

At the time of going to press, the news was flashed that Russia had declared war against Japan, thus guaranteeing a quick end to the conflict in the Far East. The report bears out the article in this issue which stated that even though not reported as part of the discussions in Potsdam, this matter was part of the deliberations. Obviously, the Big Three reached agreement on their respective shares in the Far East. A full story will follow in next week's issue of LABOR ACTION.

ATOMIC BOMB SHOWS WHY SOCIALISM IS NECESSARY

"Thieves Fall Out" in Trial Of Henri Petain

By V. P. JENSEN

In Paris, in the same Palace of Justice where once Marie Antoinette and later the French Revolutionaries, Danton and Robespierre, heard the sentences that doomed their lives, Marshal Henri Petain, the doddering and disreputable old traitor who sold his country out to Fascism is being tried for this treachery. But this event, so long awaited by the French masses who fought and suffered under Vichy and the Nazis and who finally won their fight for liberation, comes not as a fitting climax to that fight but as the bitterest possible mockery of that noble fight.

Pétain is being tried because as head of the Vichy government, he destroyed the Third Republic, instituted a semi-Fascist régime in that part of France which he ruled before the Germans took over the whole country; and finally because he collaborated with them against the interests of the country as a whole. These counts spell treason and the French people who suffered and were betrayed and tortured not only by the Nazi gendarmes but by the Vichy gendarmes (police) are entitled to try and condemn those who are guilty of that treason.

What makes a mockery of this trial, however, is the fact that it is not in the hands of the people of France but in the hands of precisely those men who put and kept Marshal Pétain in power, and who begged and accepted favors of Pétain. Now they foam at the mouth and violently accuse Pétain of the sins about which they were so long silent, hoping by the virulence of their attack to divert attention from the fact that they share with Pétain the responsibility for the fall and sufferings of France.

This diversion is of the utmost importance, for these fellow-sinners of the Marshal are, with the connivance and under the direction of General de Gaulle, coming back to take political leadership in France, although their past political leadership brought only defeat and suffering to the French people, even before the war began.

"THIEVES FALL OUT"

Who are the judges who try Pétain? All three of the judges are men who took the oath of loyalty to Pétain and the Vichy government. If Pétain is a traitor, are they not equally traitors?

Who is the prosecuting attorney shouting so loudly for the death penalty for Pétain? A careerist who once wrote a letter to the Marshal accepting a position in the Vichy government, withdrawing his acceptance only at the last moment.

Who are the main witnesses against the Marshal? They are ex-Prime Ministers Blum, Daladier and Reynaud, and General Gamelin. In thundering tones they say that: 1) Pétain was a coward and defeatist as a military man and undeserving of his reputation as the "Victor of Verdun"; 2) Pétain plotted against the Republic with the Cagoullards and other fascists since 1934; 3) that he was ready to sell out France even before the war began in 1940, being a defeatist and fearing that there would be a working-class revolution, to which Nazism was an infinitely preferable alternative in his mind.

THESE GENTLEMEN CERTAINLY SHOULD KNOW ALL ABOUT PETAIN! He served as Marshal of the Army of France under all of them. None of these accusing witnesses

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Potsdam Decisions Guarantee New Wars

By CARL DAVIS

The new Big Three (Truman, Attlee and Stalin), but the old one in terms of its aims, finally concluded its meeting at Potsdam held for the purpose of implementing and working out the decisions made by Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin in their successive meetings at Teheran and Yalta.

There was nothing new that came out of the meeting. Everything that we said about the meeting turned out to be true. The big powers met for the purpose of destroying the most advanced economic nation of Europe and to complete the division of spoils among them. The most important decision of the conference is the one which aims at the destruction of the industrial might of Germany and the transformation of the country into a primarily agrarian nation.

Russia's demands on Turkey, the Middle East situation, or how to divide up the Far East. While nothing was said about the Far East at the conference, there is no question but that this was fully discussed. The Big Three are equally interested in the Far East and the demands of each are commonly known. Great Britain, even under the labor government, wants a retention of her colonial possessions. The United States is eager to advance her interests

on the principle that the German people were responsible for the war alongside of the Nazi leaders and party.

Little or nothing was said about the German financial and industrial ruling class which was responsible for the very existence of the Nazi Party and which put that party of fascist beasts into power. It was this class, the capitalists of Germany, which really ran the country, prepared for and prosecuted the war. But these enemies of the German people and all humanity remain untouched as a class.

It would be folly to think that the capitalist governments of the United States and Great Britain, and the counter-revolutionary government of Russia would do anything that might lead to establishment of a workers' government, that is, a truly peoples' government in Germany that would reorganize the country in the interests of the workers, poor middle classes, and poor farmers of the nation.



Prime Minister Attlee

(domination of China) in that part of the world. And Russia has already made known her demands: re-establishment of her interests in Manchuria in line with the old Czarist treaty of 1904; re-establishment of her interests in the railroad passing through Manchuria, and possession of Port Arthur.

Stalin's agreement to permit reporters from Allied nations into Poland to observe conditions and events in that country, as well as in other countries under the domination of Russia means little. The work of transforming these nations into puppet states of Russia was accomplished already in the months when Stalin's army occupied these lands and moved in the secret police (NKVD) along with a host of experts and functionaries of the defunct Communist International.

The decision on Germany, however, is the real purpose of the Berlin meeting. The "peace" treaty was a revenge treaty. The powers proceeded

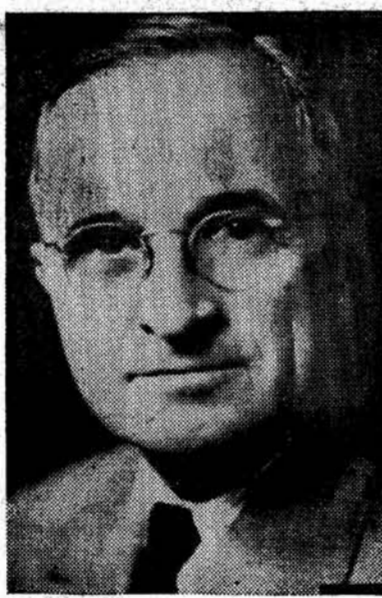


Generalissimo Stalin

Germany will remain divided into three zones, say the Big Three. Each of the powers will rule for an indefinite period of time in their respective areas. There will be no national unified government to rule over the whole of Germany. Naturally, each of the powers will rule their respective zones differently.

In the British and American zones, fascists, ex-fascists, reactionaries of all kinds are employed by the occupation forces.

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President Truman

The other matters dealt with at Potsdam fade in significance when compared to the decisions on Germany. The fact that the foreign ministers of the United States, Great Britain, Russia and France would meet and work out the peace treaties for the other ex-Axis nations was actually decided at Yalta. But no report was made on the planned measures for these countries.

Obviously they are still far away from agreement on the question of

By ALBERT GATES
Editor of Labor Action

"The impact of the bomb was so terrific that practically all living things, human and animal, were literally seared to death by the tremendous heat and pressure engendered by the blast." This is the way one Tokyo broadcast described the havoc created by one atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima by a Superfortress.

In a split second the Wellsian world became a reality. Years of research and the investment of billions of dollars, finally brought to one stage of development the harnessing of the atom and control of the enormous energy created by splitting it.

The most carefully guarded secret of the war was released when the announcement came over the wires that the one atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima had destroyed the city for a radius of four and a tenth miles, with an explosive power equal to 20,000 tons of TNT.

The crew which flew the plane reported that they could feel the concussion miles away and that the light of the explosion was brighter than the sun. The whole city of over 300,000 people was covered by smoke to the height of 40,000 feet and for some time afterward reconnaissance planes were unable to survey the damage. But the Japanese authorities have already announced that almost everything was destroyed, that Hiroshima was practically wiped off the face of the earth.

There is no doubt that the war in the Far East will be shortened by the use of the atomic bomb. The Administration is already

"Nazi" Bilbo; Product of Poll Tax

By CHRIS WARREN

Senator Theodore Gilmore Bilbo of Mississippi, the man who "talked to death" the Fair Employment Practice Commission bill, received a lot of notoriety in the press during the past month. This "gentleman" from the deep South use his franking privileges to answer critics of his filibuster against the FEPC and his anti-Negro speeches on the floor of the Senate with letters expressing the most vicious fascistic sentiments. Bilbo, with the unanimous consent of his fellow Senators, has been inserting these letters into the Congressional Record.

In reply to a letter from Dr. Mark Gilbert, pastor of the First African Church of Savannah, Georgia, Bilbo stated "that with the return of these million or more Negro soldiers that have been coddled and misled into

preparing another demand on the Japanese for unconditional surrender. In the event of refusal the plan is to destroy the whole nation, for that is what continued atomic bombing will mean.

We can now very plainly see the meaning of modern war. Revolutionary socialists have warned long ago, that the continuation of imperialist-capitalist society and its recurrent wars which harness science will produce weapons of destruction of incalculable proportions.

While the war of 1914-18 was the first in the era of world wars, the loss of life was great and the destruction enormous, it did not compare to the power of destruction in this war. The Second World War was organized along mechanized lines, employing tanks, airplanes, robot bombs, magnetic mines, and hundreds of other instruments of death and chaos.

