



No. 1 Lesson of the GM Strike:

POLITICAL ACTION IS LABOR'S NEED!

FOR WORKERS DEFENSE GUARDS

If We Do Not Defend Ourselves Against Violence, We Are Slaves!

AN EDITORIAL

By EMANUEL GARRETT
For more than a hundred days the General Motors workers have been out on strike. For these more than hundred days they have carried the ball for the entire labor movement.

Theirs was the dramatic challenge to big business which initiated the strike wave. The demands they made upon General Motors, and the spirit with which they pressed them, blazed a trail which pointed to a real victory not only for themselves but for all of labor. Hundreds of thousands of workers have gotten 18 1/2 cents without a day's loss of work because of the heroic struggle of the GM strikers.

It is not the fault of the ranks, who in over a hundred hard days have proved the worth of their convictions, that wage raises are averaging 18 1/2 cents instead of the 30 cents or more required by labor. Nor is it their fault that these wage gains, in steel, meat packing and other industries, are being eaten away by price increases.

It is the fault of their leadership, of Murray and the others, who showed themselves supine before the pressure of the Truman Administration. If today the auto workers have been compelled to retreat on their demands and propose arbitration, it is not because they were incapable of winning the entire GM strike program. It is not because the steel workers, for example, would not

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A man who will allow himself to be trampled upon by a brute in uniform is no longer a free man; he is a slave.

A man who will not defend his rights against Gestapo violence, be it in Hitler Germany or General Electric Philadelphia, is a man enslaved.

These are observations that come immediately to mind after the bloody assault of 1500 armed cops on men and women exercising their democratic right to picket.

We think that the Philadelphia workers who defended themselves against assault understood this. They did fight back. They did try to stand their ground. They have called upon the entire Philadelphia labor movement to back them up.

Something, however, was missing. And we think the Philadelphia workers will understand this. Against organized violence there must be organized defense. By organized defense we mean WORKERS' DEFENSE GUARDS organized by the UNIONS to protect labor from fascist attack.

It makes no difference whether this fascist attack is directed by fascist hooligans serving General Electric's interests, or gauliters in police uniforms serving General Electric's interests. General Electric has at its disposal the injunction and police machinery of the capitalist state. Where this is insufficient, as labor's long history of struggle demonstrates, the big industrialists are prepared to hire armed mercenaries paid for by the company instead of by the city. Where that too is insufficient they will finance and organize fascist bands.

Labor has only its own strength, and that is more than sufficient to beat back attack. Ten thousand workers, led by union-organized Workers' Defense Guards, are more than a match for any 1500 thugs, regardless of the color of their uni-

form, brown or black or blue. There are more of us. If we but act together there is no body of organized capitalist scum on earth that can defeat us.

There were veterans on the Philadelphia picket line. They were in the very first ranks of the line. Labor has every reason to take heart from this wonderful sign. It proves that veterans have not permitted themselves to be indoctrinated by the brass hats' hateful anti-labor propaganda.

These veterans are men who know something about fighting. They were taught how. They were taught how to fight in the interest of imperialism. They will know how to fight in the interest of labor.

Not so long ago they were told that they had to fight for the "American way of life" against fascist nations which would deny them this way of life. Presumably the American way of life meant the right to earn a decent living for a man and his family, the right to strike, the right to picket, the right to assemble freely, the right to speak freely.

Very well. We'll say nothing for the moment about how they lied to the people and above all to the soldiers who had to fight the war. We'll pretend to take them at their word. Is there, then, any reason why these men should not fight as vigorously for this same way of life here? Does it make any difference whether this way of life is menaced from without or within?

We say it is a wonderful sign that veterans were in the front ranks of the picket lines. We think they will know how to fight in defense of our rights with their brothers and sisters in the labor movement.

It remains for the unions to organize this de-

fense so that it will be most effective. Those union leaders who try to counter the reactionary policies of the Republican-Pew city administration by piddling with the local Democratic Party machine will not plan such a defense themselves. (It was the Democratic Party Kelly-Nash machine in Chicago that directed the infamous Republic Steel massacre.)

It becomes the responsibility of every worker and every worker-veteran in Philadelphia to raise this question in his union and in every assemblage of workers. It becomes his responsibility to insist upon the organization of Workers' Defense Guards.

This is more than a Philadelphia matter. General Electric may be more outspoken than other big industries in its efforts to crush labor by injunction and brute force. The court and police machines of Philadelphia or New Jersey (where there has also been anti-picket violence) may be particularly amenable to industry's wishes. Other industries, and other city administrations, do not dare to loose Philadelphia's kind of Hitlerite violence against workers today. In Detroit, for example, they know that labor is too powerful.

But the problem is the same everywhere. To the extent that they can, they will try to destroy our unions. If General Electric is successful, others will be emboldened. If they do not dare at this moment to use the police force, they will scheme and plot to build fascist organizations like Gerald L. K. Smith's. The problem is the same, the need is the same everywhere.

We are not slaves. We will not allow ourselves to become slaves. It is our right to demand a decent standard of living with the weapons that are ours—unions, strikes, picket lines. It is our DUTY to defend this right.



Philadelphia Daily News Staff Photos

Philly Unions Vote on General Strike

BULLETIN BY WIRE

PHILADELPHIA, March 6—General Electric Company promises not to use injunction to hire scabs, giving "iron-clad assurance" to this effect. This constitutes first and partial victory for GE strikers. Mayor Samuel, who promised to intercede for right of strikers to parade, reneged by passing back to Sheriff Meehan, who turned down request.

Four local unions voted to support call for general strike in behalf of GE and Westinghouse striking locals. Other locals still balloting are expected to endorse general strike call. CIO Industrial Council is sponsoring this referendum for a general strike.

Monday and Tuesday this week hundreds of pickets continued to gather in the vicinity of GE plant. Police refused freedom of assembly, broke up all gatherings and forced pickets over Philadelphia County boundary line into Darby. Police have established a cordon across Cobbs Creek, preventing any attempt to enter Philadelphia by picket parade.

Saul Waldbaum, union attorney, filed suit in Federal Court in name of Clayton R. Dechant, president of Local 199, and others to enjoin the Philadelphia police and Mayor from stopping parade and charged violation of legal right to assembly. Waldbaum's suit charged an "unlawful

conspiracy" by city and county officials. He charged White, UE national representative, and others were "cruelly beaten while in custody in the presence and full view of top city officials."

Nineteen arrested strikers come today for court hearing. Next steps in electrical strike are legal tests by union for its constitutional rights and a general strike vote being conducted by the Industrial Council.

GM Strikers Hold Picket Line Intact

DETROIT, March 3—Settlement of the 103-day General Motors strike hinged today on the reaction of the corporation to the proposal of the UAW-CIO that the three remaining points of dispute be arbitrated.

Since this article was written, GM turned down the UAW-CIO's offer of arbitration. The union later offered to poll the strikers by referendum on whether they would go back to work for GM's offer of an 18 1/2-cent increase, or on the condition that the dispute be submitted to arbitration. GM rejected this too. Conciliator Dewey has proposed nothing, having apparently exhausted his bag of tricks.

The UAW-CIO proposal was that both the company and the union accept the verdict of an arbitrator to be appointed by President Truman. The decision of the arbitrator would be made public within 45 days, according to the UAW proposal.

Here is a summary of the events that led to this latest development in the GM strike:
After weeks of negotiations, GM and the UAW-CIO remained far apart, with the corporation officials pressing to get the UAW-CIO to accept a contract similar to those signed at Ford and Chrysler.

The "final" offer of the corporation, made last Thursday, included acceptance of maintenance of membership and an 18 1/2 cent hourly wage increase. This offer was rejected un-

(Continued on page 4)

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.—On February 27 and 28, after 42 days and nights of peaceful picketing by United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, Local 119, the picket lines were charged by 1,500 Philadelphia cops. Pickets, many of them women, many of them veterans, were clubbed, kicked, beaten, run over, arrested and jailed in an effort to enforce a court injunction against mass picketing.

The Philadelphia Local of the Workers Party, 1105 Walnut Street, has ordered 6,000 copies of this issue of LABOR ACTION for distribution to the GE strikers and Philadelphia workers.

In the sixth week of a strike marked by good morale, mass picketing and high determination to win, the attorneys for the giant monopoly went to

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Eight-Pager Needed for Socialist Education!

