

APRIL 8, 1946

UAW Gives Reuther Militant Mandate FOLLOW THROUGH ON GM PROGRAM!

Labor Action Tops **At Auto Convention**

The new eight-page LABOR ACTION arrived in time for distribution to the UAW convention in Atlantic City at the evening session on Friday. The headline, "GM Program Elects Reuther," met with almost universal approval.

The men in the pencil-striped gray suits with big black cigars, the "porkchoppers," looked the other way, but the majority of the delegates reached for the paper eagerly. Most of them knew LABOR ACTION. They had received it at free distributions in front of their plants and in their local union headquarters.

The Stalinists said they "couldn't read" and either ignored the paper or took a copy and dropped it after they had gone a short distance. But the majority of the delegates took the paper and the conversations ran something like this:

Sub-getter: "Have you seen LABOR ACTION?"

Delegate: "Yes, I've read it three times already. It's a pretty good paper but it's too optimistic. Socialism is too far off. We have to fight for what we can get now."

Sub-getter: "LABOR ACTION believes that only under a socialist system will the workers be able to get their full rights but we are the first to fight for the demands of the workers today. Do you want an independent Labor Party? So do we. Do you want GM to open its books? So do we. Do you want an end to discrimination in industry? So do we." Delegate: Okay, give me a sub for six months."-C. W.

Shipyard Locals Vote To Strike Bethlehem

NEW YORK - Showing determina- these rules that provided for an antion to fight and beat the giant Bethlehem Steel Corporation, six of eight union locals in this company's shipyard chain have voted to strike the yards if the union's demands are not met. The union, the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of America, CIO, represents the workers in the nine yards the company operates on the Atlantic Seaboard.

The unanimity shown by the men who have voted indicates that the two local unions that have not voted will follow their lead and empower National President John Green to set a strike date.

WAGE REVIEW

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nual wage review with wages being tied to any rise in the cost of living. The workers in this industry were jobbed out of this wage safeguard by the Wage Stabilization Board, which outlawed the annual wage review for the war's duration.

The wage review under this pro-

gram was held in December for the first time since the war's end. After a great deal of conniving on the part of the management, assisted by the government, an award was made giving the workers a general increase to December 4, 1945. The company, feeling the union was in no position to fight, simply refused to make the stead a counter-offer in line with the tradition of union-hating this corporation has usually followed. Bethlehem and United States Steel, America's largest steel companies and among the nation's largest shipyard operators, with their failure to live up to the zone standard agreement. gave leadership to the rest of the shipbuilding outfits on the Atlantic Coast, and these companies, with few exceptions, also refused to make the payment of the award. The Bethlehem workers by their militant stand are providing the leadership in the IUMSWA and are calling upon their brothers in the other yards on the coast to join them in a determined fight to get the wage increase, the retroactivity and other contractual demands even if it means "hitting the bricks." The situation now facing the workers in this industry is another example of the fallacy of trying to deal with corporations such as these through appeasement and collaboration. Only through the most militant and aggressive action, such as the shipyard workers displayed in 1937, can these corporations be made to understand that the spirit that built the IUMSWA is not dead.

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Workers Party Vet Committee **Offers Plan on Housing Action**

of eighteen cents an hour retroactive NEW YORK-Hailing the "invasion," as the New York Times called it, by the New York Area Council of the American Veterans Committee, of the fices of the Real Estate Board of

three to eight veteran families. These time residences of families who spend their fall and winter months in their Florida homes, and their summer months in their equally spacious mansions at Lake Placid and in the Adirondacks. There seems to be no really pressing housing shortage for these people. I may say that it is an inhuman, a criminal act to permit these mansions to remain neatly cased in their unoccupation while veterans of the war tramp through a jungle of "No Vacancy" signs. The National Emergency Act is still in effect. By it the government justifies its demobilization "slowdown." Washington could, if it so desired, requisition these boarded-up mansions, sub-divide them, and open them to the veterans as a source of immediate relief in this incredible housing crisis.

requisitioned hotels during the war estates and mansions are the part- to house military personnel and military and naval installations. Washington can, if it so desires, repeat this

By DAVID COOLIDGE

Nearly two thousand men and women from automobile factories and shops, and representing their locals in the UAW-CIO, put in eight days in Atlantic City at the tenth convention of their international union, the biggest union in the world. Their great international had just come through a test of strength with the giant General Motors Corporation, part of the du Pont industrial dynasty in the United States. These men and women workers had aided their brothers and sisters in the longest strike ever conducted by their union. They had heard a new slogan in the trade union movement: "Open the Books." They had been told that to go on strike for an increase in wages without having anything to say about prices, profits and production must become an outmoded procedure for the labor movement today. Labor must correlate a demand for a wage increase with the demand for no increase in prices, and labor must share in the profits not only of years past but of the year in which the labor has been performed.

Transit Strike Challenges **Detroit Mayor**

By BEN HALL

DETROIT, April 1-The city-owned public transportation system was completely shut down at 4 A.M. this morning when 5,200 street car and bus drivers, members of District 26 of the Amalgamated Association of Street Railway and Motor Coach Operators (AFL) rolled their busses and cars into the car barns for the beginning of a city-wide strike.

The strike was voted by a large majority of the union membership at a mass meeting yesterday afternoon which followed, six weeks of futile negotiations with the city administration of Mayor Edward Jeffries. These

negotiations continued up to midnight yesterday when the contract between the union and the city expired.

The workers are demanding an increase in wages of 18 cents per hour. Jeffries has made a phony offer of 15 cents which is tied up with various concessions by the union. The real extent of his offer amounts to no more than 10 cents per hour. This

These delegates also had seen their unions assaulted by the big corporations with a demand for "company security" and by the Truman Administration with a new "Little Steel" formula. They knew that there was

an internal dispute among the top leadership of their international. Some of them knew that this dispute was concerned with what kind of program the union should have, whether or not the GM workers should have gone on strike first and how the strike should have been conducted. They knew furthermore that there was dissatisfaction with the leadership of R. J. Thomas and that a real contest was developing around the question of whether or not Thomas should remain at the head of the union.

WANTED NEW PROGRAM

These two thousand men and women workers came to Atlantic City to discuss all of these problems and exercise their democratic right to make decisions about them. Hundreds of these delegates really wanted to adopt a new program for the UAW. They did not want to go on in the old way. These were the genuine progressives and militants. Many of them went away at the adjournment of the convention, dissatisfied

resolutions which had been submit-

ted for the consideration of the con-

For instance, they had had no op-

portunity to discuss the two resolu-

tions on "Foreign Policy," one by

the Resolutions Committee majority

and the other by a minority composed

of two Stalinists: Oliver and Ganley.

They did not have the opportunity

to discuss the resolution on "So-

Called Company Security." This was

a very weak resolution, and if it had

come to the floor the real progres-

sives would have had the opportun-

ity to trounce the leadership for its

disgraceful and cowardly capitulation

to the Ford Motor Company on this

question. Furthermore, they would

have had the opportunity to confront

Leonard and chastise him for the dis-

graceful part he played in agreeing to

the Ford proposals for "company se-

curity." Also Reuther would have

been forced to explain what position

Ford security .question was up for

he had taken in the IEB when this

The union's demands on Bethlehem, a corporation that has a long history of union busting, date back to the formation .of the tri-partite agency, the Shipbuilding Stabilization Commission. In 1941 this group, composed of representatives of the union, the government and shipyard owners, drew up a set of rules designed to stabilize hours, rates of pay and conditions of work in the shipbuilding industry. Upon the insistence of the union a provision was inserted in

NEXT WEEK

Analysis of UAW Convention

-David Coolidge

First of a Series on Anti-Semitism

Significance of Greek Elections

-Tom Tanakos

-Jessie Kaaren

New York on Friday, March 22, the Veterans Committee of the Workers Party addressed a letter to the AVC placing itself solidly behind their efforts to obtain housing and suggest-

ing action on a broader scale in which the Workers Party vets would be willing to participate. The letter, signed by Nathan Gould,

chairman of the Workers Party Veterans Committee, pointed to the staggering contradiction of a government which in two brief years built the most powerful war machine in all history, constructed in each year of the war billions of dollars worth of industrial plants at a fantastic rate of speed, yet finds itself impotent to construct suitable homes to meet the veteran housing emergency.

"We know," states the letter, "that if the government appropriated five billion dollars for veteran housing, enough homes could be constructed within one year to relieve the present veteran housing shortage from its present critical stage.

"We also know that on Fifth and Park Avenues, in the exclusive sections of New York, as well as in other cities, there are innumerable boarded up estates and mansions, each large enough to adequately house from

"We know, too, that as they once

FOR FURTHER **INFORMATION:**

If you would like to have the full text of the letter sent to the AVC, or any other information relative to the Workers Party program for veterans, write to the Workers Party Veterans Committee, 114 West 14th Street, New York 11, N. Y.

performance to provide decent temporary housing for the veteran to fill the urgent need until a five billion dollar one-year veteran housing program could be completed."

The letter of the Workers Party Veterans Committee then suggests, because of the national magnitude of the housing problem, that the American Veterans Committee, "call upon all of the veterans' organizations to summon a national conference, designed to organize a united effort on behalf of housing for veterans." Such a conference could coordinate a nation-wide campaign and invite support from unions, prominent individuals and political parties.