The military casualties for the European war alone is estimated at 60,000,000 persons. The destruction of wealth and property runs into the hundreds of billions. And when the war ends in the Far East and the calculations

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A Nisei Veteran Fights VFW Prejudice

The treatment of the Nisei, Americans of Japanese ancestry, is one of the worst examples of racial prejudice which gives way to hateful practices. At the beginning of the war against Japan an organized wave of terror began against all Japanese in this country. They were deported to special camps in the tens of thousands with no effort to separate those who were referred or regarded as "Japanese agents and spies." The administration took the attitude that all Japanese in this country were "spies and enemy agents," all except those who were inducted into the United States Army.

The Nisei formed a special outfit in the army and their 42nd Infantry Regiment became one of the most famous in the Italian campaign. These boys who were sent across to fight for what they were told was freedom and democracy were fearful from the start that their bravery in battle would not leave them immune from the stirred-up racial prejudice which existed against them. There was good reason for this fear. Those discharged from the army because of battle wounds found that they could not get jobs, return to their homes, or be honored in the same way as "white" soldiers with whom they fought.

The most recent case is that of PFC Richard H. Naito, of Spokane, Washington veteran of the 42nd Regiment, wounded in the battles around Pisa. Naito applied for membership in Post 1 of the Veterans of Foreign Wars. His application was rejected because he was Japanese. In support of Naito is his commander, Col. V. R. Miller, who publicly protested the discrimination of the Nisei soldiers. But it is Naito's letter which sharply illustrates what is wrong. Among

other things, he wrote to the VFW: "Twelve months ago on a hot day I was lying in the fields near Pisa, my right leg shattered by a German bullet...that day I didn't know whether I would ever set foot again on American soil.

"Today on American soil, thousands of miles from Pisa, I have been wounded again by another weapon—hypocrisy or prejudice, call it what you will. Little did I expect that upon my return home to the people for whom I fought and suffered I would be repudiated."

The prejudice against Naito and his people is the same as the prejudice organized and stimulated by reactionaries, labor baiters, medieval Senators and Congressmen, vile and corrupt newspaper owners, is not new nor is it the outcome solely of the war. It has been long existent and is especially prevalent in the South against Negroes, in the North against Jews, foreign born workers, Italians or Catholics.

The aim of all the race-haters is to stimulate discord among the people, and the workers in the first place, in order to take their attention away from their real problems and their real enemies. That is best proved by what happened on the West Coast. Anti-Japanese prejudice is fanned by Associated Farmers, an organization of big landowners.

Who Caused the Detroit Rubber Strike?

What were the true causes of the 17-day strike of 5000 workers at the U. S. Rubber Company in Detroit?

Two editorials in the Detroit Free Press ooze with hypocritical sympathy for the twelve discharged workers. Beware! A government crackdown upon the labor movement is their real aim and desire. The Free Press slyly suggests the passage of the Burton-Ball-Hatch Bill for a rigid, permanent, peace-time, anti-strike law.

The crime of the traitorous Dalrymple leadership of the United Rubber Workers and the communist administration of John Marmon in local 101, is now evident. They have always fumed against wartime strikes on the grounds that reactionary forces would be given a pretext for anti-labor legislation. LABOR ACTION has demolished this argument over and over again. But now there is something new to add. Where previously the capitalist newspapers were compelled to launch into open and easily exposed anti-labor tirades, now they have been given the chance by Dalrymple and his friends to palm themselves off as "friends of the poor working-

man who wants anti-labor legislation in the worker's own interests!

Let us examine the editorials in question lest our justified hatred of Dalrymple and Marmon leads us into this clever Free Press trap.

CAPITALIST PRESS LIES

The Free Press absolves "the innocent" management from all responsibility in the recent strike. It says, "There is no argument between management and labor...it is a battle between rival union factions and has nothing whatever to do with wages, hours, or working conditions."

This is a lie! The 12 men were discharged by the company upon demand of the Dalrymple inspired International Board of the U.R.W. which had arbitrarily expelled them from the union. But why were they expelled? Because they sought (in a wise or unwise manner) to fight against the imposition of a \$12.50 fine leveled against 572 members of local 101 by Dalrymple.

Why were these men fined? Because they and over 1,000 others participated in a so-called unauthorized

strike. But why did they strike? Because THE COMPANY cut their piece work rates!

The root of all difficulties is the greed of the company which is not satisfied with the highest earnings in its history. At bottom, this is and was a dispute against a profit-hungry company over wages and working conditions.

UNION MISLEADERS

The union leaders have been unfair and dictatorial to the members of their own locals. But that is not their only crime. Their main crime is that instead of acting as fighting leaders of and for the workers, they act in the interests of the employers. To keep their membership, which becomes increasingly aroused against this policy, the Dalrymples are compelled to act as dictators. The Free Press which writes in the interests of these same employers naturally omits this little fact.

The Free Press declares, "What we are trying to find out is a solution of these jurisdictional labor fights which block war production..." The

worker, it continues, needs protection "from warring leaders."

The strike was not a jurisdictional dispute. It is true that many workers at the plant became so infuriated against Dalrymple and Marmon that they erroneously concluded that they had to throw out the U.R.W. and go over to the Mechanics Educational Society. LABOR ACTION said ten months ago and repeats now that this is the wrong road and leads the men up a blind alley. But the strike was a united action. MESA and loyal URW-CIO men fought side by side for the reinstatement of their 12 discharged brothers. If the strike was jurisdictional, how explain away this unity?

John Marmon in a letter to the press argues that the CIO men were intimidated and forcibly restrained from going to work for 17 days. Intimidated by what? Were 3000 men intimidated by a token picket line of a dozen or two? The strike continued even when an injunction compelled that handful of pickets to withdraw.

The Free Press wants the govern-

ment to intervene in the unions "to protect him [the worker] from warring labor leaders."

But the strike was caused not by warring leaders but by the actions of the Dalrymple-Marmon leadership against the rank and file. Where was the government? In every instance it supported the leaders against the rank and file.

WHOSE GOVERNMENT?

The War Labor Board, this government agency, ordered the company to deduct Dalrymple's fines from the checks of the men who refused to pay. In this case as in others the WLB assisted the employees and the union leaders who help them against the workers.

Another government agency is the National Labor Relations Board. It refused to grant a collective bargaining election in the plant to allow the men democratically to decide the issues for themselves. Why? Because it too prefers a "dependable," pro-union leadership.

The army officers who took over

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NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

What "Equality of Sacrifice" Meant

By W. WHITE

An \$18,000 bank account for every worker. That's what "equality of sacrifice" would mean in dollars if there were any "equality of sacrifice" in this war.

But that isn't all. Another \$25 billions exists as a fund in the Treasury, on which corporations may draw during any two years in which their profits don't happen to measure up to normal.

Total: Over \$50 billions in actual cash or possible credits. Such has been industry's "sacrifice."

WHAT WORKER SHOULD HAVE

- To equal this, each worker would have to be given: 1. \$7,200 in savings. 2. \$1,200 to match business tax refunds. 3. \$9,600 to draw on in case he

couldn't keep up his standard of living.

The big question still remains: What is to be done about the situation?

The top leaders of the CIO and AFL say:

- 1) Observe the no-strike pledge religiously. 2) Beg the War Labor Board to work faster. 3) Make "peace pacts" with the capitalists to continue wartime "cooperation" in the post-war period. 4) Vote for "friendly" Democrats—or even "friendly" Republicans—at all elections. 5) Beg "your" President and his subordinates (Vinson, Davis, Taylor, Bowles and the rest) and "your"

congressmen to raise wage rates, keep down prices, increase unemployment benefits, and plan some public works.

6) Do the begging by letters, telegrams, radio speeches, personal visits and mental telepathy.

The above program has been tried for years now. How do the capitalists react to it? You all know the answer.

How do the President and our other "friends" in the government react to it? You know that, too. Despite accounts in some union papers, the recent report of Reconversion Director Vinson (he has since been named Secretary of the Treasury) shows no real change in attitude.

If we can't get moderate wage raises and half-way decent unemployment insurance by the present methods, it's perfectly obvious that we can't get the more important demands that are so necessary to us and our families: jobs for all, the thirty-hour week and a guaranteed annual wage.

For this reason the Workers Party and LABOR ACTION, in discussing

any program for labor, emphasizes at all times the question, HOW?

Rank and file workers in the great industrial centers, such as Detroit and Akron, have been showing in action that they are no longer willing to depend on the "good will" of the employers or the "justice" of the War Labor Board and other agencies of the capitalists' government.

POLITICAL ACTION NOW!

Does this mean that labor's great aims can be achieved without political (that is, governmental) action?

Clearly not. Nation-wide planning for full production will require governmental action. Without that, no decent guaranteed wage for all. Bargaining with individual corporations, Philip Murray's recent interpretation of the annual wage demand, can at best result in a few guarantees, for a limited number of workers, for limited periods of time, on unsatisfactory terms.

Political action is needed, but we must have an altogether different kind of government—one that acts on behalf of the workers instead of the capitalists.

