

Dedicate May Day, 1945 to --

A NEW WORLD OF SOCIALISM!

For a Labor Declaration of Political Independence
MANIFESTO OF THE WORKERS PARTY

Working Men and Working Women:

This May Day, 1945, arrives at a time when civilization stands on the edge of disaster. The war, rapidly approaching conclusion in Europe and with a swifter than anticipated defeat of Japan in the offing, has shown the dual tendencies in capitalism: its tremendous capacity to create the means of abundance; its equally tremendous capabilities of destruction. The world stands at the crossroads. It can either go forward to a progressive society of peace, freedom and security for all, or it can plunge into a third world war which will mean the destruction of civilized man.

So grave is the danger to civilization that the imperialist rulers of the Big Three have called together the nations of the world at San Francisco to build a world organization in order to secure "peace, freedom and security." Unfortunately for the aspirations of the masses of the world, the San Francisco conference can bring none of these things. The only way the Big Three can achieve a temporary "peace" is through subordination of the nations of the world to their imperialist aims. They will at best, establish an armed truce among themselves. They will establish security only for the ruling classes of the United States, Britain and Russia, so that they may be able to plunder the rest of the world through exploitation of all the peoples.

The seeds of discord among the big powers that will one day burst forth into a third world war have already manifested themselves. The interests of the big

powers are antagonistic. The United States, whose wealth and productive capacity have increased to heights hitherto unknown in the course of the war, aims at nothing short of world economic, political and military domination. Great Britain, whose strength has been largely displaced by the U. S., still retains a vast empire. But even she, bankrupted in the war, can retain what she has saved only through the express agreement of the U. S. Russia, which was once a fortress of socialism, has become a reactionary, imperialist state. She is seizing an empire in Europe and Asia and seeks further to extend her domain.

The Big Three have divided Europe and Asia, containing the bulk of the world's population, into their various spheres of influence, the portions being determined by their respective military might. This is their "peace." Such a peace is built on the shifting sands of their changing roles, power and interests. It cannot last. It cannot give the people of the world what they want and what they thought they were fighting for—enduring peace, freedom from fear and exploitation, abundance and democratic rights for all peoples and nations.

The Big Three are not only not going to solve the world problems, but every American worker has a gnawing fear that the simple problem of a job is not going to be solved by his own ruling class. Cutbacks from war production are already wiping out entire communities, throwing into the street the men and women who

have worked, sacrificed and paid for the war by the rising cost of living, high taxes and frozen wages. This desire for a guaranteed job, the only means through which security can be guaranteed, is an aspiration the American worker has in common with every European and Asiatic

But already the capitalist rulers of this country who have enriched themselves from the war, are preparing a post-war reconversion program which will mean a further enrichment of themselves and an increased impoverishment of the people.

Yet, according to the organizers and publicists of the war, it is fought to bring security, freedom and abundance, not merely to the U. S., but to the world. It is supposedly fought to rid the world of the monster, fascism.

The masses of people of the world, in the Axis countries as well as in the Allied, had to be dragged into the war, because they were exceedingly apprehensive of a new world slaughter. There was no enthusiasm for the war in any country. Not even in fascist Germany, where the Nazis ruled by naked force, were there the patriotic demonstrations which occurred in the last war under the Kaiser. The peoples of Europe, disorganized as a result of the betrayals of the labor leaders and working class organizations, looked upon the war in a fatalistic way. In the United States and Great Britain too, there was not the slightest enthusiasm. The rulers of all countries had to call upon the people to support the war as a war of defense.

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Goodrich Rubber Strike

AKRON, April 22—In a magnificent upsurge of labor militancy reminiscent of the city-wide strike against the War Labor Board in 1943, 16,000 Goodrich rubber workers yesterday downed their tools, stopped their machines and went home. They didn't bother to leave pickets behind—they didn't need them.

This spontaneous, orderly mass evacuation of the great factories of Goodrich came as a climax to months of the company's offensive against all effective collective bargaining.

Today at a well-attended shop committee meeting the representatives of the workers gave an enthusiastic vote of confidence and support to their union negotiating committee and executive board, which passed out the following statement:

OFFICERS BEHIND WALKOUT
"The Executive Board and Plant Negotiating Committee of Local No. 5 do not feel justified in asking our people to return to work in view of the unreasonable attitude of the company on many accumulated grievances, most of which consist of rate cutting, reprimands, suspensions and unwarranted dismissals.

"Many problems have been referred to arbitration, but the company has refused to abide by the decision of the arbitrator in several instances."

The main concern of the workers in this dispute is focussed on the company's having splattered the record cards of unionists with literally thousands of unjustified reprimands. The negotiating committee is completely bogged down with the routine handling of these, which the company refuses to settle on a department or division level, bringing them all up to top management, which consistently does nothing to remove the reprimands.

The company's real motive in this has been to rid itself of militant unionists, long-service people, and prepare the way for wholesale discharges in the post-war period, based on individual phony record cards.

The tube room shut down Thursday night. On Friday a mill room worker, a good ex-committeeman, was given three days off for allegedly breaking a mill, without bargaining procedure having been followed. When this department went

down in sympathy with the worker, unionists throughout the shops felt that all the grievances must now be settled once and for all.

SOLID SUPPORT

At the shop committee meeting today, the sentiment expressed was that "We can no longer permit ourselves to be used by the management to order workers back on the job when we know damned well that our people's grievances are justified and the company is deliberately trying to crush our union."

The meeting showed that it understood very well that Sherman Dalrymple, international president of the United Rubber Workers, would attempt to order the workers back tomorrow. The officers were advised to tell him not to interfere with the local's handling of the grievances.

Solid support to the negotiating committee and officers for their present stand was affirmed demonstratively. Acute awareness of the strike-breaking role of the company, the international officers, the WLB and the Army was indicated on all sides, but did not quench in the slightest the decision to remain firm.

Who Are the War Real Criminals?

By MARY BELL

The lower depths of the Nazi hell are being daily revealed. We have been filled to surfeit with the horrors of the concentration camps like those of Belsen and Buchenwald—the planned starvation on potato-peeling soup; refined, mechanized torture; ghastly surgical experiments; human vivisection, etc. Our indignation and outrage against these crimes is almost inexpressible.

Millions of these victims were Jews; hundreds of thousands, Poles. Many were the enslaved workers of countries over-run by the Nazis in the blitzkrieg days. They were imprisoned and wantonly killed by the degenerate agents of capital. They included prisoners of war from all countries.

But to look upon these thousands of imprisoned, tortured and slain merely as victims of Nazi bestiality is to see but half the picture. To conclude from these horrors what the propagandists want you to conclude, that "All Germans are guilty and all must be punished," is to fall into a deadly trap.

Other thousands of these victims of Nazi terror were German anti-Nazis, German resisters of fascism, German left-wingers, German radicals, German political prisoners, German protesting workers. Despite eleven years of rule by club and bayonet, as late as last July there was a roundup of left-wing working class leaders by the Nazis—so unconquerable is the desire for freedom from exploitation! Every working man and woman should stamp this upon his conscience. The stinking death camps are witness not only of unspeakable cruelty but of incredible heroism. This was the price of revolt against Nazism.

There is nothing new in the crimes of fascism. Its rule of terror and murder against the workers and their militant spokesmen has gone on from its very inception. It is not peculiarly German. It existed in Italy, until the masses overthrew it. It exists in Spain, where thousands of its opponents are in jails and concentration camps like the German. It is not confined to the Axis camp. There are fascistic régimes in Brazil, Argentina

and other South American "republics." It is combined with a feudal type of régime in Japan, where more than 60,000 workers are presently in jail.

Fascism is not specifically German. It is not European. It is not confined to the Axis. It is not limited to any hemisphere. Fascism is the rule of naked force by decaying capitalism in order to prevent the workers from socializing the private property of the financiers and industrialists and organizing production for the benefit of society as a whole. German capitalism was on the verge of this workers' revolution in 1933. That was why the big "free enterprisers" poured their money into Hitler's treasury, helped him build a mass movement of the middle classes against the threatening revolution.

We are for, and every thinking worker must be for, a punishment of the war criminals, those responsible for the atrocities. But we have no confidence in the intention of the Allied War Crimes Commission nor the Russians to bring all of the guilty to trial and judgment and punish-

ment. There are a host of facts to warrant our lack of confidence.

NOT AN ANTI-FASCIST WAR

First, the war did not break out because of the Nazi acts against its own working class or against the enslavement of the peoples of other nations.

Nazism was appeased by the rulers of every Allied country until the lifeblood of their profits was threatened. Churchill, for instance, openly blessed Italian fascism as against the impending Italian workers' revolution. Britain has starved and killed many more Indian slaves than Nazism could ever aspire to. She has had three centuries of practice in impoverishing and browbeating the colonial masses of India.

Stalin was able to conclude a pact of mutual assistance with Hitler, and his spokesman at San Francisco was able to say without batting an eye: "Fascism is a matter of taste!" For the Russian workers and oppositionists in Stalin's concentration camps, which outnumber Hitler's, and for the additional slaves the Russians

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How the Third Camp of Labor Fought Oppression in the War

By BEVA CRAINE

This article is dedicated to the hundreds of thousands of toilers in every part of the world whose deeds under the most difficult circumstances of war and fascist tyranny kept alive the spirit of struggle for a better world. It is dedicated to them more-over because they have shown the only way in which humanity can be saved from the consequences of these scourges: the destruction of civilization.