By ERNEST ERBER
National Educational Director, Workers Party

Thousands of the readers of LABOR ACTION first came to read our paper during the war years. The paper appealed to them because it told the truth about wartime profits, about the Little Steel formula, about the no-strike pledge and about the need of labor to have a party of its own. They came to rely upon LABOR ACTION for a "line" in the many tactical turns of the struggle.

But the steady reader has come to demand more than this. He has come to demand answers to the more basic questions. Why must the working class, which produces the wealth of the nation, constantly fight for sufficient wages to maintain a decent standard of living? Why is there poverty in the midst of plenty? Why must we live in out-dated and run-down buildings when there is enough material and skilled labor to construct decent homes for everyone? Why did we fight two wars to "end all war" with the third one

already in sight? Why were millions of lives and billions in property sacrificed in a war "against the fascist aggressors" if dictatorship, tyranny, oppression and aggression continue to rule the world today?

What is fascism, what causes it, who supports it and how can we end it? Can capitalism be made to work? Are we headed toward real prosperity or toward another depression? What about Russia? Does it hold out any hope for the working people? Why do the Stalinist puppets like Browder and Foster act the way they do? If there is no socialism in Russia, just what is socialism? How can we achieve it? What do the lessons of history teach us about the struggle of the working class for liberation from economic oppression?

LABOR ACTION has tried to the best of its ability to deal with all these questions. But it has seldom been able to do more than touch upon them. IT COULD DO NO MORE IN FOUR PAGES.

The immediate and pressing problems always came first. Yet our readers are right. We need more than the answers to the questions of the day. The daily press of the capitalists, with its circulation of tens of millions, can swamp us here. But there is one field in which it cannot touch us. That is the field of SOCIALIST EDUCATION, the basic answers to the questions posed above. Once the worker has come to understand the scientific method of socialist analysis, the lying and tricky propaganda of the capitalist press cannot mislead him.

We need a LABOR ACTION that can do a complete job of socialist education. A six months' subscription must become a six months' course in scientific socialism. For this we need an EIGHT-PAGE paper. The way to get it is to ring the bell in the \$15,000 Fund Drive. We have no advertisers or "big money" backers. We operate without making a profit. It's up to our readers. What do you say?

The first issue of the eight-page paper will appear on June 17. On April 1 a sample copy of the eight-pager will appear so that all our readers may see for themselves what a great advance this expansion will represent.

The thousands of dollars required to make this advance must come from our readers. We appeal to every reader to send us a contribution to make the expansion possible. Make all checks and money orders payable to LABOR ACTION, 114 West 14th Street, New York 11, N. Y.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ Zone _____ State _____
Amount \$ _____

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Take General Strike Vote in Philadelphia --

(Continued from page 1) court to seek an injunction. It was granted to them Thursday, February 21, by Judge Finletter, notorious for his injunctions against labor in the past.

The union's first response to this action of the corporation's legal servants came on Monday, February 25, when over 1,000 pickets answered the call for a mass line in front of the plants at 7:00 a.m. The workers were keenly aware that they must break the injunction in order to win.

Again on Tuesday the mass line assembled and walked the two block-long circle without incident. The pickets chanted lines from the song "Talking Union" — "The boss looks out the window and what does he see, but a thousand pickets and they all agree — He's a bastard, unfair, but he beats his wife."

COPS OUT ON WEDNESDAY

On Wednesday, facing the strikers, on each side of the wide street on which GE extends for three blocks, were 1,500 cops, mounted, on foot, in red cars and motorcycles — the greatest number of police mobilized in one area in the history of this city.

The 1,500 pickets assembled in Buist Park, three blocks from the plant, to prepare a march past the plant on Elmwood Avenue. In the vanguard were veterans from Local 119.

At the end of the plant the order was given to turn. No more than ten or twenty ranks had turned about when the mounted cops came charging down the street and ploughed into the front column of the GE vets.

In the midst of this central melée, a group of militants from Local 107 — the now famous "Minute Men of 107" — bolted out of the group and ran for the fence around the plant to attempt to form a line again.

After the main parade was completely broken up, the motorized and mounted cops chased the pickets down the streets for several blocks and into private homes, swinging their clubs on their selected victims.

on the outside could hear the faint strains of "Solidarity" from the seven in the jail. After a few hours the men were released on a writ of habeas corpus, and the men went to their union halls to prepare for another day.

"BATTLE OF THE BRIDGE"

On Thursday the pickets began to gather in Buist Park again from 7:00 o'clock on. This time the police would not even permit them to assemble, but forced them to move on. They walked a few blocks away into Darby (out of Philadelphia county) and there assembled their forces for another march.

Quietly they moved down the main avenue; trolleys were stopped; traf-

fic halted; neighbors came out to watch or join the marchers; occasionally the vets would start shouting slogans or singing songs.

At the end of the street the strikers met another solid police barricade, marched directly up to it, and turned left. The tension was tremendous.

The men broke through the cops, and then attempted to reform their forces to continue the march. But the "heroes on horseback" pursued relentlessly. They selected victims and chased them for blocks. The foot

police acted as an infantry in the mopping-up operations. DEFENSE GROUPS NEEDED In dispersed groups the men discussed the rout. They wanted a planned defense, an organized strategy, leadership on the spot.

The forces of law and order, 1,500 trained soldiers of the corporations, against unarmed men and women seeking a wage raise, led and organized in battle array by the notorious police Labor Detail, were ferociously enforcing the property rights of the corporation against the human right to a decent living, the right to a decent wage, the right to assemble freely, the right to strike and picket.

The union leadership is attempting to deflect this understanding into support for the Democratic Party as against the present Republican administration.

Calif. Jim Crow Bows 300

BERKELEY, Calif., March 2 — It was a busy night in the palatial Berkeley Bowl at 2777 Shattuck Ave., in Berkeley, Calif. The big balls were rumbly down the glistening expanse of all sixteen alleys.

The party sat down and waited. Perhaps the pin-boy had gone out for a smoke? Members of the party lit up cigarettes. They finished their cigarettes . . . still no pin-boy. Finally, a couple of them went up to the manager and pointed out that there was no pin-boy to serve them.

After a few minutes another party finished their game. No sooner had they left than the lights over the alley went out, and the pin-boy disappeared. By ten thirty or eleven o'clock ten alleys out of the sixteen had closed down for the night.

In what would have been a 10-25 cent flop house some years ago. I shared the room with three other people and paid \$1.50 for the privilege; it was designed for twelve, two in a bed, but it was evidently a slow night.

ing to bowl, and the party with number 36 was still waiting for a pin-boy who would serve them.

They went to talk to the manager again. "We are still waiting to bowl," they said. "I can't help it if the pin-boys won't set pins," he answered.

What was it about these particular parties which made the pin-boys knock off for the night, or decide that one alley at a time was enough as soon as they showed up? They looked like ordinary people.

So, readers of LABOR ACTION in Berkeley, come down to the Berkeley Bowl at 2777 Shattuck Ave. at 8:00 p.m. every Monday night.

propriated the local landed gentry or bourgeoisie. They have treated their areas in much the same manner as traditional Chinese War Lords, retaining the social structure of semi-feudal, capitalist China.

closing down ten alleys one night and four another while the gallery was still full of customers waiting to bowl? . . . Or could it?

Friends of LABOR ACTION in Berkeley are very interested in the Mystery of the Berkeley Bowl. This Bowl is only a few blocks from a large colored residential section, yet it has been observed that no Negroes play there.

But solidarity alone is not enough. It only signifies the determination of the workers to win the struggle, their readiness for a showdown with the forces of reaction.

Not only LABOR ACTION, but also the American Civil Liberties Union and the NAACP are interested in this mystery.

So, readers of LABOR ACTION in Berkeley, come down to the Berkeley Bowl at 2777 Shattuck Ave. at 8:00 p.m. every Monday night.

On whether or not nationalization or collectivization has actually taken place in the Yenan province.

Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor . . .

Finds No Prosperity in Texas, Oklahoma

I have just returned from a hitch-hiking tour of Texas and Oklahoma . . . am of the opinion that my observations might interest you.

War prosperity in these regions, by and large, is definitely a thing of the past. Only in Dallas did I find any particular demand for labor . . . and this demand was for dishwashers.

The boll weevil seemed to be active in North Texas this year and has taken a good amount of the cotton.