The Veterans Committee of the Workers Party consists of: Nathan Gould, Chairman, 1st Lt. Infantry, Merrills Marauders; Alex Wollod, Vice-Chairman, Pfc., 32 Infantry Division; Saul Berg, Secretary, T4, F.E.A.F. Signal Bn.; Emanuel Garrett, Press Secretary, Pfc., 368th Engineers; James M. Fenwick, Labor Secretary, Pfc., 1st Infantry Division; Harry Milton, in charge of Housing, Sgt., 5th Infantry Division; B. J. Wilson, Research Dir., S/Sgt., 76th Infantry Division; A. Victor, in charge of Veterans' Benefits, S/2c, U.S.N.R. Seabees.

offer has been categorically rejected and disappointed. They had not had by the union. the opportunity to discuss important

At the union mass meeting the rank and file voted for the strike despite the pleading of its local and international officials who urged going slow and continued negotiations and despite the threats of city officials that the strike was illegal and would be broken. Philip Weis, chairman of the State Mediation Board, had demanded that the strikers wait for thirty days as allegedly provided for in a state law relative to municipal services. Jeffries demanded that the issues be sent to arbitration.

But these appeals, threats, and demands went unheeded. One bus driver, a young veteran named Paul Michalewski, replied to these arguments in heated terms.

"I am a returned GI," he said, "and I am telling you we want to strike and end this damned business once and for all. The people of Detroit all want us to strike. They know what Jeffries and his rotten commission are doing to us."

Mayor Jeffries, who is a candidate for the Republican nomination for Governor of Michigan, hopes to be-(Continued on page 3)

The leadership provided no opportunity for a discussion of the impor-(Continued on page 2)

consideration.

vention.

Boost the Fund Drive for a Permanent 8-Pager!

By NATHAN GOULD, National Organizer, Workers Party

Last week our readers were treated to an issue of an eight-page LABOR ACTION. This was offered as a sample-a sample of what LABOR ACTION will be like every week beginning June 17. For June 17 is the scheduled date for the appearance of a regular eightpage weekly LABOR ACTION! Eight instead of four pages of unflinching assault by the Workers Party against capitalist injustice.

We offered the sample eight-pager as testimony to our readers of the greater possibilities, the improvement, the great advance which our projected plan will make possible. Every reader, we are certain, will hail the advance, will encourage us to realize our goal for an expanded weekly paper.

The revolutionary voice which cried out its defiant opposition to the imperialist war, which championed the struggle of labor against exploitation and tyranny, must be amplified. The bosses and the government are engaged in a conspiracy to crush the gains of labor, to divide labor, to revitalize "lynch law" and labor persecution. The conspirators have launched an offensive. Labor needs

the clear, bold, courageous fight of LABOR ACTION augmented to meet the challenge of government and capital, to direct and champion labor's adamant refusal to yield an inch or to slacken its pace forward.

That is why an eight-page LABOR ACTION is an imperative necessity today.

SUCCESS OF FIRST ISSUE

Appearing in the midst of the UAW convention, the sample eight-page LABOR ACTION was able to cover this important event in labor's struggle more adequately than ever before. We were able to provide our readers with a more complete account and an analysis of the proceedings. Moreover, it was possible to accomplish this without sacrificing treatment of a wide variety of other issues significant to the working class. Featuring the UAW convention and recent developments among the longshoremen and railroad workers, LABOR ACTION's sample eight-pager devoted six articles to strikes and union news, four articles to American social and economic problems, six articles to the activities of the Workers Party, ten articles to international news; published four

letters from readers, two articles on the struggles of the Negro workers (one book review), two articles on veterans' problems and one article dealing specifically with Stalinism. The issue was impressive in its well balanced coverage of labor's struggles on many fronts. It was possible only because there were eight pages.

MAGAZINE A PERMANENT FEATURE

Of equal importance is the introduction in the eight-page paper of the magazine section. It will be a regular feature of the paper. Many of our readers have asked for a section of the paper devoted to a treatment of current news from an educational point of view; a section that would deal with the deeper implications of the news giving fuller analysis to the various economic, and political prol lems of labor. They have requested something that can serve as weekly education in Marxism. The magazine section is designed meet this need.

You have read the sample of the eight-page paper. You ca make possible an eight-page LABOR ACTION every week. La every reader participate in realizing this goal by sending a contr bution to the drive for \$15,000 for an eight-page weekly.

WE'RE GOING TO HAVE AN 8-PAGE LABOR ACTION!

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 V'est 14th Street, New York 11, N. Y.

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NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

UAW Gives Reuther Militant Mandate

(Continued from page 1)

tant question of political action. There were rumors and more rumors that there was a resolution on political action but it never reached the convention floor. There were some feeble and factional anti-Reuther remarks about support of the PAC. The Reuther faction attached a cryptic and incomprehensible paragraph to their programmatic statement. This was all. There were many other important resolutions which the convention did not get to. This sent the delegates away in varying degrees of dissatisfaction and disappointment. One could hear such expressions as: "This convention is a flop." "We're not getting anywhere." "The 1944 convention was far better than this one."

SOMETHING NEW EMERGES

We can understand the attitude of the progressives and militants but we cannot agree with them. Despite what took place and what did not take place at this convention, it was not a flop, it did get somewhere and it was, in an extremely important sense, at a far higher level than the 1944 convention. In connection with the 1944 convention it is necessary to say something right here. At the 1944 convention a rank and file progressive group was in evidence and was the outstanding progressive force in the convention. This group had been organized before the convention. It had an excellent program, including a demand for the rescinding of the no-strike pledge.

The no-strike pledge was the real important concrete issue before the working class at that time. Progressives were able to make organizational and agitational headway with this issue during the war because the workers knew from their own experiences that they were being frustrated by this pledge which their leaders had given for them without their consent. At this convention, no leading officer of the union stood out above the others on this question or on any other. Reuther, like Thomas, was supporting the war and the nostrike pledge. This lack of any program by the leadership provided the opportunity for a rank and file leadership to assert itself and get a hearing from the membership of the UAW and the delegates to the 1944 convention.

This was not the situation at the Atlantic City convention. Something new had emerged before this convention convened: Walter Reuther, a top officer of the UAW, with a type of program and demand never before advanced by a trade union leader. We are not discussing right now whether or not the Reuther program

was adequate, nor how Reuther defended and fought for his program. We are only saving that he advanced a new program with revolutionary implications. This is what is important at this point. Because the program was new, because of the feeble manner in which Reuther propagated the program and because of the mud slinging that went on in connection with the GM program, before and during the convention, it was difficult for rank and file militants and others to appraise the convention properly. We say that something new had emerged by the time of the Atlantic City convention. Since programs are advanced by people and since Reuther was the protagonist of the Openthe -- Books-Wages-Profits-Prices formula, he became the object of opposition by others in the leadership of the UAW, including Thomas and the Stalinists-Thomas for personal reasons and because of the fact that he could not understand what the GM

and because Reuther is a sort of trade union social-democratic anti-Stalinist. Not only did Reuther become the center of attack, veiled or open, by the Murray-Thomas-Addes - Stalinist bloc, but he became the center of attraction for militants and progressives. Virtually all of the progressives and militants, including the revolutionary socialists, aligned themselves with Reuther against the Murray-Thomas-Addes-Stalinist combination. The situation was different therefore from 1944. The militants with political insight and training understood far better than Reuther himself the revolutionary potentialities and implications of the GM program which Reuther had advanced. They knew that Reuther would not carry this program through. They had seen the manner in which he had conducted the GM struggle. It was the duty of the militants to enter the Reuther caucus and demand

not only that the GM program become the center of the convention but that the program be extended to include independent working class political action: the formation of an independent Labor Party.

ISSUES NOT DISCUSSED

Neither on the convention floor nor in the Reuther caucus was there an opportunity to accomplish anything concrete and significant along these lines. The Thomas caucus was devoted to the most shameful mud slinging, filth, lies and clowning, particularly by R. J. Thomas.

The first Reuther caucus was a sort of burlesque in which Reuther was "drafted" for the presidency. At the next caucus Reuther advanced his

program and refrained from the nonsense which he had uttered at the first caucus. For instance, at the first caucus meeting Reuther spoke about the necessity for keeping outside political influences out of the union. The union must be based only on trade union principles for the benefit of the "guys who pay a buck a month." That is, Reuther appeared at the first caucus as a simple and politically backward trade unionist who believed that economic action alone could solve the problems of the working class. We say that this is nonsense, and Reuther knows that it is nonsense.



WALTER REUTHER

There was no opportunity for the militants to assert themselves on the convention floor. The most important resolutions did not reach the convention floor. The real issues involved in the contest for president were not discussed on the floor of the convention. Such discussion as was held around these questions took place in the caucuses of the two contending factions.