The crowning point in the Workers Party platform, therefore, calls for a workers' government. Toward this goal the first step is the formation of a completely independent Labor Party.

Atomic Bomb and Socialism--

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of casualties and wealth destruction are made, it will stagger the imagination.

Toward the end of the European war new and deadlier instruments of warfare were developed. It is now acknowledged that the Germans were working on their own atomic bomb. Had they succeeded, the employment of atomic bombing by both sides in the war would have devastated a good part of the world and its population.

CAPITALIST BARBARISM

It is also clear that the description of the destruction power of the atomic bomb is no idle talk. Capitalist society is rushing headlong into a form of barbarism. So long as the mad struggle for profit in this private property economy exists, and it must exist as long as capitalism exists, war is forever the prospect of life. Chaos and destruction are forever the reward of the overwhelming majority of the peoples of all countries.

While all the capitalist nations are incapable and unwilling to produce in the interests of the common good of the people, while production is organized solely in the interests of profit, invention in the interests of society as a whole remains stagnant. Invention, which could lighten the lives of the people and produce enough to have plenty for all, is impossible in an economy where the main aim of those who own the industries, mines, transportation and utilities is production for profit.

Everyone agrees, however, that the power of destruction is only one of the uses to which the control of the atom can be put. Of far greater importance is that the harnessing of atomic energy can permit such a tremendous rise in the production of the necessities of life as to increase the standard of living of all the people in the world far easier than all the mechanical and technical advances

that have been made by society up to now.

FUTURE FOR ALL POSSIBLE

The story of how research was carried on in the production of the atomic bomb as a joint enterprise, a collective effort, is interesting and instructive. But the fact to be borne in mind is that all the time, money and human energy expended was for the purposes of destruction. It emphasized again that for the purposes of destruction capitalism will go to any length.

But it is just as obvious, that had all this time, energy and money been expended in the same experiments for peaceful purposes, for the purposes of improving the life of all humanity, the same progress could have been made.

We do not know all the possibilities inherent in the control of the atom. But all of science agrees that its possibilities are infinite and that we have just witnessed a revolution in science equivalent to previous revolutionary discoveries, which in turn revolutionize the whole of society.

The most important question is this: is it possible for capitalism, a society organized in the interests of profits for a handful of people who live off the exploitation of the overwhelming majority of the people of the world to use this discovery for constructive purposes in the interests of mankind? The answer is, of course, no.

Already, the government in Washington, which is a capitalist government, makes ready to turn over this revolutionary development to private business, those vultures who gorge themselves on profit in war, as in peace, whose main occupation is to exploit workers for their own class benefit.

SOCIALISM NECESSARY

The scientists who directed the experiments are commonly known as capitalist-minded servants of the big

corporations. In past years they have been associated with the big monopolistic corporations, all of them giving testimony in their behalf. Science, which can be of such benefit to society, is, under capitalism, the servant of the financial and industrial bandits who rule society.

Right now, the rulers of society speak of the atomic bomb in terms of controlling it so that they might control the world. The real sham of their arguments is that they point to the possibility that it may be used by "a Hitler" or "a Germany," both destroyed and defeated in the war, at some future time. As a matter of fact, what they are actually saying, is that "we," the capitalist rulers, must control the atomic bomb not for the purpose of improving society and the life of all the people but to dominate the world, control its riches, in their own private class interests.

The most important thing about this revolutionary discovery is that it cannot and must not be controlled by private capitalism. Society is doomed to destruction if this happens. Only a socialist society, a society without classes, without war, without competition, without unemployment, and poverty can properly utilize the harnessing of the energy power of the atom.

A class society which lives by exploitation can only subordinate such discoveries to the interest of private profit. Yet the atomic bomb invention, and the progress made in atomic research demand that it shall be used for constructive purposes.

Let the people ponder this fact. Let them understand that when the press and the radio orators talk about the destruction of the world, they are not joking at all. The destruction of the world is a grim reality unless the social order of capitalism is abolished and replaced by socialism, the society of all the people.

(Next week we will carry detailed stories on the development of atomic research and its social implications.)

Meaning of the Potsdam Decisions--

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pying authorities to administer the country. No political activities of the people are permitted. No real measures are being taken against the remnants of the old regimes, or the monopoly capitalists of their areas.

In the Russian zone, there is only an apparent revival of political activity. In the Berlin area the old, corrupt Communist Party which helped the fascists into power has been re-established with the aid of Stalin. The aim of the Communist Party of Germany is to prevent the rise of socialism. It has already officially stated that it does not seek the establishment of a "soviet republic" in Germany. Why this should occasion surprise is difficult to understand when it is remembered that the soviet system was long ago wiped out in Russia. What Stalin's aim in his part of Germany is should be clear from the actions taken by him in other countries. It is to make a puppet state of the section of the country under his control.

True, there is political activity in the Berlin area, but it is political activity in behalf of the occupying Russian forces and completely supervised by them. In other words, the political activities in the Russian zone will be Stalinist activity which is another way of saying it will be anti-socialist, anti-working class activities.

While a great deal is said about retaining the identity of Germany as a nation, the fact is that a partition of the country has already taken place. France will occupy a western zone and will annex a part of Germany. Poland has been given outright German territory and Russia has already taken East Prussia and annexed it.

A mass deportation of German people is now taking place. That this time it is carried out by Stalin and not Hitler, does not make the crime any less. Thus, what we have in Germany is the "Hitler plan" carried out by the Allies in a revenge peace which is directed in the first place

against the mass of people. The lofty democratic principles for which the war was fought have been quickly forgotten.

On top of all this, heavy reparations have been adopted for Germany. The plan calls for \$20,000,000,000 payment to the Allies, half of which is to go to Russia, \$4,000,000,000 each to Great Britain and the United States, and the remaining \$2,000,000,000 to be divided among the other United Nations. How Germany is to pay this, that is, how the people are to pay this is not detailed.

In addition to the huge reparations bill, industry will be split up, with machinery and plants going to Russia in the main and to other countries. The aim of the powers is to reduce the Germany to a farming country—if not completely, then in large measure.

This treaty, if carried into effect, will not serve to stop war, but will serve to lower the living standards, not only of Germany, but of the whole of Europe.

The reactionary nature of the Potsdam decisions is reflected in the fact that what Europe needs is unification. It needs a planned economy based upon the industry and agriculture of the whole continent. It needs to break down the borders of the many countries which militate against an orderly and prosperous economy. It needs a socialist continent based upon the common interests of all humanity, where production and distribution is carried on in the interests of the people. It needs an end to the profit system.

What the Potsdam Conference has done is turned the clock back. Its decisions are not based on the rights of the people to govern themselves and decide their own governments and economies.

The Potsdam decisions are those of conquerors seeking revenge. It will hurl Europe back to pre-war conditions of insecurity for the mass of people, new inter-state conflicts, new wars.

One thing is certain, however, Europe cannot and will not live under the conditions created by the Allies any more than it could or would have continued to live under the same conditions created by a Hitler. The struggle of the masses for a new life, for a socialist society of plenty for all, will go on until victory is won.

Rubber --

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militant fighting leadership in the plant are agents of the government. Yet, they have not reinstated the 12 victimized workers.

The Free Press "forgets" the mutual cooperation between the employers, the government, and the labor misleaders, forming an anti-labor Big Three directed against the rank and file of labor. There is no solution to be found in supporting government action against the unions. Far from it; for such action will be against the workers themselves.

As against this Big Three Alliance workingmen must organize for a new militant fighting leadership in their own unions; to get rid of the no-strike pledge which helps the employers; for an independent political party of the workers which will fight for a workers government. Only then will government intervention for the workers be possible.

NEXT WEEK:

Russia's Declaration of War on Japan

Articles on Atomic Bombs and the Meaning of the Latest Discovery

Socialism and Housing By Marian Gould

Third Article on Gerald L. K. Smith By Hal Draper

The Northwest Corner

SEATTLE—The rich forests of the Northwest, from Vancouver Island in British Columbia, to below the Columbia valley in Oregon, are plagued by huge fires which remain uncontrolled for days. Small isolated communities had to be evacuated, scores of human lives have been lost, and the future of the lumber industry, as well as the scenic beauty of the northwest is threatened. Hardest hit are the lumber workers, who, unlike the lumber "kings," will not be able to shift any investments into other fields.

In this area, there is a constant competition between headlines concerning the unprecedented man-made rain of death upon the cities of the Pacific, and headlines of the uncontrolled forest fires. And at a time when human ingenuity has reached a maximum of efficiency in destruction, techniques in fighting forest fires are so backward and outmoded that it hasn't been possible to speedily fight and put out the enormous blazes of the Pacific Northwest. Millions of tons of steel and explosives have been collected by unsurpassed human efforts. And those who are reaching fabulous new heights in mass slaughter and are inventing tools that destroy hundreds of square miles of humanity and civilization, are impotent when faced with the task of putting out a few square miles of forest fires.

The lumber bosses have left many a bloody mark on the labor history of the Northwest. Joe Hill was murdered by the lumber trust in Idaho. Scores of members of Industrial Workers of the World were shot down by the agencies of the lumber bosses in Everett, Washington. It is time for the workers of the Northwest to stop and think about a system, which, while strong enough to cause fire and destruction, while strong enough to engage in union-busting and trust-building, is yet not strong enough to prevent the razing of their forests.

