

**WE SAY—**  
Labor Must Form an  
Independent Labor Party

# LABOR ACTION

**WE ARE FOR—**  
A Guaranteed  
Annual Wage  
For All Workers

August 20, 1945

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

ONE CENT

# THE WAR IS OVER!

## BUT THE STRUGGLE OF THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD FOR PEACE, FREEDOM AND SECURITY STILL GOES ON!

By ALBERT GATES

The Japanese acceptance of the Potsdam Declaration brought an end to the war in the Pacific. Thus, six years after the German army crossed the borders of Poland to begin the bloodiest and most destructive conflict in world history, an armed peace has been achieved.

For the second time within the memory of living man the world has an opportunity to create a lasting peace, but with the destiny of mankind in the hands of the same rulers who plunged the world into this global slaughter, prospects of such a peace are even less than they were after the First World War.

This war too began as a "war for freedom." Twenty-two years after the "war to end all wars" the peoples of the world were asked to support the slaughter of uniformed men, the extermination of tens of millions of civilians and the destruction of hundreds of billions of dollars in wealth, because this time the rulers of all countries gave their final word to end war for all time, to insure freedom and security for the whole world. If these pledges were made and unredeemed after the First World War, this time they were to be kept. All that was asked of the peoples of the world was to give their unstinted support to the ruling classes as they waged a war of extermination of these same peoples.

The promise of a lasting peace, of true freedom and democracy and genuine security came not alone from the rulers of the Allied camp. These were also the promises made by the totalitarian rulers of the Axis countries. Each imperialist power was, in the words of its capitalist ruling class, fighting for life, the opportunity to expand, to win peace, freedom and security for its peoples.

Strange world? No, not strange at all. This is the capitalist world. This is the world of competition, of exploitation, of production for profit. This is the world of imperialism.

The great powers must ever wage war against each other for possession of the riches of the world in the form of markets, raw materials, cheap labor and territory. The victory of the Allied powers over Germany, Japan and Italy will not and cannot guarantee the peace of the world because the same causes which brought about this war continue to exist and to create conditions for a Third World War.

### What They Promised The People

Even before the United States entered the war in December of 1941, it was already a participant in the fight against the Axis. Roosevelt had already helped to draw up with Churchill, that arch-imperialist, the famous Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms, which was a declaration of the intentions of the Allied powers. This statement of principle was a necessary element in Allied strategy of winning the support of the peoples in their own countries as well as those living under the heel of German, Italian and Japanese rule, to support a war which they regarded with great suspicion as another imperialist war for profit.

A new world was promised the peoples of all countries. The Allies would, upon the victory, guarantee democratic rights, true freedom, security and lasting peace for all people. All the people would have a right to their national freedom, to choose their own governments, and to determine the future of their lives. All countries would be given equal access to the riches of the world; all nations would be given the opportunity to produce and trade in order to raise the living standards of the whole world.

At the time when these grand promises were made the Workers Party branded them as cynical lies. In its manifesto against the war, the Workers Party declared that this was fundamentally the same kind of war as that fought in 1914-18, that it was an imperialist war for empire, aggrandizement and profit. The Workers Party stated that the propaganda of the Allied rulers

was merely a restatement in new forms of the propaganda of the Allied rulers in the First World War in order to deceive the people and win their support to the bloody carnage which threatened to wipe out civilization.

Even before the war had ended in Europe, but at a time when the military fortunes of the Allies had changed to a point where victory was a certainty, the "noble ideas" announced by Roosevelt and Churchill were completely forgotten.

Hitler had enslaved almost all of Europe on his road to the conquest of the world. He destroyed the independence of nations. The fascist beasts ruled the Continent with naked force, destroying what they could not subject to their brutal rule.

During the early years of the war, German fascism seemed all-powerful, incapable of destruction. But its immense power could not prevent the emergence of a new force on the Continent, the mighty resistance movements of the people in all countries fighting for their liberation from all tyrants, fighting for their national independence, for free speech, free assembly, free press, free organization and the right to choose their own governments. The people were fighting for a new way of life. They did not and do not now want to return to the bankrupt social order under which they lived before and during the war.

### They Turned Europe Into a Wasteland

The European masses cry out for real freedom, security and peace! But these are, in truth, non-existent. Europe is a continent divided. It is divided into zones, spheres of influence and subjugated territories. Each power, in agreement to be sure, has allocated to itself a particular area or zone. A glance at the European map will reveal the utter cynicism with which the Allied powers have divided up the Continent—all of it in the name of the great principles of the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms!

Finland had to cede territory to Russia and to enter within Russia's sphere of influence.

The Baltic states of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania were seized by the Russian armies, incorporated into and made a part of Russia against the will of the peoples which inhabited these countries.

Poland was reduced to a Russian vassal state under the rule of the Russian secret police (NKVD) operating through Stalin's Polish agents.

Czechoslovakia has a nominal independence, but is under the heel of Russia and only recently ceded to the latter the territory inhabited by the Ruthenians.

The Balkan states are under Russian domination. The same is true of Hungary.

All of these countries live under the vise of Stalinist totalitarianism. There is no freedom, peace or security in any of these countries.

Great Britain dominates Greece against the best interests of the Greek people. The British army keeps in power reactionary, royalist forces which not only have no support of the people but are hated by them.

Italy, two years after the armistice, remains an occupied country whose destinies are determined by its real rulers, the Anglo-American military government.

If we did not already know all these things, Allied policy toward Germany gives the crowning touch to the imperialist program they have pursued throughout the war.

The German nation, with its enormous productive apparatus, which could do so much good for Europe, has been divided into three zones occupied by the Big Three. But the country has been dismembered and thus thrown back many decades. Its industries are being reduced.

The Germans are told that from now on they must feed themselves by increasing the agricultural character of their country. The standard of living of the German people, ever low under the heel of fascism, will be even lower under the rule of the Big Three. The diminution of its industrial capacity will make Germany a prey of the productive might of the United States and her allies. What will follow from this conquerors' peace is the annihilation of the German people, accompanied by the annihilation of the peoples of all of Europe.

Europe is a wasteland! Its great cities lie in ruins.

Its industries are in large part destroyed. Transportation is in chaos. Hunger, disease and death stalk all the peoples of the Continent.

The capitalist rulers in Europe, those brigands who helped bring about the war, will not suffer. No, they are already in the process of repairing their fences. They are joining hands with their class brothers in Great Britain and the United States; they are joining hands with Stalin, who fears the revolution of the masses more than he fears the capitalist rulers in Europe, to retain their riches and their profits. They are preparing to continue to earn more riches and more profits with the aid of the Allies.

But the great mass of workers and poor peasants who had nothing to do with bringing about the war, but were its victims; the downtrodden and suffering people who have paid for the universal slaughter with their lives and labor, who suffer starvation, homelessness and disease; the exploited, harassed and suffering people—they are being made to pay for a war which they did not want!

This is the real meaning of the Allied victory. All else is mere words.

### Imperialist Exploitation of Asia Remains

What has happened in Europe will happen in Asia and the Pacific. Japan will get a vanquished's peace. Not the Japanese financiers and industrialists, not the Emperor, Hirohito, but the poor, exploited and victimized Japanese workers and peasants. To be sure, the Japanese military clique will be uprooted and destroyed, but they, after all, are only the representatives of the real interests of Japan's capitalist-imperialist ruling class.

The real bandits, those responsible for the totalitarian-feudal régime which grinds profits out of its own people as well as the colonial subjects whom it rules, they will not be made to suffer too much. As losers in the war, they will pay for losing. But their social position as the dominant class in Japanese society will not be changed. They will remain the capitalist ruling class of Japan in full control and ownership of their enormous properties and wealth to go on exploiting and profiting from the labor of their people.

The end of the war will not change things in Asia or the Pacific. The great colonial empires of the Allied powers will remain.

Great Britain, even under Labor Prime Minister Attlee, will retain a stranglehold on India. There will be no freedom for its hundreds of millions of people. The same is true for Ceylon, Burma, Malaya and the other colonial territories of British imperialism.

The great East Indies will be returned to the Dutch rulers, that nation of eight million people who exploits more than sixty million colonial slaves.

France will retain Indo-China, to exploit its many millions.

Russia has already been promised her "spheres of influence" in Mongolia, China and perhaps Korea.

American imperialism will dominate the great Chinese nation with its hundreds of millions of people. It has already spread its interest in oil to other parts of Asia and has announced its intention of keeping Pacific islands necessary as military bases, as well as any other territories which it deems indispensable for its future defense.

As in Europe, there will be no peace, freedom or security for the hundreds of millions of peoples who inhabit that vast Continent. They will remain colonial or semi-colonial slaves of Western and Russian imperialism.