The trade union bureaucracy has learned how to handle conventions in which the rank and file is demanding to be heard and conventions in which the rank and file is likely to have harsh things to say about the leadership. Such a leadership simply organizes and conducts the convention in such a way that many of the most controversial questions are left over for the consideration of the Executive Board after the convention

has adjourned. This is precisely what happened at Atlantic City. A STRUGGLE OVER PROGRAM

These are some of the reasons why many delegates went away dissatis-

fied. There are many things which already discussed the fact that Reuthese militants forget, however. One ther had already moved up forward is that the convention was divided into factions and that these factions held caucus meetings. These caucus meetings were really an integral part of what can be called the convention. They were legal. They were open to the public. But most important of all it is necessary to realize that the two factions and the disputes between them were really around the question of what program the UAW should have. The contest for president was not a mere struggle for power and the caucuses were not mere "power caucuses." as some delegates remarked. At the bottom of the mud slinging of the Thomas-Addes group and the timid, conservative and often bureaucratic procedure of Reuther there was a real struggle

This struggle was concretized around the GM demands. It is correct to say that the election of Reuther was due in no small degree to his advocacy of a relatively advanced program for the union. It was the Thomas-Addes concern about this GM program which drove them also to concoct some sort of program in opposition to the Reuther program. It was the power of the GM program and its attractiveness to the militant workers which led the Thomas-Addes faction to its disgraceful and filthy anti-Reuther pre-election campaign. It was his disagreement with the GM program which led Philip Murray to give underhand support to Thomas in his speech to the convention the day before the election.

over program.

program was the real focus of the convention struggle, gives this convention its character and its real meaning. Reuther defeated Thomas and it would be a very serious mistake to believe that the victory of Reuther can be attributed primarily to union clique politics, "power politics" or some of the other unsavory happenings at the convention. When one remembers the rah-rah manner in which Reuther proceeded in many instances, his fear at being booed in ' the convention and the downright the stand-pat, support-Phil-Murray

This important fact, that the GM

The fact that the advanced militants were not able to assume important leading roles in the convention or in the Reuther caucus says something about Reuther and also something about these militants. We have

AKRON "The Development of American Capitalism," a new six-week class series. as a trade union leader. He had a large and important following in the international. He was in combat with Thomas, who had a reactionary, programmatic position in relation to the GM program.

Reuther proceeded in a sort of one step forward, one step backward, then side-step movement. But the mass of the rank and filers supporting him were not ready to challenge. this inadequacy on the part of Reuther. They were for him. There were thousands of these average rank and file militants and only a few of the advanced militants with political understanding. There were not enough advanced militants to make themselves heard or to have any appreciable influence. The progressives who went away from the convention dissatisfied will have to learn what the correct program is for the union, when a program is not adequate, how to organize a correct program, how to organize around their program and how to carry on an organized struggle to get their program adopted.

They already have the beginnings. They have elected Reuther because they believe him to be a progressive and a militant. He has announced a program. But Reuther will not carry out that program, inadequate as it is, unless the rank and file progressives and militants in the UAW, in all the locals, keep pressing forward in an organized and persistent way. They must demand that Reuther carry out and fight for the program which the progressives voted for.

(David Coolidge will continue his analysis of the UAW convention in next week's LABOR ACTION .--- Ed.)

HARLEM MEETING: Stephen Parker will speak on the UNO Wednesday, April 10 2143 Seventh Ave. Room 106										
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Tuesday evenings at 8. For information write to Bill Ford, Box 221, Akron. Ohio. BUFFALO

HEADQUARTERS at 639 Main St. CHICAGO

Albert Gates, Editor of L. A.

Instructor

With the-

Workers Party

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

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.

New York Workers Party School Announces Six New Courses

An excellent selection of courses has been arranged for the fourth semester of the Workers Party School which begins on Tuesday, April 16. The courses will be held on Tuesday and Friday nights for six weeks concluding on May 24.

MAX SHACHTMAN, National Secretary of the Workers Party, will teach a class on "Problems of the Russian Revolution." The class begins with an analysis of the character of the Russian revolution, traces the rise of Stalinism and concludes with a discussion of the future of bureaucratic collectivism. In view of the great interest engendered by the announcement of the class, all who wish to register are urged to do so at once. The first session of the class will begin on Friday, April 19, at 9 P.M.

"The Marxist Approach to History," an analysis of the philosophical basis of Marxism, will be given by IRVING HOWE, an Associate Editor on the staff of LABOR ACTION. Some of the sessions will deal with contemporary theories of history as propounded by Dewey, Freud, etc. The class will begin on Tuesday, April 16, at 7:30 P.M.

"American Capitalism" is a Marxist history from the Civil War to the present time, and will be led by V. JENSEN of the LABOR ACTION staff. Emphasis in this class will be on the special role and development of the labor movement. The first session of the class will be held on Tuesday, April 16, at 9 P.M.

except Friday and Sunday. Open evening: Wednesday 6:00-8:30

NEWARK

LABOR ACTION HEADQUARTERS in Newark at 248 Market St.

Labor Action Hall is available to organizations for meetings. For rental terms and arrangements, write R. Shaw, Labor Action Hall, 248 Market Street, Newark, N. J.

FORUM: "The Riddle of John L. Lewis." Speaker: Jack Webb. Friday, April 5, 8:30 P. M.

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.

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 Marxist Approach to the State" will be the subject of the class to be given by BEN WALKER. Beginning with primitive society, the class will discuss the nature of gov-

ernment under different economic organizations of society. Also to be discussed are social reformism, anarchism, fascism and bureaucratic collectivism. The first session of the class will be held on Friday, April 19, at 7:30 P.M.

DAVID COOLIDGE, National Organizational Secretary of the Workers Party, will be the instructor of "The Negro and Labor History." Emphasis this term will be on the period between 1936 and today, taking up in detail the role of the Negro in the CIO. The first session of the class will be held Friday, April 19, at 7:30 P.M.

"World Affairs Forum" will be held on Friday nights at 9 P.M., beginning April 19. All sessions will be led by guest lecturers who will discuss various cultural, national, and international topics. A very interesting series of topics and well-known speakers have already been arranged for.

All classes will be held at Labor Temple, 2nd Avenue and 14th Street, New York City. The admission fee is \$1.50 for the series of six classes. Send your registrations in at once to Workers Party School, 114 W. 14th St., N. Y. C.

READ AND SUBSCRIBE TO THE NEW INTERNATIONAL





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LABOR ACTION

Chicago Volunteers Fund Quota Raise

By NATHAN GOULD, National Organizer, Workers Party

March 30, 1946-Our last report on the progress of our \$15,000 drive for an eight page LABOR ACTION was written on March 26-that is just four days ago. The writer of this column leaves today on a short tour in behalf of the campaign. Hence the listings below reveal the progress of the last 4 days, rather than the usual week.

The Chicago Branch of the Workers Party has presented the Fund Drive with a wonderful accomplishment. Enclosing a check for \$60 representing current collections of the branch, Mike Holman, campaign director for the Chicago Branch writes: "\$1000 is the new quota of the Chicago Branch in the national fund drive. The decision to raise our quota from \$750 to \$1000 was arrived at unanimously at our meeting last night. We already have over \$750 in pledges. The enthusiasm of all the comrades in raising money for the objectives of this drive-the immediate expansion of party activitiesis a guarantee for the success in attaining the \$1000 quota we have set ourselves." Good going, Chicago. The spirit which actuated the branch to voluntarily raise its quota is the spirit that will put this drive over.

The national office wants to pat itself on the back. In the last few days the national office, which has assigned to itself a quota of \$3,850 has raised \$1,250 toward its goal.

The Youngstown branch advanced from last to fifth place by contributing \$70 toward its \$150 quota. San Pedro entered the running this week with their first contribution of \$20. Detroit, which contributed greatly to the trend to increase quotas, sent its second \$100 contribution. Philadelphia added \$43 to the \$40 it had already contributed. Los Angeles added \$35 to its \$50. And comrade Albert Gates, editor of LABOR ACTION, writes from Akron that the \$500 quota of that branch will be fulfilled. New York, which has set an excellent example in the drive, has had its first slow week, contributing \$99 in the past four days. Comrade Paul Bern, organizer, promised a leap for next week.

At the end of the first month of our three-month drive we have raised a total of \$5,774.50, or 38% of our goal.

Branch	Quota	Contributed	Per Cent	
Hibbing	\$ 25	. \$ 35	140	
Newark, N. J		500	100	
Buffalo, N. Y.	200	110	55	
New York, N. Y	5000	2759.50	55	
Youngstown, Ohio		. 70	46	
National Office	3850	1652	40	
Philadelphia, Pa.	350	83	23	
Reading, Pa.		10	20	
Chicago, Ill.	1000	. 160	16	
Detroit, Mich.	1250	200	16	
Los Angeles, Cal.	600	85	• 14	
Louisville, Ky	-200	25	121/2	
Akron, Ohio		60	12	
San Pedro, Cal.	400	20	5	
Seattle, Wash.		/- 5	1	
Boston, Mass.				
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•	\$15,250	\$5774.50	38	

Readers of LABOR ACTION: Send your contributions for an eight-page LABOR ACTION to LABOR ACTION, 114 West 14th Street, New York 11, N. Y. Be a LABOR ACTION Booster.

Readers of Labor Action Take the Gloo **Free Speech**

For Fascists? Dear Editor:

The issue of free speech for fascists was one of the main issues raised in the letter of D. E. in the March 18 LABOR ACTION. Yet you did not

answer it in your comments. I believe that this issue shows a clear-cut difference between democratic socialists and Trotskyites. Stal-

inists, fascists, Trotskvites and capitalists believe in surpressing free speech under certain circumstances. The only people that are consistent about free speech are the democratic socialists.