What kind of world is this where all men's efforts can only produce death and misery? What kind of world is this where man is turning against himself, and has forgotten how to protect that which is closest to him?

Is it not clear that what we need is a new world? Is it not clear that we have to break with those whose interests in profits prevents them from investing in measures that will protect the people's interests? Is it not clear that what we need is socialism; a social order producing for the good of all humanity rather than profits of a few?

Several labor organizations in Seattle are opposing the project of the city's police to buy a fleet of armored cars. It is charged that the purpose behind this plan is connected with the nation-wide anti-labor offensive of the bosses, which aims at intimidating all signs of independent labor activity.

As a result of a union slow-down threat, the regional War Labor Board in this area has temporarily backed down on a "roll-back" order on wages in the dry cleaning industry. The WLB order was opposed unanimously by all forces of the community, including the employers. Seattle's workers are learning that struggles to protect their interests are broader than mere conflicts with their immediate bosses. In this particular case, only the WLB, a government agency, appeared as the enemy of labor. It proved that even the most immediate interests of the workers involve the question of control of the government. In short, labor needs its own political party to fight its battles more effectively.

—A. S.

NEW YORK PUBLIC MEETING MAX SHACHTMAN Nat'l Secretary, Workers Party and Candidate for Mayor of New York WILL SPEAK ON: "What the Election Victory of the British Labor Party Means to American Labor" Hotel Diplomat Roof Terrace 108 W. 43rd St. Friday, Aug. 17 at 8:00 P.M. Adm. — 25c Auspices: Workers Party, Local, New York

The Poll Tax Senator--

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believing that as a result of this war they are coming back to America and will be permitted all the social and political rights that are the province of the white man in a white man's country, hell is going to break loose in Georgia . . .

To Miss Helen Feldman of Chicago Bilbo wrote that if the minority groups in the United States did not stop "oppressing" and "robbing them of their freedom" the great mass of American people would take steps to "liquidate" every member of these minority groups!

POLL TAX SENATOR

"I represent the dear old state of Mississippi," says Bilbo. That statement is open to question. There are many, many thousands of people in the state of Mississippi who never had a chance to express their opinion of Senator Bilbo and his practices. And the Senator has spent his years in the Senate insuring that they will never get that chance.

In 1929 he informed the world that he was "a Dry, a Baptist, and a Ku Klux Klansman." In 1938 he first made public his infamous proposal to send the Negro people of the United States to Africa. In 1942 he filibustered against the anti-poll tax bill and was responsible for its defeat. In 1945 he filibustered against the Fair Employment Practice Commission and insured its defeat. His record from the day he took his seat in the Senate has been one of violent attacks on Negroes, Jews, Catholics and other minorities. And, his political career was marred by a few "shady" deals.

SMALL-TIME POLITICIAN

In 1910 he came before the Grand Jury of the state of Mississippi with a sad tale. Knowing that the opponents of his boss, James K. Vardaman were scoundrels he made it known that his vote was for "sale." He received \$845 and gave it all to his wife to keep after marking the bills. He was telling the Grand Jury all this now because he was just a good citizen.

Unfortunately, a lot of evidence piled up against him. A treasury official testified that the bills that Bilbo produced as evidence had not been issued at the time Bilbo claimed to have received it. The State legislature

passed a resolution saying "Resolved further that as a result of the conduct of Theodore G. Bilbo in this matter and the testimony produced in this investigation, the Senate pronounce



Senator Bilbo

Bilbo as unfit to sit with honest, upright men in a respectable legislative body, and he is hereby asked to resign."

Bilbo did not resign. He was "a

sinless man in a den of thieves." He quoted the Bible and called on God as a witness of his good intentions. He led the hymn singing on Sundays and played the organ. In 1934 he reached Washington and has been there ever since.

A number of Senators have become "alarmed" over the speeches and letters of Senator Bilbo. He has been receiving too much publicity lately and they have expressed the fear that the "prestige" of the Senate will be "lowered" if he is not quieted. The Democrats are worried about the "possible political repercussions" of the attack on the minorities.

The only action that has been proposed by these men who have been "shocked" by the open declaration by Bilbo of his fascist thoughts and intentions is that a motion of "censure" be passed against him. This is hardly an answer to those millions of American workers who are beginning to realize that the solution of the "racial" problem will never be found while Bilbo and men like him are allowed to sit in the Congress and the United States as "representatives" of the American people, or while government is in the hands of two reactionary capitalist parties.

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Workers Party Program for Organized Labor

In the Reconversion and Post-War Period

FOR THE UNEMPLOYED AND VETERANS:

- 1. Full unemployment insurance beginning with \$30 a week for single men and women and graduated upward for dependents to all workers for whom government and industry do not find jobs. 2. Absorption of all workers thrown into unemployment during reconversion by reduction of the work-week with no reduction in weekly take-home pay. 3. Two-year's base pay grant to all demobilized veterans, with the option of trade school and higher educational facilities at government expense, guarantee of adequate family maintenance and guarantee of decent jobs.

FOR THE POST-WAR:

- 4. A job for every worker with a guaranteed minimum annual wage of \$2,500 per year. A rising standard of living, by means of government planning to insure the highest national production and income. 5. A guaranteed \$5,000 annual income to all workers' families by means of a planned rise in

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

THESE AIMS TO BE ACHIEVED THROUGH:

- 6. A \$250 billion five-year program to provide decent housing for all, extensive public works, rural electrification and modernization. 7. Conscription of all war industries; nationalization of the banks, big industrial monopolies and transportation systems, and no handing over of government-built and owned plants and facilities to private ownership. 8. A 100 per cent tax on all war profits above a five per cent maximum on invested capital; a \$25,000 ceiling on total individual income, and a graduated capital levy on all accumulated wealth over \$50,000 to cover war costs and provide post-war security for labor.

THIS PROGRAM TO BE CARRIED OUT BY:

- 9. Control of production by democratically-elected workers' committees. 10. An independent Labor Party and a workers' government.

CHURCHILL, TORY-IMPERIALIST

By SUSAN GREEN

For the present at least, the political sun has set on the Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill—that outstanding protagonist of British imperialism. He has been in public life for almost half a century, serving the interests of British capitalists and bankers. So well, indeed, has he served them that at the zenith of his career, he became the personification of John Bull's imperialist pugnacity.

Prior to his advent to parliament as a conservative member in 1900, young Churchill saw military service both in Egypt and in India, where the British army was employing their well-known persuasion upon colonial people. Churchill has, as correspondent and author, written about this saga of British Empire. British troops methodically destroying Indian houses, polluting wells, burning crops, wiping out village after village with all their inhabitants—these acts of official barbarism were for Churchill part of the glory of the British Empire. They also became his model for treating all people in revolt.

In his own words, the Indian national movement "and all it stands for will have to be grappled with and finally crushed. It is no use trying to satisfy a tiger by feeding him with cat's meat." By "cat's meat" Churchill meant the sops the British ruling class sees fit to throw to the Indian people. However, the tiger of Indian revolt to date, is uncushed—only waiting to spring. Even the starvation tactics practised by the Churchill government have not killed it. In the recent famine, the Indian people were dying by thousands—literally lying in the streets of Calcutta and other famine-stricken areas—but the Churchill government did nothing. Then it came across with too little and too late. But the freight cars, at the height of the famine, were carrying race horses so that the British officials could lay down the "white man's burden" at the race tracks.

Churchill served the British ruling class in diversified capacities. He has been Under Secretary and Secretary for Colonies, President of the Board of Trade, Home Secretary, First Lord of Admiralty, Minister of Munitions, Secretary for War and Air, Chancellor of the Exchequer. For some years he was a member of the Liberal Party, but his liberalism was always motivated by the best interests of the British rulers. As Minister of Munitions in 1917 and as Secretary of War and Air in 1918-21, he used his influence to fight the Russian Revolution. Even the Encyclopedia Britannica, which chooses only the high points of a man's career, finds it necessary to note that under Churchill's inspira-

tion expensive campaigns were conducted against the Bolsheviks. Once more a Conservative member of parliament in 1924, he was made Chancellor of the Exchequer. He was holding this office when the general strike of 1926, with its revolutionary implications, shook the land. His hatred of people's movements and revolution went up several notches. He played an important role with the class-collaborating labor leadership, to stab the strikers in the back.

A PRO-FASCIST

As between Socialism and Fascism, Churchill does not hesitate in his choice. In a famous speech to a group of Italian fascists, he said: "If I had been an Italian, I am sure that I should have been wholeheartedly with you from the start to finish in your triumphant struggle against the bestial appetites and passions of Leninism."



Ex-Prime Minister

The struggle of the Italian workers for a better life than post-World War I capitalism was giving them, was to Churchill "bestial appetites and passions." The force, terror and refined castor oil-torture applied by Mussolini's black shirts to the people, Churchill called a "triumphant struggle."

