

N. Y. Workers Party Runs Shachtman for Mayor

The Workers Party has its national secretary, Max Shachtman, for Mayor of the city of New York.

The nomination was made at a city-wide membership meeting of the New York branches of the Party. At this meeting the autumn campaign was discussed, and it was felt that since no independent labor candidate was running, it was the duty of the Workers Party to run a



candidate that deserves the support of the labor movement.

Max Shachtman is well known to the advanced workers of New York. He has been the candidate of the Workers Party in previous campaigns. In 1941 he carried the banner of the Workers Party as its candidate for Mayor in the famous anti-war campaign that was conducted that year. He is also very well known for his many years of service to the labor and socialist movement, as a writer, speaker, and organizer.

Shachtman will campaign on the program of the Workers Party. He is the only candidate that has proposed a program for the reconversion period. The adoption of this program can prevent the mass unemployment

that is already beginning to develop, and that is certain to attain the astronomical proportions of 1932.

The cornerstone of the Workers Party reconversion program consists of the right of every person to a job at decent wages and the right of every unemployed person to full unemployment insurance.

His candidacy will give the workers of New York an opportunity to vote for a Mayor who will represent labor and not the bankers and real estate interests, whose faithful puppet La Guardia has been for the last twelve years.

The enthusiastic New York membership of the Workers Party decided to mobilize its full resources, so that it can conduct a vigorous campaign around this

program. Despite the many other tasks that the Party has to do, it believes that it can put this campaign over with a bang. If the enthusiasm of the nominating meeting is any criterion, then the campaign is certain to be a success.

But the efforts of the Workers Party members will not be enough. The support of thousands of advanced workers who are not members of the party but who are sympathetic to the aims of our candidate will also be required. As the campaign develops they will be called on to accomplish various tasks.

Next week LABOR ACTION will publish the platform of the Workers Party in this campaign.

San Francisco 'Peace Planners' Won't Stop Wars

By MARY BELL

If "war is the continuation of politics by other (i.e., forcible) means," then the peace is the continuation of the politics of the war. It is in this light that the San Francisco Conference to form a new "League of Nations" and to construct a new peace must be viewed.

The First World War was a struggle for profits and markets between two groups of imperialist powers which ended in a robbers' peace at Versailles. The victors of that war formed their organization to keep the peace, the League of Nations. How well they kept it is shown in the accompanying list of thirty - odd big and little wars since 1918!

How could it be otherwise? The profiteers and exploiters control the governments of the United Nations. It has been their armies, their policies, their war, and now it is their imperialist peace.

For them it has been a profitable war. Singly or collectively, they have gained control over or annexed outright most of the territories and populations of Europe between France and Russia. Just as great fruits are about to be picked in the Pacific.

But the war has its other side, even for the imperialist plunderers. It has meant a frightful destruction of the property they value so highly, their own and that of the newly enslaved countries. It has meant the



"WE CANNOT FAIL"

Just as the "war to end wars" ended in a mockery, so is the "crusade against fascism," the war for the principles of the Atlantic Charter, ending in a betrayal of its professed aims. While fascist arms have been defeated by those of the United Nations everywhere in Europe, no real democracy exists on that entire continent. Fascists less conspicuous than Hitler, Goering and Goebbels—but fascists, nevertheless—are used by the Allied Military Government to continue the rule, harassment and exploitation of the German people.



"WE MUST AGREE"

weakening of the faith in their system of the masses of the people who bear the burdens of their wars. They

(Continued on page 3)

How the first League of Nations, organized after the First World War, kept the peace...

- 1919, Intervention of the Czechs, Rumanians and the South Slavs against Soviet Hungary.
- 1919-20, Intervention of Poland and the border states against Soviet Russia.
- 1919-25, The Spanish War against the Riffs in North Africa.
- 1920, Poland occupies Vilna.
- 1921-23, Greek-Turkish War.
- 1921-25, British War against the Wahabites in Arabia.
- 1922, Japan occupies Vladivostok; the Irish rising against England.
- 1923, Lithuania occupies the Memel region; the Entente occupies the Ruhr.
- 1925-26, French War against the Jebel Druses in Syria.
- 1925-26, Spanish-French punitive expedition in North Africa.
- 1926, U. S. A. intervenes in Nicaragua.
- 1927, Italy's temporary seizure of Corfu; Dutch régime of terror in Indonesia.
- 1927-34, Seven expeditions against Soviet China.
- 1930, French punitive expedition against the Annamites in Indo-China.
- 1930-31, British colonial war in Burma and Northwest India.
- 1931, Italy occupies Tripoli region.
- 1931-32, Japan occupies Manchuria; fighting at Shanghai; French war in Morocco.
- 1932-33, Japan-Chinese war; war between Peru and Colombia; war between Bolivia and Paraguay.
- 1933, France occupies Yunnan and nine South Sea islands; Britain advances into Tibet.
- 1934, Spanish-French war against North African tribes; war in Arabia; Japanese advance into Mongolia; Ethiopia invaded by Italy.
- 1936-38, Spanish Civil War.
- 1939, German invasion of Poland; declaration of Second World War; Russian invasion of Poland.
- 1941, U. S. and Japan declare war; U. S. enters Second World War.

The second "League," the World Security Council, is being organized on the same basic principles as the first!

LABOR ACTION

MAY 28, 1945

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

ONE CENT

"WORK OR FIGHT" ENDING; FIGHT TO WORK BEGINS!

Yipsels Join Workers Party No Socialism in the Socialist Party

To All Members of the Young Peoples Socialist League:

Those of the Young Peoples Socialist League interested in building a revolutionary organization have long recognized the reformist nature of the Socialist Party. With its public relations agent, Norman Thomas (undoubtedly a man of good will), the Socialist Party has completely abandoned in practice the principles of revolutionary socialism, and thus represents an undisciplined, confused and absurdly heterogeneous organization oriented primarily toward the middle class. It has no roots in the labor movement. A typical leader of the party has recently approved the apt characterization that the SP is a "party of preachers."

While this has been interpreted by some as a sign of the innate goodness of the Socialist Party and its program, such a party cannot organize or lead a fight for the achievement of working class power. Those parties in other countries corresponding to the Socialist Party of the United States have indicated their degeneracy by entering into coalitions with capitalist parties. The only reason why the SP has not taken this final step is that it has not had the chance.

The Young Peoples Socialist League, as the youth section of the party, has sought, however, to maintain a militant left-wing position in face of the obstacles presented by the leaders of the party.

CAN'T REFORM REFORMERS
Many YPSL members have increasingly felt the impossibility of carrying on effective socialist work under conditions of affiliation with a reformist party. We have been under the burden of constantly apologizing for it. Our position has been made even more contradictory by being compelled to recruit militants to the YPSL on the basis of opposition to the very party with which we have been associated!

For some time, many of us have

therefore carried on discussions in Chicago concerning the future of the YPSL. We agreed, in these discussions, that the SP cannot be reformed and that the future of the YPSL lies in separating from the SP and in building a genuinely revolutionary socialist movement of the youth and adults. The hopes of some of us that an entirely new revolutionary party could be formed, with us as its youth section, were proved upon investigation to be illusory.

We, the authors of this statement, are convinced that the greatest need of the day remains the building of a truly revolutionary party in which the youth will have ample opportunity to contribute to the advancement of the socialist cause and to clarify and educate itself and others. Instead of moving consistently in this direction, some of the leaders of the YPSL sought to turn us back. They have launched a campaign of misrepresentation, misrepresentation and confusion against Bolshevism, the principles and history of which they have distorted.

JOIN WORKERS PARTY

The active members of the YPSL have been increasingly interested in the question of Bolshevism and anxious to acquire an education on it. This explains why many of them have discussed it with those socialists who defend Bolshevism. The aim of the recent campaign of misrepresentation could only be to prevent us from closer association with the revolutionary socialists. Our association with these comrades has, however, convinced us that the place for every militant Yipsel is in the ranks of the Workers Party. We do not mean that we necessarily have agreement with every single point in the program of the WP. It may be true that we will find differences with it. However, so far as we have been able to observe, there is no GPU in the WP. It is not a totalitarian organization. In it we will have and will utilize the opportunity to pre-

sent any differences of opinion and to discuss them in accordance with democratic principles.

The WP has proposed that the YPSL join it with full autonomy and on the basis of relations to the WP to be decided freely by the youth. We accept this proposal. We are joining the Workers Party with the intention of establishing a socialist youth movement that has behind it an effective revolutionary party. We ask all other members of the YPSL to follow us in this action.

(SIGNED)

Ann Moore, editor of Challenge; member, National Executive Committee; member, Chicago District Executive Committee; former organizer, New York and Chicago Districts; former editor, Midwest Young Socialist.

Eleanor G.—Member of National Executive Committee; member of Chicago District Executive Committee; business manager of Challenge; former organizer and secretary of Chicago District; former organizer, Socialist Party of Baltimore; member, National Student Committee.