FIVE YEARS AGO

When the Workers Party and LABOR ACTION were founded five years ago, just after the outbreak of the Second World War, they placed themselves unreservedly on the side of this struggle and declared that it, and it alone, carried to a victorious

end, could bring about the kind of world that the peoples everywhere yearned for.

In spite of all the official proclamations about democracy and the Four Freedoms, the war was being fought by all the big powers for the sake of expansion and domination or for retention of empires formerly obtained through armed force.

The Workers Party declared then, and the subsequent events have borne out, that the victory of either of the imperialist camps in the war—Axis or Allied—could not possibly usher in the freedom, peace, security and human decency so desired by the down-trodden, enslaved and oppressed. This could be achieved only by the people themselves, through independent organization and struggle—*independent of the imperialist*

interests of both camps in the war and loyal only to the interests of the people.

We called this struggle the Third Camp of Labor, and to its encouragement, furtherance and conscious organization we have devoted all our energies.

Many were those who jeered because they had lost faith in the capacity of the ordinary people to fight for themselves. The scoffers challenged us "to produce the Third Camp." In the meantime they themselves joined up with one or the other of the imperialist camps and did all in their power to discourage and belittle the efforts of the slowly emerging Third Camp.

But in one country after another, the people, getting over the initial daze of the outbreak of the war, the

overpowering victories of Hitler's hordes, and the betrayal by their own capitalist classes, began to stir, to organize and to act. This was especially true of those who had been led to believe that the way to fight fascism was to support the program of the Allied governments and whose honest and genuine anti-fascist feelings had been exploited by the "democracies" to plunge them into the slaughter.

When Hitler's armies marched across the European continent, the ruling classes in the occupied countries who were responsible for the war, divided into two groups. One section surrendered to and compromised with the invader. They became the collaborators of the Nazis and the overseers of the workers. They preferred to supply the "enemy"

with war materials—at a profit, of course—to a fight against fascism. The other section ran off to safety in London or elsewhere, where they established themselves as the "governments in exile."

The people, however, could not and did not run away. Neither did they collaborate with the fascists. They stayed and were subjected to the double torture of war and foreign oppression. Under such circumstances, when even a wrong glance might mean arrest and deportation and worse, the people began slowly to organize their resistance.

Despite the reign of terror, the dangers and almost certain death that many risked; despite the fact that they were leaderless, deserted, betrayed; despite the loss of all the old organizations; and in face of the ob-

struction of their own ruling classes, the peoples in the occupied countries formed new types of organizations and renewed the fight against the despotism.

THE UNDERGROUND

Underground movements for national liberation came into existence in almost every European country—Italy, France, Belgium, Norway, Poland, Yugoslavia, Greece. These movements embraced the most courageous men and women, sons and daughters of the toiling classes, who kept alive the will to struggle and made possible the future reorganization of the working class movement.

That these movements were at first directed against the German invader did not mean that the people in them were ready to stop once the Nazis

were driven from their soil. This was for them but a first step in the struggle for democratic rights, for the possibility of settling accounts with those who had gotten them into this appalling situation and who had benefited so handsomely from the war. Whether this was consciously understood or only vaguely felt, the movement represented a new beginning of the struggle for a new world order. The people of Europe do not want to go back to the old days of exploitation, unemployment, crisis, fascism and preparations for yet another world war. Neither do they wish to exchange one tyranny for another. They want a new way of life.

To recall only a few of the outstanding battles of Labor's Third Camp, we salute:

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WHAT THE WLB HAS MEANT TO AMERICAN LABOR

By WALTER WEISS

The War Labor Board is the single war agency in which labor has a vote. And an equal vote, too. There are four industry members and just as many labor members. The deciding ballots are cast by "neutrals," the four "public" members. The top union leaders, therefore, consider that their position on the board gives them a toe-hold in the government—no matter how often their toes get stepped on.

A few months ago, some statistics were released, showing that the public members sided with industry and labor about equally, although industry had a slight edge. Such statistics are supposed to prove (1) that the public members are truly neutral and (2) that newspapers and employer groups are unfair in charging the board with being pro-labor.

Pro-labor! Any union man who has had anything to do with the WLB (and who is lucky enough to have escaped the experience?) knows how laughable this description is. Statistics certainly can lie. On a hundred trifles the public members side with labor, yet not even on all the trifles.

LABOR ACTION said from the very beginning that the WLB, like the rest of the government machine, was an agency of the capitalist class; that any concessions it might yield would be in proportion to the aggressiveness of the unions; that the labor leaders, by their presence on the board, crippled their unions as fighting bodies of the working class, concealed the true nature of the board, and made its success as a capitalist weapon possible.

If what we said could at first be dismissed by many workers as radical and socialist "theorizing," it has now been proved and proved again by experience. This is no accident, for our "theories" are based on the long lessons of history.

Thousands of unionists have now organized rank and file groups, with programs like that of LABOR ACTION and the Workers Party.

For fighting unionism! Get off the WLB! End the no-strike pledge!

For independent politics! Organize a Labor Party, free of all capitalist entanglements, as a necessary first step toward ending the monopoly of the corporations on governmental power!

THE RECORD OF THE WLB

How urgently necessary it is to form such rank and file groups, working for a new program and a new leadership, may be seen from a review of the amazing record of the WLB during the last year—and the even more amazing reactions of the present union leadership to this record.

Early in 1944 both the CIO and AFL had, after long delays, as you may remember, launched a "drive" to break the Little Steel formula. The drive consisted of two parts: (1) to persuade the WLB that the official cost-of-living index was far too low and (2) to persuade the WLB that, even if the index were correct, workers were still entitled to at least a ten per cent increase above the formula. All the persuading was, of course, to be done by statistics and arguments. That most effective means of persuasion, the strike, was under no possible circumstances to be used. Workers in local

unions who tried to correct this procedure were persecuted by their own leaders in the name of "patriotism."

The WLB met the labor officials "offensive" with endless delaying actions and outright deception. In this they were assisted time and again by other cogs in the Roosevelt machine—Economic Stabilizer Vinson, War Mobilizer Byrnes, congressional committees, Roosevelt himself and, above all, the labor leaders, who placed "national unity" and Roosevelt's re-election above the elementary interests of their own members.

What was going on all this time was no military secret. Many local union papers spoke out against it. Several business magazines openly ridiculed the union leaders. On June 10, Business Week reported that WLB officials (notice, WLB officials) were confident that the Steel Workers Union would not strike in its wage case. These same officials regretted, however, that having deliberately stalled they were not in a position immediately to reject the wage demands (emphasis ours—Ed.).

Early in the labor campaign, on March 29, 1944, Chairman Davis of the WLB wrote to the New York Times that he honestly didn't know whether the Little Steel formula was "producing gross injustice or not" but that he was eager to learn the truth. A few days later, on April 7, the first anniversary of Roosevelt's hold-the-line order, Davis and other high administration officials hailed the whole "stabilization" program as a great success. Roosevelt at a press conference praised this report highly and laughed at the idea that any large group in the country, including labor, was really dissatisfied.

THE OLD RUN-AROUND

For five days Philip Murray, president of the Steel Workers and of the CIO, was speechless. Then, on April 12, he demanded to know, especially of Davis—Roosevelt could not be mentioned in an election year—whether the WLB investigation of the cost of living was "just a farce." Of course, it was; and it was Murray's duty to so inform his members.

A week later, just to clinch matters, Economic Stabilizer Vinson, who would have to pass on any decisions or recommendations of the WLB, said flatly:

"Any general increase in wage rates at this time would inevitably force the price level to a higher plateau."

From the spring of 1944 until the fall, labor leaders were largely occupied in campaigning for Roosevelt's renomination and re-election. Labor's cases were meanwhile buried in panels of the WLB for hearing and study. But in September several important union conventions brought on a new campaign of deception. Among the rubber workers, shipyard workers, and especially the auto workers there was a strong and, above all, an organized revolt against the no-strike pledge.

SHHHH—ELECTION YEAR

Here is what happened in September:

- 1) Endless rumors that Little Steel might or might not be broken before Election Day.
- 2) Philip Murray's desperate statement to the rebellious auto workers' convention that the formula would be broken—and soon—"as sure as I am living."

3) A whole series of long-delayed WLB panel reports, including the steel, electrical and textile cases, all of them strungly suggesting wage increases. The steel report further indicated that the corporations could well afford to pay without price increases. So did a "secret" report of OPA.

4) In the midst of the above, a statement by WLB chairman Davis that "any damn fool can see" that a new wage formula would be necessary—after the defeat of Germany.

5) A statement by "Assistant President" Byrnes that the line must hold until—the total defeat of Japan. (The union conventions were pretty well over by this time.)

6) A refusal by Roosevelt himself, during a personal conference with labor leaders, to promise anything, until WLB had reported to him.