The land turns from rich black loam to dirty red clay almost at the Texas-Oklahoma border.

In what would have been a 10-25 cent flop house some years ago. I shared the room with three other people and paid \$1.50 for the privilege; it was designed for twelve, two in a bed, but it was evidently a slow night.

To the north there are great oil fields owned by Cities Service, Gulf and other eastern corporations. I talked to two men who worked in the field east of Seminole.

I spoke to a truck driver who was working only three days a week. He sat on a wooden box before his ramshackle house and mended a pair of worn-out boots.

In Laredo waitresses usually get \$14 for a 56-hour week, food included. This works out to about \$9.00 cash, or something less than 25 cents per hour.

A college graduate to whom I spoke in a North Texas town of about 35,000 population claimed that he could have any one of six jobs — all paying \$21 a week.

In Austin and Dallas, Texas, and in Oklahoma City I was asked to register two names at the hotels where I first stopped.

of course, this has nothing to do with the political correctness of Comrade Gate's article, in which it was demonstrated that the "civil war" in China had nothing whatever involved in it worthy of the support of China's workers and peasants.

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Yours, John M. Barb.

Disputes Points in China Article

In a recent issue of LABOR ACTION, an article by Comrade Gates on the subject of the alleged "civil war" in China refers to Yenan province (that section of China dominated and controlled exclusively by the Chinese Stalinists).

This statement, as can be verified, is not correct. In their area of China, the Stalinists have not nationalized (or even distributed) the land; they have not collectivized the slight industry that exists; nor have they ex-

propriated the local landed gentry or bourgeoisie. They have treated their areas in much the same manner as traditional Chinese War Lords, retaining the social structure of semi-feudal, capitalist China.

Of course, this has nothing to do with the political correctness of Comrade Gate's article, in which it was demonstrated that the "civil war" in China had nothing whatever involved in it worthy of the support of China's workers and peasants.

Comradely, HENRY JUDD

It is impossible for me to take up the argument made by Comrade Judd

on whether or not nationalization or collectivization has actually taken place in the Yenan province. The reference to it in my articles was based entirely on the claims made in the Stalinist press in this country and on observations of some fellow travelers.

But Judd is wrong when he says that the Chinese Stalinists have "fully capitulated to Chiang-kai-shek" in any of the fundamental senses in which he indicates.

ALBERT GATES

URW's 18.5c Will Vanish in Price Rise

By GEORGE WHITNEY AKRON, March 4 — The United Rubber Workers, CIO, and the representatives of the Big Four rubber companies, Goodrich, Goodyear, Firestone and U. S. Rubber, have reached agreement on the URW seven-point program which originally demanded, among other things, a 30-cent-an-hour increase, a 30-hour work week, night shift bonus, etc.

From the information that was released to the URW membership yesterday, it would appear that most of these points were dumped by the conservative international leadership in order to get an 18 1/2 cents an hour increase with 12 cents of it retroactive to November 1.

On-the-job rates are to be negotiated at plant levels between local unions and their respective companies to adjust obvious inequalities in rates. They also gained agreement to double time pay for work done on Sundays and national holidays.

PRICE RISE NEXT In return for the 18 1/2 cents the joint union negotiating committee gave up the demand for overtime for everything over six hours a day and 36 hours a week, gave up the demand for an additional night shift bonus and agreed to allow the rubber companies to submit the 18 1/2 cents agreement to the National Wage Stabilization Board for approval so that they may demand price increases to "adequately" cover the wage raise.

The Akron Beacon Journal said in its headline story: "Office of Price Administration officials have been notified of the rubber wage increase agreement and are ready to consider immediately price increases on the basis of it."

In the face of this we recall to mind the financial status of two of the Big Four as reported in their financial statements for the past year. Goodyear's net profits of \$15,136,816 were only about \$67,000 less than in 1944 in spite of the fact that \$2,500,000 was set aside for reserves.

That the rubber workers, yielded their seven-point program in winning the 18 1/2 cents that will be wiped out by price increases is the result of timid and conservative leadership.

With the Workers Party

- AKRON "Trade Unionism and Socialism" A six-week class. Albert Gates, Editor of L. A. WP, Instructor. Tuesday evenings at 8. For information write to Bill Ford, Box 221, Akron, Ohio. BUFFALO HEADQUARTERS at 639 Main St. CHICAGO LABOR ACTION, 1703 West Madison St., Room 3, Chicago 12. Telephone: CHesapeake 5798. Office Hours: 3-5:30 p.m. daily, except Sunday. Tuesday and Wednesday evenings. DETROIT Detroit Workers Party announces a six-week WORKERS PARTY SCHOOL March 6 to April 13. Wednesdays: 7:00-8:30 — Public Speaking and Current Events. Instructor, Martin Harvey, LABOR ACTION staff writer. Wednesdays: 8:30-10 P.M. — The Role of the Trade Unions. Instructor, Ben Hall, Detroit organizer of the WP. Saturdays: 2:30-4:00 P.M. — What is Trotskyism? Instructor, Henry Judd, author of "India in Revolt." Saturdays: 4:00-5:30 P.M. — History of the American Labor Movement. Instructor, Robert Stiller. Fees: 50 Cents per six-week course; free to striking workers. Enroll now at Labor Action Hall, 3773 Gratiot (at Mt. Elliott). Office hours: Monday-Friday, 11 a.m. to 3 p.m.; Saturday, 1 to 5 p.m. LOS ANGELES Office, 127 South Broadway, Room 310. Office open daily 11 A.M. to 3 P.M. except Friday and Sunday. Open evening: Wednesday 6:00-8:30. Class in ABC of Marxism. Hal Draper instructor. Alternate Wednesdays, 8 P.M., Feb. 27, March 13, March 27, etc. Next Embassy Monthly Forum: Sunday, March 10. NEWARK LABOR ACTION HEADQUARTERS in Newark at 248 Market St. Forum at 8:30 Friday, March 15: UNO — New Arena for Power Politics Speaker: Robt. Shaw. NEW YORK CITY CITY OFFICE — 114 West 14th St., — open all day until 7 p.m. Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday — open until 10 p.m. SUNDAY, MARCH 17, members and friends of the Workers Party are as-

- sembling at the places listed below to go out and obtain subscriptions for LABOR ACTION: 276 Fulton St., 3rd floor, Brooklyn, 2143 Seventh Avenue, Room 166, Manhattan, 114 West 14th Street, 3rd floor, Manhattan. BROOKLYN BRANCH, Workers Party, Thursday, March 14, 8:30 p.m. THE AUTO AND POWER POLITICS, H. Fenwick, Place: Mozart Hall, 328 East 86th Street, Third Floor. CHELSEA BRANCH, Workers Party, Wednesday, March 13, 8:30 p.m. THE AUTO AND STEEL DYNAMITES (The Story Behind the Strikes), E. Victor, Labor Secretary, Workers Party, Local New York. Place: 300 West 28th Street, 2nd Floor. BROOKLYN BRANCH, Workers Party, Wednesday, March 13, 8:30 p.m. THE UNO AND POWER POLITICS, H. Fenwick, Place: 276 Fulton Street, 3rd Floor. HARLEM BRANCH, Workers Party, Wednesday, March 13, 8:30 p.m. SOCIALISM AND DEMOCRACY, Irving Howe, LABOR ACTION Staff, Place: 2143 Seventh Avenue, Room 106. The general public is invited to join us in our educational and discussion meetings on Wednesday evenings at 9 o'clock. The headquarters are also open on Mondays and Fridays for informal discussions, use of the library, etc. All are welcome. QUEENS BRANCH, Workers Party, Thursday, March 14, 8:30 p.m. SOCIALISM AND DEMOCRACY, Irving Howe, LABOR ACTION Staff, Place: To be announced next week. New York Workers Party School. Classes are now beginning. Come to the School on class nights and register. 1 — Program of the Workers Party. Tuesdays: 7:30-8:45 P.M. 2 — Social Forces in American History. Tuesdays: 9:30-10:15 P.M. 3 — Theories of Trotskyism. Fridays: 7:30-8:45 P.M. 4 — Marxist Economics. Fridays: 7:30-8:45 P.M. 5 — The World Today. Fridays: 9:00-10:15 P.M. 6 — The Negro in Labor History. Fridays: 9:00-10:15 P.M. All sessions at Labor Temple, 14th Street and 2nd Avenue. PHILADELPHIA HEADQUARTERS, 1105 Walnut St. SAN PEDRO LABOR ACTION HALL, 1039 So. Meyer St. For information of other Workers Party branches and LABOR ACTION offices, write to the National Office, 114 West 14th St., New York 11, N. Y.