Ed Russell—Secretary, Chicago District; alternate to National Executive Committee; alternate to Chicago District Executive Committee; secretary, University of Chicago Circle; member, National Student Committee.

We endorse the statement. We are and were in complete accord with the ideas expressed therein when we resigned from the League several weeks previous to the decision of these comrades. We call upon other members of the YPSL to join the Workers Party in the struggle for revolutionary socialism.

(SIGNED)

Jerry Gould—Milwaukee YPSL. Shirley Waller—Former Chicago District Executive Committee member; editorial staff, Midwest Young Socialist; executive secretary, Chicago District.

By DAVID COOLIDGE

The Willow Run bomber plant and its workers have "WON CAMPAIGN RIBBONS" and are "READY FOR HONORABLE DISCHARGE." "Willow Run's job is done." Thus spoke Col. Nelson S. Talbot, central district air technical service commanding officer.

Col. Talbot is an officer of the U. S. Army and a representative of the government of the United States at Washington. He represents the man in the White House, who is head of the Democratic Party. This is the party which millions of workers voted for last November, when labor split its millions of votes between the capitalist Democratic Party and the capitalist Republican Party.

Price Rise Given to Steel Barons

The Office of Price Administration, which has done such an excellent job of preventing genuine control of prices on consumer goods, has now granted price increases to the steel industry amounting to from \$80,000,000 to \$100,000,000 a year. This price boost was given to the steel barons despite the fact that profits are at least 200 per cent higher than peacetime profits.

The profit-mad rulers of the steel industry, however, are not satisfied with this latest gouge. They claim that the OPA has not acted fairly with them and that their latest decision is "wholly inadequate and unacceptable."

The interesting fact about this decision by the OPA is that it came on the day that this Administration announced the findings of its study on peace and war profits before taxes. The OPA study covered the period from 1936 to the first half of 1944 for 1,120 leading industrial corporations and revealed that the "first half of 1944 profits before taxes were larger in volume than ever before in peace or war."

The report of the 1,120 leading industrial corporations showed profits of \$3,164,000,000 (before taxes) during the first half of 1944.

What Col. Talbot very brutally admits about the Willow Run plant will be said about every big war plant in the country: the workers have won campaign ribbons and are now ready for their honorable discharge—by the shipbuilding companies, the mine operators, the aircraft and automobile manufacturers. The bombs, bullets and tanks are piled up. "Labor has done a magnificent job." The machine tool industry is ready and equipped for the Third Imperialist World War. The steel industry is ready for a "vacation." All of the "arsenals of democracy" have produced and produced and produced. "American labor has done the greatest production job in history."

Labor won campaign ribbons during the First World Imperialist War and was discharged when the war was over. In the industrial upsurge of the late twenties labor also won its campaign ribbons and was honorably discharged in 1929, never to be employed again until the "made-work" fury in preparation for the Second World Imperialist War.

CAPITAL SITTING PRETTY

Now that the shooting is over in Germany and fewer bullets, tanks, planes, bombs and ships are needed for the last phase of the war, the capitalist ruling class and its government at Washington don't know what to do about jobs for the millions of workers and the hundreds of plants that were constructed for war production.

Capitalist industry has put away a nice nest egg for the post-war days. (Continued on page 4)

Continental Workers Win Partial Victory

DETROIT—The strike at the Continental Motors Corporation that started on May 10 with enthusiasm ended today on a sorrowful note. As was reported last week in LABOR ACTION, a mass meeting was held of Local 280-UAW members on May 11 at which the strike vote was taken. The members of the local were all for staying out. The local leadership urged the men to stay out and even the International Representative, McDaniels, and the Regional Director, Norman Matthews, supported the strike. This was a healthy change from the usual role of international officers as defenders of the paralyzing no-strike pledge.

The strike had one demand: restoration of the status quo as of May 10. That would mean the reinstatement of the 48 men fired in direct violation of contract and the 1500 men arbitrarily laid off without even as

much as a notification sent to the union.

McDaniels, Matthews, and local officers had urged the men to fight for the return to the status quo. On May 18, after one week of the strike, the union called a meeting of the local which was attended by about 1500 men. This meeting was called NOT to ask the membership what they thought of the settlement that had been agreed upon between the local officers and the management, NOT to take a vote on whether they want to go back to work on those terms, but merely to INFORM them as to the terms. The men who had voted to go on strike were not asked to vote on the terms of going back.

The settlement itself was only a partial victory. The 48 men were reinstated. But the 1500 men who were not fired but merely laid off, who had white slips instead of blue slips,

stayed out on the streets. When a rank and flier rose and asked about the "status quo" that was supposed to have been restored, McDaniels squirmed out of it by saying status quo was not really status quo. It was really a slip of the tongue. All that was meant was the reinstatement of the 48, etc., etc.

Another rank and flier rose and asked about the 40-hour week. He pointed out that the union had voted to fight for a 40-hour week before any layoffs would take place. He wanted to know whether the union had fought for this before yielding to the company on the question. The answer was that the local was waiting for the International to get a national 40-hour week at Washington. Thus by waiting for the perpetually pleading International leadership, the local leadership violated the mandate of its own membership and avoided the

only way out of the mass of problems the cutback brings in its wake, namely the 40-hour week with no cut in take home pay.

This was clearly the sentiment of most of the workers at the meeting but the discussion was sidetracked into the details of the agreement between the bargaining committee and the management on procedure for inner plant transfers and future layoffs. While the plant was still on six days and (in some departments) seven days a week, the union was bargaining on procedure for future layoffs. This is like repairing broken plaster in a house that is shaking on its foundations. Of course there must be proper procedure, but the key question, the main direction in which the effort of the union should be spent is in keeping the men at work, not in how to layoff "properly." For despite Mr. McDaniels' sympathetic

suggestion that the men take unemployment insurance it is not easy to buy pork chops on \$20 a week.

The latter half of the meeting was devoted to the discussion and approval of a modified "model clause" for veterans' seniority which had been agreed upon by management and the bargaining committee. This was urgent because of the fact that among the 1500 laid off were included over 200 veterans. Here, too, it should be evident, that it is no real solution to take seniority from one and give it to another, take bread from one man's mouth and put it in another's.

For purposes of war, in the interests of the devastation and carnage, not only was every man entitled to a job, he was forced to take a job. Why not in peacetime? For fabulous war profits there was work, why not now?

(Continued on page 2)



Out of the Past SACRAMENTO "SILENT DEFENSE" UNDER THE ESPIONAGE ACT

By RUTH PHILLIPS

One of the first victims of the first "war for democracy" was the Bill of Rights. When America entered the war, Congress passed the Espionage Act. Its avowed purpose was to control spies and enemy agents. Its real purpose was shown by the fact that only ten or twelve German agents were prosecuted under the act, while hundreds of radicals, mostly members of the Socialist Party and the Industrial Workers of the World, were thrown into prison under charges of conspiracy against the government.

This was an attempt to silence those who were telling the American people that the war was in the interests of the profiteers. Eugene Debs and other leaders of the Socialist Party, the entire leadership of

the IWW and scores of members of both organizations were persecuted for exercising their rights of free speech, free press and free assembly.

IWW TRIAL

In Sacramento, forty-six members of the IWW were tried on conspiracy charges. They were held in jail for fifteen months from the time of their arrest to the time of their trial. In addition to the violation of the rights of free speech which their arrest and trial constituted, their civil liberties were completely ignored while they were in jail. The offices of their defense fund were raided six times, and the fund secretaries arrested and added to the list of dependants. They were held incommunicado. The indictments against them were increased to include crimes of arson committed while they were in jail. They were so cruelly treated that

five of the defendants died before they came to trial.

It was clear from the outset that the trial was a grim farce, a mere formality, and that judge and jury were prejudiced against the defendants. The defendants refused to participate in the trial or to offer any defense. In dramatic protest against the entire proceedings they went on a strike of silence. They sat through the whole trial, grim, defiant, silent.

They were found guilty and given sentences of excessive severity, despite the complete lack of evidence against them. The only "proof" of conspiracy advanced by the prosecution was that all the defendants were members of the same organization!

When sentence was imposed upon them, the defendants at last broke their rule of silence as they joined voices in singing the "International."

A Reader's Observations On Wright's "Black Boy"

Dear Editor:

I have just finished reading "Black Boy" and, not having seen a review of it in LABOR ACTION yet, I'd like to give you my impressions.

Richard Wright, with his method of writing and his moving word pictures, which describe emotions and feelings simply, is probably the best fitted man in the country to assume the role he has chosen. That is, to portray accurately the role of the Negroes as it has been. I speak of the past, for as yet I know of nothing by Wright describing modern city and labor conditions.

His "Native Son," for instance, was primarily about a type of personality with all of the minor themes playing on how such a person came to be. But he as yet has not done much except depict. That is, all of his writings are directed against one of the great scars on the face of this continent—"race." This is good and necessary but precludes a responsibility to do something of a positive nature. All sorts of people will read "Black Boy" and "Native Son" and if they are even slightly thoughtful and possess a modicum of justice they will get some of his points. So what? There is a large gap between knowing something and possessing the necessary energy and motivation to do anything about it.