### Organizers of Chaos And a Super-Versailles

This war has not yet produced its "Versailles Peace Conference," but it has already produced a San Francisco Conference and the super-Versailles peace. If the Versailles peace was a brutal, cynical, imperialist and profiteer's peace, the peace imposed in Europe today and the peace to be imposed in Asia tomorrow will be a hundred times more brutal, cynical and imperialist.

This was guaranteed by the successive conferences of Moscow, Teheran and Yalta. It was crowned in San Francisco, which was not a peace gathering of the nations of the world but a Big Three show held for the purpose of organizing the small nations of the world for support to the Conqueror's Peace.

The very organization of the San Francisco peace machinery, wherein all the power was placed in the hands of the Big Three and their satellite states, the powerlessness of the small states, their lack of rights, the failure even to discuss disarmament, are all evidence of the fact that the "peace" conference had nothing whatever to do with peace. The small nations were called upon to ratify the decisions of the big powers, to accept whatever was decided for them.

But out of San Francisco emerged a new armed world divided into contending groups, all of them powerful, all of them prepared not for a lasting peace but for an armed truce until the next war of devastation breaks out.

This great war, which engulfed the whole world and all of its inhabitants, demonstrated the production miracles inherent in the productive apparatus of modern society. New methods of production, new machinery, increased efficiency and improvement in transportation and communication and a tremendous rise in the productivity of labor showed what can be done under a different society with a principle of production based upon the needs of the people.

Under imperialism all of these advances in science and production are for the purposes of mass destruction. The development of the atomic bomb, based upon control of the atom, is a revolutionary discovery of infinite magnitude capable of raising society to new heights. In the hands of the capitalist ruling class its main achievement is, however, destructive. In the hands of the capitalist ruling class it is used for leveling cities and destroying populations.

The war began with a one-ton bomb. It ended with a twelve-ton bomb and an atomic bomb. Each year of the conflict witnessed new and more terrifying means of destruction. Is it any wonder that the estimated number of military casualties in the European war alone has reached sixty million?

What, then, will the toll be when, after the war, a reckoning is made of all the dead and wounded, military and civilian? What will be the loss in property and wealth? What will the war have cost in money? In all cases the figures will be astronomical.

### America's War Economy: Enrichment of the Rich

Four years ago, Americans began to live under a war economy. Everything, literally everything, was subordinated to the war effort. The government established controls over machinery and raw materials. It set about the reorganization of production, issued contracts, decided what was needed, guaranteed profits, set a ceiling on wages, froze labor to jobs and in general set about planning for war.

What it could not do in peace, namely, end unemployment, it did in war. Less than a year after war was declared, there was a shortage of labor in the country.

Under Roosevelt, an "equality of sacrifice" program was adopted. This program guaranteed big business its contracts and profits. In exchange for a no-lockout (!) pledge from business, labor gave a no-strike pledge. In exchange for the freezing of jobs and wages, the Administration had promised to keep the cost of living down through equality in rationing and price control.

It is clear now that the "equality of sacrifice" program was one of the greatest shams in the war. Instead of a curb of war profits, big business was given the greatest profits in its history. Unemployment was ended but the relative share of the workers in the tremendous war production was less than it ever was before. The increased payrolls which arose from full employment, overtime and holiday work and the increased work week were neutralized by high prices, huge taxes on wages and an overall increase in the cost of living which far outstripped any gains made by labor in this country.

Taking advantage of the no-strike pledge, which acted as a straight-jacket around the powerful arms of labor, big business carried on an incessant war against

(Continued on page 3)



NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

An Immediate Post War Prospect: Ten Million Unemployed

By MARY HOWARD

The war with Japan is over! Five long years of pouring every... thing—effort, time, money, lives—into planning for destruction...

\$12 billion dollar slash in war contracts. ALREADY, say the headlines. \$4 billion more expected as soon as the peace becomes final!

Shipyards, aircraft plants, instrument plants, munitions industries, are shutting down over night—releasing thousands of workers!

CIO estimates foresee 10,000,000 jobless within 30 days! Even the conservative Department of Labor statistics predict 8,000,000 jobless this year.

Add to this an estimated 7% pay slash for you fortunate few who will be able to retain your jobs through seniority clauses—7 cents on every dollar of your pay cut off by reduction in working hours and the resulting loss in overtime pay—by the elimination of night-shifts and the 5 cents and 10 cents an hour shift differentials.

The impact, says the conservative New York Times, will be worse than the last depression. The impact, WE say, will be the most terrible economic chaos any of us have ever experienced. AND, we also say, IT IS ALL NEEDLESS!

BIG BUSINESS HAS NO ANSWER

For five years the big businessmen who run this nation, inside and outside of the White House in Washington, have PLANNED. They have planned for war. They have planned the kind of devastation that wipes out cities, that rains destruction on whole countries, that kills our loved ones or brings them home to us maimed and highly embittered.

1) Senator Robert F. Wagner drew up a full-employment bill that might have been of some help IF it had been on the law books long ago. But Congress hasn't even considered it.

2) There were proposals for increased and integrated unemployment compensation presented to Congress, but Congress went on vacation without even considering such things, although the House gave itself a pay-raise!

3) A scheduled announcement of WLB recommendations (only recommendations, mind you) to permit a general wage increase was cancelled over the weekend as the news came through of Tokyo's surrender offer.

4) Krug has drawn up what is known as a "master" reconversion plan, but its controls have mainly to do with big business protecting its wartime profits, and not losing any money in the necessary shift to peacetime production. Its provisions for such things as full employment and no wage-drop are conspicuous by their absence.

The net result in terms of planning for a decent peacetime aren't very large. "Every opportunity must be given to private business," President Truman says, but he has nothing to say about the opportunity for every working man to have a job, or to be able to feed his family, or for every veteran to come back to a job at a decent wage.

These are the things that are im-

portant to us—jobs, decent wages. They are as important to us now, as they were for three and a half years of war. The profiteers and their backers in Washington who made billions in this war aren't worried about peacetime insecurity. They have billions of dollars in savings, to fall back on if they run short, and the government has made laws giving them tax rebates should their profits decline now that the war is over.

They froze our wages, while prices soared. They are completely disinterested now that most of us, 10,000,000 of us, aren't going to have any wages at all! The profiteers have no plan for peace because they CAN'T have any plan for peace. The only plan that would mean REAL full employment, decent wages, decent working hours, would mean taking profits away from them, and they would be the last people on earth who would do that.

Most of the union reconversion plans are as meaningless as the non-planning of big business—because they are all based on asking favors of big business. Begging from profiteers has never gotten unions a single penny. Right now it is getting them, mass lay-offs and wage-cuts—and NO peacetime plans.

OUR KIND OF PLANNING

There is only one kind of planning that can avert the economic chaos that is facing all of us—and that is government planning, NOT for every profiteer, but FOR EVERY WORKING CLASS MAN AND WOMAN, FOR EVERY VETERAN AND HIS FAMILY!

THE WORKERS PARTY says there IS a way of planning so that all materials and machinery could be re-allocated, through government channels, so that peacetime production of all the things that mean comfort to all of us could begin smoothly and immediately. WE say there is a way of government planning so that the work is distributed evenly among all those who are in need of jobs. NOT a few of us working long hours, but ALL OF US working 30 hours or less, BUT AT 48 HOURS PAY!

The government has guaranteed profits to the big corporations during the war, and, for several years to come. WE say the government must now guarantee, without any strings, the very modest annual wage of \$2500 (fifty dollars a week) to all who work! More than this, the government can and must guarantee to every family an income of \$5000 a year.

And for the immediate period ahead, for the rocky weeks, months, perhaps longer, while working men and women are being laid off, the WORKERS PARTY demands FULL UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE BEGINNING WITH \$30 A WEEK FOR SINGLE MEN AND WOMEN, and graduated upward for dependancies to all workers for whom government and industry do not find jobs!

FIGHT FOR OUR PROGRAM

To some of you these demands of ours may sound impossible, but they are not impossible. They are not impossible if the working men and women of this country, you millions of union members, poor farmers, shopkeepers and underpaid office workers, UNITE TO MAKE THESE DEMANDS POSSIBLE!

THE WORKERS PARTY program calls for planning and control by organized labor in all the government-owned and drafted plants. It calls for cutting top yearly incomes of all profiteers, capitalists, big business men, to \$25,000, which is no more than five times the minimum income proposed for every family, and which we think is enough to get by on. It calls for a graduated capital levy on all accumulated wealth over \$50,000—on the money, stocks, and bonds, real estate and other property of the wealthy.

THIS is the way that all of us can answer the headlines about 10,000,000 unemployed within 30 days! By government planning for US, by government planning that will take the money away from the profiteers who ran this war, and use it to put all of us to work, guarantee us all jobs, a decent wage, a decent future.

The government that is in Washington now hasn't done this kind of planning for a very good reason. THEY are the profiteers. They naturally can't be expected to fight for a WORKERS PARTY program that would cut their profits in order to give them to people who work.