By October the embarrassment of union conventions had passed, and the following events took place:

1) On October 8, Louis Stark, reliable labor reporter of the New York Times, says flatly that Roosevelt personally has decided not to raise wages before Election Day. He adds: "There is reason to believe that the President has informed some labor leaders of his reluctance to... change... the wage stabilization policy."

2) October 11: After its stormiest session, WLB votes, despite panel reports, that it will not recommend anything to the President on the Little Steel formula. Why not? Because they aren't sure how wage increases might affect prices. To soften the blow, they talk vaguely about a new reversion wage policy.

3) October 29: In his Chicago campaign speech, Roosevelt claims the cost of living has been held marvelously but adds that workers must be paid enough after the war to keep factories running. He also promises, for the first time, 60,000,000 post-war jobs.

POST-ELECTION PROMISES DECLINE

After the election came more of the same stuff. Here is the picture in November:

1) "Assistant President" Byrnes offers his resignation. So do public members Davis, Taylor and Graham of the WLB. Roosevelt begs them to stay.

2) WLB public and industry members report (fully eight months behind schedule) that the government's cost-of-living index is almost perfect, not twenty points too low, as labor claimed and proved.

3) Stabilizer Vinson praises WLB's report and also comes up with the old gag about a price rollback, this time on clothing. He promises a new wage policy after victory in Europe.

4) Immediately after this, the CIO convention meets, hails Roosevelt's re-election as a great victory, votes the WLB a necessary war agency but condemns all its activities. Murray is very bitter against Byrnes, Vinson and public members of the WLB. He demands that Vice-Chairman Taylor, whose resignation Roosevelt had just refused, resign. R. J. Thomas of the Auto Workers is still more bitter, apologizing for his own presence on the board and even saying the workers were losing faith in Roosevelt.

5) The day after the CIO convention ends, the WLB decides the steel case, granting, after ten long months, a few cents in "fringe" increases (vacation pay, shift differentials, etc.). Murray hails this as a "great victory."

6) Stabilizer Vinson, much disturbed, demands smaller "fringe" increases in future cases and no increases at all, without his approval, where price rises are considered necessary by the accommodating OPA. (His ruling has kept the textile and packing house decisions from being put into effect for months already.)

WLB CHANGED NO SPOTS

As a result, since January of this year the "labor statesmen" have more or less given up attacks on the WLB. They now want its old powers restored: They still talk at times about the Little Steel formula but are really agitated about the "fringe awards." In January Roosevelt personally heard their complaints on this score but promised nothing, since he was still awaiting, he said, WLB's report on the Little Steel formula.

Meanwhile, the WLB occupied itself with punishing employers who gave illegal wage raises and with criticizing both management and labor for not doing more genuine collective bargaining! Labor leaders were dropping new hints, which nobody believed, about quitting the WLB. This sickening comedy reached a climax when the New York City CIO Council, controlled by Stalin's strike-breaking Communist Political Association, charged WLB Chairman Davis with telling a lecture audience that the country needed "a darn good strike," if the workers expected to get anywhere. The Stalinists complained that this remark was harmful to the no-strike pledge, while Davis said it was just a "wisecrack."

Finally, on February 22, the WLB decided that the Little Steel formula was both good and necessary and that wages had actually outstripped prices by seven per cent.

Thereupon Roosevelt promoted Vinson to be Federal Loan Administrator (and later, on Byrnes' resignation, to be "Assistant President"), Davis to be Economic Stabilizer in Vinson's place, and Taylor to be chairman of the WLB in Davis' place. In other words, everybody whom the labor leaders had denounced most vigorously was rewarded!

On March 12, the CIO executive board voted forty-three to four, auto and textile unions dissenting, to remain on the WLB. Even the dissenters were really seeking nothing more than to restore the board's powers to grant "fringe" increases without Vinson's restrictions. Only the two textile representatives were for ending the no-strike pledge. (The textile union had already quit the WLB and had also rescinded the pledge for some of its members.) In keeping with the new line, Davis and Taylor were not criticized this time, but all fire was leveled at Byrnes and Vinson.

Impressed once more by the fighting spirit of the CIO leaders, Davis, in his new office of Economic Stabilizer, warned on March 15 against any relaxation in wage or price controls after Germany's defeat. Forgetting his previous hints and promises of a V-E Day raise, he now discovered that inflation would be more menacing than ever at that time.

That Davis' statement was administration policy has since been shown by Byrnes' final report before his resignation as Director of War Mobilization and by the report of Roosevelt's top stabilization administrators (Davis, Howles, Taylor and Jones) on the second anniversary of the hold-the-line order. V-E Day is now officially a danger point, at which the line must be held more firmly than ever!



Out of the Past

MAY DAY ORIGINATED IN EIGHT-HOUR-DAY STRUGGLE

By RUTH PHILLIPS

On May 1, 1886, working men all over America laid down their tools. In Chicago, New York, Pittsburgh, St. Louis and elsewhere they marched thousands strong through the streets, demanding the eight-hour day.

May Day, labor's day of solidarity and struggle, was born.

Four years later, the Congress of the Socialist and Labor International in Paris, after hearing a report on the struggle for the eight-hour day by the American trade union delegates, set May 1st aside as an international labor holiday, a day for labor to voice its political and economic demands. May Day belongs to the workers of the world, but its origins are in the American labor movement.

STRUGGLES FOR 8-HOUR DAY

May 1, 1886, was the culmination of long years of struggle by American workers against the slavery of inhuman hours of toil. The fight for the shorter work day goes back to the very beginnings of the labor movement.

When, in 1884, the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the U. S. (forerunner of the AFL) passed a resolution calling for the

legal enactment of the eight-hour day as of May 1, 1886, it met with a tremendous response from the working people. The two years from 1884 to 1886 saw a great spurt forward in union organization and strike struggles. The movement was given impetus by the business depression of 1884-85, which caused widespread unemployment. The unskilled and unorganized workers were drawn into the fight.

Of the thousands who demonstrated on May 1, 1886, it is estimated that half of them won shorter working hours. The foundation was laid for future battles which were finally to bring the legal enactment of the forty-hour week by the federal government.

HAYMARKET MARTYRS

The eight-hour movement of 1886 left behind it not only the traditions of struggle and victory, but, as well, the undying memory of our martyrs in the fight, the victims of the famous Haymarket demonstration in Chicago. Parsons, Spies, Fischer and Engel, the militant leaders of the Chicago working class in the eighties, were sent to the gallows for their part in the fight for the eight-hour day.

Labor in America has come a long

way since May 1, 1886. The labor movement, which then numbered in the hundreds of thousands at most, today embraces millions. The eight-hour day has been won.

Yet on May Day, 1945, the American workers are confronted with new problems and more knotty ones. In the last fifteen years, American capitalism has plunged the nation into a terrible economic depression, followed by a bloody war. Today, on the eve of the end of the war in Europe, the American people are faced with the prospect of post-war unemployment in the millions, and the devastation and misery which it brings.

The capitalist politicians make grandiose promises for full employment after the war. But every attempt to guarantee those promises by legislation of even the mildest kind is a dismal failure. The capitalist politicians cannot provide full employment because they are pledged, in the first place, to the protection of profit.

It is up to the organized workers to solve the problems of the post-war world. They will solve them only by the fighting methods of the workers who marched on May 1, 1886.

Shipyard Workers on the West Coast Face Cutback Unemployment Now

SAN PEDRO—With thousands of shipyard workers on the Pacific Coast already "terminated" from their jobs and, with many thousands more facing unemployment in the very near future because of the end of most government contracts for new construction work, and with the limiting of most yards that will remain open to repair work only, a serious crisis is already facing the shipyard workers.

Part of those laid off have been absorbed in other war work. But with the inevitable slackening in all fields of production the shipyard workers and their unions will really be put to the test.

WHAT IS LABOR DOING?

What steps have been taken to meet such an eventuality? Practically none. In the April 2nd issue of the Shipyard Worker, international paper of the Industrial Union of Marine & Shipbuilding Workers of America, Philip Murray is quoted as engaging "in a call for serious thinking now about jobs for all." Murray, with a boldness and dash most unusual in comfortable in CIO officials today, actually extended himself to the point of specifying what is necessary to ensure jobs for all. Addressing labor, government and

industry, Murray stated: "We must agree to get together immediately to do what is needed for jobs for all."

If labor leaders are unwilling or unable to answer the question of how we are going to get sixty million jobs, it is because they are tied body and soul to the régime in Washington, to the ruling class, the capitalist class. It is precisely the Administration and the profit-sucking capitalists it represents who must be fought without compromise to attain security and jobs for all.

When the security of American capitalism was called into question by the rival cut-throat imperialists of Germany and Japan, when war came, when it was a question of blood-letting and destruction, these "leaders of the nation" acted with astonishing speed and efficiency. Now that it is a matter of their doing something about sixty million jobs for American workers... well, most workers understand that it will take more than gentle prodding to get them into action.

SHIP WORKERS' DIFFICULTIES

The shipyard workers are in a rather peculiar position. The shipyard industry, perhaps more than any other, cannot be "reconverted." A superabundance of ships has been

produced. Unlike steel, rubber, auto, etc., there will be very little demand for new ship construction in what some choose to call "the post-war period." All that remains is the necessity to keep the ship already produced in a state of repair. This cannot employ more than ten per cent of those who have been busy in the yards during the past five years.