The cautious liberal-minded person (I will not get wound up in defining a political liberal) must not only know something but must have a pretty good reason for doing something about it. Even if that sort of person was influenced and motivated to express his opinions strongly in favor of racial equality it would only be a drop in the ocean. Individual action against such a problem counts for nothing. Wright is speaking for his race, which is a relatively small group that has been influenced and conditioned by the white man for

such a length of time that much of it has given up hope.

In "Black Boy" Wright tells essentially of his personal struggle, of an extremely sensitive and impressionable youth who is revolted by what he sees around him. Squalor, ignorance and hatred are the dissonant chords that play on his sensitive ears so loudly that he rebels in horror from the Black South. He makes it clear that he was extremely lucky to get away from its filthy clutches. But possibly because it is he and not someone who could see it more objectively, he throws little light on one of the main questions which his book brings to mind.

Just what chance events occurred to make him as he was? I thought while reading it that a great many Negroes in the South must be brought up in a very similar environment with nearly all of the same factors operating on them. One is left to assume either of a couple of untrue things. In fact the conclusions one might jump to are very bad for Wright's very reason for writing the book. A very prejudiced person might think Wright was only an exception to the rule that "N-ers" are usually dumber than whites. If he'd offered a few theories that he must have had about his psychological reactions to the events which shaped his future, that kind of person might not have got the impression so strongly that here was a biological sport.

He says nothing about those Negroes with capabilities who are not as fortunate as himself in being able to do anything about them. The other conclusion which one might jump to is that Wright rather enjoys this build-up of the gifted, hypersensitive youth and for that reason purposely leaves blank the question of how it came about that many people will feel the individuality of his character. Either conclusion is bad

for his influencing purposes and even for his "artistic" motives. But it is, I think, an almost insurmountable obstacle for even the most frank and honest writer to deal with the essentially subjective subject of his life in a completely objective manner.

The theme of the book, dating back to Norris and Crane and continued through Dreiser, Anderson, J. T. Farrell and a host of others of the naturalist school, is good because it tries to evaluate the forces and their component directions on the development of a person. Wright shows the forces but not quite in their correct quantities. From this point of view his "Native Son" is far superior. Therefore, this particular variant of the naturalist theme, though often used, cannot have the same ring of truth as the variant where a Big Tom or a Studs Lonergan is developed.

For a young person who is attempting to get a fuller picture of the forces at work around him, this type of reading is the best he can get. But I emphasize it is only the beginning, for it is not enough just to know about these things. The next step must be action of a positive nature. One might ask why a further literature could not be developed which is a step beyond just setting the problem down, as the naturalists attempt. The answer is obviously that such a development of literature would go far ahead of fact and require the reader as well as the author to stretch his imagination beyond a breaking point.

Naturalist literature, with these limits, can only be a preliminary educating factor. From this, radical awareness must be awakened in labor unions and labor experience.

I'd like to see a further appreciation of the book by one of your staff. Jack.

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Ohio PAC Organizes Wards; Retains Old Capitalist Political Line

A new turn in PAC organizational methods is being made throughout the state of Ohio in conjunction with a similar one nationally.

This naturally raises the question in the minds of politically conscious workers who understand the need for the PAC to transform itself into a fighting INDEPENDENT Political Action Congress of Labor. Does this turn tend to stimulate or retard such a good development?

The turn itself is simply this: The PAC is now concentrating its attention toward building up territorial unit organizations in precincts and townships on a basis of individual membership. Membership recruiting on this basis has been begun in conjunction with plans to build up the finances of the organization.

The move itself is on a strictly organizational plane. There is no hint that a simultaneous change is being made in the POLITICAL PROGRAM of the PAC, either in the localities, states or nationally.

Signs seem to point to pressure having been put on the national PAC to the effect that the Attorney-General's office, might not always be willing to permit direct union contributions to PAC and that individual contributions therefore should be stimulated, along with individual membership.

Back in January, Chairman Kroll of the State PAC stated that such territorial organizations would make "representation more democratic by making it possible for ward and precinct workers to rise to top flight positions in state, county and city organizations."

NO POLITICAL CHANGE

In other words, the new turn organizationally would tend to consol-

idate the PAC's past and present POLITICAL program, and would facilitate lining up the workers again in the future to give support to candidates running on the tickets of the old-line capitalist parties.

Kroll further stated: "We have won a national election but subsequent events have demonstrated that we won NO ISSUE... The plans before us are the best possible solution for the present. I do not know what the future may bring, but this is a start."

A very frank admission indeed. "We won no issue." That is, labor gained nothing from its electoral "victories" last fall! But instead of examining WHY no issue was won through all the time, effort and money of PAC supporters, the PAC believes that expansion on the old basis plus a new ORGANIZATION-AL turn may bring better success.

What a pipe dream! PAC support- ed Governor Lausche of Ohio who

found it politically desirable to go out of his way to urge the passage of Roosevelt's slave labor May-Bailey bill recently. The labor-baiting Akron Beacon Journal had also found it possible to endorse Lausche last November.

PAC-backed Congressman Walter Huber of Akron answered weighty labor protests against his support of the slave bill in this airy manner: "I gave a great deal of thought to this legislation and I remembered that I had been nominated and elected on the pledge to support President Roosevelt and all legislation that might shorten the war."

As good "liberal" capitalist-minded Democrats, these two specimens of PAC politics indicate that they are bound in no way to support labor's demands, according to the past and present political program of PAC.

Why, then, should not the PAC be PRIMARILY concerned with over-

hauling its POLITICAL program? Such an overhauling would first of all proclaim that henceforth the PAC REFUSES to give support to any candidate who runs on the Democratic or Republican tickets. It would tell potential candidates for office that PAC first found it necessary to apply to them an elementary test of loyalty to labor before they could get labor's votes.

THE REAL TEST

That test would be: "Run on an independent PAC ticket against all comers! Then we will know that you are OUR candidate and subject to our direct influence, not that of the various Beacon Journals."

Short of such an overhauling of its political outlook and program, the PAC can and will get nowhere—especially with the workers, who every day grow more disgusted with the anti-labor antics of their supposed "friends" who got into high office with PAC help.

It can and must be changed. That change can only come about through increasing demands from the ranks of labor itself for the PAC to cease its dependence upon the capitalist politicians and enter the field as the forthright defender of labor's interest. Then and only then will labor be able to work out its full ideas for its emancipation.

It's up to the individual rank and file worker to press this point of view and organize within his union toward that end. Sidney Hillman and Jack Kroll aren't interested.

Montgomery Ward and the Army Seizure

The CIO union at Montgomery Ward, which once joyfully hailed government seizure of Sewell Avery's stores, now thinks differently. It wants the Army to withdraw.

The Army has done nothing to carry out the small concessions which the War Labor Board ordered for the workers. Result—the union is falling to pieces. The workers are losing confidence in it.

The very same thing happened during last year's seizure, but union officials still retained their faith in a "friendly" government.

As LABOR ACTION pointed out both last year and this, the purpose of such seizures is not to help the workers but to break strikes. That's the way it has always worked under capitalist governments, New Deal or not.

Of course, some unions don't let their strikes be broken so easily, seizure or no seizure. Witness the coal miners. But they aren't bound hand and foot by a no-strike pledge.

Labor Notes from the West Coast

By AL MARKS

California's budget for 1945 to 1947 will be \$683,710,643. Of 73 bills put before the California legislature by the people, not one was passed. Not one cent was forthcoming for public health, for fair employment practice commission, for full employment, or for equal pay for equal work.

Here are a few raises given for being patriotic:

Railroad commissioners	\$8,000-\$12,000
Chief Justice U. S.	16,000-18,000
Assoc. Judges	15,000-17,000
Assoc. Judges	15,000-17,000
Judges District Court of Appeal	14,000-16,000
Judges, L. A. County	12,000-14,000
Judges, San Francisco	12,000-14,000
Judges, Alameda	12,000-14,000
Judges, Ventura	10,000-12,000
Judges, Orange	10,000-13,000
Judges, Riverside	9,000-11,000
Judges, San Bernardino	8,500-15,000

A committee, headed by Assemblyman Harrison W. Call, was to make a report on pay needs of lower bracket state employees in ten days. That was 30 days ago. Obviously, this was only a sop to state employees to keep them quiet until the legislature adjourns, and then, "So sorry, you'll have to wait until next year, as it's too late now." While Assemblyman Call doodles around, the rest of the company trace patterns on the table, and the Sacramento Legislature obtains for the people of California exactly nothing.

L. A. food clerks went out on a one-day strike here the 9th of May, in protest against the usual WLB failure to act on wage increases. Prevailing rate is \$37 per week, \$3 below the San Francisco average. They contend it is just as expensive to live here as in San Francisco. Ten thousand clerks were involved, with \$3,500,000 tied up in retroactive pay from a year's wait. Five thousand union members met in closed session at the Shrine Auditorium.