Democratic socialists believe in free speech for all groups including the fascists because: 1. Civil liberties and total democracy are always part of the ends and means to socialism. 2. To suppress free speech even temporarily in a transition stage may result in a carry-over into the socialist society. Witness Lenin's, Trot-

sky's and Stalin's suppression of free speech even for other working class parties after the revolution. 3. By denying the fascists free speech you are inviting the capitalists and the public to generalize and to deny free speech

to other non-capitalist parties. The best way to fight fascism, Stalinism, and capitalism is to have a program which points to security plus all the democratic. liberties. One of the largest rocks in the socialist road today is the concept that socialism must be accompanied by the suppres-

sion of democratic liberties. A program which denies freedom of speech will never win the masses. Sincerely. JOHN M, MECARTNEY

You express in your letter the point of view of the official Socialist Party of Norman Thomas, which avows itself a "democratic" socialist party. It, like you, is for free speech for fascists. The Workers Party, whose point of view is expressed in LABOR AC-TION, is a revolutionary socialist party. We believe in workers' democracy as opposed to capitalist de-

mocracy. We are striving for the only really democratic society, the society of socialism, which will be realized through the action of the working class in instituting a workers' government which will establish complete political democracy by eliminating economic autocracy.

We therefore advocate a platform which will insure the working people, the vast majority of the country, more and more democratic rights. and which will make inroads upon the rights of the capitalists. You understand, as well as we, the danger that fascism represents to the workers and their organizations. Hitler and Mussolini destroyed the unions, the radical parties and every vestige of even the partial democratic rights that existed under capitalist democracy.

Norman Thomas, as head of the "democratic" Socialist Party, far from supporting freedom of speech for Hitler and Mussolini, supported the Allies in a war-against the fascist powers that exterminated them physically, along with their power of speech! Now, his followers propose free speech for the American counterparts of Hitler and Mussolini! How can you possibly waste one

moment in worry over freedom of speech for fascists who, if they exist in any numbers when the working class is ready to form its own government, are going to have to be denied not merely free speech, but will have to be done away/with by the working class?

Do these "democratic socialists" seem inconsistent? They are not really. Their consistency lies in the fact that the "democratic" part of their socialism is an acceptance of bourgeois, or capitalist democracy. When democratic capitalism goes to war against a fascist rival, they support it. Oh, they're a little to the left of the Roosevelts and Churchills: Norman Thomas was for precision bombing, which would hit only the industrial areas where the workers reside, as against indiscriminate bombing, which would kill all civilspeech for fascists; as do the capi-

against fascism. They direct strong writes: thought-waves against it, and write nasty editorials in the socialist Call. The manner in which the Socialist Party behaves gives a clue to the answer to the other major argument you make concerning the suppression of other workers' parties by the Russian Bolsheviks. These other working class parties, the Mensheviks, Social Revolutionaries and Anarchists, resembled the Socialist Party. They supported democracy, to be sure-capitalist democracy.

But when they became minorities in the councils of workers, the Soviets-minorities to which the workers had relegated them by virtue of their support to the Bolsheviks under Lenin and Trotsky-these parties sought to reverse their roles by launching or joining in armed attempts to overthrow the Bolsheviks who were leading the workers to set up their own state. They therefore had to be outlawed under the abnormal circumstances of civil war and counter-revolution and intervention by all the major capitalist powers who wanted to overthrow the first workers' state.

It is not difficult to envisage socalled socialist parties behaving in such a manner when you see the SP here so exercised about "free speech" for fascists!

The perpetuation under Stalin of the banning of opposition groups was undoubtedly a factor in the degeneration of Russia from a workers' state to a prison-house of peoples; but it was not the only one. Primary was the failure of the revolution to extend, and hence, the inability of Russsia to provide enough for all. In an economy of scarcity, the "policeman," the bureaucratic state, had to develop, and it was impossible for workers' democracy to flourish.

The Workers Party and LABOR ACTION have devoted much attention to the problem of democracy and socialism. In the "New Course." which develops our theory that workians. And when they support free ers' rule is necessary as well as a nationalized economy for progression talist democrats and the Civil Liber- to socialism, Max Shachtman, Nation-

ties Union liberals, they're still al Secretary of the Workers Party,

"... it should be remembered that the Bolsheviks became the only legal party in the course of the civil war. This was in no way due to some a priori concept of Bolshevism. Quite the contrary. Lenin emphasized before and after the seizure of power, that one of the advantages of the Soviet system lay in the possibility of one Soviet party replacing another as the ruling group without violence and the clash of armed forces. The idea that the dictatorship of the proletariat is incompatible at all times with the existence of more than one (the ruling) party, or even that it necessarily means the denial of the suffrage to out-and-out bourgeois elements, is utterly without foundation

in fact or in Bolshevik theory." We should add one important note to our remarks about free speech

for fascists. We consider the task of eliminating fascism to be that of the working class, not the capitalist class, nor any of its agencies nor representatives. We know that fascism, like limited capitalist democracy, is just one of the many political masks that conceal the dictatorship of the capitalist class which is exercised through its monopoly of the means of life. That does not mean we are unconcerned about democracy or democratic rights. We fight always to extend them. We believe that the struggle for socialism means everwider democracy. But it will be victorious only if the workers learn to rely upon themselves in the fight against fascism.

-M. B.

For Workers Control Of Atomic Power

Dear Editor:

The current fight raging over military versus civilian control of atomic power is of the utmost importance to all workers, and should be clearly understood. A reading of the arguments put forward by both sides gives the following picture:

The military recognize the tremendous superiority of the atomic bomb over other weapons of war and the necessity of building a successful military force around it. From their viewpoint, that is, with an orientation towards a third world war, they are perfectly logical in demanding the secrecy of present and future development. What is more, they feel the need of directing the development of atomic energy for war-time needs. The scientists, on the other hand, the most vigorous advocates of civilian control, claim that other countries will soon catch up to us. Secrecy, they say, will breed distrust among nations and involve us in an atomic armaments race. Military control will hamper, development in peacetime applications, and they do not fail to add, in the development of the atomic bomb itself.

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Despite their differences, both groups are in agreement that bigger and better bombs will be built. Both groups reflect in their arguments only the interests of their profession, not the interests of humanity. Both groups are in the service of the capitalists, those for whom imperialist wars are fought, not the workers.

The control of atomic energy must be in the hands of those who produce the materials that go to make up an atom bomb. The control must be in the hands of those who stand to lose and suffer most from its use. The hope of the working class for an abundant life lies in its ability to produce. Every time a factory is blown up the workers' productivity is cut just that much. Another war involving atomic bombings will remove for some time the possibility of plenty for all under socialism. Thus the working class has a great stake in atomic energy. The workers must take control out of the hands of the capitalists who will not hesitate to use the bomb to further their imperialist interests. But to do this the workers must be organized politically. They must have their own party independent of capitalist parties which will carry out a program in the interests of workers. And this program must include "WORKERS CONTROL OF ATOMIC POWER."

> O. OROZCO, San Francisco

April 8, 1946

LABOR ACTION

By JAMES M. FENWICK

Following a recent public meeting in Philadel-

phia at which the writer of this column spoke, we

fell into conversation with a worker who had been

an attentive listener and who had actively partici-

regularly," he said, "and on the whole I agree

with what you people say. But there is one thing

I think I am opposed to you on and that is the

slogan, 'Bring the Boys Home!' Ordinarily I'd be

for bringing the soldiers home immediately, but

if we do. isn't there the danger that Germany, for

instance, would stab us in the back and start an-

size, is posed not by a representative of the capi-

This question, it is hardly necessary to empha-

The problem over which this worker stumbles

Behind the idea that Germany must be policed

But the question of Germany's war guilt is not

is a difficult one and one which, thanks to the

propaganda of the press, is all too common among

lies the belief that the war occurred through Ger-

a simple one, as many GIs found out to their sur-

prise and-many times-anger, while idly con-

versing with their fraulein following the pleasures

of Bavarian love in the cool of a summer evening

"I read LABOR ACTION and your column

pated in the discussion following the speech.



Re-entered as Second Class Matter, May 24, 1940, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. Under the Act of March 3, 1874

WORKERS PARTY PROGRAM FOR ORGANIZED LABOR

IN THE RECONVERSION AND POST-WAR PERIOD

FOR THE UNEMPLOYED AND VETERANS 1. Full Unemployment Insurance Full unemployment insurance beginning with

\$30 a week for single men and women and graduated upward for dependencies to all workers for whom government and industry do not find jobs.

2. Less Hours-More Pay

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

3. Jobs and Full Opportunities for Veterans Two years' base pay grant to all demobilized veterans, with the option of trade school and higher educational facilities at government expense, guarantee of adequate family mainte-. 9. Nationalization of Big Business nance and guarantee of decent jobs.

FOR THE POST-WAR WORLD

4. Jobs For All at a Guaranteed Annual Living Wage

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 Planned Rise in National Income

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

6. For a Democratic Peace

Against peacetime military conscription of American youth! For a truly democratic peace, which means no land-grabbing under any pretext; no reparations; no slave labor. Complete independence for all colonies and subject peoples and the right of all people to decide democratically their own future.

7. Full Social, Political and Economic Equality for Negroes

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

THESE AIMS TO BE ACHIEVED THROUGH 8. Slum Clearance

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

Nationalization of the banks, big industrial monopolies and transportation systems, and no handing over of government-built and owned plants and facilities to private ownership. 10. Taxing the Profiteers

A 100 per cent tax on all war profis above a

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

THIS PROGRAM TO BE CARRIED OUT BY **11. Workers' Control of Production** Control of production by democratically-elected workers' committees.