The shipyard workers, through their union, must demand severance pay from the employers to tide them over in the weeks immediately following their "termination from the rolls." Then when the inevitable period of unemployment compensation begins, the shipyard workers and all workers must put into effect the powerful slogan of the annual wage. If the government could find hundreds of billions of dollars for war it can find similar sums for elementary human needs.

We must demand that unemployment compensation be raised to the level of the full weekly wage. Twelve, fifteen, twenty dollars a week cannot support the worker and his family. It will mean slow starvation—and not too slow, at that. The government must assure the maintenance of the standard of living; not cut the present very inadequate

standards by some seventy-five per cent. Yes, we must fight to raise unemployment compensation to the level of the weekly wage.

The union has just issued a program which we will deal with in another article.

Then, instead of just talking about it, we have to begin the struggle for jobs. Only through the creation of millions of jobs in other industries can the unemployed shipyard workers find steady work. To make even a beginning along these lines we must revoke the no-strike pledge. How can we fight without weapons?

Now on May Day, 1945, we must resolve to break all government controls upon the labor movement, Little Steel formula, War Labor Board, etc., and clear the decks for a little independent and militant working class action. Our leaders tell us that we must support the Democratic Party, the very party that keeps these handcuffs on the labor movement. Republican or Democrat, their attitude toward labor is the same: keep labor down. What we need is a party of our own that will fight for these things and only our kind of a party—a party of labor—can engage in militant and successful struggle to gain security for all those who work.

A May Day Message on Socialism for Working Class Women

By SUSAN GREEN

Not long ago women and children in Nice, Southern France, rioted when a huge plate of caviar and cold salmon appeared on the screen of a local theatre in a scene from "Andy Hardy Goes to Town." Thereupon the authorities banned the movie, "The Private Life of Henry VIII," because it shows great roasts of beef, fowl and other food. The danger of inciting the starving French people was too great.

From northern France came recent news of women trying to break into a sugar factory to get for their children some of the calories lodging in sugar. The sugar permitted only to those who can afford black market prices.

From Stockholm, Sweden, comes a report of hunger riots in the northern and eastern sections of Berlin. Said the reporter: "On the eve of my departure hungry mothers of starving children stormed food shops in the Alexanderplatz and almost lynched a SA (storm troop) guard who tried to quiet them with the suggestion that they economize on their bread nations."

Here are similar pictures from both a so-called friendly and so-called enemy country—pictures that transcend national boundaries and prove that imperialist World War II has inflicted unbearable suffering alike on victor and vanquished. And they show also that women, as the fulcrum of family life, bear the load.

In the United States the barbaric devastation of war has not been felt in all its impact. A favored geo-

graphic location, the great natural resources of the country and the tremendous productivity of American workers and farmers have all contributed to saving us here from the horrors experienced by the common people in other parts of the world. However, even here the ravages of war have not exactly passed us by.

There is the struggle of the people to make ends meet with frozen wages and expanding prices. There are the empty places in the icebox and in the clothes closet due to the scarcity of commodities—found in plenty, however, on the black market. There is the shortage of decent housing, of doctor and hospital accommodations,

of child care centers for working mothers. All these lack means discomfort for all; undermined health for many, sickness for many others, and even premature death for all too many. And again, the women as the fulcrum of family life, feel the brunt of the situation.

A casualty of war almost as tragic as that which happens to the best manhood of the nation, is what happens to its children. Due to the economic, social and moral upheaval, tens of thousands of adolescent boys and girls are caught in the treacherous current, and their lives are twisted or broken. Hundreds of thousands of children are induced to take jobs. Youngsters under fourteen work inhumanly long hours, on unfamiliar jobs, at hazardous and unfamiliar machines. Accidents to child workers have risen directly with the violation by bosses of child labor laws.

In the State of New York the child accidents reported by inspectors—and they are only part of the story—were in 1944 seven times those in 1940. The near breakdown of the school system under war conditions is a factor increasing both child delinquency and harmful child labor. The war has taken the full-grown, and stunts the growth of the growing. And what woman is not aware of this double tragedy!

Again, what women is not filled with consuming doubt as to the future? What shall she tell the baby when it grows up about the missing

father? What kind of world will the baby grow up in? These doubts were well expressed by the widow of a pilot. On receiving a medal awarded her dead husband, she wrote to the army heads stating some of her thoughts about her baby and the future: "I don't want him to think of his father being killed while he was killing other people. We Americans weren't brought up to do that. I wish I could tell him his father died to save him from being drawn into a third world war. I hope it is true, sincerely, but mothers twenty-five years ago wondered too."

Does Bretton Woods give any assurance to the mothers of whom this pilot's widow is typical? Do Dumbarton Oaks, Yalta and San Francisco give any assurance to the mothers of whom this pilot's widow is typical? Hardly, for the conflicting interests of the great powers among themselves, and of the little powers as against the great powers, inevitably mean trouble. Even Roosevelt, in his speech to Congress after Yalta, betrayed an undercurrent of doubt while expressing hope.

And did not Wilson express hope a quarter of a century ago? But international capitalism runs true to form!

The first half of the message of LABOR ACTION, on this May Day 1945, to working women is this: Permanent peace under international capitalism is impossible. One or the other must go. For the sake of the dead for whom there is no longer any

hope and for the children for whom there still is hope, we ask the women to dedicate themselves to the task of procuring peace in the only way possible—helping to establish International Socialism.

Another source of grave anxiety to every woman is the question of economic security. Will the mother and housewife who is fortunate enough to have a breadwinner, be the recipient of a pay envelope each week sufficient to provide the good life for her family? And what of the almost 18,000,000 women workers now supporting themselves and dependents? Will there be jobs for them? And what kind of pay will they get?

SECURITY AND SOCIALISM

In March, 1944, the United Auto Workers made a survey and discovered that 85% of the women workers wanted to keep their jobs after the war. Of the widowed women working, 100% need their jobs. Of the single women, 98.5% must keep on working. Of the married women, 68.7% must continue to contribute to the family income.

However, already six months ago there were 20,000 women in the Detroit area unable to get jobs. Cutbacks have since increased and are steadily increasing. Women are being discriminated against in lay-offs, and especially union women whose standard is equal pay for equal work. It is the purpose of the capitalists to create a huge army of unem-

ployed women to compete for jobs at lower wages and thus break down the whole wage structure!

This calamity to labor must be avoided. Women must insist on being unionized, on union contracts with equal pay and seniority rights for women, on lay-off pay, on protective legislation both federal and state. But just as capitalism runs true to form on the international field, it also has its basic form in domestic economy. There will be many more workers than jobs to go around. And this always spells economic insecurity and chaos.

The second half of the message of LABOR ACTION, on this May Day 1945, to working women is this: Economic security under capitalism is impossible. One or the other must go. We ask the working women who fear economic insecurity as well as war, to join us in fulfilling our program for an independent labor party, a Workers' Government, workers' control of industry, production for use and not for capitalist profit.

For economic security—a Workers' Government and Socialism; for permanent peace—International Socialism.

IRON RANGE GREETINGS TO LABOR ACTION

Minnesota Workers Say: "On with the Independent Labor Party."

Hibbing, Minn.

YOUNGSTOWN-WARREN BRANCH WORKERS PARTY

Sends You Revolutionary Greetings

5 Years of the Workers Party

By MAX SHACHTMAN,
National Secretary of Workers Party

It is an axiom by now that the defeats and setbacks suffered by the working class throughout the world in the last quarter of a century have been due not to the vigor and stability of the existing social order, but to the absence or immaturity of the conscious revolutionary vanguard party. A score of times since 1917, the people have either been ready to rise or have actually risen against the ruling classes. In every case, there was enough will to struggle, aggressiveness, sacrifice. Defeat was due to the lack of a revolutionary leadership measuring up to its tasks.



The victorious struggle to substitute socialism for capitalism is unique in all history, as we have repeatedly emphasized, above all because it is and cannot but be a conscious struggle. Slavery not only could but did take the place of primitive communism without the conscious and planned efforts of the slave-owners. Feudalism was murdered by the modern machine and the modern market. To the extent that the bourgeoisie participated as a class, it had an essentially FALSE consciousness.

It is entirely different with socialism. The first social order in history to be based on conscious planning can be brought into existence only by conscious planning. The process of capitalist production creates directly the possibility and the necessity of socialism in the form of a vast, socially-operated machine. It creates directly a class, the working class, capable of introducing socialism. The indispensable elements of a socialist consciousness, however, it creates only indirectly and in a much more remote sense; and even these must contend with a systematically-fostered capitalist consciousness. Two generations have lived to see this demonstrated.

Socialist consciousness requires a repository where it can be accumulated and ordered, from which it can be instilled in others, and by which it can be constantly revised, checked, renewed, and defended. The ingenuity of man has invented no repository which even begins to equal—much less one that is superior to—the revolutionary socialist party, the political vanguard organization of the working class. "Without revolutionary theory, no revolutionary practice"—that is only another way of saying, "Without a revolutionary party imbuing the working class with socialist consciousness and organizing its action on that basis, no proletarian victory, no socialism."