But the working men and women of the United States can, and must, fight for such a program of planning. Every trade union member can fight for such a program on the floor of his local. He can fight for such a program, and for the thing that will make such a program a reality—an independent labor party. For it is only an independent, working class, party, backed up and made up of the trade union movement that can send to Washington a government that will fight for labor's rights, that will PLAN FOR FULL EMPLOYMENT, A GUARANTEED ANNUAL WAGE, UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE, AND A DECENT PEACETIME FOR ALL OF US!

Workers Party Files Shachtman Petitions For New York Mayoralty

The petition campaign of the Workers Party of Local New York to place the name of Max Shachtman, national secretary of the party, on the ballot as candidate of Mayor of the city ended with the filing of petitions before the Board of Elections.

In a whirlwind campaign, highlighted by the issuance of an election program pamphlet entitled "Jobs for All," and 25,000 copies of an election program leaflet, almost 14,500 signatures were obtained. In obtaining these signatures, the petitioners almost doubled the amount required by law for placing a candidate on the ballot. The Board of Elections will rule on the petitions by August 28.

The New York organization is now mapping out its plans for the campaign up to Election Day. Public meetings, street meetings, literature distributions and sales of its program pamphlets are on the list of activities. All members and sympathizers of the Workers Party are asked to keep in touch with the Election Campaign Committee to assist in the Shachtman-for-Mayor campaign.

Longshoremen in Fight for 6 Hour Day

SAN FRANCISCO, Aug. 15—Eleven years after winning the six-hour day in the militant strike struggle of 1934, Pacific Coast longshoremen find themselves faced with the necessity today of fighting the issue out all over again. The proposal to go back to the eight-hour day comes, at least on the surface, not from the ship-owners but from the very man who

led the strike that won the six-hour day, Harry Bridges.

The old-timers, and many of the newer men as well, are up in arms at this proposal to surrender one of the major gains of 1934. What is needed, they reason, in the face of post-war problems and of the unemployment that is already beginning, is certainly no retreat to an eight-hour day. Perhaps there should be an advance to a four-hour day. Certainly the six-hour day should at least be defended and made real by getting a wage high enough to earn a living in six hours, instead of working four hours a day overtime.

There is no doubt that at present the sentiment of the men on the front in all of the Pacific Coast ports is overwhelmingly against the eight-hour proposition. Scores of old militants who all these years have backed up Bridges and the Communist Party policy in the union are outspoken in their defense of the six hours. But they are puzzled as to why Bridges should propose retreat from such a hard-won gain.

WHAT LONGSHOREMEN NEED!

Longshoremen on the Pacific Coast need a wage raise. And they need something a lot more substantial than the nickel an hour recommended by the panel of the War Labor Board. In comparison to the cost of living, their wages now are far lower than those they won in 1934. Bridges' argument is that the only way this raise can be won from the War Labor Board is by giving up the six-hour day. It may be that the employers and their government stooges on the board would be willing to pay

with a wage raise in exchange for the longshoremen giving up the principle of the six-hour day. And how much more the bosses would pay for the giving up of the hiring hall—or the union itself! But this method of concessions to the bosses is not the only way, nor the right way, to try to win a raise in wages.

In general there are two ways to win increased wages. One is to make concessions to the boss, to weaken the union, so that the boss is glad to pay more now, knowing that later, when the time for a real fight comes, the union will be weak, and he will get away with paying far less wages and possibly smash the union altogether.

The other way is to strengthen the union, not to be afraid to fight for just demands, and the fight for these demands at a time favorable for labor to win: that is, when there is a pressing need for workers, as, for instance, now, not six months after the war is over, when the employers might welcome another long strike or lockout.

The mine workers also needed a wage raise; they also worked a short basic day, that is, seven hours instead of the more usual eight. Did they try to solve their problem by proposing an eight-hour day instead of a seven? Or by any other concession to the mine owners? Not exactly! Instead, in spite of all the vicious propaganda against them they were not afraid to strike in support of their just demands, even in wartime. They won for themselves a substantial increase in wages and they showed the way to other workers who have the courage to follow.

Here is the answer, or at least part of the answer, to the puzzle as to why Bridges comes out with such a reactionary proposal to scrap the six-hour day. Under the leadership of Bridges and the Communist Party,

the ILWU has enthusiastically supported the war, has bound itself hand and foot by the no-strike pledge, has put all its faith in the government agencies, like the War Labor Board, and the Maritime War Industries Board.

BRIDGES' POLICY

When you give up the strike weapon and bind yourself to accept the decisions of government boards, you can tell in advance that you'll get what the bosses are willing to give. The bosses generosity is notoriously reserved for themselves; with the result that throughout the war the shipowners have given themselves mountainous profits and have given water front workers wage raises far less than the rise in living costs.

With the increasing pressure of the rank and file for a substantial improvement in wages, the Bridges-Goldblatt leadership took the matter up through their usual channels: the government boards. And when they find that the bosses and the bosses' government refuse to give more than a measly nickel, the only thing they can think of doing is to try to buy a raise by concessions to the ship owners.

The real way to get the badly needed raise is, of course, to follow the opposite policy. First to rebuild the strength of the union! Discard the no-strike pledge! Remove the Bridges-Goldblatt leadership that has led the union to such weakness! Step by step to build up again the militancy on the front that characterized the union in the middle thirties.

Two immediate aims might be: overtime after thirty hours per week; and do away with the two-hour standby for nothing! But the real goal, always to be kept clearly in view, must be: Five six-hour days for a full week's pay.

THEY SAY—AND WE SAY

R. J. Thomas, president of the United Automobile Workers—CIO, predicts a lot of strikes after V-J day. Moreover, he says that he himself will authorize them, if the workers' grievances aren't settled. He complains that employers in the automobile industry simply haven't accepted unionism.

Has Thomas just discovered this? Not so many weeks ago he joined all the other CIO leaders in approving and boosting a so-called peace charter between management and labor. This charter, you will recall, praised the unity and cooperation between the corporations and their workers during the war and promised more of the same after the war.

LABOR ACTION said at the time that beautiful lies like these could not end the struggle between the capitalist class and the working class. The rank and file of Thomas' own union refused to

be misled by him, so now he talks fighting words in an attempt to hold his leadership.

You will hardly be surprised to learn that the executive board of the Auto Workers has voted to renew the no-strike pledge for the time being.

The other party to the much applauded peace charter, President Eric Johnston of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, is also on the warpath. His organization still proclaims itself in favor of collective bargaining but demands that Congress protect the poor employers from unfair practices by their workers, from labor monopolies, and, above all, from the closed shop.

Unlike the labor leaders, Johnston doesn't wait for V-J day to do his fighting. He is out to have HIS government shackle labor right NOW.

On the political scene there is the same harmony between capitalist and labor. The labor leaders promise every week or two not to start a new party. Johnston and his Chamber of Commerce are not satisfied with this. While the Smith-Connally Act forbids unions to contribute towards the election of any federal official, Johnston now demands that there should be no contributions even in primary elections.

Labor's answer to this attack should be a counter-attack. What the capitalists fear, as their own leading newspapers stated at the time of the last election, is that union participation in politics may lead to a Labor Party. What the capitalists fear is exactly what the workers need—a completely independent Labor Party.

Labor Notes From Buffalo

By JOHN BARNES

BUFFALO, Aug. 12—To analyze the local situation, with official V-J day but hours away, it is first necessary to review briefly the status and performance of Buffalo's labor movement before and during the war years.

With few exceptions, this city had been correctly called an open shop center prior to the war "boom" period. The organization that did come in the past five years settled, in the main, on this weak, tradition-lacking base.

The largest plant here, Curtiss-Wright, went from a company union to a company dominated, bureaucratic-ridden AFL local, UAW Local 501, at Bell Aircraft, skyrocketed in membership but dissipated much of its collective energy and resources on inner-union politics. The same held true to a large extent at UAW locals at Houde, Chevrolet and Sterling Engine. The IRC transport workers, long under the heel of a vicious management and a company union, organized into an AFL craft setup only within the last six months. Other locals, notably the rubber and electrical workers made no headway due to the control exercised by the Stalin-Communists. The Curtiss-Wright office workers, organized over two years ago into the nation's largest white collar worker local, were sabotaged by this same sell-out crew.

Even the still numerically powerful steelworkers at Bethlehem made no significant progress, and remain split today with local amalgamation only slightly past the idea stage.

Thus today, Buffalo can boast no genuinely powerful locals, such as might be found in Detroit and other industrial areas, which can hope to successfully cope with the mass layoffs and anti-union activity which are sure to come. Almost all will be weakened, many may disappear. The only group which can be expected to retain a fair semblance of strength for the coming struggles are the steelworkers, whose industry is not due to suffer the deflation facing aircraft and other such light industries.