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

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

One-Tenth of the Nation By g. R. g By J. R. Johnson

Labor and labor alone can tear open that tight political caucus as many organized workers as it had which represents the South in Congress. A clique of cotton plantation owners and business men have held political sway in the South from 1776 to the present day. They were defeated in the Civil War, and for a few years afterward the poor whites and Negroes in the South were able to exercise some political power. They could do this only because they received the direct assistance of the Republican Party. That is the thing to-be remembered today. The moment the Republican Party had come to terms with the ex-slave owners, these Southerners re-established their political domination.

These reactionaries have got a stranglehold on political life in the South. By means of unprecedented segregation, exploitation and degradation of the Negroes they keep ten million people from exercising the most elementary democratic rights. By this suppression of the Negroes they are enabled to keep the majority of the poorer whites in a similar misery.

NORTH-SOUTH IN LEAGUE

The capitalist bankers in the North are the financial overlords of these Southern plantation owners and business men. They do not want to disrupt the Southern system from which they draw their interest and other profits. This is equally true of big business, whether it belongs to the Democratic Party or to the Republican. But the Democratic Party has a special reason for keeping the Southern system as it is. Success for the Democratic Party at the polls rests upon combining the labor and progressive vote in the North and West with the hand-picked candidates of the Southern reactionaries.

Thus, both capitalist parties have every reason to keep the Negroes in the South just where they are. And both of them wish this shame to continue because of their class interests, capitalist profit, capitalist political power and capitalist domination of the whole social order. That is why, when the Southern senators filibuster, both parties sit back and let them get away with it. But if it is to the interests of capital to maintain the Southern set-up, it is to the interests of labor to break it up.

I ask Philip Murray, Sidney Hillman and Walter Reuther: Why do you allow the strength of labor to be used in maintaining the South, that stronghold of reaction in the United States? .

in 1932. Why should it not exercise this power in its own name? Why should it place this power at the disposal of as backward, as reactionary a set of scoundrels as you can find in any legislature today? Every labor man should know that men like Bilbo, Rankin and O'Daniel wield the power they wield because of the workingman's vote. How? If they didn't have the Dem-

ocratic Party to fall back on they would be prisoners of the Republican Party. It is because they can bargain with the Republican leaders that they are so strong. Whenever they see fit they fall back on the rest of the Democratic Party, which is, substantially, organized labor. And what does labor get for it?

Treachery at every stage. Whatever legislation the Southern Democrats may have voted in between 1932 and 1936, today they are in the vanguard of every reactionary anti-labor, anti-Negro movement in Congress.

What is the way out? It is as broad as a four-lane highway. Labor in the South must organize itself and insist upon the right to vote for all citizens. Think what this would mean. The labor leaders in the North would have the labor vote going to work.

Detroit Strike - -

(Continued from page 1)

come the darling of every reactionary force in the state by his actions in this strike. He intends, if possible, to break the strike and wreck the union by violence if necessary.

Manager, announced that 1.700 main-"I anticipate . . . that if a strike is tenance men employed by the system called it will be a long one," said would work through the strike. These Jeffries yesterday. "If they call a men are members of the State, Counstrike the city will be without transty and Municipal Workers Union portation only until public opinion is (CIO), a union which is controlled sufficiently aroused to justify the here by the supporters of the Comturmoil that accompanies the breakmunist Party. It remains to be seen, ing of a strike." however, whether these workers will

One rank and filer took up Jeffries' carry out the reactionary policies of challenge. "He told you in the papers the CP or whether they will respect that he will break your strike," said the picket lines. he. "He has 250 of his commandos over there that he wants to use for labor movement must get ready for breaking our strike. Well, I for one, a protracted and bitter struggle, for am ready to meet his commandos if Jeffries has his way, a sharp fight right out at the Shoemaker garage is inevitable. All unions, CIO and tomorrow morning. We'll find out AFL, must be ready to give moral whether he can break our union or and practical support to this fight. not. If he wants a strike, let's give

anti-union strike breaking and vio-The DRS office workers and 100 dence!

it to him."



Labor today has nearly four times in all parts of the country. A Labor Party would be absolutely invincible. The plain truth, however, is that today organized labor is allied with the Southern reactionaries. It has the chance of allying itself with Southern labor. WITH Southern labor it can afford to ignore the rest of the Democratic Party and the Republican Party, even if both of these combined.

> The Negroes should recognize what a vital question this is, not only for them, but for the whole nation. Murray should be made to answer.

"Brother Murray, you are going other war?" into the South to organize. We welcome it. That is a great step. But you are a supporter of the PAC. You are talist class, behind whose "realism" lurks the barea Democrat. You believe in demoly restrained lust to plunder the whole world, cratic rights for all. What are you but by an informed worker genuinely interested going to do about the democratic in forestalling the frightful terrors of a world rights of the segregated Negroes in atomic war which would reduce Paris, London, the South and those whites who suf-New York and all other centers of civilization to fer only a little less than the Nehistoric ruins like Pompeii, Kish, Carthage and groes?" Troy.

Murray cannot seriously organize the South without splitting the Democratic Party, Sooper or later he and the CIO will face that choice. Organized labor and the masses of the Negroes themselves can see to it that the CIO leadership from the very start declare along what lines it is

electrical workers who are members

of another AFL union have already

announced that they will back up

the strike of the drivers and will not

Richard A. Sullivan, DSR General

The workers of the entire Detroit

Detroit workers! On guard against

cross their picket line.

GERMAN PROPAGANDA EFFECTIVE

otherwise very acute workers.

many's policy of aggression.

under a linden tree.

The second second second second

OFF LIMITS

GERMAN WAR GUILT

GIs who were in Germany will recall the excellent pictorial propaganda put out as premiums by cigarette companies and directed against England, in which the horrors of industrial capitalism and imperialism were accurately portrayed. It was not difficult for the Nazis to show the baseness of England's international politics and that Germany was merely seeking her "due" share of the colonial world to exploit-a world selfishly monopolized by England and secured by force years before

Many GIs heard Lord Haw-Haw on the radio, as we did during the Battle of the Bulge, ripping Britain's foreign policy apart, pointing out the reality beneath the democratic-sounding phrases. On this occasion he was adequately demonstrating that Britain, which had allegedly started the war over the violation of Poland's neutrality, had agreed to its partition by Russia.

No, it was not difficult to confuse the average GI. When Germans were criticized for their treatment of the Jews they merely pointed to our treatment of the Negroes. When the German enslavement of Poland was mentioned, they merely made reference to England's role in India.

REAL WAR CRIMINAL-CAPITALISM

Anyone who thought the matter through had to come to the conclusion that the war aims of all participating countries were base.

Capitalism is the real enemy, for capitalism produces war. That one country does or does not strike before another is merely a matter of preparedness, military or political advantage, or the urgency of the necessity for war.

Germany struck first, not because she was more morally corrupt, but because she needed markets more acutely, wanted to take advantage of the unpreparedness of her adversaries and had to act before the superior industrial plant of her opponents could be brought into operation.

conception that Russia is any kind of a workers'

For the Workers Party, a workers' state must be a state in which the workers rule. The governmental form of workers' rule is the workers' council or soviet. That is its distinctive mark, the guarantee of workers' democracy, and it is worth description.

703-1-PEV-> In capitalist democracy, lections take place on the STALIN: SOVIETS

The Workers Party denounces above all the

The situation was too urgent. They used the fact

SOVIET CONSTITUTION

In 1917, the workers acted again in the same way; the peasants followed them and the soldiers did likewise. By October, 1917, a network of soviets covered Russia, representing the great masses of the people as they have never before been represented. Lenin, seeing this amazing example of workers' initiative and resourcefulness, said that there was no need to invent any kind of new constitution. The constitution of the workers' state would be merely the legalization and formalization of the spontaneous form discovered by the workers themselves.

That was the soviet constitution. Workers in the United States today can judge whether their

Part 11 of a Series on Stalinism_

Russia No Workers' State

By J. R. JOHNSON

the world.

state.

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The Workers Party has taken the position that Stalinist Russia is a bureaucratic-collectivist state, a new type of social order never seen before, cre-

ated by the isolated character of the October Rev-

the soviets were born olution and its failure to extend into the rest of

that they worked in factories. They elected delegates from each plant. Those plants that were small joined forces to elect one delegate, and thus.

basis of an individual looked DISAPPEARED upon as a person. Capitalist or worker, farmer or horsethief, each individual, whatever his vocation, has one vote. All those who live in one geographical area form a unit, e.g., the Bronx, Queens, New York State.

WHAT IS SOVIET GOVERNMENT?

The genuine soviet form of government is cntirely different. Elections take place on the basis of the individual's type of labor. Workers in individual factories elect workers' representatives. Farmers elect farmers' representatives. White collar workers elect representatives on the basis of their particular organization of work. In theory, therefore, with all of heavy industry in the hands of the state, there is a genuine equality of individuals in so far as election rights are concerned. A large factory, for example, will have the largest number of representatives. In such elections, therefore, the weight of labor is overwhelming. And it is just that which Lenin and Trotsky and the early Bolsheviks looked upon as decisive and new in the Russian constitution.

We must understand that no one invented the soviet form of government. It arose and could only arise in the period of large-scale capitalist production. In 1871, when the workers of Paris established the famous Commune, their elections were held in the traditional parliamentary manner. But in 1905, when the workers of Russia revolted against Czarism, they were anxious to find a means of mobilizing themselves against the Czarist bureaucracy and the Czarist police. They wanted an organization of their own to discuss their problems and plan defense and attack.

How to do that? They could not prepare electoral lists and organize any elaborate procedure. the politics in the world today.

interests would be better represented in that type of state than in the present Congress in Washington. Such was and is the theory of the workers' state and a workers' constitution.