Because he succeeded the appeasing Chamberlain to the premiership—to protect the British Empire from the Nazi world order—the impression was created that Churchill was anti-Hitler and anti-Nazi in ideology. Nothing is farther from the truth. Churchill was one of Hitler's most ardent admirers. Churchill's own words prove this:

"I have always said that if Great Britain were defeated in war I hope we would find a Hitler to lead us back to our rightful position among nations. I am sorry, however, that he has not mellowed by the great success that has attended him. The whole world would rejoice to see a Hitler of peace and tolerance; and nothing would adorn his name in world history so much as acts of magnanimity, mercy and pity to the forlorn, friendless, weak and poor."

UPHELD THE EMPIRE

Throughout the war the Churchill government raised neither voice

nor finger against the "neutral" Franco who was supplying Hitler with precious wolfram and other war material, providing U-boat bases, and maintaining the Blue Legion against the Russians. It may seem strange that in a war to protect the British Empire, Churchill should have done nothing—but strange only on the surface. The interests of imperialism are ramified, not simple. Franco, the fascist, had in Spain conducted a "triumphant struggle" against the Spanish people. Churchill preferred, at the entrance to the Mediterranean life line of the British Empire, to have the bloody Franco regime rather than a people's government. To weaken that regime from without, would be a signal to the chafing Spanish people to take "power. Between the Spanish people and bloody fascism, Churchill quite naturally chose the latter, knowing that even with Franco's help Hitler would be licked by the greater economic and military power of the Big Three. The United States government did not object.

The bloody attack by the British army on the national liberation movement of Greece, will not soon be forgotten by the working people of the world. How Churchill opened up his oratorical batteries, to synchronize with the roar of the guns in Athens, calling the anti-Nazi fighters "gangs of bandits," "gangs of gangsters," "murder gangs" and "ruffians." Why? Because he didn't want the Greek people to establish their own government so near the Suez Canal and the British Levantine sphere of influence. Both Stalin and Roosevelt concurred in this imperialist murder plot.

This was the government that closed the gates of salvation to Jews who might have escaped Nazi extermination, if they could have entered Palestine. They were barred. This was the government that pitted Arab against Jew to prevent the peaceful development of Palestine. All was done for the almighty pound, for oil and trade, for colonial power, for British capitalists and bankers.

The Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill and his right honorable Conservative Party have met their Nemesis in the British people. It was fitting and proper that in the election this man who so well personified the inhumanity and reactionary core of the British Empire, should have made something of a fool of himself. For while he was ranting against a "socialist dictatorship" and using "red scare" tactics, the people were quietly resolving to take a step towards realizing their social aims—even if it is as yet only a groping step in the direction of Socialism.

GERALD L. K. SMITH

America's No. 1 Fascist

By HAL DRAPER

Smith Moves Into Big Time

Gerald Smith tried to move into big time via the Townsend movement. It had masses behind it. These masses did not see why the richest country in the world could not afford them an old-age in the way of economic security for the people pension.

They were right. But they did not understand that stood capital's greed for the security of its profits. And that the capitalists had the power because they owned the wealth of the nation. On top the Townsend leaders played with the Fascists.

Smith's talents as a rabble-rouser at the 1936 Townsend convention got him recognition as a leader in short order. He dramatically proposed the organization of "Youth Battalions"—storm troops again. He negotiated with Coughlin and Townsend, and these Unholy Three got together in a pro-Fascist united front for the 1936 presidential election, with Lemke as their candidate.

It didn't last long. A united front of rival Fuehrers is apt to be unstable.

Both Townsend and Lemke soon repudiated Smith, and some dirt came to light in this thieves' falling out. Townsend's assistant publicly stated that Smith was in the pay of William Randolph Hearst.

But Smith has maintained his admiration and support for Coughlin and proclaims it today.

In the latter part of 1936 Smith moved on to Coughlin's stamping grounds in Michigan and later took over Coughlin's broadcasts. He had begun as an underling for Huey Long, worked through a partnership with Townsend and Coughlin, and now he hung out his own sign. It was called the "Committee of One Million"—because, he said, "a million" of his friends had asked him, to organize it.

Now Gerald L. K. Smith really had a job. It taxed even HIS rabble-rousing talents to the full. For the CIO was organizing all over Michigan and the Midwest. It was organizing the workers in auto, steel, rubber, machinery—most of them into unions for the first time.

It was reaching into the robot factories where workers were whipped on to belt-line speed and then flung on the scrapheap of unemployment like empty pea-pods. The backbone of the American working class was striking for a living wage. They were "sitting down"—and winning!

The bosses were yelling "Red" and "Communist" till the air stank of red herring. Even Ford was being cracked! Ford's personal manager, Harry Bennett, commanded a private army of goons, scabs, provateurs and stool-pigeons, but was barely stemming the tide.

Smith—Piece-Rate Strike-Breaker

From 1937 to 1939 this was Gerald Smith's job. He worked as a barnstorming strike-breaker at piece-work rates.

He went from city to city especially where there was "labor trouble" (as the sweatshop-pers called it).

"Industrialists found him dependable. If a community was plagued with sit-down strikes, Smith could go in with his gospel of Americanism and the old-time religion and get results that pleased those who hired him. . . . The CIO picketed the meetings, then hissed and booed and tried to break them up." (American Mercury, Aug. 1942, art. by W. B. Huie.)

He didn't tell them a living wage was ungodly. No, he was for social justice too—some day! But he pounded the pulpit and shouted and Bible-quoted and used every demagogic appeal he had learned from two masters to convince them that strikes were anti-American, trade union organizers were anti-Christians, their bosses were misunderstood angels and any way they had to go back to work. Patriotism and religion—flag waving and the Bible—these are the symbols which Smith warps to his devilish use.

He has described himself in his own words as a "pulpit-pounding, Bible-reading grass-roots American." This is his formula for rabble-rousing and strike breaking.

Do you know any good folks who have said that Gerald Smith is "merely a crackpot" and that "decent people should just ignore him"? Then remember that this Fascist strike-breaker was considered by the Detroit corporations as one of their most effective anti-labor weapons. He got results. His poison acted where police clubs failed.

"Many of the lesser industrialists around Detroit make no attempt to deny their contributions to Smith. 'Sure, I've given Smith money,' one of them said. 'Most of us have given him money out here. When the Reds drove this town crazy, Gerald Smith was the one man who could get results fighting them. . . . Smith knew something to do; he did it; and we paid him for it.'" (American Mercury.)

In those prosperous days, Smith's "Committee of One Million" had a weekly "take" of \$5000 from industrialists. Harry Bennett later even publicly admitted paying for some of Smith's radio broadcasts. Smith could afford a bodyguard at \$100 a week.

Bennett's strong-arm men (which the Ford Co. jokingly called its Service Department) were on guard at the anti-CIO rallies which Smith held for Ford workers all over Michigan. Arthur Hays Sulzberger, publisher of the powerful New York Times had him in lunch conference with the Times executives. Lowell Thomas presented him at the exclusive Advertising Club. James H. Rand (anti-labor specialist of the Remington-Rand team) took a fond and no-doubt financial interest in him.

The former fashionable Shreveport preacher and Huey Long henchman was getting up in the world. (To be continued)

(Continued in last column)

But the old leadership remains; the old policies in their fundamental sense remain. The Communist Party continues to be the greatest danger to American labor. It is not a party fighting for socialism or the interests of the American workers. It is an agent of the Russian bureaucracy. That we shall prove in forthcoming analyses of their discussion and convention.

Editorials

A Warning to Automobile Workers

Two weeks ago, the Packard Motor Car Company suspended its relations with local 190 of the United Automobile Workers, CIO. The reason given by the company for suspension of the contract was that the union was "usurping the prerogatives of management." The following day, however, the company retracted its action and again entered into negotiations with the union.

The affair is suspect, of course. It is clear that the action of the company was not an isolated affair. The auto industry is hell-bent on a union-busting campaign. This is nothing new, of course. For a considerable period of time the companies have violated union contracts, refused to handle grievances, and fired union militants. The record of union-busting by the industry is a long one.

There is no reason to doubt that the auto industry, along with the other important, monopolized enterprises, have prepared their post-war campaign to smash the union movement. The action of the Packard Motor Company may have been precipitate, or it may have been a trial balloon to see how the union would react. Defeat the Union-Busters

The preparation for the defense of the UAW and the whole labor movement is long overdue. It is not enough to denounce the union-busting corporations or their friends in Congress. It is necessary to free the unions from all restraints which bind their hands and keep them from fighting effectively in the interests of the workers and in the defense of unionism.

Step number one in this direction is the revocation of the no-strike pledge which has done such great harm to the labor movement. If the union officials do not see how the labor movement is rendered powerless with the no-strike pledge, they will never see it. In any case, the great rank and file of labor does see it and has made many valiant efforts to break the pledge in practice. It is necessary to make these efforts nation-wide and official.

Labor! Open up the drive to rescind the no-strike pledge. The existence of unionism is threatened by adhering to it. The action of the Packard Motor Company is only another straw in the wind. Prepare now to smash the union-busting campaign of big business.

British Elections And American Labor

A couple of weeks have passed since the historic announcement was made that the British Labor Party had triumphed in the elections and had replaced the Conservative-Tory Government of that arch-imperialist, Winston Churchill.

