and have volunteered to carry a quota of 25 subs. Last week's LABOR ACTION SUNDAY occurred on St. Pat-

rick's Day, and from the partial reports received to date we know that all Workers Party Branches were out parading that day-parading in the working class neighborhoods of their cities in the interests of LABOR ACTION. The Chicago Branch reports: "On this St. Patrick's Day, in-

stead of celebrating by the wearin' of the green, we had a Red Sunday and obtained 83 LABOR ACTION subs on our mobilization. This leaves, I think, only about 40 to go to complete our quota .- P. N." We want to remind the Chicago Branch, however, that here

at the center we are no longer thinking in terms of "completing quotas." All our efforts are now being turned toward "topping quotas," since we are taking for granted that all existing quotas will be completed. What do you say, Chicago?

SIXTY CENTS WILL BRING YOU LABOR ACTION FOR A YEAR!

Branch	Quota	March 18	Total	Per Cent
Akron	200 *	22	124	62
Baltimore	10		1	10
Boston		4	23	230
Buffalo	200	11	25	12.5
Chicago		101	315	70
Cleveland	100	2.	13	13
Columbus		4	4	16
Connecticut	_ 10	****	-	55
Denver	25	14	23	92
Detroit	1000	56	381	38.1
Hibbing		4	125	125
Los Angeles	250	8	104	41
Louisville			43	86
Madison	25	****		D
Muskegon			28	200
Newark	150	12	114	76
New York	2000	132	1069	53.4
Oregon	10		5	50
Philadelphia	_ 500		134	26.8
Reading			60	80
San Francisco	_ 200	16	151	75.5
San Pedro	250	10	91	36.4
Seattle		****	39	19.5
Streator	_ 25	6	20	80
St. Louis		22	32	128
Syracuse	_ 10	242		-
Youngstown	_ 25		****	S
Miscellaneous		5	28	
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Totals		429	2952	59
		1 . 1	421	



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