STALIN ABOLISHES SOVIETS

In 1935, Stalin abolished the soviet constitution. Today in Russia they vote on the old individual basis of universal suffrage. The bureaucracy had by now solidly established its power. It could no longer stand election of soviets by workers themselves, nor any free elections.

Was this of any importance to the American workers? In one very important sense it was. Up to 1935, the Communist International, despite many peculiar shifts and changes in policy, had maintained in principle at least two fundamental doctrines:

- 1. It refused to support any country, however democratic, in an imperialist war.
- 2. It opposed all candidates, such as Roosevelt, for bourgeois Parliaments, however "progressive." Organized labor should, in principle, give no support to capitalist candidates.

In 1935, the soviet constitution was abolished. In 1935, the Communist International began its campaign in France, Britain and the United States for the support of the "democratic" imperialists in the coming war.

In 1936, the Communist Party of the U.S. supported Roosevelt for President. The reactionary step of abolishing the soviet constitution in Russia was merely the preliminary to the most open abandonment of revolutionary principles by the Communist International abroad. That is Stalinism. To grasp that and to hold on to it is the key to half

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By IRVING HOWE Due to lack of space, we have been unable to report

a number of significant international events of the past several weeks. This week's column is therefore devoted to a roundup of such neglected items: Every few weeks such a roundup will be printed.

CONCENTRATION CAMPS FOR SOCIALISTS

A report in the New York Times from Germany brings the news that certain leaders and members of the German Social-Democratic Party (designated in the article as "left Socialists") have been seized by the Russian Army occupation authorities and thrown into some of Hitler's concentration camps.

Buchenwald, Hitler's hell-hole, has been reopened by the Stalinists and a whole group of Social-Democrats who opposed the pressure campaign to force their party into "unity" with the Stalinists have been once again thrown into the very camps where they suffered under Hitler. The cycle from Hitlerism to Stalinism is not accidental in this case; both of them-whatever their sociological differences-suppress every manifestation of independent working class activity in the most brutal manner.

DEADLOCK IN BELGIUM AFTER CLOSE ELECTION

The elections held in Belgium several weeks ago have resulted in a serious parliamentary impasse. Out of 202 seats in parliament, 110 have been won by the "left" parties, that is, the Social-Democrats, Stalinists, etc. This slender majority makes it impossible for any stable government to be formed. The powerful Catholic Party of the Right gained 19 seats; the Social-Democrats gained 4; and the Stalinists gained 14. The "center" Liberal Party lost 15 seats. In other words, there has taken place a polarization of political sentiment towards both left and right. The Catholic Party has tried to form a "Big Two" coalition with the Social-Democrats, but the latter have in turn refused to participate in a government without the Stalinists. Thus, the government formed without Catholic participation by Spaak, the Social-Democratic leader, fell in its first parliamentary test of confidence.

The situation is complicated by the issue of the monarchy. The monarch, Leopold, has such a tainted record as a collaborator with the Nazis that not even the Catholics propose to restore him personally. They hold out, rather, for a regency. The Stalinists and Social-Democrats, while formally against the monarchy, have not taken the logical step which should follow from an antimonarchical stand: refusal to participate in cabinet maneuvers with the bourgeois parties.

It is precisely this ineffectuality and timidity on the part of the "left" parties which paralyzes the struggle in Belgium to overthrow the monarchy. The Belgian Trotskyists, who polled 1100 votes in the one local region where they were allowed on the ballot, have been conducting an aggressive struggle to remove the decadent monarchical institution from Belgian life.

NEW NATIONALIST TENDENCY IN GERMANY The first fruits of the Allied policy of dividing, re-

pressing and virtually starving the German peoplewhile permitting many of the secondary Nazi leaders to maintain their posts-is appearing: a new nationalist movement has arisen in the American-controlled section. This quasi-Fascist movement has been partially discouraged by the occupation authorities, but its very appearance is of great significance. One of its main rallying points has been objection to the proposed separation of the Ruhr from the rest of Germany, which at present means virtual de-industrialization of the country. Especially popular has been the call for unification of all sections of Germany. It should be noted that even the Stalinists, in order to curry to this sentiment, have been forced to come out for a united Germany.

This is the concrete result of the policy of imperialist dismemberment which the Allies and Russia have pursued. Just as after the first world war the imperialist policies of the victors stimulated various nationalist and chauvinist groups, so similar reactionary groups have been brought forth by the present Allied policy.

Greek Elections

By TOM TANAKOS

Parliamentary elections were held in Greece over the last week-end under a reign of royalist-fascist terror. The Populist (Revalist) Party received approximately 275,000 votes, which gives it a majority of the votes cast, and it will now form a new government. The National (Venizelos-Papandreou) Bloc of conservative republicans polled 120,000 votes; the Liberal Party 75,-000 votes and the Zervas Party 25,000 votes.

The election was boycotted by the EAM, which is now the name of a five-party coalition comprising the Communist Party and an assortment of socialist parties.

The number of votes cast was very small for a national election. It is estimated that 45 per cent of the registered voters did not vote and, without doubt, the boycott was to a large extent responsible for the light vote. In addition, members of the left wing parties and resistance movement had not even been permitted to register a few months back and some of the left wing parties had been issuing conflicting statements to their members to abstain from registering. But due to the fact that the EAM coalition did not have candidates it is difficult to tell how many voters in the working class districts would have stayed away from the polls through apathy and refrained from voting for the EAM candidates.

Although the Populist Party is now in power, it is doubtful that it will attempt to bring King George back to the throne immediately. The Populist Party knows that its 275,000 votes not only represent a small fraction of the population, but that this vote represents every person who died in the last eight years and whose registration card was used by one of their henchmen. The Populists will have to wait a while, hoping in the meantime to break the will of the masses and the working class organizations.

Whether Germany is occupied or whether it is not will not prevent war. Only socialism, which destroys the economic basis for war, can bring peace to the world.

The occupation of Germany, with the economic and political strangulation of the country which accompanies it, produces a national hatred which can only fan the flames of future conflicts, as did the German[°] occupation of France, thereby burying the rudimentary socialist consciousness of the masses of Europe.

Since we believe that the aims of both German and United States capitalism were reactionary, we are for the withdrawal of United States troops from Europe just as we were for the withdrawal of German troops from France during the occupation.

Every nation has the right to govern itself, without foreign intervention. One of the first steps toward the construction of a Socialist United States of Europe must be the reconstitution of Germany as an economic and political unit.

American soldiers are serving the reactionary aim of American capital to dominate the entire globe

LET THEM BE BROUGHT HOME!

ATTENTION, DETROIT WORKERS Hear Evewitness Account and Analysis of **UAW CONVENTION** Wednesday, April 10 - 8:00 P. M. at LABOR ACTION HALL 3773 GRATIOT Near Mt. Elliott **Admission Free** Refreshments



LABOR ACTION

What to Do With Surplus **Army Goods**

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-By Susan Green

Of more than three hundred billions of dollars of war goods produced by the United States for World War II, one hundred billions is surplus and subject to peacetime disposal. This vast reservoir of goods, ranging from shoes to ships and pins to plants, is the product of American workers. Those goods were paid for out of taxes directly lifted from our pay envelopes. So the disposal of war property that was not blown up in the holocaust, is definitely the concern of the workers.

In the first place, civilians were led to expect that up to twenty billions of consumption goods would be released to fill the vacuum made by intense shortages. Nothing of the kind happened. Sheets and shoes, jackets and blankets, jeeps and housing material, and many other consumable items have been held back. Only a trickle of a few items has materialized.

On V-J Day there were 62,000 new and reconditioned jeeps ready for shipment to the United States to fill the demand of veterans. However, a mere 10,000 have been released, and since the price is \$800 most veterans cannot afford them.

Under pressure of public clamor for housing, the Navy has released some building materials for temporary housing. Still the House Expenditure Committee has accused the Army and Navy of obstructing the flow of surplus material and in many instances destroying it. Are the Army and Navy yielding to the pressure of business, which does not want a flood of released goods to interfere with high prices?

THE CRIME OF DESTROYING USEFUL GOODS

The working class must raise its voice in angry protest against the destruction of goods by official order. In a world where millions of people lack almost everything, destruction of useful goods is a crime. Drew Pearson has reported the dumping of jeeps, gasoline, leather jackets, watches. Representative Albert Engel charged the burning of gloves, jackets, parachutes, engines, beacon lights, magnetos. Letters have come from the Pacific telling of the burning of boats, of sinking material into the sea, including new electrical equipment and tires, of dumping hundreds of cars and then covering them with earth from adjoining hills. Air force headquarters recently announced that 6,000 planes costing nearly a billion dollars are considered obsolete and will be scrapped. Why cannot army clothing be sent to warm the

needy? Why cannot material be converted to peacetime purposes wherever possible and sent to those in need?

What about the guns and ammunition scattered throughout the world and estimated to have cost many billions? Besides a ten million dollar purchase of planes, tires and trucks by Dictator Franco, two American ships docked at Barcelona loaded with machine guns. This information comes from the reliable Christian Science Monitor. Will the American workers permit the guns they manufactured to be sold to the forces of reaction to be turned upon fellow workers abroad?

In this country the industrial powers are the chief beneficiaries of surplus property disposal.