The reaction of the organized American workers could have been foretold. They rejoiced at this election victory of their fellow workers in the United Kingdom. They rejoiced because they were in complete sympathy with the feelings of the

British workers who showed by their vote that they were fed up with the old way of life, that is, the capitalist way of life which has brought them so much misery and suffering in the form of years of unemployment, slum housing, poor and sub-standard food and clothing and finally the most destructive war in the history of mankind. The American workers were in sympathy with their British comrades because they want the same things—they do not want to return to the conditions of the '30's.

The American labor leaders also reacted to the British elections with great praise for the Labor Party and the workers. What lesson did these labor leaders draw from the elections? That British "Roosevelts" and a British "New Deal" has gained a great victory! By that they again reveal how incapable they are of analysing the deep significance of the electoral results in Great Britain.

Not one of the labor leaders in this country drew the conclusion: The British elections show what is possible with a labor party based upon the organized labor movement. The British elections show that if we established an independent labor party, with a fighting labor program (see Workers Party program above), American labor could advance its interests a hundredfold.

No, the American labor officialdom is still tied hand and foot with the parties of big business, the political organizations of the capitalist class. They still play capitalist politics with machine politicians in high and low station in the two parties. But that is exactly what must be done. Labor in this country needs its own party to represent the interests of the workers and all the people. It needs to put an end to the control of the government and politics by the bosses.

Labor is in an excellent position to start. It has already an accumulated experience. It has the PAC which can serve as a basis for establishing a labor party in this country. It must begin at once. A good way to begin is to transform the PAC into an independent labor party. Then the road ahead will be much easier.

CP Convention Ousts Browder!

The Communist Party Convention ended as we expected it to end. After a disgraceful "discussion" period, organized for the purpose of reorienting the party ranks and followers, that is, creating the conditions for the elimination of Browder and those who closest to him, the convention was held.

All the party leaders, Foster included, who had supported the "main line" of the party, which was Stalin's line so long as it suited his foreign policies, turned on Browder. They condemned his long years of leadership and unceremoniously ousted him as national leader and even as a member of the National Committee. Along with Browder went Minor, who was his outstanding "disciple."

(Continued from second column)

One-Tenth of the Nation

An Answer to a Reader

By J. R. Johnson

I have received a letter from a member of the Lynn Committee for the Abolition of Segregation in the Armed Forces. The writer is Winston Olton and he challenges me on an article I wrote recently on "Eisenhower and Jim Crow" (Labor Action, July 2, 1945).

First of all there is a misunderstanding. He quotes ". . . efforts at collective action, completely integrated units of war, reached at least one impassable barrier," viz., "You cannot have a Jim Crow society and a non-Jim Crow army."

Olton says that this has no basis in fact, and he claims that there has been no collective action against Jim Crow.

I am glad to have the opportunity to develop the point further. By "collective action" I meant the powerful, in fact, the irresistible tendency of society to function in units which increasingly embrace greater and greater sections of the population.

Eisenhower expressed it most clearly at West Point when he said that if he had his way he would even put soldiers, sailors and airmen into one uniform. By this he meant to emphasize the great lesson of the war, that all armed forces have to be handled as one, so close is the interconnection and interplay between forces on land, on sea and in the air.

COLLECTIVE TENDENCIES Not only that. The home front, as everybody now knows, is linked to the battle front. The bombers attack soldiers in the field, lines of communication and factories where the munitions of war are being manufactured. The whole tendency of modern society is towards organization and action as a whole—collectively.

Now isn't it obvious that in such a society the existence of classes comes into irreconcilable contradiction with the tendency towards collectivism? That is why we have the vicious oppression of the totalitarian states. Collective action is needed. But the division between class and class is so sharp and brings such

fatal consequences in every sphere that, finally, only an iron dictatorship can insure any sort of order. The solution to this dilemma, of course, is the abolition of classes, i.e., socialism.

But the basic principles apply to the Negro question. The tendency of society is towards collective action. The segregation, the discrimination in other words, the separation of the Negroes continues. And I thought it remarkable that in the remarks of Eisenhower who hammers away at collective action, or if you will, unified action, in the armed forces, there should appear so clearly the special position of the Negro in American society.

Has this tendency to collective action any meaning for us who are enemies of Jim Crow? Yes. Most certainly. The workers are the only ones who can genuinely carry out collective action. The process of production itself today socializes labor, compels it to act in a unified manner on a national and soon, we hope, on an international scale.

The Hope is Labor

When Olton complains that there has not been collective action against Jim Crow in the army he is in a sense justified. The only force which can abolish Jim Crow is the organized working-class. But so far the working-class has been concerned chiefly with Jim Crow in the labor movement.

In general Negroes can legitimately complain that this is only a part of the struggle. Agreed. But it is the most important part. And Olton, I hope, will agree that since the Civil War no organization in the United States has struck such mighty blows at Jim Crow as the CIO.

The lesson is plain. The Negroes feel the discrimination most keenly and strike out against it everywhere. The Lynn Committee makes vigorous protests and organizes action against Jim Crow in the army. But Olton, I hope, understands that the Negro activity will have only incidental and unsatisfactory results if

it does not finally stimulate the labor movement to enter into the struggle without reservations on all fronts.

Prospects for Negro

What are the prospects of this? In my opinion very good. And very good not on account of "optimism" and such like psychological reasons. First, I consider the chances good because of this same fundamental movement towards collective action which characterizes our contemporary society. The general tendency is towards collectivism.

The capitalists are drawn towards it. The workers are drawn towards it. The result is a sharpening of the class struggle. The contending parties seek more and more to mobilize under their own banner those forces closest to them. The Negroes are overwhelmingly proletarian and semi-proletarian. The signs are evident that the workers are becoming aware that the Negro struggle is their struggle. There is the great force to smash racism.

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JOBS FOR ALL

Lindbergh, Fascist Hope, Has New Line

By Shirley Lawrence

The great white hope of native American fascism, Charles Augustus Lindbergh, has reappeared in the political limelight. This concurs with the resurgence of the Nationalist and America First fascist groups in the United States.

Post-war periods are always times of unrest and dissatisfaction. The capitalists are no longer willing to organize the economy for vast production in peace-time, so that there will be jobs for all—as they did for a destructive war. Cut-backs, lay-offs and unemployment are now the order of the day. Reactionary groups will try to pit returning veterans against the workers, whose "crime" is that they valiantly fought to maintain the gains of labor despite war-time restrictions, such as the wage freeze and the no-strike pledge while the capitalists were amassing huge profits. This is a cross-section of the transitional period of reconversion, where discontent and prejudice are sharpened.

Taking his cue for such a period of stress, Lindbergh, like all good fascists, is now laying down a new Nationalist line—that of "interventionism"—a far cry from his pre-war "isolationism." On July 26, 1945, Lindbergh was quoted by the Chicago Tribune as having said at a luncheon with Colonel Robert McCormick and other Tribune executives (McCormick has specifically praised the Nationalist Party of Sen. Reynolds in his paper):

"... never has truth been so low. The ideals of justice and tolerance virtually have vanished from a continent, freedom of speech and action is suppressed over a large portion of the world, especially the so-called liberated nations, many of whom have simply changed the Nazi form of dictatorship for the Communist form."

Lindbergh has never cared for the truth, nor does he in this instance. He utilizes the old red-baiting formula to pass over the militancy of the Resistance Movement in Europe now fighting for national independence. The British elections also recently reaffirmed the fact that the left will be the dominating power in Europe.

LINDBERGH'S "NEW LINE"

Lindbergh now wants to save civilization and Europe from itself. "To make ourselves independent of Europe's welfare is impossible. The civilization which is falling to pieces in Europe is our civilization. We are bound to our civilization as a man is bound to his family. We cannot retire now and leave Europe to the destructive forces which it (the war) has let loose. Honor, self-respect, and our own national interests prevent doing that."

This is a curious transposition, for on May 19, 1940, he said in a speech at Washington, "We are in danger of war today not because European people have attempted to interfere with the internal affairs of America but because American people have attempted to interfere with the internal affairs of Europe!"

"Isolationism" is a mild term to describe Lindbergh's thinking before the war, when he loosely followed the Fascist pattern in his anti-Semitic, anti-foreign-born, and pro-Nazi speeches, along with The America First Committee (permeated by Father Coughlin and his followers), and its satellites among the isolationist Senators.

In a speech at Des Moines on September 11, 1941, Lindbergh cast aside all veils of pretense and in the pattern set by Hitler, sought to make the Jews a public national issue in the United States. "Hero" Lindbergh attacked the Jews as being one of the "three most important groups who have been agitating for, and pressing this country towards war"—the other two groups being the British and the Roosevelt Administration. He benevolently offered this advice: "The Jews should suppress their national opinion." "The Jewish groups in this country should be prepared to war for they will be the first to feel its consequences." The implication was that the Jews would be blamed for the war if it came, and would be persecuted because of it when opposition arose. If this was not a threat, it was the next thing to it.