Another most important indication of the organizational militancy and union consciousness here is the figure recently released by the Department of Labor showing that Buffalo, in the war period, had fewer strikes than any other industrial center of comparable size. In fact it had fewer strikes than cities half its size.

CLASS PEACE HURTS

Buffalo was too somewhat notorious for the "success" of its Labor-Management Committees. This anti-labor formula culminated about five weeks ago in the formation of a city-wide Civic Full Employment Committee. It is composed, naturally, of industry members, "public" members and the usual quota of porkchoppers. What is different about this committee, different that is from others of the type, is that the members, labor members included mind you, unanimously elected as chairman the head of the Buffalo Chamber of Commerce! But today this committee is not

showing the harmony which typifies such bodies. While the industry members, the "impartial" chairman in particular, are filling the news columns with pipe-dream predictions about Buffalo's employment future, the porkchoppers are showing fear bordering on panic. They are evidently not very confident of the future success of the committee, or

calmed by the mouthings of their chairman.

They are sending telegrams by the score to their PAC-elected president calling for, in dignified language of course—HELP! Do something for our unions they cry. You must keep purchasing power up. You must keep the plants running. We don't care much what is built—just keep the plants running. We have been good boys, they say. We have kept our members from striking and progressing against you. We even got most of them to vote for you. Now HELP us! We are not THREATENING, you understand. We are just ASKING, almost (as anyone can see) BEGGING. Curtiss-Wright, they say, is going to lay off over twenty-five thousand workers alone.

Shachtman Talks On British Labor Victory

Detroit, Aug. 12—Max Shachtman, National Secretary of the Workers Party and candidate for Mayor of New York, addressed the Workers Party Forum here tonight on the subject of the British Labor Party election victory.

Reviewing the history of the Labor Party and the ill-fated Labor Governments of 1924 and 1929, Shachtman emphasized that the British workers, supported by the middle class, were tired of half-way measures and partial victories. They gave the Labor Party a tremendous vote to insure what they feel will be a fundamental change in society and the establishment of a socialist system.

Despite the conservatism, timidity and middle class ideas of the Labor Party leadership, Shachtman predicted that the election victory would lead to the militant resurgence of the British working class and would spur the colonial peoples of the British Empire to renewed efforts to achieve their freedom. In addition, he said, the Labor Party victory would sharpen the workers' struggle throughout Europe and the United States.

Other companies will add many more thousands to the list. Buffalo, which compiled so "enviable" a record during the war is faced with a tremendous unemployment problem. Reconversion is nowhere in sight. And all reconversion that can be predicted cannot take up the slack. HELP us! Their PAC-elected president is, we understand, preparing at this moment a national reconversion program. We have no doubts as to how he will repay these loyal, well-stuffed servants.

What the rank and file of Buffalo labor should do in the weeks and months to come, to overcome the tragic errors of the past, personified in the local labor leadership, will be taken up in LABOR ACTION as the situation crystallizes. For now, however, it must be understood by every Buffalo worker that a new course is necessary. A change in program, leadership and tactic is the "must" for Buffalo labor.

Let every Buffalo worker read carefully and prepare for general adoption the reconversion program of the WORKERS PARTY (page 3).

Akron Rubber Workers Detroit Rubber Workers

Why Not Read Your Own Newspaper?

Reporters from the regular daily press were barred from the July 20 strike meeting called by the twelve discharged Detroit rubber workers. Why?

Because the papers they represent are run in the interests of big business. They falsify and misrepresent the news against labor.

BUT LABOR ACTION is different. It is the ONLY paper that reported Akron and U. S. Rubber strikes fully, accurately and fairly. Why?

Because LABOR ACTION is written by and in the interests of workmen. Big business does not contribute to it or advertise in its columns. Its funds come exclusively from voluntary donations of workers who want to support their own paper.

AKRON ADDRESS: Labor Action Box 221 Akron, Ohio DETROIT ADDRESS: Labor Action 2650 Arndt Detroit, Mich.

Philadelphia Public Meeting! How To Get Jobs For All They Plan for War, Not Peace! What Will Happen to Shipyard Workers? And to All Other Workers in Philadelphia? HEAR THE WORKERS PARTY PLAN FOR RECONVERSION: MAX SHACHTMAN National Secretary of the Workers Party and Candidate for Mayor of the City of New York FRIDAY, AUG. 24, 8:00 P. M. GRAND FRATERNITY BLDG. 1626 ARCH



NEW YORK, ATTENTION! Study Class Sunday Nights Beginning August 19 8:00 P. M. 'Introduction to Socialism' and 'Marxian Economics' Open Forum, Friday, Aug. 24 8:00 P. M. 'Jim Crow in the Armed Forces' SOCIALIST YOUTH LEAGUE 276 Fulton Street, Brooklyn

SUBSCRIBE NOW TO LABOR ACTION 114 WEST 14th STREET New York 11, N. Y. One Year Subscription Rate: Sixty Cents New York City and Bronx, Seventy-Five Cents Name Address City



A PAPER IN THE INTEREST OF LABOR

Published Weekly by the Labor Action Publishing Ass'n 114 West 14th Street, New York 11, N. Y.

Vol. 9, No. 34 August 20, 1945

CH. 2-9681 (Third Floor) ALBERT GATES, Editor MARY BELL, Ass't Editor



Subscription Rate: 60c a Year; 35c for 6 Mos. (75c-40c for Canada, Foreign, New York City, Bronx) Re-entered as Second Class Matter, May 24, 1940, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. Under the Act of March 3, 1879

Workers Party Program for Organized Labor In the Reconversion and Post-War Period

FOR THE UNEMPLOYED AND VETERANS:

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

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

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

FOR THE POST-WAR:

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

5. A guaranteed \$5,000 annual income to all workers' families by means of a planned rise in

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

THESE AIMS TO BE ACHIEVED THROUGH:

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

7. Conscription of all war industries; nationalization of the banks, big industrial monopolies and transportation systems, and no handing over of government-built and owned plants and facilities to private ownership.

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

THIS PROGRAM TO BE CARRIED OUT BY:

9. Control of production by democratically-elected workers' committees.

10. An independent Labor Party and a workers' government.

IN MEMORY OF LEON TROTSKY

Assassinated by an Agent of Stalin's GPU in August, 1940

By ERNEST LUND

In the past several years an increasing number of trade union activists have become accustomed to hearing the word "Trotskyist" used in the labor movement. Many of the best of them have themselves been called "Trotskyists" because of the ideas they stood for. According to the reactionary union officials and Stalin's stooges in the labor movement, "Trotskyism" has come to mean any bold policy of action on behalf of the working class.

"Trotskyist" has come to mean anyone who is against the no-strike pledge and in favor of restoring genuine collective bargaining.

"Trotskyist" has come to mean anyone against a policy of appeasement to corporations and in favor of a militant defense of labor's rights.

"Trotskyist" has come to mean anyone against a policy of kow-towing to government agencies and for the withdrawal of labor's members from the War Labor Board.

"Trotskyist" has come to mean anyone against making the trade union movement a tail to the Democratic Party kite and in favor of organizing an independent Labor Party.

"Trotskyist" has come to mean anyone against post-war unemployment and hunger under capitalism and in favor of jobs and plenty for all through a socialist system of planned production for use.

WHO WAS TROTSKY?

Leon Trotsky would have been proud to have had his name associated with these ideas.

And those thousands of trade unionists who have been fighting for these ideas would do well on this, the fifth commemoration of his tragic death, to resolve to acquaint themselves with the whole of Trotsky's ideas—his real ideas and not lies and distortions which his enemies have peddled about.

Trotsky was one of the great intellectual giants of the working class movement. Beginning as a youth, he devoted himself unflinchingly to the cause of socialism. His part in leading the Russian working class in the revolutions of 1905 and 1917 has become an imperishable page in history. But that which will live longest as a contribution to the liberation of humanity is Trotsky's monumental labor to preserve, extend and apply the scientific theory of Marxism, without which the struggle for a socialist world would founder like

a mariner without charts and compass.

Trotsky carried on where Marx, Engels and Lenin left off. He took their theories and, together with the experience of the working class, developed the strategy and tactics that could lead to victory. The strategy of the working class in the struggle for power became his special sphere. He devoted himself to this question because he saw in it the bottleneck which would prove the undoing of all previous triumphs. History has proved him right in this estimate.

Trotsky viewed the Russian Revolution as the beginning of a world-wide struggle which would determine whether socialism or capitalist barbarism would prevail. He kept repeating that so-

lism leadership of the Communist International. Trotsky stood in its leadership alongside of Lenin during its first five years.

With the triumph of the Stalinist counter-revolution in Russia, the Communist Parties of the world ceased being Marxist organizations and became fifth columns for the new Russian rulers.