Who's dizzy now? Ryan Aero Co. needs men badly. At the same time, a total of 1797 were laid off from other Aero plants in San Diego during the week ending May 5. Could it be the wages are too high, and the workers want to be patriotic by working for lower wages elsewhere?

Or could they be retiring on their wages earned by working for "considerate" employers?

Western Hospitality or Hostility — Recently organized in El Monte, California, is a group called El Monte Mounted Police, who were specifically organized to put down "nigger" trouble after the war. Rumor has it that all police and, as usual, all city organizations have been issued machine guns with instructions. These screwballs with superiority complexes strut around in cowboy outfits with

revolvers as big as old buffalo guns on their hips. The Jewish and Negro question is being blown up here to huge proportions, and will pop after the war.

There has been talk of moving 1500 families of Negroes onto the old Al Barnum winter circus grounds, just outside El Monte. Why don't these exponents of a capitalistic government be consistent? They talk about the right to have capital and make and save money, living and working as they wish, but when such people as Jews and Negroes do it

they immediately want to rescind such practice.

After interest, deductions, etc., the three largest stores in LA netted: May Co. — \$5,562,000 — \$1,500,000 for contingencies. Bullock's (inc. with I. Magnin Co.) — \$2,705,486 net. Fifth St. Store — \$315,951 — \$50,000 contingencies.

The Santa Monica bus drivers' strikes were all won. The first was an unauthorized "wildcat" strike, but it won its demands—time and a half for time over eight hours minimum, callbacks on days off, and payments for rest periods in split shifts. These were all won and the drivers were called back to work, but time between runs was lengthened to fifteen minutes instead of the usual seven and a half, throwing thirteen men out. Another strike was called, authorized by A. F. Whitney, president of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen. Demands were won again and all are back to work. Fifteen additional demands are guaranteed to be arbitrated within ten days.

You want a raise? Just a moment, while I consult an authority. Hello, Los Angeles County Judges? I have a customer here who wants a raise. You only allow fringe raises? Well, you must have quite a fringe—\$2,000 worth every year, to be exact. The Assembly approved it and now it is in the Senate, which we can be sure will not veto it. Nothing like keeping the small, underpaid politician from having a sub-normal standard of living. You must protect the common man, you know.

Price economist for Bureau of Labor Statistics, on March 15, ending thirty-day period: "Los Angeles cost of living has risen 6/10 for food, 1/10 for clothing."

Earnings of Paramount Pictures, Inc., for period ending December 30, \$16,488,106, or \$4.39 per common share, after all charges, deductions, interest (plus), \$1,500,000 contingencies.

Continental - -

(Continued from page 1)

Every man a job? It is that position the unions must take, not one of bargaining with management on how to expedite layoffs and how to pit one worker against another by seniority shifts.

The workers of Local 280 displayed inspiring solidarity in its one-week

strike. The reinstatement of the 48 was an unquestionable victory. But in not carrying through to the 40-hour week and eliminating the lay-off, the local leadership went against its own members and left the door open for the future layoffs which can only result in more unemployed, a weakening of the union and a prosperous holiday for the bosses.

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Of Special Interest to Women

By SUSAN GREEN

Women are supposed to be bored by figures. But here are figures guaranteed to stir up plenty of feeling.

Food and clothing prices are a very sore spot for all housewives. With malice aforethought, this column is going to put salt on the sore by telling you something about the profits that industry is getting out of those high prices that we are paying.

The OPA made a study of 1,900 companies, comparing their profits in war year 1943 with the average of peace years 1936-39. Of special interest to women are the OPA findings regarding the food and clothing industries. Here are the shocking facts:

The canned and frozen foods industry in 1943 increased its profits over 1936-39 by THREE HUNDRED AND FORTY-THREE per cent.

Dairy products companies pocketed TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY per cent more profits in 1943 than in the 1936-39 period.

Meat packers gained FOUR HUNDRED AND TWENTY-FOUR per cent during those war years. Sugar concerns boosted their gain EIGHTY-SIX per cent.

The cotton textile manufacturers' take climbed by SEVEN HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-TWO per cent.

The leather tanning and finishing industry hit a jackpot with a FIFTEEN HUNDRED per cent increase.

These are figures of the OPA—the government agency which was supposed to but failed to keep

prices down; succeeding very well, however, in helping profits up.

But what is this loud protest we hear from these profiteers of a nation's sweat and blood? Oh, yes; they are shouting that these profits were before taxes, and that the government took a large share. To be sure, the government took some, but not enough. Every housewife will agree that whatever the government takes from the war profiteers, it isn't enough. Why should the capitalists be permitted to make one cent more war profits than peace profits, while the people sacrifice everything?

But the matter doesn't end here. There is another important aspect. It concerns wages.

Many unions have been clamoring for wage increases. They demand that the Little Steel formula be dumped for a very good reason. That formula freezes wages at a fifteen per cent increase while the cost of living has gone up at least three times that figure.

And how do the industrialists respond to demands for wage increases? These bloated profiteers beat their chests and swear they cannot afford to grant wages increases unless they also raise prices to the consumer.

So the War Labor Board and Congress and President Truman all agree that wage increases would be too, too terrible. More wages would, alas and alack, bring about uncontrolled inflation.

However, even a housewife who may not understand trigonometry and calculus can still smell

an odorous lie. Why cannot companies making up to 1500 per cent war profits over peace profits, give their workers wage increases without passing the cost on to the housewife?

Not only could wages be increased, but prices could be reduced and still war profits would exceed peace profits.

While the capitalists and their politicians scare the people with the bogey of inflation, they are protecting tremendously inflated war profits.

Thus the policy of Washington is determined by the war profiteers. As a concrete example, take the problem of textiles and clothing.

Some weeks ago the WPB and OPA announced a very optimistic plan to produce more low-priced textiles and clothing. We were promised that by spring there would surely be a marked increase in the supply of children's things, work clothes and women's wear, at prices working people can pay. What happened?

That textile industry which in 1943 made 772 per cent more war profits than it did in the peace years descended upon Washington with objections. Congress held hearings. Much time was killed; much hot air was dispelled; but real pressure was brought to bear by the textile barons. The WPB and OPA fell back steadily. The much-publicized plan got lost in the shuffle.

The housewife looks in vain for the low-priced garments promised. She will still pay around a dollar for a boy's cotton sport shirt that used to cost around thirty-nine cents before the war.

And as for the wages of textile workers, the WLB grudgingly allowed a five-cent increase in minimum wages, from fifty cents to fifty-five cents an hour—thus raising the substandard minimum wage from \$20 to \$22 a week, still very much "sub" by any standard.

By any standard, the profits of the textile capitalists are "super." And the politicians in Washington are right behind them.

Washington backs huge war profits not only in policy but in taxpayers' money—the pay-as-you-go money taken out of wage envelopes.

The sugar monopolists during the war got government priming to the extent of \$84,000,000 of taxpayers' money.

Chapter can be added to chapter in this story of a very successful marriage of government and industry. One of the most touching ones is the latest plan of Congress and the Administration to make available to war-profiteering business nearly \$6,000,000,000 in tax exemptions and refunds—while prices stay high, wages stay lower, the pay envelope continues to be flattened by taxes and other touches, and tens of thousands of workers become jobless and wageless.



By Reva Craine

Puerto Rico:

THE defenders of imperialism have often resorted to the argument that the benefits of that policy in the form of roads, schools, hospitals, churches, etc., more than offset the intense exploitation to which the colonial peoples are subjected. We have been able to show that these "benefits" are introduced primarily to further the aims of the imperialists and only secondarily, or incidentally, are they designed to raise the cultural level of the colonial populations.

A case in point is the school system established by the United States in Puerto Rico. This has been used to shield the fact that the presence of United States imperialism in that island has disrupted its entire economy, reduced it to a one-crop economy, and made it entirely dependent upon the United States for food, clothing and the other necessities of life.

Spanish is the native language of the Puerto Ricans, but the schools of the island are conducted in English, the language of the United States. The result has been that the meager education received by Puerto Rican school children is of little practical value to them, since it is given in a language which is foreign to them, and which they will not use in adult life.

Recently the Puerto Rican Legislature passed a resolution asking for the re-establishment of Spanish in the schools. The resolution was promptly vetoed by U. S. Governor Rexford Guy Twigg on the ground that "as long as the present close relation exists, retention of this system (which makes English the language of the schools) is wise and necessary. In spite of opinion to the contrary,

the problem of language is mixed with that of the political status..."

Elections and Strikes:

In the absence of an influential revolutionary socialist party in France, the workers there expressed their desire to see some very radical changes in government policy by the very large vote they gave to the Socialist and Communist Parties in the French municipal elections just concluded. They voted for these parties not so much in endorsement of their actual programs, but rather as an expression of their discontent with the way things are now run in France and as an expression of their class solidarity.

What the French workers want, however, is even more clearly expressed by the spreading strike movements. Hardly had the coal miners in the North gone back to work when a general strike was declared in Lyon and the Rhone Department in Southern France.