LINDBERGH, A FASCIST DEMAGOGUE

Next to blaming the Jews for a war, the most effective anti-Jewish talk is to accuse them of having more than their share of wealth and influence. "Their greatest danger to this country lies in their large ownership and influence in our motion pictures, our press, our radio, our government." Senator Nye, his brother-in-arms at the time, in this fascist crusade to terrorize and blackmail millions of foreign-born Americans into supporting the Isolationists, also said: "I wish that those who would be its victims would sense the possibilities."

Goebbels could not have done better. By invoking the powerful force of unreason and religious hatred, Lindbergh invited all the separate hate-groups in this country to combine in a common hatred of the Jews. This is the precise language of the Nazis. One of the earliest of the Nazi slogans, was, that the Jews owned and controlled press, radio and government. The Nazis used the "stab in the back" slogan. The Jews, they said, had stabbed Germany in the back and lost the war for the Germans. Lindbergh's variation was that "the Jews are getting us into the war." But the pattern was the same.

There is no conflict between Lindbergh's "isolationism" of America First days, and his "interventionism" of the present. Lindbergh, then and now, conclusively proves by his utterances, actions and connections, that he is pro-fascist and reactionary, and that in this, he is supported by big business interests. Keeping America out of the war, anti-Semitism, and a theory of racial superiority were convenient "components" of his "isolationist" period. Today, "interventionism" serves his purposes best. Lindbergh wishes to foment a war against the upsurge of the masses all over Europe. He fears the specter of socialism and revolution. He is no doubt aware of labor unrest in this country as well, and dreads the rise of a conscious, independent political organization of the working classes in this country. He wants all who fear labor's strength to join with him.

DANGER OF UNDERESTIMATION

It is important to understand what is happening. Lindbergh's recent remarks in Chicago lay down a new line for the Nationalists and pro-fascists in America, and they again present Lindbergh as a candidate for active political leadership. Lindbergh, the super-hero of the 20's, is the most scintillating person in the native American fascist movement. He is indeed most likely to succeed.

To combat the growth and influence of the freedom-hating and reactionary fascists, all anti-fascists must combine in a common anti-fascist united front. In Los Angeles, such a united front protest meeting was held at the same time Smith spoke at an American First rally. It was widely attended.

Such protest meetings are necessary and effective, but not basic enough. The root of fascism is the economic chaos of capitalist economy, which feeds on wars, depressions, poverty, unemployment, hunger, bad housing, race hatreds. We anti-fascists must therefore go further, and organize consciously, our own independent political labor organization so that the great power of labor will be organized and invincible.

What is Happening in the Philippines?

By JOHN BERNE

In the main the American people have a hazy notion that all is quite well in the Philippines and with the Filipinos, now that they have been liberated from the Japanese and are under the presumably protective wing of General MacArthur. General Romulo, holding forth on peace and other good things at the San Francisco conference, has added to the false picture.

However, if all were well in this Pacific outpost of American imperialism, it would hardly be necessary for MacArthur to maintain such an airtight censorship over the islands. Just as Stalin keeps mid-European machines under cover, just as British imperialism would prefer not to have too much known about its dirty work in the Mediterranean sphere, so in the poaching ground of American imperialism in the Pacific, a high degree of secrecy is imposed. Still enough has come through, from various sources, to give a true picture of what MacArthur is doing in the Philippines.

There is no doubt that the American army officials are trying to wipe out the liberation movement and the guerrilla army, which they praised so highly and used so fully when they needed to. Wholesale arrests have been made of guerrilla leaders.

The movement is robbed of power by disarming it. A third measure, to deprive the liberation movement of political influence, is to replace arbitrarily the representatives of the people, elected by them against the puppet government of Japanese occupation.

AIDING THE COLLABORATORS

At the same time collaborators are whitewashed and given government posts. This is true not only locally

but in the Osmeña's Commonwealth government, where the representatives of the landlords—with their economic and political feudal tradition—have pushed out the representatives of the liberation movement. The Filipinos are being propagandized to believe that there are, after all, "good collaborators."

This is only another way of saying that the United States authorities fear and oppose the people who have acquired a new sense of strength and a new interest in self-government because of their participation in the liberation movement.

The anti-democratic conduct of the American governing representative in the Philippines is consistent with the general policy of American imperialism for those islands. The Act of Independence was passed eleven years ago and the islands are supposed to become independent on July 4, 1946. But nothing at all has been done to change the economic rule of American capitalism. This is based primarily on the sugar and copra export trade, which is the economic

life of the islands. The beneficiaries among the Filipinos are the feudal landlords exploiting the peasant masses, with other sections of the upper classes getting theirs—but not the masses.

FOR PHILIPPINE FREEDOM

For the masses the movement for independence has always been correlated with the peasant demand for land reform. The liberation movement with its guerrilla army, which found its origin and main support in the agricultural regions among the peasants, inherited the demand for land reform. As a matter of fact, in some provinces the guerrillas ousted landlords collaborating with the Japanese invaders. This confiscated land was distributed among the peasants for the production of needed food.

Theoretically, the American army is supposed to end all civilian functions by September 1. However, the abysmal poverty and ruin of the islands, its complete lack of material means, will doubtless constitute the excuse for continuing army rule.

AS IF YOU DIDN'T KNOW

- Item in Newsweek magazine of June 18:
 - "Contradicting the Bureau of Labor Statistics index, frequently cited by the OPA to show that living costs have advanced only 2.2 per cent in the last two years, the Department of Commerce reported in its publication, Survey of Current Business, that:
 - "Consumer buying in the first three months of 1945 increased eleven per cent above the 1944 rate.
 - "Production of civilian goods had not increased, and inventories decreased only a little, suggesting that far fewer goods at far higher prices have been sold this year.
 - "The implication of the Department of Commerce price study was plain: Consumer goods prices advanced at least eleven per cent in the last year."

"Thieves Fall Out" in Petain Trial--

(Continued from page 1)

ever tried to blast his ill-deserved reputation as a military genius or tried to dismiss him. Leon Blum as head of the popular front government never asked for the resignation of this reactionary accused of being in cahoots with the Cagoulaards (French Fascists). M. Daladier, the gentleman of Munich, never asked for the Marshal's resignation because he was a defeatist. M. Reynaud, not only never asked for Petain's resignation, but stepped out of his post of Premier in 1940, voluntarily handing the position over to Petain as the only man with "prestige" enough to save the situation.

ACCUSERS ARE DEFENDANTS

Yes, Messieurs, the ardent democrats prepared the way to power for the old reactionary they now castigate so violently. Why? In the past few years since the fall of France in 1940, there has been an unprecedented

amount of evidence exposed which shows the internal dry rot and corruption of the Third French Republic. In the high government councils, defeatism was rampant. The representatives of French capitalism were more concerned with fighting the working class movement for socialism than with fighting the Germans.

Even after the defeat of the French Popular Front, the capitalists sat uneasily upon the volcano of the internal contradictions of French economy and politics, always with an anxious ear for the never silent rumblings of a discontented and dispossessed French working class. What was more natural than for them, at the time of the overwhelming German victories, to see "collaboration" with the victorious Nazis as preferable to collaboration with the French masses, chief victims of the Nazi oppression.

It is not alone Petain, the seffile old fool who "fascist" himself. France's

savior, who should be on trial, but his accusers who were responsible for his coming to power, and now seek to make him the scapegoat not only for his but their own failures.

This mockery of justice is not an accident. De Gaulle has arranged for this trial, as part of his whole attempt, to moderate the purges, to take out of the hands of those to whom it rightly belongs, the masses who fought in the Resistance. As a sop, he offers the resistance movement the heads of Petain, Laval, Weygand, while at the same time, he permits those politically responsible for them, Reynaud, Daladier, Gamelin, to bolster their reputations and come back into political powers.

FOR A SOCIALIST FRANCE

The anger and hate of the French masses for the traitors now on trial is justified a thousand times over. But they must demand that these traitors be tried not only by their

The destruction, left by the bombs of the Americans and the retreating Japanese troops, beggars description. The suffering for lack of food and supplies can only be seen to be believed. The black market naturally gets whatever is available, and prices are prohibitive—thirty-five cents for an egg.

In all this bedlam the American army alone has relief supplies, transportation facilities, warehouses and other material necessities. The Osmeña government has not the strength to take over, and the chances are that U. S. army rule will remain.

This, the American working people should know, is what is being done to the working people in the Philippines by the American government. Anti-fascists are imprisoned and the people's liberation movement is destroyed. But the fascist-collaborators are brushed off, polished up and put in power—so that the feudal imperialist system existing before the war, can be continued.

But the awakened peasants and workers will not be drugged to sleep again. If present conditions of destruction and starvation, and the mighty arm of American imperialism, prevent decisive action now, the people will, none the less, await their opportunity.

American labor should demand that MacArthur stop the destruction of the people's movement; that collaborators be put in the jails occupied by guerrillas; that the American government send supplies and economic help as reparations to the Filipino people for the destruction brought on them; that the U. S. military leaders stop meddling in civilian affairs; that the people be left alone to rid themselves of economic and political feudalism; that Philippine independence be real and not an empty word.

Franco Tries To Keep Power Thru Monarchy

By M. Howard

Generalissimo Francisco Franco announced some days ago, in his annual July 17 address to his fascist Falangist government, that Spain is entering a period of preparation for the return of the monarchy.