Trotsky was exiled from Russia. His books were burned, his followers imprisoned or shot, his name blackened. But Trotsky determined to start all over again. He gathered the few revolutionary Marxists in various corners of the world who had survived the corruption and confusion of Stalinism and again organized a world organization committed to carrying on in the theories and traditions of Marx and Lenin.

Trotsky devoted the declining years of his life to this great labor. It bore fruit. His work exists today in the parties that are popularly associated with his name and in their Marxist programs. But for the brilliant light of his intellect which illuminated world politics during the eleven years of his last exile the flame of Marxism would have survived as a feeble flicker indeed.

The Workers Party was formed in 1940 as a result of a sharp political struggle against the position held by Trotsky on Russia's rule in the war. It was our position that Marxists could no longer pledge unconditional defense to the Soviet Union.

Trotsky continued to adhere to this view. Though we separated ourselves organizationally from Trotsky, the Workers Party has carried on in his tradition and has made the essence of his ideas the foundation of its program. Those who boast that they are the "orthodox Trotskyists" with the "unsullied banner" have continued to cling desperately to the great teacher's last words but have forgotten the scientific spirit of his method of political analysis.

The Workers Party is determined to teach and train a new generation of young Marxists in the theories of Trotsky. And through our party and its adherents we will continue to carry the fighting spirit which characterized Trotsky as a man and a thinker, into the great struggles that loom before the American working class. In the course of these struggles, increasing thousands of American workers will come to know of Trotsky, not as a foreigner with a little beard and violent notions, but as the great teacher of the international working class movement for socialism.



LEON TROTSKY

cialism was on the order of the day ever since the First World War and that mankind would suffer cruelly for postponing its achievement. The price it would pay, Trotsky foretold, would be new and more devastating wars, world-wide economic crisis and the bloody tyranny of fascism.

Trotsky held that the working class, particularly in Europe, was ready and able to fight successfully for power and socialism. The paralysis that gripped the working class in the post-war years was not a paralysis of the ranks. Trotsky kept repeating: "The crisis of the working class is a crisis of leadership."

TROTSKY'S GREAT STRUGGLE

The leadership of the old pre-war socialist movement (Second International) had led the workers into the morass of the war and the blind alley of capitalist democracy at the end of the war. It had revealed itself incapable and unwilling in the fight for socialism.

With the Russian Revolution rose the new revolutionary Marx-

Editorials

Congress and Unemployment: A Lesson for Labor and the PAC

As was often predicted by us for several years, the end of the war would find the American capitalist class and its government in Washington completely unprepared to deal with the reconversion problems created by peace. "Unprepared" is hardly the word for it. Indifference to the problems of the workers and their families more accurately describes the attitude taken by the big financiers and industrialists who have fattened on the war.

The failure of Congress to act in this critical period contains an enormous lesson for labor. The lesson is that, for profit interests, the legislatures will act with great haste. Where the interests of labor are concerned Congress takes its time and plenty of it. Only the strongest organized pressure can make it move, but with results that are always inadequate.

Lessons to Be Remembered

Let the PAC, which rallied labor's support to so many of these political hacks of the two capitalist parties ponder over this fact.

Let the veterans, who are given a run-around by politicians whose interest in the "boys" is displayed on holiday occasions, remember the conduct of these "representatives of the people."

Government officials and business and labor economists freely predict that within a few months there will be over 8,000,000 unemployed in this country. Ask yourself, what, if anything, has been done in Washington to prepare for the sudden appearance of mass unemployment? The answer is obvious and clear; nothing!

The President's inadequate request for raising unemployed benefits to a maximum \$25 a week for twenty-six weeks was not acted upon. The weak Murray-Pattman Full Employment Bill also was not acted upon. Instead, Congress went on vacation!

But congress did not go on vacation when it was a matter of passing war legislation. Congress did not go on vacation when it came to guaranteeing war profits to big business. Congress did not go on vacation when it voted the Economic Stabilization Act which froze wages. Nor did it go on vacation when it passed the Smith-Connally Bill. In all those instances it acted in the profit interest of the class it served, that is, the capitalist rulers of this country.

Let the labor officialdoms who support these politicians remember this too, while they mark time on the question of jobs when, as a matter of necessity, the whole labor movement ought to be up in arms fighting for a vigorous post-war and reconversion program.

Labor needs its own political party with its own program to make a fight for political power in this country. Labor needs an independent labor party with the kind of program which appears above. It will then be on the road to advancing the interests of all who work in order to live. And it could certainly make short shrift of conditions which now exist in Washington.

Rubber Workers' President Discovers Bosses Cut Wages

President Sherman H. Dalrymple of the United Rubber Workers, CIO, has discovered that the big rubber monopolies have instituted wage cuts in the industry. His discovery is suspect, because as president of the union he should have known that these wage cuts have been taking place for a long time and are one of the main reasons for the series of strikes that have taken place in the industry.

Chiseling can be stopped by effective mass strike action. But Dalrymple stands in the way with a strike-breaking policy which always comes to the aid of the companies. In the stoppages that have taken place, Dalrymple has acted consistently in behalf of the companies and against the members of his own union.

In each of the great struggles fought recently by the unions in Akron and Detroit, Dalrymple has taken the side of the companies because of his determination to uphold the murderous (for the workers) no-strike pledge.

Only now, when the war is practically over and the workers face mass unemployment, does Dalrymple threaten by saying: "After the no-strike pledge has been lifted, we have ways of correcting these troubles."

When Dalrymple says that "unless this chiseling can be stopped there will be waves of work stoppages in the rubber industry," he doesn't quite state the problem accurately. The chiseling by the rubber companies can be stopped and there have already been "waves of stoppages" by the workers.

In the meantime, the rubber workers are the prey of the rubber profiteers, who are assisted by the international president of the United Rubber Workers. They face a fight for life. That fight will be effectively aided when the rubber workers get a militant international leadership interested solely in advancing the interests of the rank and file workers.

The End of the War --

(Continued from page 1)

unionism and began to destroy, slowly but surely, many of the gains the labor movement had made after many years of trying and heroic struggle. The end of the war finds the capitalist ruling classes organized and ready to carry on a war against the labor movement with many advantages in their favor.

Not the least of these advantages is the certainty of mass unemployment not next month or next year, but today, one day after the announcement of the surrender of Japan.

The specter of unemployment haunts the people of the country. They remember only too well the long and dreary years of the thirties. They remember how the government could not solve the problems of jobs during peace; that it could only offer them unemployment relief and WPA jobs. But they also remember that when the war broke out, the government was able to organize the vast productive machinery of the country for the greatest production program ever witnessed in this world. They remember how, for war, the government was able to end unemployment!

But millions of Americans will not stand for long years of poverty and unemployment. This war has taught them many lessons, and this is one of them: it is possible with the enormous industrial expansion of the war and the many improvements and discoveries that were made to have full employment and a high standard of living. They will not take less.

But they also see how the capitalist government in Washington prepares for peace. They note how the capitalist politicians go off on vacation when it comes to voting legislation to take care of jobs for peace and unemployed compensation for those who are being thrown out of work by cutbacks in war contracts. And they are learning fast, especially since the elections in Great Britain, that labor needs a party of its own, an independent Labor Party that will fight for the interests of labor and the common people generally.

Such a party is indispensable to the future welfare of the American workers and all the people of this country. But a party is not enough. A party needs a program and the independent party of the American working class will need a fighting, militant program based upon the needs of the overwhelming majority of the people and not the profit interests of a handful of financiers and industrialists.

Such a program is the program advocated by the Workers Party, which appears on page three of this issue. That program needs a party of labor to enforce it. Together, they would advance a thousandfold the interests of the people of America and prepare a new and better life for the tens of millions of peoples.

Thus the Second Imperialist World War has ended. It has ended without solving the great social tasks which confront humanity: the establishment of permanent peace, freedom and security for the whole world.

mine which of the great powers shall dominate the world in the interest of profit.

There is no freedom for the people of Europe, Africa or Asia. There is no true freedom for the peoples of the Western Hemisphere.

There is no peace for the peoples of the world. The world remains armed to the teeth, each great power struggling, now quietly, now more openly, for advantage over the other.

There is no security for the people of any country. All the peoples of the world face hunger, poverty, unemployment and over-all misery.

Capitalism outlived its usefulness long ago. It is no longer capable of progress, of raising the standards of living of the people.

Capitalism is only capable of guaranteeing new wars, mass unemployment and misery.

But the people of the world want an end to this system. They want jobs, peace, freedom, security. They want a new life; they want a change from the chaos of the profit system, that system of "free enterprise" which has proved its incapacity to maintain a high level of peacetime production in the interest of the people.

The struggle of the peoples of the whole world, the workers of the advanced capitalist countries, the poor peasants and farmers of all countries, the colonial peoples for freedom will go on. It will go on no matter how many new forms of oppression capitalism and imperialism devise to keep the peoples in subjection.