THE NEW INTERNATIONAL For February Is Now on Sale The Crisis in France—Editorial England and Its Labor Government—Henry Judd The Pope Needs America—James T. Farrell Women, Biology and Socialism—Miriam Gould On the Tempo in Europe—Felix Morrow Replies to Questions—Albert Goldman Historical Retrogression or Socialist Revolution? — J. R. Johnson SINGLE ISSUE—25c YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION—\$2.00 The New International, 114 West 14th Street, New York 11, N. Y.



A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

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

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Editorials

Getting Righteous About Russia

While every American worker has an ear cocked to the anti-labor actions of the governmental servants of big business—the Case bill, the rash of injunctions, FEPC filibustering, etc.—he is likely to be deaf to the machinations of government in the current game of international power politics. Organized labor is vigilant and hold its economic struggles. It is beginning to develop a higher social consciousness in domestic politics: It retains a blind spot in world politics. Yet in this Atomic Age, in this era of the international division of labor, what happens to the world labor movement is of decisive importance to U. S. labor.

The hired representatives and diplomats of big business comport themselves in the international arena in the same fashion as they do at home: they defend the interests of capital against the little people of the world. The workings of U. S. foreign policy are perhaps most difficult to expose, because her imperialist methods are so subtle and her path is everywhere paved with dollars. She has had, least of any country, to resort to outright seizure, military intervention and the type of unceremonious imperialist rule that Britain and, more lately, Russia have found necessary.

It is in such a context that Secretary of State James F. Byrnes can sound off to this effect:

"We have no right to hold our troops in the territories of other sovereign states without their approval and consent.... No power has a right to help itself to alleged enemy properties in liberated or ex-satellite countries before a reparations settlement has been agreed upon by the Allies.... We must not conduct a war of nerves to achieve strategic aims."

This speech of Byrnes, abetted by those of Republican Senator Vandenberg and Truman's consultant, John Foster Dulles, was directed to Russia, whose interests collide with those of the U. S. Byrnes' outspoken declaration is the culmination of a series of Big Two wrangles, compromises and horse-tradings that have been aired at Yalta, Potsdam, the London conference of the foreign ministers and the meeting of the United Nations Organization. These quarrels signify that the defeat of the fascist nations, while it removed one set of combatants, did not end the imperialist rivalries, but that, as LABOR ACTION and the Workers Party have always maintained, these conflicts are inherent in capitalism.

Not that Russia and the United States can risk the danger of war tomorrow. Not while the memory of over 60,000,000 casualties is still fresh in the minds of the millions of people who were duped into supporting the Second World War because it would destroy the "aggressor" nations. Also, the victors need a breathing spell, they need time to digest the spoils of war. Hence, the conflicts among them are now confined to peaceful means: mobilization of public opinion against rivals, spy-scars, diplomatic threats, brandishing the atomic bomb, etc.

The main weapons of the United States in the conflicts over profitable markets and sources of raw materials are her great wealth, backed by a supreme military might and her technological su-

periority, which enables her to produce cheaply and swamp her competitors. Hence she wants an "open door" in every sphere of international trade to permit her economic penetration.

Britain, the junior partner of the U. S., is trying desperately to cling to her colonial holdings, where her favored position and empire agreements counterbalance her technological backwardness and financial bankruptcy.

Russia, a unique imperialism, based upon collectivized property in a relatively backward and undeveloped country, has to employ the primitive, predatory methods of plunder against which Byrnes inveighs. Her major weapon in the current conflict is the "Communist" International, a black-mail instrument of Stalin's foreign policy.

The sorest points of conflict are at present in Manchuria in the Far East, and in Iran in the Middle East. Russian armies are present in both areas, and Stalin is reluctant to order them out. Byrnes shows: no troops in "sovereign states without their approval and consent." But what about American troops in China? Ah, but we have the "approval and consent" of Chiang Kai-shek. It only remains to be pointed out that this dictator's hold upon the Chinese masses is cemented with U. S. financial and military assistance. Byrnes can afford to be righteous in defending the interests of U. S. capital and ordering Russian withdrawal from our preserves in China, that vast source of profitable trade for the big corporations.

Russia is also reluctant to withdraw her troops from Iran, the world's fourth ranking producer of oil, where the U. S. and Britain already have concessions. Russia may even come close to getting the "approval and consent" of the sovereigns of that impoverished country which has too long suffered the blessings of oil imperialism.

But Byrnes says nothing about the presence of British troops in every corner of the far-flung British Empire. What about India, Mr. Byrnes? What about Indonesia, Indo-China, Egypt and Palestine, where the masses of the people are throwing bare bodies, hand-made bombs and rifle fire against tanks and Spitfires as a signal of their "approval and consent" to the presence of British troops? (And, likely as not, every time a native fires at a British Tommy, he may shoot a U. S. soldier or hit a U. S. tank made in Detroit.) Didn't the Atlantic Charter promise self-government to all peoples, Mr. Byrnes?

And what about Russia's grabs prior to the end of the war? Were the "consent and approval" of the Poles, the Yugoslavs and the Baltic peoples obtained for the presence of Russian troops there and the forcible annexation of those countries to the bureaucratic collectivist empire of Stalin? Or are they merely Russia's "reward" for participating in the Allied camp in the war?

We can't expect anything but hypocritical mutterings from Mr. Byrnes. But the organized labor movement should realize its responsibilities internationally. It owes allegiance to its own class, abroad as well as at home. It should inscribe on its program, first, the return of all U. S. troops from foreign occupation duty. It should demand immediate freedom from imperialist domination and the right of self-government of all colonies.

One-Tenth of the Nation

Freeport and Columbia Murders

By J. R. Johnson

On February 4, in Freeport, Long Island, a boom town of the war industries, a policeman killed two Negro boys and wounded a third. They were brothers and all either at present in the armed forces or recently discharged. It was cold-blooded, deliberate murder. The consequence was an explosion of social tension. Immediately after the shootings, the police found it necessary to throw a cordon around the Freeport bus terminal, and men with Tommy guns and tear gas were placed at strategic points to "await a possible uprising of local Negroes."

Today the nation as a whole is further startled by what has taken place in Columbia, Tenn. A Negro woman and her son, Jimmy Stevenson, a Navy veteran, resisted slanders and attack by a white man. Word spread in the Negro community (known as Mink Slide) that the whites were coming to the settlement to get Stevenson. Stevenson took shelter in the home of neighbors and the rest of the Negro community mobilized to resist the arrest, which they feared would end in a lynching. The police came to Mink Slide with pistols blazing.

Between 8 p.m. Monday, February 25, and 8 a.m. Tuesday, a bloody riot raged in Columbia. Armed Negroes swarmed to the defense of the Negro district, barricading their stores and homes. Policemen, National Guardsmen and State Guardsmen not only raided the homes and businesses of the Negroes, but riddled them with

machine guns. Among the arms used by the Negroes were many which had been brought back from Europe by discharged Negro veterans. Captured were six double-barreled shotguns, nine single barreled shotguns, one German machine gun, several knives and many hundred rounds of ammunition.

When the toll was taken Tuesday morning, there had been ten persons wounded, four policemen, four white townsmen and two Negroes. Over 65 persons were arrested, all Negroes. Armed bands of whites rambled through the town. Five hundred guardsmen patrolled the streets. While the white administration of Columbia was promising the Negroes that these guardsmen were for their protection as well as for that of the whites, two of the Negro prisoners were murdered in the jail.

WHAT THEY SIGNIFY

I want to draw attention here not only to these incidents themselves but to what they signify. It is clear that such explosions are evidence of a tremendous underlying social tension revolving around the race question. Observers in Harlem and in other towns report that evidences of the feeling which preceded the explosions in 1943 are once more noticeable. This time, however, the presence of Negro veterans, trained in the use of arms, some of which they have brought with them, creates the possibility of bloody conflicts on a scale exceeding those which took

place when the soldiers were away from home.