It is ridiculous, of course, to assume from this that Franco actually means to give up power. He himself says that the only way in which the monarchy could exist would be with the aid of a strong Falangist movement to give it the force which it never had in the past, and could not hope to assume now. There is little doubt that restoration of the Spanish monarchy, pure and simple, would mean swift disaster both for it and the capitalist class it represents.

Franco's announcement, however, reveals the fact that he has some sense of timing. He rose to power at a time when neither the bankrupt and impotent monarchy, the ineffective dictatorship of Primo de Rivera, nor the weak and reformist Republic had proved able to resolve the deep ruptures between the classes in Spain. He staged his armed rebellion against the Republic at a time when its weak capitalist-liberal leaders, who had proved themselves utterly incapable of resolving Spain's political and economic contradictions, were faced with the prospect of Socialist revolution.

HOW FRANCO "SAVED" SPAIN

Franco's revolt, successful because the Loyalist movement was split and dismembered by its own leaders who feared their own worker-comrades more than they feared the open reaction of Franco, was able to "save" Spain from the Socialist Revolution.

World capitalism has always recognized Franco as its friend. Britain, the U. S. and France have blessed him with silence, "non-intervention" and (that is, intervention in his behalf), and scrap iron. Through Latin America, they have carried on trade and back-handed diplomatic relations with him. They have been quiet about it, only because they were preparing their own war for imperialist power, and they needed the slogan of "fighting Fascism" as the only one with which they could delude their own working classes into supporting them. Open support of Fascist Franco wouldn't have looked too well.

British support of Franco has been greatest and is not difficult to explain. The Tory British government, made up of capitalists and imperialists, supported Franco just as they had always propped up the weak Spanish monarchy. Spain lies at the mouth of the Mediterranean, first stop on the all-important British sea-lane to India. The least disturbance along this route would interrupt the flow of raw materials and cash, sweated out of the blood of workers in British colonies, from reaching Britain. British capitalists would only trust control of such a strategic spot to their blood-brothers, the reactionary Spanish capitalist class, or someone, like Franco, who would protect the interests of that class.

ROLE OF THE DICTATORSHIP

Franco's fascist dictatorship was the protector of Spanish capitalism. As long as Britain and the U. S. have remained involved in an imperialist war with other Fascist countries (not because they were Fascist, but because they were interfering in British and American spheres of imperialist interest), those two powers could and did quietly support Franco's Fascism. Now that Fascism is supposedly defeated in Europe, and Hitler and Mussolini are out of the scene, Franco's Falange is far too obviously Fascist to sit easily on the world stage. While Fascism continues to exist so openly in Spain, it gives the lie to the slogan of "the war against Fascism."

It is precisely here that Franco again displays his period of timing. Just as he knew when he was needed to perpetuate capitalism and reaction in Spain, he now knows when it is time for him to retire, stepping behind the screen of the monarchy which he thereby saves from extinction. The monarchy in the far distant past was able to solve none of the problems, and to meet none of the needs of the Spanish people. A hangover from feudal times, it had become incapable of dealing with the problems of a country which was becoming modern, industrialized, class conscious. Its only claim to modernism was the fact that it supported, and in turn was supported by, the wealthy industrial magnates who were bringing modern industry into the backward Spanish countryside. That the monarchy at the time would prove any less reactionary or more capable of governing is an impossible conclusion—Franco knows it. He intends to preserve his party, and his control, but ostensibly Spain will not be fascist.

A week ago we could have safely stated that British governmental circles, because they have always supported reaction in Spain, would look favorably upon Franco's pretense of re-establishing the monarchy. The new Labor Party government will change matters considerably. The new government will end British support to Franco, whatever else it does or does not do.

Franco, like all capitalists and reactionaries, reckons without one thing in his plans for re-establishing the monarchy. That is the resurgent powers of the working class of Spain and the world. Having trampled the working class under their iron heel, Franco and his brothers-under-the-skin, Churchill and Co. take for granted that they are dead. Churchill has just had a decisive lesson to the contrary.

Reports from Spain and the French border provinces, indicate that the Spanish working class, too, is far from dead. Having lost their struggle for Socialism once, they are working and planning and fighting once again. Franco, and/or the Spanish monarchy are sitting on top of a tinder box.

Socialism and Housing, Part VIII THE LABOR MOVEMENT AND MASS HOUSING

By MARIAN GOULD

Over the weeks that we've been rambling around the housing field, we've touched on and weighed the importance of almost all the factors that go to make up the housing picture today—all except one.

We've analyzed the powerful economic interests that have monetary stakes in the construction industry, in urban and suburban real estate, in already existing city property developments, and even in the City Halls! We've considered their probable course of action in defense of these interests.

The one factor we haven't yet considered may turn out to be the "catalytic element" (to borrow a chemical word) that, when thrown into this up-till-now pretty hopeless housing mess, will change everything.

This all-important element is the active, well-expressed and organized demand for decent houses from the millions who need them.

For bad housing, like war, poverty and unemployment, is a SOCIAL PROBLEM that arises out of the rules and regulations that run the capitalist economic machinery.

The various economic, financial and technical forces that affect housing are continually changing. Meanwhile, our national stock of dwellings continues to deteriorate and no replacements are made.

Once again, I'd like to list briefly those economic factors that determine the housing picture today—a set-up that can be knocked galley-west if the PEOPLE WHO NEED HOUSES go into action to get them.

1. ACUTE AND CHRONIC HOUSING SHORTAGE CAUSED BY:

The low income level of 80% of the people—61% earning below \$2000 a year in 1940, and another 20% under \$3000 a year; and

The ever-present threat of unemployment and even lower living standards (if you call that living!).

The high cost of decent modern dwelling units and consequent unprofitable nature of housing construction for families of low and uncertain incomes. Private speculative capital won't house the people planned social action is necessary.

2. IMPROVEMENTS BLOCKED BY the large amounts of capital (sometimes estimated at one-fifth of the total national wealth) invested in real estate—in slums (7,000,000 or one-fifth the total number of U.S. residence units) and in

antiquated units in blighted, traffic infested, often unhealthy areas, and in urban enterprises that wax prosperous on the congestion and unintelligent organization of the workshop cities of today.

THESE CAPITALISTS PAY 75%-90% OF MUNICIPAL TAXES AND CARRY GREAT POLITICAL WEIGHT IN CITY HALLS AND STATE LEGISLATURES.

That looks like a powerful combine to buck. It is.

But it has been done before, and can be done again—by organized labor!

In pre-Nazi Germany, the trade unions and labor parties were so strong they exerted relentless pressure on German capital and even threatened the seizure of political power and establishment of a government of working people. (German, English and U. S. capital put Hitler into power precisely to crush this labor movement, incidentally.)

During the first post-war epoch, the well-organized and politically conscious German workers who knew what they wanted in terms of housing forced the Government to quit defending the property owners and build houses for them. Germany led the world for a while in the number and quality of her low-cost housing projects.

The USHA constructed some 200,000 units as of the beginning of 1940. The PWA some 22,000. In Germany, between 1919 and 1933 (while all American labor was still enthusiastically supporting "free enterprise") the government and government-supported housing cooperatives built 3 million dwellings! 18% of the total population of 64½ million lived in state-aided dwellings.

Catherine Bauer, well-known expert on low cost housing, said of the German mass housing work (Modern Housing, p. 122):

"If there had been no organized political demand on the part of the people who needed good housing, there would have been no such achievement. Housing was not bestowed from the top down in Europe, any more than it will be in America. . . . For good planned community housing available to the average citizen is not a 'normal' product of capitalist society. It can be achieved, even partially, only when there

is an active demand on the part of workers and consumers which is strong enough to overbalance the weight of the real estate and allied interests on the other side." (My emphasis.)

To get good housing for the masses of American people, we must arouse and mobilize the ill-housed millions to demand it as their right.

We must build a strong political organization to fight the causes of bad housing, listed above, and to oppose the vested interests that prevent any basic improvement in the situation. The political party to do this job is the Independent Labor Party that LABOR ACTION strives for.

The UAW-CIO has started agitation for mass housing, and city planning in a series of excellent pamphlets on the subject. They are particularly interested because they see the possibility of using idle airplane plants, and unemployed aircraft workers for mass production of housing.

But the UAW has no political arm to translate their sound economic and social demands into facts. They are going into battle for a just cause, with one fist strapped behind their back, because they lack an Independent Labor Party to speak for them on the political front.

Housing is only one of the many SOCIAL problems faced by union members. Poverty, unemployment, job security, peace are others. These problems can only be solved in the sphere of politics. The labor movement, which represents the working class in the economic struggle, must now extend its activities to politics and form a Working Class Political Party.

LABOR ACTION is in the lead in the struggle for an Independent Labor Party, which will organize the working people, who are a majority of all Americans, to fight for a real American Way of Life.

As the first step in this direction, these demands must be carried out:

An annual wage of at least \$5000 must be guaranteed every American family.

A vast \$250 billion government housing and construction program must be launched.

And a Workers Government must be put into office to guarantee and enlarge on these achievements.

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