If this war has brought civilization to the brink of disaster, if the world cannot stand another such war, and we believe that it cannot, then such disaster can only be averted by the abolition of the social order that is disintegrating before our very eyes.

A new life, a new social system, that is, socialism, is the only hope for humanity. With irresistible logic and force, the peoples of the world are truly fighting for this kind of order. When they fight for peace, freedom, security and plenty for all, they are fighting for socialism, which alone can guarantee these blessings.

BUFFALO READERS:

PUBLIC MEETING

on "Atomic Energy for Socialism or Destruction"

TUESDAY, AUGUST 28, 8:15 P. M.

Admission 25 Cents

LABOR ACTION HALL 639 MAIN STREET

GERALD L. K. SMITH

America's No. 1 Fascist

By HAL DRAPER

The War Hits Smith

With the outbreak of the war in 1939 Smith took to preaching a rabid isolationism of the most nationalistic variety.

He boasted of his intimacy with the isolationist bloc in Congress, certainly with some truth. He told reporters that several Congressmen often consulted with him. Reynolds and Nye wrote letters of praise for his magazine, The Cross and the Flag. But isolationism never paid off like strike-breaking. There just wasn't as much money in it.

And after Pearl Harbor business was even worse. With the no-strike pledge on, Smith's special services were not as urgently needed any longer. The industrialists took care of things more easily, what with the War Labor Board, federal troops and union officials on hand.

Smith did get leads to a number of isolationist organizations which decided to disband after the entrance of America into the war. He contacted their members and tried to reorganize them behind himself. As he demonstrated from his files to Walter Davenport of Colliers, about 30 of the 65 groups were the kind with "Mother" in their title: Blue Star Mothers, the Mothers of Sons Forum, Mother's Knee Inc., True American Mothers With Outstretched Arms, and so on.

In 1942 he started his magazine, The Cross and the Flag. His floor of offices in the Industrial Bank Building in Detroit was handling a national correspondence. He was attempting to take over Coughlin's heritage in the area and partly succeeded, no doubt. He tried to push the organization of his "cells" in other Midwestern states. After running a poor race for the Republican senatorial nomination in Michigan, he tried to make a splash in the 1944 presidential election. He began by booming Lindbergh, Reynolds and Col. McCormack of the reactionary Chicago Tribune for the Republican nomination, but wound up running himself as the "America First Party" candidate.

But with all this cost and energy he was getting nowhere, and least of all right in his home base, Detroit and Michigan.

"He has a small group of women who are ardent Smith fans, and he probably has some backing from the remnants of Father Coughlin's supporters. But with the end of his radio broadcasts and the demise of his Committee of One Million, his financial backing also has apparently dwindled. He still maintains offices in the Industrial Bank Building, but where his staff once numbered a score or more of persons, it has shrunk to four or five young girls and an office manager. . . . The political cards are stacked against any comeback he might attempt here." (N. Y. Times, Apr. 23, 1944.)

Notice that word "here." That means the Detroit area.

The people of Los Angeles should be interested to know why Detroit got too hot for him.

It was accomplished in Detroit because Detroit is a stronghold of trade unionism. Its labor movement is among the most militant in the country. Labor took the lead among all progressives in exposing his poison and smearing him as an apostle of race hatred. Their indignation overflowed. More than once, his sheets had to report as they did only last March: "The crowd assembled in face of stink bombs, stone throwing, window-breaking opposition and listened to a stirring address by Mr. Smith." Every decent American can understand how Detroit labor, which knew him best, was provoked.

Detroit Labor Stopped Smith!

If the strike-breaking record of Gerald Smith was not fresh in their minds, the infamous Detroit race riots of June 1943 were. This was a deliberately organized pogrom upon the Negro people, one of the most shameful of recent years.

Bands of white youths roamed through the main streets and invaded the Negro neighborhoods of Detroit, looking for colored victims—beating, clubbing, maiming and killing. Thirty-four were slain, of whom twenty five were Negroes. Policemen stood around grinning or turned their backs. Hundreds were injured. Negro housing projects like Sojourner Truth were attacked. The stench of race hatred hung over the city. Cries were heard from some of the fascist scum: "The Jews are next!"

Everybody knew that this was a deliberately organized bloodbath. Who were the Hitlerite fiends who were behind it?

Fourteen labor, liberal and progressive national organizations publicly accused Gerald L. K. Smith of instigating the pogrom.

Smith denied it—but he could not deny that the crimes were worst in the districts where the bulk of Coughlin's and Smith's strength lay.

Smith denied it—but spilled some beans. He publicly defended himself against the accusation by stating that, though HE didn't do it, he knew who did, and would give the name to the authorities. HE NEVER DID. He also never explained where his inside information about the conspiracy came from.

Detroit labor, white and colored, would not believe him if he placed his bloody hands on a stack of Bibles. They know Smith. That is why they sometimes became noisy at his Fascist rallies, as we have seen.

All this is why Gerald L. K. Smith went west.

(To be continued)

JUST OFF THE PRESS:

The Truth About Gerald L. K. Smith

By HAL DRAPER Price... 5 cents

ORDER YOUR COPY NOW

WORKERS PARTY Los Angeles Section

P.O. Box 1246 San Pedro, Calif.



# Why Russia Joined the War on Japan

By Sam Adams

The Russian declaration of war against Japan was without surprise. Once Foreign Minister Molotov announced last April the Russian intention of abrogating the treaty with Japan, it was only a question of time before Stalin would join his partners in the Far Eastern conflict.

The history of the Russian break with Japan is interesting only in the sense that it adds another chapter in the long history of imperialism. Russo-Japanese conflicts in the Far East were of long standing. Battle skirmishes were fought as late as 1939. When the Second World War became imminent, Russia and Japan arranged for an armistice which coincided with the Hitler-Stalin Pact of September 1939. The armistice was followed by a neutrality pact signed in April, 1941, shortly before the invasion of Russia by Germany.

These diplomatic maneuverings were not accidental. They were part of Russia's orientation toward the Axis nations, an orientation which arose from the certainty that the Allied powers would be unable to prevent the victory of Germany-Italy-Japan. The turn in the war, however, did not change Russian-Japanese relations. On the contrary, Stalin did everything in his power to maintain peaceful relations with the latter as long as he was deeply committed in the European theatre of war.

### DIPLOMATIC MISREPRESENTATION

The certainty of a German defeat, coming on the heels of the Italian collapse, changed the whole relationship of forces in the Far East. It was not the sudden discovery that Japan was an ally of Germany, or that it was ruled by a reactionary government which prompted Russia's actions in the Far East. When Molotov stated in April that "Germany attacked the Soviet Union and Japan is helping Germany in the war against the Soviet Union. In addition, Japan is at war against Great Britain and the United States who are allies of the Soviet Union. In such a situation the neutrality pact between Japan and the Soviet Union has lost its meaning and the prolongation of this pact is becoming impossible," he spoke in the tradition of imperialists. Why?

Russia had been at war with Germany for four years! Russia had been allied with Great Britain and the United States during the same four years! And Russia maintained its neutrality treaty with Japan during these same four years. Did it take Mr. Molotov four years to ascertain facts which were accessible to any school boy? Obviously not!

Russia retained her pact with Japan so long as her relations with the United States and Great Britain were not fully ascertained. First, she did not want to fight a two-front war. Secondly, she wanted guarantees from her Allies on European questions (what territories Russia shall receive) and guarantees in Asia. Russia is as much an Asiatic power as a European. Her imperialist interests cover not only Eastern Europe, the Balkans and the Mediterranean, but also China, Manchuria, and a Pacific port. Recently, it became known what Russia's demands in the Far East were. Stalin demanded the re-establishment of the 1906 Russian influence in Manchuria, creation of a sphere of influence in Mongolia, return of her interests in the Russo-Chinese railway, and the Port of Dairen.

### RUSSIAN ENTRY DECIDED AT YALTA

These were the "practical" matters discussed in Tehran and Yalta. But it has also been disclosed that Russia's entry into the war against Japan was decided in "principle" when Roosevelt was alive. The questions discussed at the Potsdam meeting related only to the date of Russia's entry, number of troops to be used, matériel to be employed and material assistance to be rendered by the United States. These supplemented the "practical" agreements referred to above.

The anti-Russian press which endeavored to explain the belated Russian entry into the Far Eastern war as one of the results of the atomic bombing of Japan and the desire of Stalin to get in on the kill, reveal either political obtuseness or willful misrepresentation of the situation. It is not difficult to understand Russia's action if one understands first of all that Stalin's Russia is not a "workers' fatherland," not the "land of socialism," and is no more interested in advancing the struggle of the people for true freedom and independence than the capitalist powers.