On the evening of May 16th, the strikers assembled outside the office of the prefect and demanded a settlement of their grievances. They wanted an increase in wages and sufficient food supplies. They demanded "the achievement of the social reforms for which the entire country has been struggling."

In Paris, too, delegations of striking workers have descended upon the Ministry of Finance and National Economy, and protested against the insufficiency of wages, food and civil liberties. They have pointed out that, despite the small increases in wages and promises of greater food distribution, the cost of living has run way ahead of them, and that most workers are still living on starvation wages.

The workers of France are finding out that they cannot rely on the present government for amelioration of their conditions and that is why

they link with their demands for wages and food a demand for the "achievement of the social reforms."

German Industry:

What to do with German industry poses a dilemma for the Allies. If they destroy what is left of it, how will Germany pay the war reparations which the Allies wish to impose? But if they permit industry to exist, and even help rebuild it, what will prevent the German industrialists from competing with the Allied industrialists for the world market, and what will prevent the Germans from using the industries to prepare for a new war?

While the Allied nations are pondering this problem, a partial solution is being worked out inside Germany. This solution involves those industries which are owned by American and British capital. Representatives of American firms which owned German factories are already in Germany, getting ready to re-open their businesses. American investors in German industry are demanding that their investments be protected. They believe that the function of the Allied Military Government inside Germany seems to be to protect just those interests.

John MacCormac in the New York Times relates the following incident:

"When the public utilities officer of the Nuremberg Military Government tried to explain to the manager of the S. A. & F. factory that it would probably not be allowed to manufacture cables and electrical equipment for the outside world as it had been doing for the Wehrmacht, the manager grew indignant.

"I shall report this to Major General," he threatened.

"S. A. & F., he asserted, was an International Telephone & Telegraph Corp. factory and Major General... of the United States Army had been a director. That was enough for him."

"Peace Planners" Won't Stop War - -

(Continued from page 1)

fear too much further extension of the present war. They quake at the anticipation of a third world war.

"We cannot fail," said Anthony Eden at San Francisco, expressing their sincere horror at the prospect of lack of agreement among the United Nations in order to obtain peace. "This pilgrimage of death" must be stopped, said the Prime Minister of South Africa, and war must be made a "moral impossibility."

And that is the purpose of the gathering in California, to set up a new "League" of the victorious nations to try once again to keep peace. But, however sincere the anti-war wishes of the gentlemen at "Frisco," they are making an imperialist peace and thereby guaranteeing, as surely as the earth turns, new wars.

THE SAME—YET DIFFERENT

Who is it at San Francisco? "The same old codgers" as participated at the first League conference, one liberal wails. No, not quite. The same old imperialist codgers—the governmental and diplomatic representatives of the imperialist profit-takers who run the nations.

Some of them, especially the Europeans, are not even the legally elected representatives of their countries, since no elections have been held since the early Nazi invasions.

Practically all of the smaller nations' representatives are subordinated to one or another of the big powers.

Semi-fascist powers—and Argentina is not the only one, nor even the only Latin American one—are there. No one at San Francisco represents the millions. The workers and producers and anti-fascists and underground movements and occupants of concentration camps and the forty million fallen of all nationalities have not a single spokesman. It is only to the shame of the labor leaders that they beg across the bay in Oakland for admission to this assembly of the ruling classes.

Did we say that this new "League" was like the old? While its organization, charter and personnel are fundamentally like the old, it reflects the deterioration of capitalism which has taken place since the First World War.

MONOPOLY OF POWER

Just as monopoly in industry has broken down free competition in the system of capitalism, so has a monopoly of political power supplanted the free competition among nations. The Big Five run the show. And of those Big Five, China is a satellite of the United States and France is only a second-class power.

Stettinius, in an unguarded moment, stated that if the Big Five disagreed, neither the world security organization nor any of its provisions would mean anything. Incontrovertible fact! The supremacy of the big powers is embodied in the creation of two bodies, the assembly of the smaller and middling nations subordinate in all respects to that of the Big Five council. This is in contrast

to the first League, which gave at least formal democracy and one vote on ALL matters to each of the participating nations.

The monopoly of power is further assured by the right, insisted on by Russia and concurred in by the other great powers, that each of the big powers shall be able to veto any situation involving world security, i.e., war, in which it is involved.

Therein is indicated another retrogressive aspect of this League. Russia, with Lenin and Trotsky at her helm and a program of world socialism as her perspective, boycotted the first "den of thieves." Now, Russia not merely participates, but is foremost in insisting on the domination of the great powers over the smaller. As for her international "socialist" perspectives, they are for the next century.

SENTIMENTS DO NOT COUNT

The charter of the first League made a formal pretense of disarmament and was concerned about the private manufacture of munitions. Disarmament has not even been mentioned since then.

Nor do the United Nations dare whisper the "peace without annexations" slogan—it was, of course, only a slogan—of the first peace. That

would be too blatantly hypocritical after all the grabs made in Europe and Africa and the contemplated and announced grabs in the Far East.

The professed anti-war sentiments of the San Francisco delegations cannot be realized in the arena of imperialist power politics. Their rivalries for markets, territories, bases and profits will rend their covenant asunder, just as occurred last time. At the very time of their meeting, the Trieste incident very nearly pits two powers and their major backers against each other with armed force.

The fight over various provisions of the new charter cloaks the tensions and rivalries that will produce the future armed conflicts in one form or another. The latest and current of these are issues of "regional blocs" and the "veto."

AUTONOMY ISSUE

The regional autonomy issue stems from the meeting of the Latin American nations and the United States at Chapultepec. There the United States hurriedly and demonstratively organized her satellites in preparation for the coming conference and yielded to their pressure for admission of Argentina. (There was never any principle involved in the U. S. attacks on Argentine "fascism," and

many little South American dictators who pattern their mode of governing on the Argentine model laughed up their sleeves at the demagoguery of Roosevelt and Hull. What irked the U. S. was Argentina's competitive products and its trade with Britain. After all, a little peccadillo like fascism does not stand in the way of friendly relations between our State Department and Spain.)

The Act of Chapultepec pledged mutual assistance of the signatories in the event of aggression by an American or non-American nation, in the event the world security organization "DOES NOT MAINTAIN" peace.

Russia, herself the puppet-master of a sizable group of European nations, waged a fight to subordinate the regional security pact of the Americas to the world organization. The conference agreed finally to recognize the mutual assistance of the regional blocs only if the aggression breaks out "BEFORE IT [the world council—Ed.] CAN ACT."

Behind this struggle for nice phrasing lay the fears of the Latin Americans of U. S. aggression and that if the world organization had prior authority, the U. S. could veto any interference from the outside. Behind it also lay the rivalry of Russia and the United States. Now, all agree on the wording of the document. But the tensions, rivalry and power struggle remain.

THE MATTER OF VETO

The arguments over the "veto," currently the thorniest problem of the conference, reveal most clearly and absurdly the intent of the whole organization. There is little attempt to challenge the Russian demand that each of the big powers have the right to veto in any situation or disturbance in which they are directly engaged. While it is reported the other big powers feel more lenient on this question, acceptance of this veto right is the price of Russian participation.

Any big power can go to war, aggressively or defensively, at any time and by vetoing action by the new world council can prevent any action against her! Such a safeguard for peace is the world security organization!

On the matter of the veto power being exercised in cases where the big powers are not involved, the Big Four are inclined toward leniency again, but Russia insists here also. The smaller powers are conducting the fight against this right. How would it work? If Marshal Tito, for example, wishes to take Trieste (an example in which Russia "nominally" is not interested), Russia could veto the world organization from taking any action. Tito takes Trieste. The world organization is morally bound not to act by provisions of its charter.

But veto or no veto, regional priority or regional subordination, the new league can hang together only so long as the big powers remain friendly. This they cannot do. Not so long as the profit motive embodied in the system of private capitalism, with its constant need of expansion into foreign areas, exists.

SOCIALIST THOUGHTS

THE EVIL OF THE WAGES SYSTEM

by Frederick Engels

The following is another excerpt from Frederick Engels on problems of the working class dealt with in the pamphlet "The Labor Movement."

The struggle of the laborer against capital, we said, that struggle does exist, whatever the apologists of capital may say to the contrary. It will exist so long as a reduction of wages remains the safest and readiest means of raising profits; nay, so long as the wage system itself shall exist. The very existence of trades unions is proof sufficient of the fact; if they are not made to fight against the encroachments of capital what are they made for? There is no use in mincing matters. No milkop words can hide the ugly fact that present society is mainly divided into two great antagonistic classes—into capitalists, the owners of all the means for the employment of labor, on one side; and working men, the owners of nothing but their own working power, on the other. The produce of the labor of the latter class has to be divided between both classes, and it is this division about which the struggle is constantly going on. Each class tries to get as large a share as possible; and it is the most curious aspect of this struggle that the working class, while fighting to obtain a share only of its own produce, is often enough accused of actually robbing the capitalist!