It must not be thought that the incidents and their repercussions are confined to Freeport or Columbia. Negro communities all over the country are seething with indignation. The NAACP and other Negro organizations are as usual protesting mightily but doing nothing to mobilize the great masses of the Negro people in demonstrations which can give effective force to the rage which consumes them.

The Workers Party joins in the protests which have arisen from all parts of the country among whites and Negroes alike at these examples of American capitalist vandalism. For the time being I shall quote the last paragraph of my column of February 25 which dealt with the attempts of Negro veterans in Alabama to exercise their voting rights.

"Among these Negroes are some of the forces for the socialist revolution in the United States. For the moment their consciousness may be circumscribed within the limits of their own special problems, but they are men who have seen the world and have been trained and disciplined in a hard school. With flexibility and understanding, the revolutionary movement will not find it difficult to share the trials which await them and bring them to the knowledge that nothing but the overthrow of bourgeois society will give them full democratic rights."

Indians Retreat -- Temporarily

By HENRY JUDD

The great struggle of the Indian seamen of the Royal Indian Navy has been temporarily quelled by overwhelming force, and the efforts of the Indian people to win their freedom have shifted elsewhere. The seamen have been forced to surrender and return to work, despite the efforts of the people of Bombay, Karachi and New Delhi to come to their assistance.

The revolt has received a setback, but the seamen have not been defeated—they have retreated. The strike committee has announced it would immediately renew the struggle if a single one of their comrades is punished or victimized for their actions. Meanwhile, a general strike in the harbor city of Madras, by the textile workers, took place in support of the Indian seamen, while revolts were likewise reported among soldiers of the Indian army. The struggle for India's independence is by no means over!

But, at the same time, we must recognize the fact that never was a revolutionary struggle so betrayed and sabotaged as was the week-long revolt of the Indian seamen! The 7,000 sailors who, defying the threats and violence of the British, organized their committees of action, went out into the streets of the harbor cities and demonstrated in face of the police and British troops, these 7,000 sailors

were openly sold down the river by the reactionary and conservative leaders of the Congress party and by the Moslem League.

Jinnah, leader of the Moslem League, called no rallies and made no efforts on behalf of the sailors. He stood aside and now offers his services as a lawyer for any Moslem seaman who may be tried by court-martial! The Congress leaders—including the so-called "socialist" Nehru—went even further.

The Congress offered itself as an "intermediary" between the British and the Indian seamen, at the same time urging the sailors to surrender, go back to work, and "arbitrate" their grievances. The leaders openly condemned the demonstrations, rioting and defensive actions against British brutality on the part of the people. Addressing a crowd of 250,000 people in Bombay, Nehru condemned "last week's anti-British rioting" and declared that the people who led the movement were "counter-revolutionaries!" What a vile slander this amounts to—the 200 to 300 sailors and workers of Bombay who died under British guns were "counter-revolutionaries," who — to further quote this would-be Kerensky of India—"were destroying their own goal of independence."

Instead of supporting the seamen, calling upon the Congress Party

for demonstrations of sympathy and solidarity—in a word, anything that would help their cause—these leaders, both Congress Party and Moslem League, lined up with the British authorities and openly sabotaged the people's struggle. This is the basic reason why the British succeeded, once more, in clamping on the lid and why they can report a return to "normality" in the cities. The Congress and Moslem leaders, of course, were particularly anxious to quiet matters because the new Cripps Mission is about due to arrive in India. Since they desire only a peaceful "solution" to the India crisis, they are anxious to have a calm, orderly atmosphere for their political negotiations.

But, as has been demonstrated innumerable times in the past, the underlying factors remain and will not permit such a compromise. The demand for independence, the great misery and poverty of the country, the hatred of the British exploiters, the threat of hunger and famine, the critical land situation, the unemployment of the tens of thousands of workers made idle by the war's end—all these and innumerable other factors make a revival of the seamen's mutiny and a continuation of the struggle, inevitable. The revolt of India's 7,000 sailors will go down as a great event in India's freedom fight.

Yalta Secrets Come to Light

The secret deals made at the Yalta Conference by Roosevelt, Stalin and Churchill seem to have no end. Every few weeks a new "secret of Yalta" is produced. We list the latest:

1. The decision to give Russia three votes in the United Nations Assembly, and 2, the decision to give the United States three votes in the UNA.

These two decisions are now revealed to have been made at Yalta on February 11, 1945. But on March 4, 1945, Secretary of State Stettinius, who was present in Yalta when the above decisions were made, brazenly told newspaper reporters that "All nations will have one vote each on a basis of sovereign equality."

When rumors began to leak out about the three-vote deal, Roosevelt was forced to admit it in the newspapers. A howl went up immediately. Roosevelt played smart, switched position on three U. S. votes, and said he had no control over Russia's decision.

Stettinius rushed into print at that

time with another statement that "The only other decision reached at Yalta and not made public in the Crimea Conference communiqué related to initial membership in the international organization when it meets, and to trusteeship." But events since have proved that the Stettinius statement was so far from the truth that one wonders why he didn't stick to his usual diplomatic double-talk instead of making an outright statement like that.

3. The exchange of letters between King Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia and Roosevelt in which Roosevelt promised he would take no action with respect to Palestine. The King eventually produced the letters and shocked the Zionists, who had Roosevelt's assurances that he would support a Jewish homeland in Palestine.

4. The deal to give Russia the Kurile Islands if Russia entered the war in the Pacific. Stettinius forgot this little deal when he made the statement quoted above. A slip of the

memory on a deal of this type is understandable, especially when it only involves the following:

a. Violation of the Atlantic Charter that presumably promised no grabbing of territory in this war.

b. Disposal of ex-enemy territory without the formality of a peace treaty.

c. The decision was not for temporary occupation, or delicate "trusteeship," but outright annexation.

d. The people of the Kuriles were not to be asked if they wanted to become part of Russia.

5. The deal to give Russia special rights in the Chinese coastal cities of Port Arthur and Dairen. Another trifle Roosevelt and Stettinius forgot to mention to the people.

Who knows how many more deals were made at Yalta and the other conferences? Who knows what secret power deals are being made at THIS MOMENT in secret diplomatic conferences that the people know nothing about?

French Government Against Wage Increases

Dear Comrades:

The French situation becomes clearer day after day. We now have a government with a socialist-communist majority. Its platform is: no raise in wages, no raise in prices, and savings, savings, savings. Savings on the army budget (but the generals do not want this and the ministers cannot challenge them); savings on officials, etc. This deflation was, until now, the platform of the right-wing parties (between the two wars, Poincaré in 1926 and Laval in 1934). Now it is, however, the platform of the "socialist," André Philip, with the support of the "communist," Maurice Thorez, and other leaders.

means: rise in indirect taxes (already imposed on tobacco, railroad fares, soon on postage stamps); rise in prices (meat, and soon on bread, because the government wants to save the subsidy now being given to the producers).

The first result of this policy was seen last week with the strike of the printers, which prevented the appearance of newspapers for several days. The strikers were supported by nobody except the PCI (French Trotskyist Party), and they received a delegation from the PCI. The strike was arbitrated by Louis Saillant (reformist labor leader of the CGT—General Federation of Labor) and the strikers went back to work. But

the proposal of Saillant was held to be unacceptable by the "communist" labor minister, Ambrose Croizat, because "no raise in wages" is allowed! The printers are very bitter against the PCF (French Communist Party). This is very interesting because the printers' union has for long been a very progressive union.

The great hope of the French government is the trip of Leon Blum to America. If he comes back with dollars it will be good, if he comes back without dollars it will be bad, very bad indeed for Gouin, who is the puppet of Leon Blum!

Comradely,
C.

OFF LIMITS

By JAMES M. FENWICK

General Bradley, administrator of Veterans Affairs, recently made public figures on veterans' unemployment which are of more than passing interest.

There are 1,000,000 veterans unemployed. In addition, there are 1,500,000 veterans who "are not yet actively seeking work." Further, Bradley revealed, "the unemployment rate for veterans in the labor force is about three times as high as the rate for the civilian labor force as a whole."

The first point of interest is that despite the enormous strides made in industrial reconversion and despite the large market for consumer goods which exists, United States capitalism is proving unable to furnish work for all those who desire it. Already United States labor is beginning to feel the effects of the enlarged and improved plant equipment created during the war—improvements which were made at the expense of the necessary working force.

What is foreshadowed here is the permanent army of unemployed which characterizes capitalist production in the United States even during the best peace-time years.