**Lush bargains are available for those in the know. For example, a hundred navigation instruments were sold at \$1 apiece, each instrument containing three pounds of mercury worth \$2 a pound. Understanding this trend, experts figure that not more than seven to ten billion dollars will be realized for the estimated hundred billion dollars' worth of surplus goods. What a steal!

BIG BUSINESS TAKES WHAT IT WANTS

But the most important aspect of the question pertains to government property of a permanent character. This means plants and industrial equipment costing twenty billion dollars, including aircraft, electrical, synthetic rubber, aluminum, steel, magnesium plants and shipyards-all the last word in technique. These splendid assets are offered to big business on a bargain counter. With nose in air, big business picks and chooses. General Motors, United States Steel, Aluminum Co. of America, the monopolists take what they want. The Workers Party demands in its program that government-owned plants, equipment and utilities not be turned over to private monopolists and not be allowed to stand idle. These valuable assets must remain public property, placed under workers' control and be reconverted to peacetime use to provide goods and services, and jobs for workers. To show the correctness of the Workers Party demand, here are two instances. The United Electrical Workers, CIO, has charged that General Electric and Westinghouse have given up fifteen war-built government plants. These stand idle. They could have been converted speedily to the production of tens of thousands of radios, refrigerators, washing machines and other electrical equipment for an electrical-appliancehungry public. Instead, five thousand workers were laid off, and the companies sought sites in low-wage areas where the union is not strong. Again, during the war the State of Texas was industrialized to the extent of one and a half billion of government cash. These plants can be easily converted to produce stoves, kitchen cabinets, light metal furniture, aircraft parts, sheet metal, chemicals, oil-well equipment, rubber and tin products for peacetime use. But pressure is on to dismantle the plants because industrialization of the South means unions, enlightened workers, political advancement, a ray of light in the dark South. In the next period the bad smell emanating from war property disposal will get worse, not better-unless organized labor acts. The situation calls for the following: demand for the immediate release from war stock of all goods fit for civilian consumption; protest against the destruction of goods; demand that government-owned plants, industrial equipment and utilities be placed under workers' control and converted to peacetime production, as national property.

Bronx Dogwoods May Blossom, But

Peace Talk Wilts in Imperialist Heat

By WILLIAM BARTON

"The Bronx Dogwoods Bloom --Symbol of Hope"-read one New York headline as the United Nations Security Council opened its first session. One correspondent reported that the tinsmith who built the official ballot box inserted a note expressing the "will of the little people all over the world-(that)-your noble efforts . . . bring peace all over the world.". Despite general skepticism this is the anxious sentiment of quizzical but hopeful war-weary millions.

But, didn't we go through this before when the League of Nations was formed? The writer posed this question to an informed and vehement UNO defender a short time ago. "This is different," he explained. He was making a personal appeal from one combat-fatigued veteran to another. "Everyone is realistic now," he continued. "Nobody expects miracles, but much can be done. We know it alldepends on cooperation among the big powers, respect for the rights of all nations and solution of the vital problems confronting all. But carping critics like yourself, with their destructive pessimism, will only make success that much more difficult (this last because I had earlier suggested that a cooperative world depended on something more basic than documents and meetings).

AKRON HEARS GATES ON STRIKE WAVE

AKRON - A well-attended public meeting of the Akron Branch of the Workers Party was held here on Friday, March 29, at which Albert Gates, editor of LABOR ACTION, spoke on "The Lessons of the Strike Wave." The audience listened attentively and participated in the discussion which followed the presentation.

Gates dealt with the war economy and described how the current strike wave was prepared in the war years by the sacrifices made by the workers and the promises made to them by the late President Roosevelt. He described the strike wave as a struggle for security by the workers who are resisting the efforts of big business and its government to push all the burdens of reconversion on the shoulders of labor.

As an expression of the increasing inability of capitalism to provide for the welfare of the people, the speaker pointed to the GM strike, where the auto workers raised demands of a high social and political character. The speech closed with an examination of the political character of the strike wave and the need for independent political action by labor.

Whether my friend of that day will disorganization and confusion. But, read this is questionable—but I'm sure some of his co-thinkers will. With the "world cabinet" now assembled, I'll attempt to continue that discussion. Let's maintain the advertised realism. How different from the old League has the UNO shown itself?

OLD AND NEW LEAGUE

Six out of the eleven present Council representatives were active in League affairs. The Bronx must strangely remind them of Lake Geneva. Most of the significant international decisions were made independently of and often opposed to the League, from the Italo-Greek disputes of the early twenties to the final catastrophes of Munich and the Stalin-Hitler pact.

The UNO has been even more completely flouted by the people who founded it in the year since its creation. Invasions of supposedly "friendly" territory, deals, intrigues, partitions, spheres of influence-all the old techniques of phony diplomacy right down to the current Russo-Iranian fiasco-these have been far more prominent than any utilization of UNO machinery.

In fact, the new "world organization" starts in even worse straits than its predecessor. The latter had at least a peace treaty as a guide post. The new outfit inaugurates its most important activities in a spirit of frantic confiving and jockeying forfavorable positions before any official documents ending the war are signed, if they ever are.

"Respect for the rights of all nations"-where? In looted Manchuria, accepted by all as an integral part of allied China? In Greece, which everyone knows struck the first significant military blow for the United Nations? In liberated Java? (I'm purposely avoiding all mention of the "defeated enemies.") As for "big-power" cooperation, those old time "cooperators," Great Britain and France can't even get together on how to milk Syria. General 'MacArthur doesn't even allow his allies to advise him on how to occupy Japan. Korea has been divided into two separate worlds by a couple of "friendly" but somehow mutually distrusting armies. There's also that ancient, oil-rich land now known as Iranwhy bother to go on!

"Solution of vital problems"-by organized banditry, more destruction, more dissection' of nations, boundry disputes, etc., etc.-is that the idea? Remember how much was said about the necessity for internationalizing waterways. In central Austria you can't swim across the most international of rivers-the Danube, without a triply countersigned military pass. Surely, there are attempts to pull war-wrecked areas out of their

outside of the questionable pittance distributed by UNRRA, how do they differ from old-style nationalistic, imperialistic efforts? Can any one deny that the signs show no decrease of distrust and conflict, no increase in respect for the rights and needs of all nations, no noticeable movement towards developing a common approach to common problems? All that can be shown are more speeches, continuing military alliances and the dashed hopes of peoples.

WHAT SUBSTITUTE?

I can now imagine my old friend replying: "Maybe-but what have you sniping wise-guys to offer as a substitute? It's easy to attack the workings of the United Nations, but it's more important to support and improve it." Brother, I'm not exactly attacking the United Nations. Frankly, I don't know what the United Nations is. In fact, I don't think it's

Mine Strikers Demand Health Service Fund

their union agreement expired. They plan to stay out of the mine pits until they have won a new contract embodying safety and health provisions as well as their wage and hour demands.

Although negotiations for a new agreement have been going on since March 2, the coal owners have refused the union's leading demand for a health and medical care service fund. The union, in turn, has refused to present or discuss any of its other demands, until the owners accept the leading demand. Or, as John Lewis puts it, "at least in principle." In opening the negotiations, the United Mine Workers presented an indictment against the soft coal mine owners. In it the union accused the stockholders and management of the soft coal industry "through mismanagement, cupidity, stupidity and wanton neglect" of killing 28,000 soft coal miners in the past fourteen years. During this same period, the indictment says, these same stockholders and management have "for the same reasons, violently mangled, crushed and shattered the bodies of 1,4000,000 mine workers." The indictment also brings up the point that although the miners are injured or killed in the mines, it is the miners

care or burial costs. The indictment also brings out the vicious extortion that the mine own-

or their families who have to bear

the financial expenses of medical

anything at all-anything but propaganda on one side and faith on the other, to be daily taken less and less seriously by those directly involved. The reason that the United Nations will remain meaningless (or possibly become something harmful) is the nature of the component parts. They are incapable of creating anything resembling a world society because their economy and politics prevent it. What is there to suggest the contrary?

Any illusion on that score by dogwood-growers, tinsmiths, or informed GIs will only be an obstacle to the realization of the all-too-necessary world order. That's why I remain a critic but not a carping one. I have an alternative. The aspirations of humanity-for democratic rights, economic security, social justice, peacehave only one logical, meaningful, realizable direction, a World Socialist Commonwealth. I reserve my op-

timism for this path alone. advantage.

More than 400,000 soft coal miners ers have been carrying on for genwent on strike last Monday, when . erations of taking "annually from the pay envelopes of the mine workers \$60,000,000 for pseudo, hypotheti-'cal and substandard medical service, hospitalization and insurance of an actual value of less than one-third of the aforesaid \$60,000,000." These deductions are estimated at \$10.68 to \$12.68 from the monthly pay check of each miner.

The UMW demanded the cessation of \$60,000,000 annual extortion, but the coal operators pretended they couldn't hear. These coal owners did not claim that the \$60,000,000 figure that the union used in its indictment was too high, nor did they claim that they paid all of it, or even one-third for the company-doctor system. In speaking about these company doctors, John Lewis said: "They are the company agents in insurance claims. Although their salaries are paid out of workers' deductions, the doctors work for the company, not the employees."

During the negotiations, district heads of the union cited recent mine catastrophes and revealed government documents which disclosed that 84 per cent of the Kentucky mines inspected had insufficient air supply and that 97 per cent of the mines in that state had not been sufficiently cleansed of coal dust to be safe. While these negotiations were going on, thirty-three coal miners were killed and 1,288 seriously injured in mine accidents.