LABOR AND THE VOTE

According to the traditions of their origin and development in this country, these powerful organizations have hitherto limited themselves almost strictly to their function of sharing in the regulation of wages and working hours, and of enforcing the repeal of laws openly hostile to the workmen. As stated before, they have done so with quite as much effect as they have attained more than that—the ruling class, which knows their strength better than they themselves do, has volunteered to them concessions beyond that. Disraeli's Household Suffrage gave the vote to at least the greater portion of the organized working class. Would he have proposed it unless he supposed that these new voters would show a will of their own—would cease to be led by middle class Liberal politicians? Would he have been able to carry it if the working people, in the management of their colossal trade societies, had not proved themselves fit for administrative and political work?

That very measure opened out a new prospect to the working class. It gave them the majority in London and in all manufacturing towns, and thus enabled them to enter into the struggle against capital with new weapons, by sending men of their own class to Parliament. And here, we are sorry to say, the trade unions forgot their duty as the advanced guard of the working class. The new weapon has been in their hands for more than ten years, but they

scarcely ever unsheathed it. They ought not to forget that they cannot continue to hold the position they now occupy unless they really march in the van of the working class. It is not in the nature of things that the working class of England should possess the power of sending forty or fifty working men to Parliament and yet be satisfied for ever to be represented by capitalists or their clerks, such as lawyers, editors, etc.

More than this, there are plenty of symptoms that the working class of this country is awakening to the consciousness that it has for some time been moving in the wrong groove; that the present movements for higher wages and shorter hours exclusively, keep it in a vicious circle out of which there is no issue; that it is not the lowness of wages which forms the fundamental evil, but the wages system itself. This knowledge, once generally spread amongst the working class, the position of trades unions must change considerably. They will no longer enjoy the privilege of being the only organizations of the working class. At the side of, or above, the unions of special trades there must spring up a general union, a political organization, of the working class as a whole.

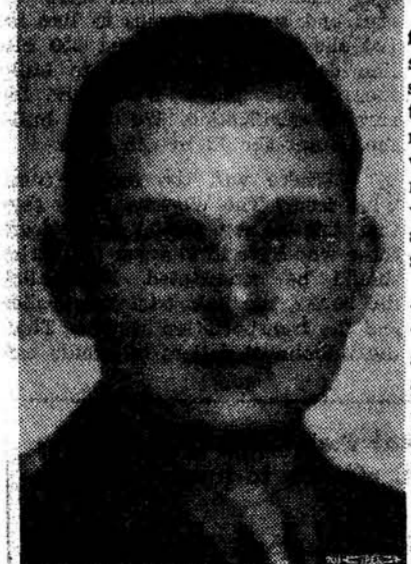
POLITICAL ACTION

Thus there are two points which the organized trades unions would do well to consider: firstly, that the time is rapidly approaching when the working class of this country will claim, with a voice not to be mistaken, its full share of representation in Parliament. Secondly, that the time also is rapidly approaching when the working class will have understood that the struggle for high wages and short hours, and the whole action of trade unions as now carried on is not an end in itself, but a means, a very necessary and effective means, but only one of several means toward a higher end: the abolition of the wages system altogether.

For the full representation of labor in Parliament, as well as for the preparation of the abolition of the wages system, organizations will become necessary, not of separate trades, but of the working class as a body. And the sooner this is done the better. There is no power in the world which could for a day resist the British working class organized as a body.—(The Labor Standard, London, April 4, 1881. Reprinted from "The British Labor Movement," by Friedrich Engels.)

BOB PIERCE (Seymour Silverfarb)

We have just learned that Comrade Bob Pierce, member of the Workers Party of Local New York, was killed in action in Germany on April 11, during the recent offensive. His loss is a deep one to the many people who worked with him during the years in which he was an active member of the Young People's Socialist League and the Workers Party.



Bob had not yet reached his twenty-fourth birthday. But already he had spent many years in the revolutionary socialist movement, which he joined at the age of sixteen. He was a charter member of the Workers Party when it was formed in 1940 and throughout his membership devoted himself to the work of the party with a seriousness and maturity not often found in people so young.

Our comrade was a quiet person. He was not what is sometimes called the "pop-off" kind. He was deadly serious about his work in the movement and about the struggle for a socialist world. Bob was always trying to learn and to make up for his youth by understanding, by study and activity, and by a determination to do his work well. And while there was nothing spectacular about him, he was known among his comrades as a person who could be counted on.

When Bob was taken into the Army he was made an MP. One of his assignments was to guard the Curtiss-Wright plant in Springfield, Ill., at a time when the CIO was trying to organize it. It was this that impelled him to apply for ASTP. He was accepted for the school with the highest IQ among his group of fellow soldiers. But the school did not last very long and he was soon transferred to the infantry. His overseas physical disqualified him from his job as a truck driver and he was then placed in the medical corps and sent to the front, where he was killed in action.

The irony of it all is that he lost his life in a war which he hated and which he understood was a conflict of imperialism in which the peoples of the world had no real interest. But he went with his generation like a true soldier of the working class, in the hope that it might fit him better in his future fight for real freedom in behalf of all humanity.

The Workers Party mourns the loss of Bob Pierce, a young fighter in the cause of international socialism, a fighter for a new world of true peace, freedom and security.

THE MAINSPRINGS OF RUSSIAN IMPERIALIST POLICY

By ALBERT GATES

Russia's role in world politics today is difficult for the average person to understand. This difficulty is caused by a single factor, which can be put under the general heading of confusion on the kind of nation Russia really is. It has been said repeatedly that what Russia will do in a given situation is difficult to forecast because the ruler of the country, Stalin, acts so differently in similar situations.

Some have blamed the difficulty on the fact that Russia is really not a European power but an Asiatic one and acts with Oriental cunning to deceive the plain, outspoken and unsuspecting imperialists of the West.

All of this is nonsense. Russia's conduct in world affairs is logical, consistent and not difficult to understand if one correctly estimates the character of the nation. For then its purposes become plain as day.

Taking the character of the country into account, Russia's role in world politics is as logical and consistent as it was in the time of Lenin and Trotsky, with this fundamental difference: the aims of Russia during the time of Lenin and Trotsky were altogether different from the aims of Russia under Stalin. And this is so because the Russia of the workers' revolution and the Russia of Stalin are, in fact, two different nations.

RUSSIA NOT SOCIALIST.

The confusion which exists today in the minds of millions, consciously cultivated by the imperialist powers, is that Russia is a socialist nation. Thus it pursues aims which represent the interests of the peoples of the world, the workers who live under capitalism and the oppressed colonial masses who live under capitalist-imperialist rule.

RUSSIA IN LENIN'S TIME

If Russia were truly a "workers' fatherland," a representative of the future socialist world, how is it explained that it pursues the game of secret diplomacy and power politics which were so vigorously denounced by Lenin, the man who, with Trotsky, organized and led the Russian Revolution? The explanation lies in the fact that the Russia of Stalin is not the workers' state of Lenin.

In Lenin's time, Russia was ruled by the workers. This was reflected in the complete freedom of the workers of the city and the poor peasantry of the countryside, in the extension of economic, political and social freedom to the classes formerly oppressed by Czarism and capitalism.

The basic form of political representation was the soviet, or workers' council, based upon the mills, the mines and the factories. There were also soldiers' and peasants' soviets. The workers, peasants and soldiers were directly represented in government through their own elected delegates. They were the government.

Under the workers' state, trade unions operated freely and in the interests of the Russian working class. Co-operatives and fraternal organizations existed as workers' and peasants' organizations, defending and extending the interests of the masses against the bureaucracy which existed even at that time.

Industries were operated by the state, but under the direct supervision of workers' committees.

Production was carried on not only for the purpose of expanding and improving industry, but in this expansion and improvement to raise simultaneously the living conditions

and standards of the people. In all important respects, however—the working day, the conditions of labor, wages and management—the workers, through their plant committees and unions, had a decisive say.

In the farm areas, the peasants too, through their own committees and peasant organizations, had an important say in the determination of their rights and livelihood.

The country was desperately poor after the Revolution. There was never enough to supply the needs of the people. Russia was blockaded by the capitalist world and suffered intervention by Allied armies, organized counter-revolution of the old Czarist forces, famine and pestilence. By all standards of progress, Russia was a backward industrial country. But the leaders of the nation worked with one aim in mind: improving the conditions of the people, and fighting for the extension of workers' rule throughout the world.

They were not reactionary nationalists. They were socialist internationalists. They sought the emancipation of the exploited and oppressed peoples of the world. They sought genuine economic, political and social freedom for the whole world.

THEY TOLD THE TRUTH

The "Old Bolshevik" rulers, as they were called, carried on an incessant campaign against imperialism. They showed how capitalism contained within it the seeds of war in the competition between the monopolistic powers who sought a redivision of the spoils of the world. They proved that the First World War was an imperialist war for this purpose and that the League of Nations, formed after the war, was merely an organization serving the interests of British and French imperialism.