THE VETERANS' PROBLEM

The second point of interest is that unemployment among veterans is three times as great as among the civilian labor force as a whole. This is due not only to the competitive advantage enjoyed by non-veterans, who had access to the jobs sooner and had more experience, but to a conscious discrimination by many employers, who have found veterans "unstable"—that is to say have found the veterans the most uncompromising in pressing union demands against the employer.

The danger in this situation, and a danger which can become acute in the future, is that the "civilian" worker will be pitted against the worker who was a veteran.

Capital has already made more than one attempt to do this in an effort to divert hatred from the system of capitalism itself, which is the root cause of unemployment, to sections of the working class. Veteran is pitted against civilian worker, and the civilian against the veteran.

SEEDS OF FASCISM

This problem existed in classic form in Germany following the last war. Out of the unemployed soldiers, and especially out of those who had been so disoriented by the war as to be unable to settle down to normal living, were combed elements who later helped constitute the fascist movement, which later destroyed the organized labor movement in Germany.

One of the dangers inherent in such a group of unemployed as the 1,500,000 veterans who "are not yet actively seeking work," and many of whom are psychologically demoralized, is that they will fall into this method of thinking.

WHAT MUST BE DONE

That is why it is so important for the labor movement to take up and fight for a full program of employment for ALL workers, including the veterans. Labor can afford to overlook the problems of the veterans only at the price of creating a dangerous anti-labor force.

That is why civilian worker and veteran alike must fight for socialism, which alone can end unemployment and war, and the pitting of one worker against another.

Blackmail Game For Peace Draft

By JOE LEONARD

March 2, 1946, is six months after V-J Day. To millions of servicemen it was a long awaited anniversary. "The duration plus six months." That's the phrase millions of men had written in their hearts through years of infested jungles and booby-trapped villages. "It's only for the duration plus six months" they said to themselves again and again, and said it again in their letters home. But the government lied to them.

The Selective Service Law prescribes that men shall be released from involuntary servitude within six months of the end of the "duration." But today, although the legal period has elapsed, they are still keeping men in, even men who have been overseas for a year and longer, many of whom have seen combat and been wounded in action.

A RANSOM VOTE FOR CONSCRIPTION

Why did the Administration first claim they were discharging men as fast as possible, and then later admit that they were deliberately holding men? The GIs who demonstrated all over the world were lied to, and when the lie was out, they demanded some honest answers to some honest questions. All they got were some vague statements from Gen. Eisenhower. The question remains to be answered: what's behind the demobilization slowdown?

The first and main reason is this: The Administration is using servicemen who want to get out as hostages, just as though they were kidnapped, and the ransom note reads, "You'll have to ransom the freedom of these men by giving up the freedom of other men to take their places." President Truman and Gen. Eisenhower know that the American people are against peace-time conscription and against a large standing Army.

The editor of Yank magazine's mail column stated that two-thirds of the soldiers were against continuation of the draft in peace-time. So the brass hats try to change the men's minds with, "Let us draft replacements, so we can send you home." It isn't working, though. The American people in and out of uniform will not be brow-beaten into accepting a law they suspect.

We should demand a people's referendum on peace-time conscription. That is the way to democratically decide the issue.

Most of the war-time regulations were repealed without declaring the duration. But not the Selective Service Act. Some war powers of the government, like price-ceilings, have been declared desirable on their own merits and are continued very much changed, into peace-time. But the government still preserves the legal fiction that the duration is not yet reached—in order to force through a law on peace-time conscription. They are afraid to come out and tell the American people what the real reasons are for conscription.

(To be continued)

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AID THE GENERAL MOTORS STRIKERS

• The heads of families, mothers of children, veterans—all those courageous men and women who man the General Motors picket lines—are carrying the ball for all of organized labor, and the consuming public as well.

• For over 100 days they have gone without work and without wages—in an effort to heighten wages, and keep prices down. Now they are all on their uppers, some of them selling their basic household necessities.

• It is up to every reader of LABOR ACTION to assist them. Union members, call upon your local to send funds to aid these heroic men and women. Many of you have already received wage increases without a day off, because of the efforts of the GM strikers.

Send contributions to:
GM STRIKE COMMITTEE, DETROIT, MICHIGAN

GM STRIKE LESSON: POLITICAL ACTION IS LABOR'S URGENT NEED!

(Continued from page 1)
have stuck militantly to the line; nor because the other auto workers in Detroit would have been less determined. Quite the contrary! These workers are no less ready than the GM workers to give battle and they have proved that countless times over.

It is, rather, because Murray, as leader of the CIO and the steel workers, depended on Truman for a settlement and accepted Truman's price-raising, wage-fixing formulas. It is because R. J. Thomas, too, as

president of the UAW, was more concerned with advice from the White House than from the picket line.

REUTHER'S RESPONSIBILITY

Reuther cannot escape his share of responsibility for the retreat. As leader of the GM workers, he first put forward a program that pierced to the heart of the issue. Speaking for the GM workers, he demanded that GM open its books, related prices, profits and wages, and thereby lifted the quality of the GM strike to new heights in the American labor movement. He demonstrated that labor

spoke for the masses of people. Even sections of the capitalist press had to admit grudgingly that his attack on the prerogatives of free enterprise was backed by unassailable fact.

At the time, in commending his activities, we also criticized his shortcomings. We argued that he had taken a significant step forward but that he hadn't pursued the logic of his own arguments either in terms of specific economic demands or their political implications; that is, toward a WORKERS' government. It is also necessary, now, to criticize him

sharply for looking to the White House for direction, for agreeing to the Truman fact-finding committee recommendation (after the union had assembled more facts than GM or the government could possibly lie their way out of), for not aggressively defending the GM program against the leadership of the Auto Workers International and against Murray, for not openly and actively opposing company security provisions in the Ford settlement. That he could have mobilized wide and decisive support in the auto union for the GM program is demonstrated by the authority he commands despite his retreat, as indicated in the election of a Reuther slate for the UAW convention in Thomas' own Chrysler Local. In many instances he is acting cringingly where he should be acting aggressively.

The situation today in GM is that the corporation has refused arbitration and rejected the type of membership vote proposed by the union. It appears as though the issue will be decided by the government in one way or another. And that is the point we want to come to.

A VITAL LESSON

In every issue that confronts us today, not merely in the GM strike, we see the hand of government. More and more it is becoming the practice to debate labor's disputes with government representatives of industry, rather than with industry itself. Government intervention is generally established practice. It was Truman, the head of the government, who dreamed up the most recent "Big Steal" formula fixing wages far under what labor demanded and needed. It was Truman, the head of the government, who permitted industry's breakthrough on prices. It was Truman's "fact-finding" procedure that cut GM demands from 30 cents to 19 1/2 cents. It is Truman, or his appointed agencies, who will probably decide the outcome of the GM strike now!

For several weeks now we have used one phrase in LABOR ACTION to describe these happenings: WHAT LABOR HAS WON ON THE PICKET LINE IS BEING STOLEN FROM LABOR IN WASHINGTON! That is, industry didn't hand out even the miserly 18-cent wage raises freely or willingly. It had to give them because labor demonstrated its temper on the picket lines. It gave what it did because price boosts more than made up for the wage boost, and because labor's leadership was prepared to yield the real picket line demands under government pressure.

So, too, the wage increase of the GM strikers will be eaten away, stolen, by price increases. And if, as

likely, the GM contract will be better than other union contracts, it will only be because government agencies will hesitate to trifle too much with men and women who spent more than a hundred sacrificing days on the picket line.

CONCLUSION IS CLEAR

What conclusions do we draw? The conclusions, it seems to us, are obvious: The government is an instrument of the capitalist class. It serves their interests. It acts "against" capitalism only to the extent that it protects capitalism from the wrath of workers by small concessions. To depend on this government to settle labor's case is to depend on the agents of capitalism, the CLASS enemies of labor. Obviously that is foolish. Who will depend on his enemy to champion his cause? Thus, our leaders, like Murray, who depend on Truman, are putting our case into the enemy's hands.

What can we do? Here too the conclusion is obvious: we must strive for our own government, a workers' government. How? The very first step is to organize an INDEPENDENT Labor Party. We emphasize INDEPENDENT because the Political Action Committee of the CIO, which pretends to be the skeleton of a labor party, is not independent. It works cheek by jowl with capitalist politicians and their parties. PAC must be forced by the pressure of labor's ranks to free itself of its capitalist party ties. And if it refuses, then a Labor Party must be organized without regard to PAC.