Once all this, and what follows from it, is fully grasped, the task of our time is clear. The worker who knows that capitalism is his enemy, but who cannot find time for the revolutionary party because he is "too busy" in the trade-union movement, has not yet grasped these fundamentals. The result is that his activity among the working class is vitiated and even nullified.

Fortunately, there are those who have grasped these fundamentals. The fight for liberty, for socialism, is the moral content of their lives. They are therefore able to devote themselves singlemindedly to the building of the revolutionary party. Their success in performing this most important of all tasks must be measured not only by what is necessary in any given period for the attainment of the main goal—but also by what is possible and by what is accomplished by those whose course is different.

The Founding of the Workers Party

The Workers Party was organized as a result of the factional struggle that broke out in the American Trotskyist movement (the Socialist Workers Party and its youth organization) when the second world war began, and ended in a split. Those who founded the new party had reason to be confident.

First, they had better than held their own in the debate. Difference of opinion and even factional struggle were not new in the Trotskyist movement. But never before had the leadership of any section of the International shown such poverty of ideas, such bewilderment and downright helplessness when confronted by a new situation, a new problem and a critical opposition as in the SWP in 1940.

In face of the joint partition of Poland by Germany and Russia, followed by the invasion of Finland and the annexation of the Baltic countries by Stalin, we proposed the abandonment of the traditional position of "unconditional defense of the U.S.S.R." in war. We argued that Russia was playing a reactionary rôle in the war, having joined one of the imperialist camps in order to share in the booty; and that to support Russia meant supporting the imperialist war in violation of the interests of the international working class and socialism.

The SWP majority had no reply save the repetition of the formula, "Russia is a degenerated workers' state; therefore, we are for its unconditional defense in the war." Its attempts to give more specific answers to the political situation were sorry models of confusion; witness the fact that it produced three mutually contradictory documents on the war in Finland in less than that number of weeks.

Never in the history of the movement did we have what followed. Trotsky found himself obliged to lead and carry on the fight for the paralyzed majority all by himself.

Trotsky enjoyed a tremendous authoritative (authoritative, not authoritarian) standing among the members of the minority. Only the greater strength of their arguments enabled them to continue the debate with him. In the final vote, the minority had more than forty percent of the votes; if the Trotskyist movement is taken as a whole in this country (party and youth organizations together), the minority had well over fifty percent of the votes. It was a distinct victory for us. As for the Cannonites, it was an utterly crushing defeat from every standpoint. There is no doubt that if Trotsky had not intervened (he had, of course, both the right and duty to intervene), the Cannonites would simply have been inundated in the fight.

The way in which the split took place enhanced our confidence. The split, to our knowledge, simply has no precedent in the working-class movement. To this day, the Cannonites have carefully guarded against making public even to their membership the full text of the resolution that split the SWP!

The first part of the resolution provided for acceptance of the decisions of the convention that had just taken place (April, 1940) and a commitment

"to carry them out in a disciplined manner." This "clever" motion, characteristic of the little mind that conceived it, merely meant that the minority should vote to gag itself in the working-class public on the most vital question of the day, the war, and approve of handing over its inner-party rights to the mercies of a majority that had gone out of its way to prove that it was entitled to no such confidence. We therefore abstained in the vote on this motion. The second part of the resolution provided that those not voting for the first part shall, for that reason alone, be deprived of all party positions, responsibilities and rights! A unique contribution to revolutionary party procedure!

We had not violated a single disciplinary provision. We were not even charged with any such violation. We were not expelled, in effect, merely for abstaining from the vote on the majority's motion, which provided that we "accept" convention decisions which among other things branded us as "petty-bourgeois." The whole procedure lasted, as the party boss gleefully noted to a crony at the meeting, exactly four and three-quarter minutes. We knew well in advance, in so far as it is possible to be certain in politics, that the leading clique was determined to get rid of the opposition, especially because it was not prepared to proclaim the omniscience and omnipotence of ignorance and impotence. So we were well prepared. The Workers Party was publicly proclaimed and our LABOR ACTION and New Internationalist were issued shortly after the expulsion ukase.

Fear of our views, and of our ability and determination to defend them, prompted our expulsion, and nothing else. The consciousness of this only fortified us in our actions.

The Famous "Russian Question"

The Workers Party was the ONLY working-class organization, with NO exception, which took a forthright, unambiguous position in public in opposition to American imperialism in the war. Our manifesto in LABOR ACTION on this score was the only one to appear in the labor movement immediately after the Pearl Harbor events. It was our political demonstration against American imperialism, and under the circumstances, the best that could have been (certainly the least that should have been) made. The SWP did not follow suit. This fact cannot be talked away, although efforts have not been lacking. And since Pearl Harbor, as before it, our position has been equally forthright and unambiguous. It has formed part of our work of awakening the consciousness of the American working class, of arousing it to its class interests, of imbuing it with the spirit of socialist internationalism.

We did not change our position on Russia but we did strengthen it. Unlike the Cannonites, we sought to learn from the 1939-1940 discussion. If Trotsky was the only one we could learn from, that was neither his fault nor ours. He was the only one who contributed to his side of the debate.

Trotsky never succeeded in freeing himself from the basic contradictions of his position. He could not (nor did he attempt to) explain how the counter-revolutionary, anti-socialist, anti-Soviet, Bonapartist bureaucracy, as he rightly called it, could nevertheless establish in the capitalist countries (Poland, the Baltic lands) what he called the foundations of a workers' state, i.e., carry out a social revolution "via bureaucratic military means." He could not explain why, if Stalinist Russia is like a big trade-union in power whose army is to be supported, he is nevertheless opposed to this "union" gaining in membership and strength, so to speak, by extending its frontiers ("We were and remain against seizures of new territories by the Kremlin," he wrote). But he did succeed in pointing out many of the contradictions in our position as it was developed and defended at that time. At least, that is the opinion of the present writer.

The untenability of Trotsky's basic position, and the defects and contradictions he revealed in our original position, only stimulated us to further and deeper analysis of the question. The result, a product of genuinely collective thought and elaboration by the leading comrades of our party, was worked out and presented (not, thank God, as a "finished program") in our theory of Stalinist Russia as a bureaucratic-collectivist state.

The question of Russia is so momentous, however, that it will not tolerate silence. One way or another, the silence had to be broken, and it has been. Stalin's spectacular successes in the defense of the "degenerated workers' state," have now imposed a "turn" in policy upon the SWP. It is one of the most remarkable "turns" in the history of the movement. The slogan of "unconditional defense" of Russia in the war was what distinguished the SWP from the rest of the world. So it said repeatedly during the war, and in just those words. Whoever did not work for the victory of the Russian army in the war, barricaded that word said in those words, and more than once. It would seem now that this slogan has been favored by truly rich success. The Russian armies are victorious on every front. Now, if ever, is the time for the bearers of the slogan to cheer their victory, and to express a justified pride in themselves and in the modest contribution they made to the victory.

It is almost the very opposite that has happened. Near the very pinnacle of overwhelming victory, it has been discovered that the slogan which aimed to bring about this victory must now be abandoned! Slogans have been abandoned and policies changed before now, and so it will be in the future. This is the first case we know of, however, where a slogan has been abandoned because it proved to be too successful! An indispensable addition to this is the fact that it has been abandoned with an accompanying insistence that the ONLY reason ever given for advancing it in the first place still holds, namely, that Russia is a workers' state.

There you have the balance-sheet after five years: The old line must "reopen" because it was such a success. Honest and open abandonment of the fatal policy, with honest and open self-criticism, is the very pre-condition of educating the party and the workers around it. The SWP leadership is not concerned with education; it is concerned only with face-saving, with bureaucratic prestige.

The Cannonites who derided the idea of the "Third Camp of Labor," are compelled to advance it themselves, but of course without using the same term! Now they no longer repeat that Russia is part of the camp of the proletariat and the colonial peoples. They laughed themselves wet at the idea that Russia was following an imperialist policy for its share of the spoils—it was merely defending itself, you see, by bureaucratic methods. We now read that Russian "foreign policy has lost every vestige of its former isolationism and defensiveness and is becoming aggressively expansionist and adventurist." Imperialist? Good Lord, no! That term is petty-bourgeois heresy. Russia is merely... "aggressively expansionist and adventurist." Apparently a whim

on Stalin's part. We read further that the allies "accept Stalin as a third partner and in business-like manner arrange with him a division of spoils." (Fourth International, March, 1945, p. 68.) Imperialist? My God, no! It is simply a case of the poor little workers' state, in sheer self-defense, getting a share of the... spoils. It is to be regretted that there are people who begrudge it even so modest an award for its efforts to bring socialism to Europe on the bayonets of Trotsky's Red Army.

The Party and Labor Movement

The dispute on the Russian question was important, and so it will continue to be. But far more important is the question of participation in the class struggle in the United States. In this field, the work of our party has been valuable and fruitful.