They explained how the victorious Allies were counter-revolutionary and proved it by showing how these powers united with their former enemies to put down the revolt of the European peoples who were striving to establish a new order in Europe which would forever end imperialism, war and the exploitative profit system.

In all these things the Old Bolsheviks told the truth and they told it frankly and openly. When the Germany of the Kaiser forced a robbery peace on Russia, Trotsky made this known to the world and appealed directly to the people of Germany to defend workers' Russia. Always, the Russian leaders appealed to the people. No secret treaties, they cried. Let the world know what the imperialists plan. They took up Wilson's cry, "Open covenants, openly arrived at." They really put it into effect to show how the imperialists are hypocrites and never do what they say and always say what they do not do in order to deceive the people.

When Lenin called the League of Nations a "thieves' kitchen," he meant that they were imperialists whose only interest was to preserve the rotten capitalist world of profit and exploitation and to maintain it through lies, chicanery, hypocrisy and fraud.

Lenin and his comrades always understood, however, that workers' Russia could not last forever in a capitalist world unless labor in the rest of the world came to its aid by taking state power. Lenin constantly warned the workers against the plans of imperialism to plunge the world into another slaughter.

In all respects the conduct of Stalin's Russia in foreign affairs is opposite to that of Russia during Lenin's time. While workers' Russia based itself on the movement of the working class in all countries, bureaucratic Russia, which helped to destroy the political and economic movements of labor in Europe, bases itself on imperialist agreements with the capitalist powers.

Whereas the old Russia of Lenin denounced all territorial seizures and guaranteed the independence of nations, the Russia of Stalin, pursuing its imperialist aims, seizes territories and violates the independence of nations.



BUREAUCRAT OF ALL RUSSIA

If Lenin's Russia had been forced into a war on the side of the imperialist powers by German fascism, it would have fought the war to the end but independently from the policies and war aims of the Allied imperialists. It would have maintained at all times a working class policy and based itself on the political and economic movements of the workers in the Allied countries, constantly exhorting these workers to take state power in order to prepare to build a new society of genuine peace, freedom and security.

In contrast, Stalin's Russia, which has become nationalist in the worst sense, and has exhumed the old Czarist legends. It has introduced the worst features of Czarist militarism into what was once a Red Army. It has ordered its agents in all capitalist countries to establish class peace and to prevent the workers from fighting for their rights in these countries.

Lenin would have built the labor movement to greater power; Stalin destroys the fighting capacities of labor.

Take Germany as a specific example. On the basis of socialist doctrine and practice, Lenin would have fought against a hard peace for the

German people. As a socialist internationalist, he could not hold the German people responsible for the crimes of their rulers, the same industrialists, financiers, Junkers and fascists who enslaved them for twelve years. He would have called for a free Germany, for workers' rule in Germany and an end to the rule of the vile capitalist murderers who dominate the country as respectable business men in the United States, England and France.

Not so Stalin. He prepares an imperialist peace for Germany, a peace of vengeance. He wants to make the German people and, in the first place, the workers, pay for the crimes of their rulers. He wants the German masses enslaved and brutalized for a war which he helped to bring about by his aid to Hitler when he came to power and his complicity in the war through the Hitler-Stalin pact.

Stalin has already incorporated the Baltic states into Russia. He is the ruler of Poland through his puppet government, the GPU-ized Lublin Committee. He has chopped off parts of Finland, Rumania and other areas of Eastern Europe. He has established his power in the Balkans and dominates Yugoslavia through his agent, the former GPU man, Marshal Tito. It is Stalin who is behind the Trieste affair. It is Stalin who has his eyes out for new territories in Asia and seeks to dominate the continent of Europe—not in the interests of socialism, but in the interests of his own power in Russia and the extension of that power elsewhere.

"Why and how is this possible?" many workers might ask. Is not Russia a workers' country, a socialist nation? Did it not fight valiantly in the war and help defeat Hitler? These questions are important because the answers to them help to explain what Russia really is and why it acts in the manner described above.

It is true that Russia fought valiantly in the war and helped to defeat Hitler. But it fought this war in the same way that the capitalists fought it. It did not fight politically against Hitler and fascism. As a totalitarian state, it could hardly fight a "democratic" war. As imperialist states, the Allies could not fight a democratic war.

Stalin fought a purely military campaign with the aid of enormous manpower, lend-lease and a second front in the form of the Anglo-American armies in the West.

In all other respects, too, Russia fought a war with political aims identical with those of the Allies: no genuine liberation for the peoples of Europe, no unification of the many countries of Europe and no real effective economic and political changes and most important of all, no revolutionary changes on the continent.

WHAT STALIN BETRAYED

This role of Russia under Stalin is to be explained by the great changes that have taken place in the country since the rule of the bureaucratic class. All the achievements of the Russian Revolution have long ago disappeared.

The old revolutionary Communist Party which was the party of the workers, has long ago disappeared. The present Communist Party is the haven of the bureaucracy and preserves, through its control of the state, the interests of this new class power.

The control and ownership of the

state by the bureaucracy has meant the control and ownership of the factories by the total bureaucracy and the operation of the economy of Russia in its own benefit at the expense of the workers and peasants. The soviet system has been usurped by the bureaucracy. It is no longer the basic political form through which the people control the state.

The free trade unions of Lenin's Russia have become, under Stalin, state institutions for the purpose of imposing upon the workers the decisions of the bureaucracy and preventing them from expressing their own interests and demands. The state trade unions are now purely administrative bodies ruled by representatives of the state. There is no such thing as free elections in these unions and independence of operation.

The old system of workers' committees, i.e., factory committees which kept the industrial managers and directors in check, and which defended at all times the interests of the factory workers, has long ago been dissolved. Today the factory managers and directors reign supreme as part of the elite of the bureaucracy. The old seven-hour day introduced in Lenin's time has not existed since long before the war broke out. The exploitation of the workers is fierce; their living standards and conditions of labor are unbearable.

Russian workers labor ten and twelve hours, seven days a week, under piecework and incentive systems that make American die-hard industrialists green with envy.

Russia has developed the labor camp system to a high degree, its occupants numbering from ten to twenty-five million slave workers.

All of this is exactly the opposite of a workers' state, a socialist nation. What we have in Russia is a new kind of state power and a new kind of class rule, never before seen in history. We have the destruction of a workers' state and its replacement by a bureaucratic collectivist state, that is, the rule of the bureaucracy which has in its hands the state power and through that power, ownership of the collective property of the nation. This is not a "degenerated workers' state," as some people have described it, but a "prison for the Russian people."

POWER, PRESTIGE, REVENUES

The new ruling bureaucracy which Stalin heads has interests which are easily understandable. These are, to preserve its own economic, political and social power in Russia and to strengthen its rule by imperialist expansion beyond the orders of Russia. The aim of the bureaucracy is, as Trotsky once wrote, to "increase its power, prestige and revenues."

Once it is grasped that this is the kind of state which exists in Russia, it will be easy to understand why Russia engages in the game of power politics, why its conduct at San Francisco is fundamentally the same as that of the Allied imperialists, why it too seeks the lands of other peoples, new sources of profit (revenue), new power and prestige.

While it is not a capitalist state, and while it does not have all of the same propensities which cause the capitalist imperialists to act in the manner so obvious to all thinking people, it is a class society, an exploiting society, and acts in ways similar to the imperialists of capitalism.

Frisco Conference Turns Deaf Ear on Negroes, Minorities

By Jessie Kaaren

THROUGH many laudatory articles in the Negro press, readers are given the impression that the Negro delegation to the San Francisco conference will be able to accomplish great things. The conference is well enough advanced now for us to be able to judge how much of an illusion that is, if we didn't know it before. It is obvious that the delegation will not be able to carry out even its limited objectives, which were to make a public plea for a system of racial equality and to ask for the abandonment of the present imperialist colonial policy of the big powers.

Racial and colonial oppression are two of the fundamental props of capitalism. A conference which was so obviously called to bully the smaller nations into accepting what is being laid down for them by the big powers and which is devoted to dividing up the world among the United States, Great Britain and the Soviet Union, could not be expected to weaken these props by advancing ideas of racial and colonial equality.

In addition to Negro organizations, many other groups—Jewish, religious, etc.—were called to San Francisco by the Secretary of State to "consult" with the American delegation on the problems affecting their special interests in case the American "experts" needed their advice.

MINORITIES FLOATED

Concretely, what has this invitation meant so far? A few thousand people have received gallery tickets to the conference hall, nothing more. If they become too persistent in buttonholing the "experts," the delegations are told that the conference does not expect to take up this or that specific question.

The Negro delegation is made up of representatives from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the United Negro Church and other Negro organizations which went along unofficially. They have found themselves in the same board as the other "consultants" called in by Secretary of State Stettinius.

As one Negro press commentator writes: "The American delegation to the parley, while ostensibly free to negotiate, has already established the framework of policy in which it will operate. The agenda of the conference was decided long ago. The question of disposition of specific territories in colonial and dependent area matters will have no place in this particular conference. Certainly the specific problems of the Negro in America or in the world will not be discussed."