Many union leaders, among them Reuther, have spoken in favor of a

Labor Party. Certainly many workers, above all the auto workers, have declared themselves for a Labor Party. Nobody can tell us that GM workers who demonstrated their class solidarity against all kinds of odds on the picket line will not equally demonstrate their class solidarity in political action.

Or, let us look at it briefly from another point of view. We've spoken of one type of government intervention. There is the other and more nakedly ugly type witnessed by the police attacks against workers in

Philadelphia, New Jersey, Los Angeles and elsewhere. That is the government at work in its most unadorned aspects. It speaks so clearly for itself that we shall not elaborate on this part of the argument.

Every phase of our life brings us square against the issue of class versus class, working class versus capitalist class. That is socialist talk, we will be told. Right! It is socialist talk. We of LABOR ACTION and the Workers Party are socialists and not municipal socialists who are satisfied with a slight improvement here, a slight improvement there—while the great iniquity of capitalist rule remains. We are revolutionary socialists and it is our object to replace capitalist society by a workers' society. For it is by socialism alone that we can achieve real security and freedom.

To achieve that, however, we must understand and wage our struggle on a political level as well as an economic level. That is why we call upon you to join the Workers Party as a party for socialist action. And that is why we also call upon labor to organize the political equivalent of our unions—a Labor Party.

Just as our unions fight for our immediate economic demands, so will a Labor Party, built upon our unions, advance our interests as a class in the political arena.

This is the lesson of the steel settlement, the GM strike, the police violence against pickets in Philadelphia, and of every battle in which labor is engaged. For that is the way toward INDEPENDENT political action and toward a WORKERS' GOVERNMENT.

UAW Convention Issues Blurred

By BEN HALL

DETROIT—UAW locals have been electing delegates for the annual convention of the union which meets on March 23 at Atlantic City. At the same time many locals are electing their local union officers or have already done so.

The elections this year are taking place in an entirely different atmosphere from the campaign that preceded the elections to the 1944 convention, dominated as it was by a furious campaign around the issue of the no-strike pledge. In the last elections, the issues were clear. In this election the problems that face the union and the platform of the various groupings in the International, are blurred over and unclear to the rank and file.

CHANGE IN SITUATION

The last convention witnessed the emergence of a powerful Rank and File caucus, organized against both the Addes and the Reuther factions which dominate the UAW. It gained the votes of over one-third of the delegates on its main slogan: "Rescind the No-strike Pledge." The Rank and File group had made its appearance long before the sessions of the convention when at the Michigan State convention of the CIO, the delegates from the auto locals led by the Briggs Local 212 and the Willow Run Local 50 delegations announced that they were organizing independently of the 1944 UAW convention.

In the referendum on the no-strike about 40% of the votes were cast for the proposal of the Rank and File caucus to withdraw the no-strike pledge. In local after local, candidates for office and for conventions ran on clear platforms: some for the repeal of the pledge and others, of course, for its retention. But at any rate, the issues were there for anyone to see.

Now however, the Rank and File caucus has disappeared. The Willow Run Local 50 for all practical purposes went out of existence when the plant shut down. The progressive group that controlled the Briggs Local at the time of the last convention has been defeated by a more conservative tendency. Reports are that even in Local 15 at Fleetwood, where some of the most aggressive militants in the UAW were in control for at least three years, the local elections registered defeats for these excellent progressives.

In Local 606, Larry Yost who headed the former Rank and File group is running for local president backed by a caucus of militants who oppose both the Addes and the Reuther groups in the local on a clear platform including the following planks: (1) for an independent labor party; (2) against company security, and (3) opposition to the present top leadership of the International. However, this group and this platform are unfortunately outstanding exceptions in the elections in this area.

Support is temporarily flowing back into the channels of the two big and powerful Reuther and Addes factions.

WHY THE CHANGE?

This tendency is not surprising. At the last convention, the leadership of both these groups was firmly behind the no-strike pledge; they deserted the membership which had to fight the employers in so-called "wildcat" or unauthorized stoppages; they functioned openly as strike breakers; they removed the officials of locals which insisted upon fighting the employers.

With the end of the war, however, the leadership got more elbow room for itself. Their past crimes were temporarily put aside as they bowed

to the pressure of the rank and file and, at least in the case of General Motors, put the stamp of approval upon a nation-wide walkout. The Stalinist supporters of Addes, reacting to the needs of the rulers of Russia in its conflict with the United States and Great Britain, became critics of the tactics of the International Executive Board and appeared to become "radical" once again.

At the same time, the long and bitter strike against General Motors has shown the workers how powerful the big monopolies are, how great is their power of resistance, and how mighty the struggle of the working class must be to defeat them. Small isolated strikes were the rule yesterday. Now, however, after a three months' shutdown of ALL the GM plants, the limits of these partial stoppages is clearer. The first elementary, even if erroneous, conclusion of the active unionists seems to be to shy away from the smaller "opposition" groups in order to return to the groups with apparent power and influence. Doubtless, many workers translate the wholly justified desire for unity and solidarity against the big corporations into a willingness for "unity" with and for the top leadership of the union. This becomes an even greater tendency because of the shifting positions of the leadership in reaction to the post-war problems.

However, the old problems of the unions still remain although temporarily concealed from the eyes of the membership. The leadership has accepted company security and speed-up provisions in the new contracts. It has no platform to meet the political offensive of big business against labor. As the months go by, the rank and file will feel these shortcomings of its leaderships. The hum of the rapidly moving assembly lines will sing new tunes.

Hold GM Picket Line Intact - -

(Continued from page 1)
Imously by the 200 delegates from GM locals meeting here for a report on the progress of the strike, for the delegates were determined to insist upon no less than the 19 1/2 cents an hour wage increase and renewal of the old contract.

When the UAW-CIO negotiating committee, headed by Walter Reuther, UAW-GM strike director, including R. J. Thomas, union president, and George Addes, secretary-treasurer, told the corporation Saturday morning of the results, the corporation issued a big blast charging that "union politics" was responsible for the rejection.

PROPOSES ARBITRATION

When the GM delegates met on Saturday to hear the latest report on the situation, Walter Reuther, who had already retreated from the magnificent position originally adopted by the GM strikers, came forward with the argument that the union leadership would have to answer to "public opinion" and prove that GM was lying again. Claiming it would demonstrate that the union leaders were not "playing politics" and that it would settle the strike on what he considered a satisfactory basis, he proposed that the three remaining issues in dispute be arbitrated.

These issues are the one-cent difference in hourly wage rates between that proposed by GM and that demanded by the union today, the dating of the retroactive wage provisions in the contract, and the formulation of clause 63 concerning seniority and promotions.

The first reaction of many delegates was against the arbitration proposal. For the most part this was not based on the arbitration issue itself but on the fact that the question of plant grievance had not been settled satisfactorily in the negotiations. One delegate spoke directly against the

arbitration proposal. However, to the majority of delegates it evidently seemed that this "strategic retreat" had to be accepted as a way of settling the very prolonged strike.

It must be understood that if today there is necessity to retreat to arbitration, it is because the original GM strike program had been pushed in the background by the CIO union leadership's acceptance of Truman's "fact-finding," wage-fixing formula. When Murray and Thomas and others placed their reliance on Truman instead of on the picket line strength of the union members, they exerted a tremendous pressure, which Reuther proved himself incapable of countering, AGAINST the GM strikers. These men and women, in asking for 30 cents an hour increase, had stated labor's case well. In tying wages, profits and prices together, they had demanded that the corporation open its books and grant a wage increase WITHOUT a price increase. The replacement of real collective bargaining by arbitration would not have risen now had the union leadership heaved to the line taken by the militant GM strikers, whose heroic struggle and progressive demands paved the way for whatever wage gains labor has won in current negotiations.

Whatever the merits of the arbitration proposal from the point of view of the union's struggle, the daily press has been forced to change its tune, taken from the company, that "union politics" was prolonging the strike. As it happens, and largely for the reason that many of them look more to Truman than to the workers' strength, the entire union leadership is for arbitration. The fact of the matter is that the corporation lies when it charges that the strike can't be settled until after the UAW convention because of "union politics." And the lie is intended to cover up its refusal to grant what the GM

workers have incontestably proved the corporation can grant.