We founded the Workers Party with a membership composed for the most part of youth. The preceding years of crisis and depression had deprived many of them of the opportunity of entering industry and taking part in the trade-union movement. The war gave those who were not drafted the opportunity they sought. Before long, virtually our entire membership was concentrated in important industries and active in the labor movement, acquiring experience, not only from the older party

International Communists of Germany (Trotskyist) Greet Labor Action

Dear Friends!
In sending you our congratulations and heartfelt wishes we want to say the following:
This is the darkest first May the workingclass and humanity as a whole has ever seen in modern history. After long years of hope based on the downfall of fascism, the German workers especially now face the bitter reality of being enslaved both by the hangman Stalin and the Allies. We think the workers all over the world must know the truth: there is no possibility for an immediate success of the German and even the European revolution.

But to recognize the truth and to refute all cheap optimism means not to be discouraged and not to lose faith in the revolutionary capacity of the masses. It only means to prepare realistically for events to come.

Great battles in Europe, in the colonial world, and in America are inevitable. The final issue of all these struggles of millions of peoples depends in large measure on the attitude of the American workingclass and in large measure on your activity. There is no such thing as a guarantee of success by good will and faith alone. This is why we join the expression of our deepest solidarity with the firm hope that you will make every effort to improve the work of LABOR ACTION constantly.

The task ahead is an enormous one. Equally enormous is your responsibility: no easy victory can be expected. This is the lesson of decades of heroic struggle in Europe. May it also be the lesson for the workers in the United States, who now go through our old experiences. If that lesson is thought out to all its profound consequences, we shall see another, a triumphant May first of liberated humanity.

Fraternally yours,
AK. d. IKD. (London)

members but also from the militants in the labor movement with whom they established friendly contact.

The difficulties encountered in carrying on militant activities in the trade unions during the war need little elaboration. There is the powerful pressure exerted on all sides for "national unity," so that the ruling class may increase its power and carry out its reactionary policies without interference by the workers acting in defense of their class interests. There are the conservative trade-union leaders, tied to the imperialist machine, and exerting every ounce of their strength against effective independent action by the workers and against the militants who urge it. There are above all the Stalinists, ready and eager to pounce upon every progressive and every genuine socialist, to frame him up, to hound him and drive him out of the labor movement. And there is always the unholy combination of the employers, trade-union bureaucrats and draft boards which does not hesitate to use its power to ferret out militants and get rid of them.

We set ourselves the goal of bringing the militant moods of the workers to the surface, of stimulating them to more conscious action in defense of their class interests, of awakening them to independent political action, "we did not retire to a storm cellar for the duration, 'until it blows over,'" and if we did not, it was not out of interperate brashness or heroism. We rightly judged both the needs and the possibilities.

Our party during the war constituted the principal and the clearest center of the militant movement in the trade unions. It is absurd to think that the progressive forces revolved around our small party, and it is far from our mind to say any such thing. Literally thousands, even tens of thousands of workers in the unions did not allow the outbreak of the war to stop their struggle for a progressive labor movement. Many times they would put forward

ideas and launch campaigns on their own initiative which our party thereupon decided to champion. This is true not only of many of the nameless rank and file, but of better known rank-and-file union leaders, too. Our party sought to imbue the American workers with class consciousness.

We were among the front-rank fighters, as we still are, against the paralyzing "no-strike pledge," urging the labor movement to reclaim its power to resist the encroachments of war-swollen capitalism. Toward the end of the war, we called upon labor to withdraw its representatives from the War Labor Board, which we characterized as the cemetery of labor's grievances. Our party carried on a persistent propaganda in favor of labor breaking from the capitalist parties and forming a Labor Party of its own, based on the representative mass organizations of the workers.

Unquestionably, thousands of progressives developed these ideas on their own. Our contribution was to provide the best reasons for these demands, an unceasing agitation for them, an organized center from which the movement for these demands could be systematically maintained, stimulated and clarified. We sought, furthermore, to connect up these demands with a far broader, more significant Program of Action. The central aim of this program still is: the mobilization of the American working class as a unified, conscious political force, the struggle against capitalist class and its government, the defense of labor's interests at every step of the road and at the expense of capitalist profit and capitalist power, and the establishment of a party of labor and a workers' government.

Role of Labor Action

In this campaign, we had from the outset an invaluable instrument, LABOR ACTION. Our party is exceptionally proud of this paper. To publish it, we had to break with a long tradition. But the break did not prove to be difficult, and the results more than justified it. We decided to issue, for the first time in the history of the revolutionary movement in this country, a popular socialist agitational weekly addressing itself primarily to the progressive trade-unionist. It was to be written in simple language, with an absolute minimum of the special jargon familiar in the radical movement and only in it. It was not to be written on the assumption that its readers already agree with every political and theoretical idea of the editors, but rather on the assumption that the readers agree only with a very few of the more elementary ideas of the editors. It was to appeal to the immediate problems of his daily experiences, of his immediate problems, of those views which the editors, the party and most of all the readers already had in common. Only by having this as its point of departure, as its main emphasis, could the paper then bring the attention of the reader to the fundamental principles of socialism, to the more advanced political conceptions, for which the paper stood, and develop his understanding and sympathy.

IF LABOR ACTION has not always succeeded in achieving every detail of its original purpose, it has nevertheless come so much closer to it that no other radical paper even merits serious comparison with it. The type of paper LABOR ACTION aimed to be, dictated a mass distribution among workers. The popularity and influence of the paper among tens of thousands of workers exceeded our most ambitious hopes. It is no exaggeration to say that in some of the largest working-class concentrations of the country, the weekly arrival of LABOR ACTION is eagerly awaited. Lunch-time in many plants finds thousands of workers with their copies of the paper opened before them. Factory walls are decorated with articles, editorials and cartoons clipped from its pages. Time after time, and in city after city, unaffiliated militants have collected subscriptions to LABOR ACTION from fellow-workers, and done it completely on their own initiative.

The policy of the Cannonites in the trade unions during these five years is worth comment, if only to contrast it with the policy we pursued. They did not follow a policy cautiously; caution was their policy. And by "caution," they meant abstention from any notable activity in the unions. The policy their leadership imposed upon the workers was argued as follows: This is war-time; the workers are not in motion; we must lie quiet until they do get into motion; then we will offer them our leadership; meanwhile, we must confine ourselves to "preserving the cadres." A more specious opportunism is hard to find. It became disgusting when it was coupled with sneers at the "adventurism" of those who did their revolutionary duty.

Our Losses and Our Progress

It is impossible to deal here with every aspect of the work and life of our party in these five years. But a balance-sheet of losses and gains should be cast up.

Our losses have been of different kinds, and not easy to bear. Our first loss was Burnham. He betrayed everything he had stood for, including the movement that nurtured him intellectually. Ever since he turned coat, he has cut a sorry figure.

The defection of Burnham and others was not one-hundredth as serious as our real loss. Our party was composed overwhelmingly of people of draft age. It is doubtful if there is another political organization in the country which has had such a high percentage of its membership taken into the armed forces as our party. Being a militant working-class organization, and not a group of pacifists, our people claimed no exemptions on grounds of conscience. They did not simply talk about taking on the responsibilities and tasks of their generation; they took them on, even if it meant severing relations with party activity. Among those who went off were some of our ablest and most experienced men, our indispensable; and we know that not all of them will be returned to us. Our corps of organizers, speakers, writers was cut into heavily, and that from top to bottom. It was an oppressive blow, and we suffer from it yet.

There are also, gains to record. We have won to our party some of the best militants in the labor movement. They have learned, from studying our program and observing how our deeds conform to our words, that the best trade-union activity in the world is incomplete and, in the long run, ineffectual, unless it is coupled with political organization, rendered coherent and consistent by a fundamental political program and political direction.

The party has gained tremendously in the clarity of its program. What has been contributed to our political strength by the development of our position on Russia, has already been dealt with. On the basis of this position, we have been able to deal more thoroughly with the integrity and future of the labor movement. The importance of this question cannot be stressed too heavily. Among revolutionary

socialists, it was long argued that the Stalinists and the conservative our reformist labor officialdom are equally dangerous to the working class. This point of view is no longer valid; to try to maintain it in practice can only lead to grave blunders and even disaster. Reformism in the labor movement means the weakening of the working class, but even the most reformist bureaucracy is vitally concerned with maintaining the organized labor movement, for it cannot exist without it. Stalinism means the totalitarian strangulation and destruction of the labor movement. Wherever class-conscious militants are unable to challenge both in a directly independent form and are obliged to choose between the two evils, there is no question of which is the lesser evil of the two. A consciousness of this fact has enabled our party to function more effectively and more progressively in more than one fight in the labor movement.

Our party was the only one in this country to analyze and appraise correctly the great significance of the revolutionary "national movements" that sprang up throughout Europe under the rule of German imperialism. In contrast, the futile word-mongering and sterile dogmatism of the Cannonites on this question has been typical of their helplessness when confronted with a new problem of an old problem in new form. They have so thoroughly disaccustomed themselves from critical, independent thought, and gone so far in converting Trotskyism from a guide to action into a body of scriptural revelation, that the most important revolutionary movement in the last ten years could develop and shake all Europe without producing anything more than a stereotyped and utterly false reaction from the SWP.

What Kind of Party?