U. S. Planned "Sneak Attack" **For Japanese**

-By Walter Weiss

On March 21 former Secretary of War Stimson presented to the Congressional Pearl Harbor Investigating Committee a long statement, including some direct quotations from his' diary. While this material contains nothing really new, it does confirm once more with great precision the views which the WORKERS PARTY, in the pages of LABOR ACTION and the NEW INTERNA-TIONAL, has presented to its readers over a period of years.

We said: The Japanese attack in itself was no surprise to the Roosevelt administration, although the selection of Pearl Harbor for the opening raid evidently caught not only Short and Kimmel but the biggest brains of the American military machine unprepared.

We said: Roosevelt could hardly view Pearl Harbor as a disaster. "For, whatever ships or men may have been lost, the military cost was well worth the political gain to him." (NEW INTERNATIONAL, December, 1945)

We said: Both governments, the American and the Japanese, had for years been aware that they would at some time clash in the Pacific because of their CON-FLICTING IMPERIALIST INTERESTS in that area. Which side struck the first blow could not be decided by the "neace-loving" nature of either imperialist government but only by considerations of military or political

Now let us see what Stimson has to say about this. The most striking passage which he quotes from his diary concerns his feelings on first hearing the "very bad" news from Hawaii:

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"When the news first came that the Japanese had attacked us, my first feeling was of relief that the indecision was over and that a crisis had come in a way which would unite all our people."

Nor did his feelings change as time went on:

"This continued to be my dominant feeling in spite" of the news of catastrophes, which quickly developed. For I feel that this country united has practically nothing to fear; while the apathy and divisions stirred up by unpatriotic men ['unpatriotic men' is obviously Stimson's phrase for the majority of the American people-WW] have been hitherto very discouraging."

CAT OUT OF THE BAG

On the very morning of Pearl Harbor but before the big news came in, Stimson, Secretary of Navy Knox, and Secretary of State Hull, being convinced that Japan was about to make an important move but that this move would be against possessions of the BRITISH Empire in the Far East, held a conference. What was its aim? Nothing more nor less than to draw up a statement laying the basis for an American attack on Japan. They racked their brains to produce something that would be convincing to the not very eager American people, who had been assured by Roosevelt in the 1940 election campaign to the following effect:

. . . You mothers and fathers . . . I have said this before and I shall say it again and again. Your boys are not going to be sent into any foreign wars . . .'

Imagine the relief felt by Messrs. Stimson, Knox, and Hull when the attack on Pearl Harbor made the very difficult statement over which they were laboring quite unnecessary. Stimson confided to his diary:

'We three all thought that we must fight if the British fought. But now the Japs have solved the whole thing by attacking us directly in Hawaii."

It should be noted here that, despite the rantings of the Hearst and Patterson papers, the leaders of American imperialism were out to defend American (not British) "life (!!!-W. W.), and commerce and other invaluable rights and interests in the Pacific area," to use Cordell Hull's words.

FOR U. S. "SNEAK ATTACK"

So far as Stimson himself was concerned, he advised

	FOLLO
ATTENTION, PHILADELPHIA READERS!	Na
KEADEKS:	Ad
The Philadelphia Local of the	Ci
Workers Party Announces a Gala	Na
	Ad
MAY DAY ANNIVERSARY MEETING	Cit
	Na
Speaker: EMANUEL GARRETT Editor, Labor Action	Ad
WEDNESDAY, MAY 1ST	Cit
8:00 P. M. The Grand Fraternity Building	Na
	Ad
1626 Arch St. (Room 20)	
Admission: 35c	Cit

Sell 150 Subs at UAW Convention

By Reva Craine, Press Manager

The sample issue of the eight-page LABOR ACTION received a rousing welcome at the UAW convention, where over 150 delegates subscribed to the fighting champion of labor. The comrades of the New York Local of the Workers Party who were distributing the paper were greeted like old friends by many delegates, who said that they knew LABOR ACTION very well, since they had received it at their factory gates all over the country.

Delegates told our comrades that they knew that LABOR ACTION and the Workers Party stand together in upholding progressive and militant labor unionism, and in advocating the independent political organization of the working class and the establishment of a workers' government. Many delegates said they were going back to their localities with the intention of obtaining subs for LABOR ACTION from among their fellow workers.

The subscriptions obtained at the UAW convention, plus the partial reports on last week's LABOR ACTION SUNDAY, bring us up to 80 per cent of our national quota. We know now that we are going over the top!

PHILADELPHIA: SUBS FOR L.A.-MEMBERS FOR W.P.

Jack Brad of Philadelphia reports: "Last Saturday night, here in Philadelphia, we had a LABOR ACTION house party. It was very successful. Emanuel Garrett, editor of LABOR ACTION, was the invited speaker. He



spoke to an audience of about forty-five people on the need for a labor press to tell the truth and express the fighting needs of the working class. Garrett also spoke about the Workers Party and its organization of working men and women in the fight for socialism.

"The party was run by the Ship Branch. We charged fifty cents admission, which included a six-month sub to LABOR ACTION. We obtained quite a few subs. Several people applied for membership in the Workers Party after Garrett's speech. Most of the people attending the party came from the shipyards and several large industrial plants."

BOSTON, CHICAGO AND SAN FRANCISCO

Three friends in Boston, Bill, Herb P. and Harold K., organized a LABOR ACTION SUNDAY this week and came in with seventeen subs. This puts Boston way in the lead on percentage

Two more branches went over the top this week-Chicago has reached 102 per cent of its quota, while San Francisco has reached 115 per cent. The Chicago Branch is going ahead to reach the 500 mark by the end of the drive and we expect that the San Francisco Branch will set itself a new goal which it will reach in the next month.

LABOR ACTION READERS CAN HELP!

Every LABOR ACTION reader and subscriber can help us get over the 5,000 goal. As the UAW delegates who said they were going back home to get subs for LABOR ACTION-you too can do your bit. Just fill out the blank below and for one dollar you can obtain subscriptions for your friends or fellow workers. Now is the time to get behind the drive-to make and surpass our goal in the last lap!

Branch	Quota	April 1	Total	Per Cent	
Akron			165	82.5	
Baltimore			5	50	
Boston		17	44	440	
Buffalo		4	36	18	
Chicago		30	358	102	
Cleveland			20	20	
Columbus	25		4	16	
Denver	25		23	92	
Detroit		45	478	47.8	
Hibbing	100		131	131	
Los Angeles	250	31	135	54	
Louisville	50		43	86	
Muskegon	1		28		
Newark		20	145	96.6	
New York	2000	385	1536 .	76.8	
Oregon	10	1.000	5	50	
Philadelphia		36	240	48	
Reading	75	1	69	92	
San Francisco	200	39	230	115	
San Pedro		17	111	44.4	
Seattle	200	64	103	51.5	
Streator		2	24	96	
St. Louis	25		32	128	
Miscellaneous		2	35		
	4		-	· · · ·	
Totals		693	4000	80	

the President nine days before Pearl Harbor that the best thing would be for the American fleet to attack the Japanese without further notice. That is, Stimson favored an American "sneak attack." "It is always dangerous," he argued, "to wait and let the enemy make the first move." He and the Japanese militarists saw things in exactly the same light.

Roosevelt, however, concerned about American "public opinion," vetoed this line and ordered Stimson, Knox, and Hull to draw up an ultimatum, a last warning, to Japan. The President was going to make this warning public in a message to Congress, and the U.S. government would then feel free to attack, if the ultimatum were violated, without any further notice. However, as Stimson says, the Japanese very helpfully "solved the whole thing by attacking us directly in Hawaii."

There are some great believers in democracy, especially writers for the liberal press, who will admit that all the talk about a "sneak attack" was hypocritical, that the government had long been expecting and preparing for a war and for just such an attack. They will even admit that Roosevelt "misrepresented" in his campaign speeches of 1940. But, they argue, the American people were stupid or blind or misled and did not realize the danger to the U.S. and to the world of Japanese and Nazi aggression. Therefore, the hypocrisy and lying were in a good cause.

We will pass by the question of the morality of such an argument, although the pepole who present it are likely to be the very ones who are always scolding us revolutionary socialists for our supposed "immorality." And we will grant that there was plenty of "isolationist" propaganda from American fascist sources-propaganda which we, more thoroughly than any others, exposed as not being in the least concerned with peace.

A WAR OF FINANCE-CAPITAL

Yet the fact remains that "the deadening, if not actually hostile, atmosphere" towards the war and the military, of which Stimson complains, was based largely on the disillusioning results of World War I. Instead of the democracy and freedom that Woodrow Wilson had promised, capitalist society had been able to produce only devastating unemployment, greatly intensified imperialist rivalries, and fascism. This much the people of America and of the world knew, however much or little they may have understood the reasons for it.

And now that World War II has been fought and the diplomatic preparations for World War III are under way, what is to be said? Now that the "peace-loving" nations have crushed the "aggressors," where in the world is there a new flowering of peace, security, and freedom? At the end of World War II we can repeat, without changing a word, what the WORKERS PARTY proclaimed in LABOR ACTION immediately after Pearl Harbor:

"This is a war of finance capital; this is a war for oil and steel and coal; this is a war for rubber and tin and tungsten: this is a war for stocks and bonds and profits: this is a war for rule over countless millions of colonial slaves. This is a war conceived and bred by world capitalism-not by this or that country alone, not by this or that statesman alone, but by the rotten, decaying, poisonous reaction of the capitalist system which these statesmen represent and defend."

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