"All these decisions were made when most of the organizations which have representatives on the Coast for the conference were playing ostrich with their heads in the sands. With one or two exceptions, I doubt whether

any of them has a single concrete suggestion in writing that could be handed to Secretary of State Stettinius should he call for it—which he won't."

ONE OF THE "OLD CODGERS"

Another aspect of the conference which should disgust the Negro people is the prominence given to General Jan Christian Smuts of South Africa. This man is a dangerous enemy because he poses as a liberal, as a fighter for the better things of life for the little people, as a friend of the Zionist cause, etc. The truth is that he is very anti-Negro, that he has done a great deal to keep the Negroes of Africa in extreme poverty and backwardness, and his utterances are nothing more than an apology for British imperialist aggrandizement.

Smuts had a big hand in framing the peace treaty of the last war, and we can see with what results. For the peace treaty of the future, he makes three proposals: bar Asiatics from Africa, form a trusteeship for people "not ready" for self-government and put up safeguards against Russian ideas of property.

In an editorial in the National Baptist Voice, Dr. J. P. Barbour makes the following comment on these proposals:

"He wants the Asiatics kept out of Africa because they do not have color prejudice and large numbers of them would make it difficult for the white men of South Africa to keep their nefarious system intact. Smuts and his hut tax have the natives in Africa in virtual slavery. This hut tax business is a scheme to make the African worker in the diamond mines at a few pennies a month to enrich Smuts and his gang."

"The trusteeship idea is the old mandate system by a new name. If there ever was a fraud, the mandate system was it. Smuts' idea is to give the grafting imperialist ideas of the European nation a moral façade...."

"He fears the Russian idea about property [Editor's note: this should more logically be called the Bolshevik idea about property] because it knocks the bottom out of the whole social system of the South African government. Smuts and his crowd have robbed the Africans of their land...."

These two sidelights on the San Francisco conference should lift the curtain a little and expose it for what it is—a board of directors' meeting of the three big competing corporations, United States, Great Britain and Soviet Russia.

'WORK OR FIGHT' ENDING; FIGHT TO WORK BEGINS--

(Continued from page 1)

They have over 50 billion dollars in reserves. The captains of industry have feathered their personal nests with their enormous personal salaries, their operations in "black market" meat and their Wall Street stock gambling. All of these billions in profits, dividends, interest and salaries have been made possible because the profits to industry during the war ran as high as 30 per cent for manufacturing and financial corporations.

It is only the working class that is ready now for "honorable discharge."

ATTACK ON UNIONS

The first step in this direction by the capitalist exploiters is to launch an attack on the unions. They have discovered what they think is a good scheme. They will do it through the ex-service men. They will do it by turning the Negro workers against the white workers or vice versa. They will do it by creating enmity between men and women workers.

One George Romney, an obscure individual, who rose to prominence during the war as "managing director of the Automotive Council for War Production" thinks it can be done by a little vicious and timely weeping over the problem of employment for the ex-service men. Romney attacks the UAW leadership for its opposition to his proposal that ex-service men who have never worked in a plant, be given blanket seniority for all time served in the army, even before they have ever secured a job.

That is, according to Romney, a man or woman who left school, a bank, employment in a strike-breaking agency or any other occupation,

and who, for instance, has served three years in the armed services, can march up to an organized plant with three years' plant seniority in his hip pocket. All this before he has been assigned to a job, before he has been inside the plant. If such a proposal should be accepted by the unions they would be on their way to the graveyard.

Romney says that the union attitude on the matter of seniority for veterans is a "lockout." All the workers among the veterans ought to realize that it was not the unions which locked them out of the factories but the capitalist ruling class and the capitalist government of this class in Washington. The veterans were locked out when they were drafted into the armed forces, to fight an imperialist war for the capitalist exploiters and marauders.

It will do working class veterans no good to lend themselves to any type of scheme proposed by the em-

ployers and the government which will in any way weaken the unions. Years after the war is over, when their hero medals have become a mere "hunk of brass," when they find themselves in the bread lines, or see their babies gassed to death on "bloody Thursday" by the army led by some future chief of staff, they will need the union to protect them.

The main problem before labor today, as always under capitalism, is: JOBS. All the talk about "reconversion" is mere gas unless we have jobs: have them now and have them continuously. The UAW workers in Detroit finally hit the nail on the head when they say to their International leaders: "forget world problems and do something for the rank and file." They should have said this when Murray and Thomas gave Roosevelt that infamous no-strike pledge, when Murray accepted the infamous Little Steel formula, when the Smith-Connelly Act was passed

and when the PAC leadership betrayed labor by helping a capitalist party retain control of the government.

We know that these automobile workers do not mean by their statement that they are not interested in "world problems," especially as they affect labor here and in other parts of the world. What they mean, and they are correct, is that the capitalist government should be allowed to run its imperialist war, to take care of its own imperialist interests, if it can.

The Workers Party has a Reconversion Program that labor can fight for and really get somewhere with. But we have to fight for this program. The capitalist employers and their government will never grant it. This program really takes care of the problem of jobs: 60 million jobs or a hundred million jobs. Labor, however, cannot win this program if it listens to the promises and the wallings of the labor leaders. To push this Reconversion Program of the Workers Party through, labor will need not only unions far stronger and more militant than our unions are today, but will also need a mass labor party to take over in Washington; from the White House to Capitol Hill.

WORKERS PARTY RECONVERSION PROGRAM

1. The Workers Party believes that "Every worker has the right to a job and a guaranteed annual wage." Also that "Every unemployed worker has the right to full jobless insurance." We mean by "full jobless insurance" that single men and women when unemployed shall get not less than \$30 a week.

2. We believe that all workers should be thrown into unemployment during the "reconversion period" should be absorbed into industry by a reduction in the work week with no reduction in pay. There is no reason that we should starve just because the capitalists have no work for us.

3. The demobilized veterans should get two years military base pay. They should have the opportunity to go to school at government expense and their families should have adequate maintenance.

4. A single worker should have a guaranteed annual wage of not less than \$2,500 a year. A workers family should have a guaranteed annual income of not less than \$5,000. A worker's family needs this much money for a decent standard of living.

5. The Workers Party believes that workers should have decent and sanitary homes to live in. Let the government spend 250 billion dollars in five years to build these homes, public works and for rural electrification. We who build the houses should live in them.

6. Where will the money come from? The Workers Party says that this money should come from those who have it. The war industries should be conscripted. Nationalize the banks, the industrial monopolies and the transportation systems. Then the billions of dollars in profits can

be used for the benefit of all the people.

7. Furthermore, take all the war profits above five per cent on invested capital. This would bring in countless billions of dollars. Those who created this wealth: labor, should have the advantage of it. Cut the salaries of the capitalists to \$25,000 a year. They don't even deserve that much. Make the capitalist pay for their war by capturing all their accumulated wealth above \$50,000. Even this amount is too much for these exploiters.

8. Labor should control production. That's one way of keeping the mines, mills and factories in operation. Workers would run them to produce goods for people to use. We couldn't possibly have any interest in shutting a plant down because a union was demanding an increase in wages.

9. The working people will have to have a political party of their own in order to win such a Reconversion Program. That party must be based on the unions and have millions of members. The capitalist employers and the government bureaucrats would tremble in their boots if they saw such a powerful labor party being organized.

If we had such a powerful and militant labor movement organized into a mighty trade unions and a mass political party then we could say to the capitalist employers: "If you can't run the mines, mills and factories, we can and will. And to the bureaucrats at Washington we could say: If you can't run the country and supply us with food, clothing and shelter; we can and will.

Everyone knows by now that the Allied Military Government has been hoisting Nazi officials to power all over Germany.

A small AP dispatch from Paris discloses the other side of Allied policy in Germany. In the city of Cologne, 5,000 Germans held an unauthorized mass meeting to welcome home the German inmates ("all Germans are Nazis"—remember?) from the Buchenwald concentration camp. The demonstrators were reported to be carrying placards which complained that the Americans were treating Nazis too mildly ("all Germans are bad," don't forget!)

And what happened to this crowd of Germans who called for sterner punishment of Nazis and solidarized themselves with German anti-Nazis who had been victimized? They were dispersed by American troops who fired over the heads of the crowd.

"SUCH ARE THE FACTS..."

(a) It was not Germany that attacked France and England, but France and England that attacked Germany, thereby assuming responsibility for the present war;

(b) After hostilities had broken out, Germany made overtures of peace to France and England, and the Soviet Union openly supported Germany's peace overtures, for it considered, and continues to consider, that the earliest possible termination of the war would radically improve the position of all the countries and nations;

(c) The ruling circles of England and France rudely rejected both Germany's peace overtures and the attempt of the Soviet Union to secure the earliest possible termination of the war.

Such are the facts....

(Stalin, November, 1939. Pravda. Quoted from "History of Soviet Foreign Policy," by M. Ross, December, 1940. Workers Library, Publishers.)