LEADERS' RESPONSIBILITY

In the necessity of the UAW-CIO retreating on the remaining issues of the strike is revealed the final results of the blundering, divided and uncoordinated policies pursued by the UAW-CIO, and the national leadership of the CIO in the strike wave.

Above all, the anxiety of the GM officials to get Philip Murray, president of the CIO, to handle the union negotiations shows they expected to get him to end the strike by an 18 1/2 cent an hour wage increase instead of sticking to the "fact-finding" board recommendation which had already whittled the union's demand down from 30 cents to 19 1/2 cents. Likewise the settlement of the Ford and Chrysler negotiations on the 18 1/2 cent basis (and steel and other settlements as well) left the GM strikers alone in sticking to their demands.

There was no report to the delegates indicating that the union negotiations would accept any company security proposals. Unless there is a sudden surprise, and this appears most unlikely since the Reuther faction presents itself in "behind the scenes" talk as an opponent of company security proposals, the GM contract will be superior to the other contracts signed by the UAW with the major companies. Any arbitrator deciding on the GM issues will have to remember that the GM workers showed their mettle in the more than 100 days of their strike and in the GM strike program they first advanced.

In the event that the corporation refuses to accept the UAW arbitration proposal, the delegates voted to summon the entire CIO to help them, intensify the strike struggle until the demands of the workers are met.

Drive Nears 2,000 Mark

By REVA CRAINE, Press Manager

As this is being written, returns from only four branches of the Workers Party on the first LABOR ACTION SUNDAY have reached us. With only New York, Akron, Philadelphia and Chicago reporting in time to make our deadline, the activities of the Workers Party branches and LABOR ACTION Boosters during this past week have nearly doubled the total number of new subscriptions, and as we move into the sixth week of the Subscription Drive we know that the 5,000 goal is going to be surpassed!

CHICAGO AND AKRON REPORT

The Chicago Branch came into its own this week with a total of 210 subscriptions, the result of two Sunday mobilizations for house-to-house canvassing. An enthusiastic letter from the Sub Drive Director of that branch indicates that Chicago intends to go far beyond its quota.

"We jumped the gun of the official beginning of the five Red Sundays on March 3rd. This morning, February 24, we held a sub drive mobilization of the branch, from which we obtained 128 subs. The mobilization this morning was met with great enthusiasm on the part of the participating comrades. Individual sub-getting ranged from five to seventeen in two hours of intensive canvassing. One new member obtained fourteen subs. The Chicago branch held this mobilization just as a preliminary to the beginning of the official drive. We expect to exceed our quota of 350. Individual quotas of 20 subs per member we expect to be exceeded by every comrade.

"Fraternally,
P. N."

A report from the Akron Branch on its plans for the campaign, a request for additional subscription booklets, and 59 subscriptions from that area this week are all the evidence that we need that this branch will "definitely meet the quota of 200." As a matter of fact, we are convinced that with a little extra push, the Akron Branch will be among those which exceed their quotas.

A LABOR ACTION booster from Reading who has been helping the branch there writes:

"Concerning the subscriptions to LABOR ACTION, just now, due to the strike, subscriptions will be a little difficult to get. However, I will see what I can do. I have been getting ten copies a week and have been giving these out at the local union hall here. The fellows at union headquarters seem very well pleased with LABOR ACTION. As far as I am concerned, LABOR ACTION is tops. It is one labor paper that pulls no punches. It is not sponsored by capitalists that print their propaganda to fool the general public as 95 per cent of all present-day papers do.—H. H. H."

That hits it just right! LABOR ACTION is published in the interests of the working men and women of the country—and it is supported by working men and women. It presents the news from the point of view of labor and is out in front in every battle fighting on the side of labor. That is why it deserves and must have your support! If you have not yet joined, become a LABOR ACTION BOOSTER, as so many of our readers have. It is not too late to do so! Simply write for a subscription booklet and begin spreading LABOR ACTION among your fellow workers!

NEW YORK LOCAL MAKES BIG ADVANCE

This week, as a result of two mobilizations, one at the FEPC rally in Madison Square Garden and the other on LABOR ACTION SUNDAY, the New York Local of the Workers Party obtained 442 subscriptions and fulfilled 41 per cent of its quota. Special arrangements are being made to keep up this pace of sub-getting as New York moves toward exceeding its quota of 2,000 subs.

SECOND LABOR ACTION SUNDAY

The second in the series of LABOR ACTION SUNDAYS is on March 17, when all branches of the Workers Party are meeting at 10 a.m. at their respective headquarters for a nation-wide canvass for subscriptions. Consult the Workers Party Activities column for the address at which you can meet members of the party if you wish to join in this mobilization.

Branch	Quota	Week Ending March 4	Total	Percent- age
Akron	200	59	82	41
Baltimore	10	—	1	10
Boston	10	—	14	140
Buffalo	200	—	5	2.5
Chicago	350	187	210	60
Cleveland	100	1	7	7
Connecticut	10	—	—	—
Denver	25	—	9	36
Detroit	1000	72	217	21.7
Hibbing	100	11	99	99
Los Angeles	250	—	33	13
Louisville	50	—	—	—
Madison	25	—	—	—
Muskegon	—	28	28	—
Newark	150	15	76	50.6
New York	2000	442	820	41
Oregon	10	—	5	50
Philadelphia	500	17	48	9.5
Reading	75	—	39	52.0
San Francisco	200	27	111	55.5
San Pedro	250	20	44	17.6
Seattle	200	1	39	19.5
Streator	25	5	11	44
St. Louis	25	4	10	40
Syracuse	10	—	—	—
Youngstown	25	—	—	—
Miscellaneous	—	—	23	—
TOTALS		889	1931	38.6

FEPC Meet Lacks Program

By CHRIS WARREN

NEW YORK—Over 15,000 people came to Madison Square Garden on February 28 to express their demand for a permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission. They came eagerly and in a militant spirit. But as speaker after speaker rose and offered nothing but a reiteration of the fact that discrimination is "un-American," "ungodly" and "unfair," their enthusiasm waned.

For over four hours the audience sat passive and unmoved while more than fifteen speakers assured them that "the fight would go on." Not one of the speakers offered any kind of program that would guarantee a permanent FEPC to the minorities of this country.

Representatives from the CIO and AFL voiced their support of a permanent FEPC. Every worker must be made to realize that the fight against discrimination is inextricably tied up with the fight for higher wages. The employers have always sought to divide Negro and white workers. They understand that a fully united working class is an unbeatable force.

Senator Morris promised the audience that "the fight would go on." But if the "supporters" of the FEPC bill refuse to take the one step that would definitely defeat the filibusters, what will this new "fight" be but another "farce"?

WORDS ARE CHEAP!

Senator Chavez of New Mexico urged the voters in the audience to remove from Congress all those who do not come out openly for the FEPC. However, he reported that the Republicans, whose election platform supported the FEPC, failed to carry out their party's platform. Words are cheap, especially at election time!

President Truman sent a message to the rally through Secretary of Labor Schwelienbach. He is determined that "the fair employment practice principle be enacted into legislation by the Congress of the United States." When the FEPC ordered the government-operated bus lines in Washington to employ Negroes, Truman reversed the decision. When Truman had the opportunity to extend the temporary FEPC he turned it into an "investigating committee." While the filibuster was raging in the Senate chambers Truman was silent. The thousands in the audience at Madison Square Garden showed little confidence in the President's "message of support."

The meeting was enlivened by cheers, whistling and stamping of approval when the March on Washington movement was mentioned. Many in the audience knew, even though the speakers on the platform seemed to forget, that the temporary FEPC was set up by President Roosevelt when the Negroes threatened to march on Washington and present their demands in a body.

Many in the audience realized that the only way to impress upon Congress and the President that they had had enough of this fakery was to gather their forces and march to the capital in a demonstration of their solidarity and strength.

The Democratic and Republican parties have been making campaign promises to the Negroes and other minorities for years. It is impossible to force them to keep their promises. The minority groups in the United States must support the formation of an independent labor political party. Only the true representatives of the working class will be able to carry on an honest and successful fight for jobs for all regardless of race, religion or color.

Members of the Workers Party distributed copies of LABOR ACTION and sold over 150 subscriptions to the paper at the end of the meeting.

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