Perhaps our greatest gain is in the KIND of party we have succeeded in building. In it we have living proof that a Bolshevik party DOES NOT mean the totalitarian prison so many people have been led to believe it always was and must always be. The democratic character of our organization is not merely our boast. Militants and radicals outside our party know the facts and acknowledge them. Our party is intolerant of any attempts to curb the intellectual freedom and critical independence of its membership. All it demands is rigid discipline IN ACTION and a high degree of responsibility in building up the party. It is able to make and enforce this demand, not only because its main policies have proved to be correct, but because there is no bureaucratic régime, "benevolent" or otherwise, in the party. Without ever descending to the futility of a "debating society," our party has repeatedly had the freest discussions of political and theoretical questions. Some of them have been confined to the party ranks, but the more important ones have been discussed in public in the pages of our New Internationalist. Some of them have been extremely ardent, even sharply polemical. Groups, ideological formations, of different kinds have existed in the party and continue to exist; in one form or another, on one question or another, they will probably always exist. But we have no resolutions calling for the "dissolution of factions," and if good Bolshevik practice continues to prevail we shall never have such resolutions. We have established in our party such a relationship between leaders and members and of all members with each other, and between adopted program and criticism of it, that there is no air in the party for a bureaucratic or clique régime. There are no permanent factions because there is no soil—a bureaucratic régime—for them to grow in.

It might be said that the kind of party we have built up is our richest possession. In itself, it does not guarantee against making political mistakes, including serious ones. But it makes possible a speedy correction of such mistakes if they are made, a correction without the convulsive crises to which bureaucratized parties are doomed whenever a serious difference of opinion forces its way past the lid.

The last thirty years have been rich in events and in lessons for the working class, if not in victories. If we were asked to tell what makes us believe that the final victory will go to socialism, we would answer:

Capitalism has shown conclusively that it cannot advance society and civilization, but only drive it further along the road of exhausting conflict, human degradation, barbarism and ruin. It no longer has a capacity for stability, order, peace and progress.

The working class, even those sections of it that have been most cruelly oppressed, has shown a power of recuperation from defeat and resources of resistance to capitalist decay that amply justify our confidence in its eventual triumph. It has proved repeatedly that the condition for its existence and progress is the struggle against the conditions of its existence. That is how it has been and that is how it must be.

What makes the struggle for socialism and freedom seem more difficult, also makes it more urgently necessary. It simply makes no sense to us when we are told that encroaching capitalist barbarism is destroying the prospects of socialism and it is better to give up the fight. That is the talk of demoralized and spiritually vanquished serfs. It is precisely the fact that decomposing capitalism is filling the air with its poisonous fumes that imposes upon us the redoubling of our efforts to bury the putrid beast.

Let the cowards flinch and the traitors sneer. Our minds are incapable of absorbing the truly monstrous idea that humanity, which has shown so often an irresistible passion for liberty and an inexhaustible capacity for achieving it progressively, will, now, at the historic pinnacle of its intellectual and social development, finally yield to the yoke in permanence, like brute cattle. We reiterate our faith in the people, in the working class, and dedicate ourselves again, on this fifth birthday anniversary, to the socialist emancipation.

(Editor's Note—The foregoing article is excerpted from a more complete history of the Workers Party which appears in the forthcoming issue of the New Internationalist.)

Greetings from the
Workers Party of
Louisville, Ky.

May Day Greetings
from Boston Friends

Reports from the Nation . . .

Cutbacks Threaten Philadelphia Labor

By ERNEST LUND

PHILADELPHIA—May Day, 1945, finds workers in this area thinking more of the security of their jobs than of any other one question. The news from Europe that the war is drawing to a close, in that part of the world at least, is cause for joy to the hundreds of thousands who have brothers, husbands, friends and fellow workers in the armed services. But at the same time it causes grave concern about cutbacks in war contracts and layoffs.

Few realize that Philadelphia is the No. 2 war production center of the country. It ranks second only to the Detroit region in size of war contracts. The war production is mainly centered in the heavy industries that will not immediately, if ever, find a stimulus from consumer purchases to take up the slack.

The prospects of post-war operation of the shipyards, which represent the biggest single war industry in the area, are very slim. Though the Navy Yard, Sun Ship and New York Ship will probably remain in operation as they did since the last war, their employment rolls will probably be cut to around ten per cent of the present peak.

INDUSTRY WILL CUT BACK

Heavy industries like Baldwin Locomotive, General Electric, Westinghouse, Brill (railroad cars), Budd (automobile bodies), the Army Arsenal, the steel mills, etc., will at best go back to 1939 production figures, resulting in hundreds of thousands of workers being thrown out of jobs.

The radio industry, represented mainly by RCA, Philco and Atwater Kent, have been working at top production on war orders. The most optimistic estimates for peacetime demand for new radios and television could not come near maintaining this production schedule.

The machine tool industry, SKF ball bearings, and the airplane plants will take a tremendous drop in production. Many will shut down completely. The ordnance and fine instrument industry which appeared out of nowhere since 1940 will likewise disappear.

The hosiery and textile industry, one of Philadelphia's old mainstays, has been working at top speed to fill war contracts and a limited consumer quota. The end of the war will certainly not see an increase in employment. Likewise with industrial giants which produce for the consumer trade, like Campbell Soup.

Employment on the waterfront and on the railroads, two great sources of wartime employment, will again return to pre-war figures. The spe-

cial use of the Port of Philadelphia for war purposes will end and the waterfront will again become dead.

UNEMPLOYMENT LOOMS

With declining payrolls in local heavy industries, the present employment shortages in department stores, Sears, cafeterias, PTC (trolley and bus transportation) and other commercial and service industries will change into surpluses of help.

All this will be the tendency even before any great number of the several hundred thousand men and women from Philadelphia, Camden, and the surrounding area now in the armed forces return home to again seek civilian employment.

Despite what they may read daily in the Inquirer and Bulletin about "free enterprise" solving all job problems, and despite what they may read in the Record about the employment plans of the Administration and the New Deal tinkers, the workers refuse to feel reassured about the post-war employment situation. The facts are too plain and too plentiful.

Meanwhile the same corrupt gang of Republican politicians sit in the City Hall and siphon off the wage tax from the workers' pay envelopes (or what is left of it after federal income tax deductions.) Meanwhile the Democratic politicians, who can only carry the city in a national election when they have the support of organized labor, sit in their appointed jobs in the federal bureau and figure out their chances of staying on after 1948.

FOR LABOR POLITICAL ACTION

Meanwhile the labor leaders do nothing except look around among the capitalist politicians for some "good friend of labor" they can support in 1948. The 1944 crop of "good friends of labor" have already gone the way of all such people in the ruling parties. Most of the New Deal congressmen from here voted for the labor draft.

Philadelphia, Camden and Delaware counties have one of the greatest concentrations of industry in the United States. The overwhelming majority of the people who live here are wage workers. The majority of them are members of the CIO, the AFL, and the Railroad Brotherhoods. With a working class political party of their own they could sweep into power in city and state and send a solid bloc of labor congressmen to Washington.

This is what the labor movement should be doing instead of chasing, hat in hand, after Senator Myers, Congressman Bradley, Mayor Samuels and Governor Martin, and begging for a few favors.

Stalinists Defeated in the Louisville CIO Council

LOUISVILLE—An interesting incident occurred here recently. The occasion was the annual election of officers in the CIO Industrial Union Council of Louisville and the Fall Cities Area. The Stalinist-Communists were making a big drive to capture the leadership of the Council. They were convinced that it would be a good idea if they took control of the Council in order to further their own particular political interests. They succeeded in nominating Communists and fellow travelers.

Opposing the Communists for the most part were the old-line rank and file conservatives plus a field representative. Neither of these two types were opposing the Stalinists because the Stalinists were in favor of retaining the no-strike pledge or because they were all out for the war or because they were union-wreckers or for any other reason for which a rank and file might oppose them in Detroit or Chicago. They were against them for two reasons: The first reason was that they associate revolutionary tradition with the Communists (which incidentally the CPers are trying their hardest to forget). The second reason was that

even the Stalinists here have to be "radical" a line on the Negro question.

To make a long story short, the Communists were defeated for every office for which there was opposition. They didn't even get a sergeant-at-arms job. This of course is not to be boasted. But what is to be boasted is that for another year we have here the no-strike pledge, PAC untangled with Labor Partyism, subtle Jim Crow and out-and-out old-line conservative leadership. The "Gateway to the South" and the stronghold of labor leadership conservatism—these are synonymous.

Fortunately, however, we have a rank and file in the shops which is somewhat restless. Rank and files, unlike their leaders, aren't so sold on the pledge and the other hindering policies. But they are still rather afraid and awed by the power of the big bosses and their government. They will come out of it, though. Some day they will strike out against their oppressors; they will make demands and they will win! Their destiny is to be strong; their destiny is to rule and they will fulfill that destiny!

MAY DAY GREETINGS

ST. LOUIS BRANCH, WORKERS PARTY

GREETINGS FROM DENVER, COLO.