Russia, under Stalin, that is, under the rule of a new bureaucratic class which basis itself on nationalized economy, pursues an imperialist policy of its own. Its rôle in the European war was as imperialist as that of all the other powers. It was not merely a "war of defense" as is so eloquently demonstrated by the manner in which Russia seized new territories, incorporated them in Russian borders, violated the independence of other nations and instituted imperialist rule over other countries.

Stalin's policy in Europe has been to re-establish the territorial borders of Czarist Russia which was based upon the oppression of other peoples. Having achieved these aims in Europe as a result of the successful war waged in coalition with the Allied powers, Russia's imperialist appetite is now being whetted for the Asiatic division of spoils.

### RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM

Molotov's announcement that Russia entered the Far Eastern war to end it quickly and destroy the fascist rulers of Japan is so much nonsense when it is remembered that Russia signed a pact with fascist Germany which opened up the Second World War. At that time, Molotov found it possible to say that "fascism was a matter of personal taste!" Since the end of the European war, Russia continues to use fascist and reactionary elements to aid in her rule of Balkan countries and to advance her own interests in Europe. Certainly, Russia was not endangered by a Japanese attack. Japan had already lost the war. That much was already clear even before the Potsdam meeting. Japan's fear was that Russia would enter the war against her, much in the same manner as Italy entered the war against France in 1940.

It will be interesting to hear what the Allied "moralists" will say about this when the war is finally over. It will be even more interesting to hear from those who defended Russia's rôle in the European war (the Socialist Workers Party), called for the defense of Russia while denouncing the war as a whole as imperialist, and hailed the advance of Stalin's army in Europe as a victory for world socialism. We can understand why it is difficult for people who have been so wrong on every important event in the war years to speak up frankly. But they owe it to the workers of this and all other countries to tell the truth, not only about the past, but the present as well.

## ATOMIC POWER

# WHAT IS THE FUTURE OF MAN?

By ERNEST LUND

It staggers the imagination. Having said this, the power of language proves hopelessly wanting for a full statement of the effect of atomic power upon Man and his world. The bomb that burst upon Hiroshima has simultaneously burst upon the powers of understandings and comprehension of the human brain.

What does it mean? What is the future of man? Do we stand upon the threshold of a new age and destruction for the whole of mankind? Or do we stand upon the threshold of a death and of unparalleled peace and plenty, the brotherhood of man?

Who dare venture an answer? Who dare say more than pose the alternatives that have unmistakably risen before us.

### MARK AND THE FUTURE

But of all past thought upon social, economic, and political problems, it is only the understanding given us by Scientific Socialism that survives as a bed-rock foundation from which to analyse what has happened and to trace out the paths along which society will move. The very question mark which the invention of atomic energy control places over virtually every aspect of Man's future is a brilliant and dramatic verification of the principles upon which Karl Marx constructed his theories of Scientific Socialism.

Marx was answered with everything from "scientific" argument to scoffing and derision on the part of the learned minds of capitalism when he first pointed out that the changes in the mode of production determined the changes in society as a whole. The shelves of our libraries contain entire books by various and sundry professors who sought to refute this theory. But today, as we stand on the threshold of the atomic age, every last newspaper hack asks what the introduction of atomic power will do to society, to our economic system, to our political structures, to religion, to

morals, to laws, to world organization, to class conflict, to conditions of labor, to virtually every other aspect of human activity. That which Marx perceived nearly a hundred years ago is today so obvious as to force its acceptance everywhere.

It was not the chance idea of a great mind that unlocked the secret of the atom. The secret was being systematically unlocked in a dozen countries by hundreds of scientists, becoming in its last stages a mad race to be the first to succeed. Here too we see verified the contention by Marx that inventions are not, in the historical sense, accidents. They are the result of a certain level of technological knowledge achieved by society.

### PROFITS AND SCARCITY

But do the writings of Marx supply us with a basis to answer the question of the future of Man in the atomic age?

Just as the unlocking of atomic energy was only possible on the basis of our previous scientific knowledge, so were the theories of Marx only possible when science and technology had introduced the machine age and transformed our civilization in accordance with it. The steam engine, electricity, and the internal combustion motor combined to produce the machine age. In their wake came electronics and electro-machinery. Each of these discoveries made a world of plenty for all a greater possibility. But capitalism can exist only on the basis of a system of scarcity. Each new invention was a new threat to the life of capitalism. Marx based his prediction of a Socialist future upon the argument that the age of science would make the existence of capitalism impossible.

The control of atomic energy is not just another new invention. It is that, but far more. Its potential influence is so colossal as to make all previous scientific discoveries seem as but preludes to its appearance. If capitalism could not absorb the shock of labor-saving, mass production based upon the consumption of coal, water power, and oil without permanent depression and recurring war, what will the coming of atomic energy do to it?

Who even dares suggest that this awesome, new power be turned over to "free enterprise" to develop? (We omit, of course, such feeble-minded simpletons as Ira Mosher of the National Manufacturers Association who has already, in his blissful ignorance, made this proposal.) If capitalism promises us some 20 million unemployed after the war on the basis of present labor-saving technology, how can any sane and sober person conceive of capitalism coping with the atomic age?

### FOR A SOCIALIST SOCIETY

Atomic power in the hands of a Workers' Government dedicated to a program of planned production for the use of the people rather than for the profits of the owners of industry would truly usher in an age of peace, plenty, and contentment that would make all previous human history appear as a dark, barbarous age. This age of plenty for all was already possible on the basis of productive powers of the last several decades.

Today, however, it is no longer a matter of it being possible. Today it is unpostponable. Mankind dare not wait. Capitalism is already laying the basis for the next war. When it comes, it may all be over in three or four days, not only the war but the civilization we have known.

### What is the future of man?

That is for man to decide. It must not be decided by those in power, the bankers, the industrialists, the politicians, all those who have taken mankind through its worst period of economic decline to end only in the recent six years long blood-bath.

It must be decided by the great mass of the working people. They must organize and speak out with one voice: **We demand life under Socialism before death under capitalism over-takes us all. Men and women of labor! Act! Act! Now! Join the ranks in the fight for Socialism. Only here is there a bed-rock upon which to stand as all the values of a passing epoch crumble. The fight for Socialism has become the fight for the very existence of mankind.**

# Akron Anti-Fascist Committee Pickets Rev. Winrod's Meetings

By BILL FORD

AKRON, Aug. 12—Focusing the attention of Akron workers on a nest of native American fascists operating under the cloak of a "spiritual revival," seventy-five Akron anti-fascists picketed enthusiastically for two nights last week before the tent in which the Rev. Gerald B. Winrod, notorious Kansas demagogue, spilled forth his anti-labor, anti-Negro, anti-Jewish poison.

A "United Committee to Expose Winrod-Swain Fascism" had been hastily organized two days earlier on learning that Winrod was in town under the auspices of the Rev. Sam Swain, fundamentalist preacher and supporter of Winrod's vicious religio-fascist magazine, The Defender.

The United Committee consisted of members of rubber unions, the Future Outlook League, the NAACP, representatives from Jewish organizations, the Workers Party and the Independent Labor League. Because of the necessity of speedy preparations being made to combat Winrod's fascist gospel, the committee found itself handicapped from the start, but the actual picketing itself demonstrated to the satisfaction of all that a real beginning had been made toward accomplishing joint action among Akron anti-fascists.

### THE PICKET SIGNS

Ten placards displayed by the United Committee read as follows: When You Fight Winrod, You Fight Fascism; Hitler Liked Winrod, We Don't; Winrod Fights Unionism, We Fight Winrod; Down with Jim Crow and Jew Baiting; German Fascism Crushed Labor—U. S. Labor: Don't Let It Happen Here; Unionism Is the Workingman's Shield, Fascism Will Destroy It; Winrod Draws Color and Race Lines, We Don't Want That Here; Expose Winrod's "Nazified" Religion; Fight American Fascism Here and Now; Democracy Is Based on Unionism, Winrod Is Based on Fascism.

Workers Party representatives carried banners reading: "The Workers Party Is Against Native Fascism and Its Anti-Labor, Anti-Jew, Anti-Negro Poison," and "Join the Workers Party: The Fight Against Fascism Is a Socialist Fight." The ILL participated with appropriate banners.

Picketing continued for two hours on the successive nights, while Winrod's voice boomed from inside the tent, at first with fake pleas for the souls of the pickets, then rising with invective into denunciation of socialism and all progressive labor measures and finally into a rabid presentation of race-hatred against the Jewish people by separating them from those with "pure blood," all this studded with fundamentalist Biblical references.

### BEACON JOURNAL RECANTS

Winrod's arrival in Akron was preceded on July 20 by an exposure in the Beacon Journal of his activities as leader of the religious wing of Gerald K. Smith's budding Nationalist-Fascist Party movement. In 1935 Winrod was granted interviews with Hitler and on his return to America conducted an extensive pro-Nazi propaganda campaign in his "Defender" and on speaking tours. According to Carlson's book, "Under Cover," Winrod has collaborated actively with most of the leading native American fascists, such as Pelley, Mrs. Dilling, Bund leaders and the

like, along with whom he was under indictment for treason. He has promoted the sale of the notoriously forged "Protocols of the Elders of Zion."

When the Akron United Committee attempted to get publicity exposing Winrod into the Beacon Journal, according to a report made to the pickets, it was rejected on grounds of being "libelous," although that paper just two weeks earlier had published similar material! The Bea-

con Journal refused also to publish an ad calling for pickets, and consequently the pickets that did appear came as a result solely of hasty word-of-mouth contact.

President I. H. "Ike" Watson of Firestone United Rubber Workers, Local No. 7, showed by his presence on the picket line that at least one local labor leader understands the necessity for taking PRACTICAL steps to resist the encroachments of native fascism. The great pity is that as yet the labor movement as a whole is unaware that it must play a pri-

mary part in the struggle against the Smith-Winrod mob, or is not taking as yet sufficiently decisive steps to ensure that fullest effectiveness of the anti-fascist struggle. After the first night's picketing and meeting, at which Mary Bell, assistant editor of LABOR ACTION, spoke for the Workers Party, the United Committee found time to get out several thousand mimeographed handbills to factory workers at shop gates, calling for aid to the pick-

ets, in line with Winrod's main fascist idea that anyone opposed to him is such, no matter who. The presence of two soldiers in uniform near the pickets and sympathetic toward them aroused considerable attention in the local press.

### FOR PERMANENT FIGHT

On the conclusion of the picketing each night meetings of the pickets were held at which a report on the events was given by a spokesman for the United Committee and each organization composing the united front was requested to speak briefly. All speakers hit upon the note that this demonstration was excellent, that more and bigger ones were needed and that plans for arousing interest in a permanent committee to combat native fascism in Akron should be stimulated.

The speaker for the Workers Party gained applause in telling of the activity of the Los Angeles branch of the WP in picketing the Gerald K. Smith rally there recently and the later mass meeting of 15,000 Los Angeles anti-fascists, participated in by numerous labor and civic organizations.

The Cannonite Socialist Workers Party displayed its customary miserable rôle in this situation. Its several members griped continually about the lack of formality in the initial calling of the united front meeting, as though an engraved invitation were possible under the circumstances, when hasty action was needed; referred to the situation as a "tempest in a teapot"; looked down their noses on the demonstration since it obviously lacked the mass labor support that can be built up only over a long period of time; and finally had to be personally coaxed into joining the picket line, where they did not discharge their responsibilities very long.

### UNION SUPPORT NEEDED

In future struggles against the Winrod-Smith brand of fascism, the big Akron unions are going to have to take their place and educate their membership to understand the tremendous issues at stake. Already the Akron Industrial Union Council has had the matter under discussion, and even the international URWA officials are reported to be "interested" in watching developments, although incorrectly frowning on the idea of picketing the fascists when they appear.

There can be no question but that in the present post-war period now opening up, with its mass unemployment and heightened tensions between capital and labor, that the Smith-Winrod nationalist-fascist fascist movement will intensify and spread its reactionary agitation and organization, using its pseudo-religious base as a springboard. The demagoguery of Winrod in Akron in denouncing the World Charter and World Bank is as cunningly calculated as Hitler's denunciation of the Versailles Treaty. Already it is gaining support in rural areas in the Middle West.

## NEXT WEEK:

### Manifesto of the Workers Party on the End of the War

### The Housing Crisis—No. 8 in a Series

By Marian Gould

### One-Tenth of the Nation

By J. R. Johnson

# What Labor Must Do For The Veterans

By Stephen Parker

The problem of the veterans is certain to be one of the major problems of America life for many years to come. The unprecedented scope of the second imperialist world-wide war has brought into being 15 million potential veterans of this war. It is foolish to assert that all of them will have the same problems. Yet at the same time it is undeniable that to one degree or another, all of them will be affected by their experiences in the war and do have many common problems.

What we have here is a situation where three, four, or five years have been cut from a man's life. The average soldier looks upon his service tenure as a complete waste of time, and of time that can never be recaptured. This sense of frustration has created a bitterness that no other group in our society can feel, since no other group has lived for a similar period of time under such abnormal conditions.

Of primary importance will be the directions in which this discontent will be channeled. Will it be directed against the rotten system that takes the cream of a nation's youth and sends them out to be murdered and maimed physically and mentally for years at a stretch? Will it be directed against the rotten system that as a reward for years of anguish offers a world of breadlines, bigotry, slums, and future wars?

### PROGRESS OR REACTION

Or will it be turned into reactionary directions? Will the years spent under military discipline and constant exposure to the propaganda organs of capitalism, turn the veterans against the labor movement? Will they believe the carefully indoctrinated slander that while they were suffering on the far-flung battlefields of the world, the militant American working class was stabbing them in the back?

The entire future development of American life may well depend on the solution to this problem. We know from history the enormous rôle played by veterans in the great upheavals of society. In Russia, in 1917, the soldiers in their overwhelming mass were on the side of progress and proved instrumental in the overthrow of Tsarism. But in Germany after the last war an embittered soldiery helped to provide the nucleus for many fascist movements, and a large part of Hitler's appeal came from his own participation in the war as a common soldier.

The primary concern of the returning veterans will be decent jobs. The veteran reasons, and rightly so, that the very least that society can do for him is to offer him a decent job at a living wage. Even before V-J Day the veteran had discovered that this was easier promised than accomplished.

Up until V-J Day about three million men had been discharged from the armed forces. Authorities working on veteran problems in statements to the press all revealed the same difficulty in the re-employment of veterans. The veterans in their stay in the armed forces had been led to believe that the workers back home were receiving fabulous wages, and so when they return to civilian life and discover the true state of affairs, they don't want to go to work at starvation wages.

### LABOR: AID THE VETERAN

This was, of course, during the war when jobs were relatively easy to procure. What will the situation be in the period of mass unemployment that is imminent?

The American Labor movement has a tremendous job of education to fulfill. It must make the veterans see that by defending their rights during the war, they were really defending the rights of veterans. They must make them see that their future is one and the same labor movement. They must get them on their side.

In the recent British elections the soldiers voted overwhelmingly for the Labor Party. That was a sign of progress and hope for the future. If the American labor movement functions intelligently, there is no reason why there shouldn't be a similar development here.

## Who Is Hirohito?

By P. Prentiss

Ostensibly, the important IF in the peace negotiations between Japan and the Allies has been the status of Emperor Hirohito. Unlike what a great section of the capitalist press would have us believe, Hirohito is not merely an innocent stooge of the Japanese military clique. As the Emperor he has been in the center of the militarist-industrialist-feudalist set-up of Japan. Richard A. Yaffee points out in PM that "his vast fortune is invested in all kinds of enterprise and he has been collecting huge dividends from the war boom." Hirohito's main rôle in the war has been to stand as a religious and racial symbol around which the Japanese masses were rallied and blindly launched into a devastating, bloody and useless slaughter.

For 76 years the Emperor cult system has been part of Japanese society. Up until 1868 the feudal landowning classes used the Emperor as an instrument for keeping the people in abeyance. Even at that time, however, the Emperor was not merely an instrument but was part and parcel of the ruling class, being a great feudal lord and landowner himself.

After that date, the new merchant class found that they too could make good use of the Emperor. The new Japanese industrial ruling class, fearful of a rising proletariat, borrowed the old feudal form of oppression, the monarchy, in order to stave off any new class that would rise to threaten their own newly won power. As machine production and factories were beginning to grow in Japan, attempts were made to stifle the class-consciousness of the new proletariat by imbuing it with an all-pervading nationalist religion—worship of the Emperor, direct descendant of the sun-god. This reactionary, mystical state Shinto religion was extended and continued under the capitalist rule.

Hirohito today, symbolic head of the Japanese government, is an intrinsic part of the ruling class. He is as guilty as are the leaders of all the other imperialist governments who dragged the working classes into the devastating massacre.

The American capitalist press would have us believe that permitting Hirohito (or his son or his brother as regent) to remain in power in Japan merely means granting "freedom of worship" to the Japanese. The real purpose behind this hypocritical gesture is to stave off the much dreaded Japanese "chaos," better known as revolution, which is certain to follow as a result of the war. The Allied capitalists are anxious to prop up Hirohito on his throne, just as they have maintained the decrepit monarchy in Italy—fearful of the consequences of what they termed an "unstable government."

Though the Japanese workers and peasants have been shackled and dragged into the most barbaric war of history, in the name of Hirohito and the imperialist ruling class he speaks for, they are not as benumbed as some would have us believe. The Japanese labor movement, small though it may be, has a history of militancy—militancy that will soon be directed against the propped-up puppets of Allied imperialism.