R. W. T.

Greetings on Your Anniversary
FROM A MARYLAND FRIEND

LUDLOW, COLORADO: A LIVING MEMORIAL TO THE COAL MINERS

By ROBERT SHERMAN

Ludlow is not dead. Readers of LABOR ACTION are familiar with accounts of the infamous and bloody Ludlow Massacre which took place exactly 31 years ago this month and from which historic spot your LABOR ACTION reporter has just returned.

Ludlow is not dead, nor much less the memory of the bitter coal strike of 1913-14 culminating in the destruction of the Ludlow tent colony and the burning to death of two women and eleven children. Thirty-one years is not enough to erase or even dull the indelible stamp it has left on the minds and hearts of its inhabitants.

WHAT LED TO THE STRIKE

They remember well the situation leading to the strike; miserable pay, racking hours, dangerous conditions, false weights on coal dug, company-owned houses, company-owned school, company-owned church, company-owned stores, company-owned doctors, company-owned local office holders. They remember well the attempts to organize, with union organizers beaten, run out of town and sometimes killed; the vast spy system, the army of camp marshals and deputies, the human indignities and humiliation suffered—and the huge profits of the Rocky Mountain Fuel and Iron Company owned by the philanthropist, John D. Rockefeller.

Then, organization despite obstacles. Demands and refusals to meet the miners, let alone grant demands. Strikes—being kicked out of homes—setting up in tents—unleashing of unmitigated terror—constant attacks by armed and mounted company murderers—holes dug beneath tents to protect women and kids from gunfire—attacks beaten off—finally, an all day attack with the colony burned to the ground.

Today a monument rests on the site with the figure of a miner, his wife and child and the inscription:

"IN MEMORY OF THE MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN WHO LOST THEIR LIVES IN FREEDOM'S CAUSE AT LUDLOW, COLORADO, April 20, 1914. Erected by United Mine Workers."

A few feet directly in front of the monument is a metal trap door which when opened reveals a set of concrete steps leading down to the very hole (now reinforced with concrete) where the charred bodies of the women and children were found.

LUDLOW TODAY

A dirt road leads from the main highway to the monument and winds off into the community of Ludlow in one direction and up to Delagua in another. Delagua, together with all the other mining settlements throughout the district, was also in on the coal strike. Going up to the general store and postal station at Delagua you pass rows of small, uniform houses built on a slope. In the distance on a hill is the schoolhouse, larger and red.

Inside the general store was a small group of men, a couple of whom were recovering from an accident, one with a broken arm and the other with a busted collar bone. They were sitting and standing around talking. "The 1913 coal strike? And how."

"Pop, here," indicating a short, gnarled old man with a heavy grey mustache, "was in, on the whole thing."

The man behind the counter with an apron on came over, waited for an opening, then spoke. "This very store here was a saloon at the time and I was just a little kid then—they were shooting in from the outside. You see, this was all part of the camp and the miners drove the guards back and they were crawling around on the floor inside here and they were shooting in from the hills and—"

Another interrupted him to mention the names of some men killed and point to the spots outside where it happened. Talk of the old strike went on until it drifted on to the possible new strike.

"The boys in the east went out Easter Sunday and haven't gone back yet."

"But they extended the negotiations with a retroactive clause and—"

"Retrospective. Yeah. Last time we got screwed out of plenty of dough. We didn't get near what we were supposed to. Those boys back east are all right." He clucked appreciatively.

Against Labor-Capital Unity!

By SAM ADAMS

Only a few weeks ago, the Labor-Management Charter, heralding a new era in capital-labor relations, was blazoned across the pages of the nation's press. Management, under the leadership of Eric Johnston, President of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, attended by an assortment of big businessmen, and William Green and Philip Murray, signed this Charter.

The Charter recognized the right of labor to organize, but at the same time asserted the inherent right of business to own, operate and profit from the toil of the workers. It talked a great deal about full employment and high wages, but the central theme of the Charter was that labor must do nothing to upset the prerogatives of business, since labor depended upon capital for its jobs and security. Naturally, nothing in the Charter even hinted at the fact that labor produces all the wealth in the world and that this wealth is appropriated by big business for its own private profit at the expense of the well being of the workers and their families.

What the labor "statesmen" actually did was to sign a document which asserted that labor's existence was secondary to the right of management to profits.

For the privilege of signing this businessman's creed, the labor leaders promised to do everything

The Delagua mine owned by the Victor American Fuel Company wasn't very far up the same winding rutted country road but as you went up the vegetation grew sparser, the ground rockier. Then you saw the superstructure of the mine. Scattered over a short space were a few houses with chickens running around, the wooden company office, and a long shack with a bulletin board outside. In front of the shack was a miner pouring water down the radiator of an old Ford. He too remembered the strike and spoke of it at length, and then, inevitably, of the new situation.

"Come on, I'll show you Lewis' telegram."

The telegram informed the men of the extended negotiations and instructed them to continue work.

No, he didn't think they'd get all the demands but they would get quite a few.

"The papers sure have been tearing us up. Say we're stabbing the soldiers in the back. They're always speaking for the soldiers. Who the hell do they think the soldiers are if not the common people? You'd think we didn't give any soldiers. If they had their way the soldiers would come back and it would be just like it was in the old days, only worse. I'd like to see those guys go down in a mine. Go down in a mine and work there all their lives. High wages. Sure we pull down ten, twelve bucks a day, we work piece work here, but what does that mean nowadays with a family to feed and clothes? Coal shortage. Right here beyond that canyon are three of the best mines in the district but they're idle. Why? Because it is cheaper to run this one."

He talked on for quite a bit. A trio of school kids passed lugging books. They looked out of place in that environment.

"Here come the man-cars."

"Man-cars?"

"Yes, the cars bringing the men up. See?"

SCARS OF 1914

The men came straggling up to the shack where they recharged the batteries for their headlamps. Most of them were older men. They wore helmets, heavy shirts, heavy trousers or overalls and jackets and carried large cylindrical lunch buckets. All were black with grime. They were friendly and each nodded or smiled a greeting. A few stopped to talk. Many had heavy accents, Italian, Greek, Mexican, Slav.

"Sure we eat right down there, dirt and all."

"A mine is a mine, safeguards or not. This one here blew up three times. Coal dust."

"All my life. Started when I was sixteen."

"And how, especially this lousy one cause it's very low and you've got to work crouched all the time."

They drove away. Not one car was a late model.

Back to Ludlow with its scattered houses, general store-gas station-postal station. (Most of the miners live near Delagua or Trinidad.)

Mr. Domenick Millinazzo, owner of the store, short and wiry with a black mustache and cigar stub clamped tightly in his mouth, was pointing out the sights.

"Right there in that canyon just across the way they dug pits and set up their big searchlights and machine guns. See that third telephone pole down there? No, over there. Well right about there is where they caught three of the men going back to try and save some of the women and kids. You see, when the attack came they set themselves up out there to draw the gunfire away from the camp. Louis Tikas, he was the leader of the Greek section, was one of the men caught and Linderfelt, he was a dirty—of the militia, hit him over the head with a rifle but then shot him in the back seven times."

Mr. Millinazzo went on for quite a while until he had to go back to the store. We were sitting on a bench in front of the store. One old man was telling of the role that Byrnes (the late Roosevelt's own War Mobilizer-Byrnes) played on the Senate investigation committee sent down. He was the only one unfavorable to the miners, taking up with the operators right from the start. The Texas Zephyr roared through tossing out the mail sack.

Ludlow—to the passengers peering out of the train—just a tiny community that flashed by.

Ludlow—to labor a symbol. Private property versus human lives.

Iron Range Workers Want A Labor Party

Labor's balance sheet on the Iron Range this May 1 is nothing to cheer about. Written in dangerous red ink are the "Endorse the Friends of Labor" Joint Labor Council organized at Hibbing and the sure signs of mass unemployment now cropping up in mine and railroad.

WHO RUNS GOVERNMENT?

The present session of the state legislature gave another vivid demonstration of why labor should have its own political party. Comprising about two percent of Minnesota's population, the lawyers nevertheless constitute over eighty percent of the 67 senators and 131 representatives of the legislature. On the senate "labor" committee are 13 lawyers, 1 doctor and 1 merchant—out of 15 members! You get the same sorry setup in the house labor committee. Without a single representative on these all-important political bodies, the workers again take it on the chin.

This time, however, labor came close to suffering a deadly blow at the hands of these "friends of labor". The Secondary Boycott was passed by the legislature and only failed through the governor's veto. This bill, allegedly aimed at workers' boycotts of merchants handling shipments from companies where strikes exist, was in reality a disguised weapon to hamstring union activities and beat them to death in the legal-fascist manner.

What did the labor "leaders" do while the lawyers were showing this union-busting measure through the legislature? In customary style, they got down on their knees and crawled to these legal mannikins of the big-business, big-farmer circle, begging them in stern whines not to do this dastardly deed. The local legal sharks spit in their upturned faces, just like the "friends of labor" do at Washington.

They knew, of course, that the labor heads had not come to the rank and file of their unions for support. They knew that these incredible persons had not made a fighting issue of their proposed boycott bill by taking the poisonous measure into every union local in the state. They knew that these pathetic excuses for labor leaders would again endorse themselves or other "friends of labor" in the very next election and that the worker would get no political party of their own if their "leaders" could possibly prevent it.

Another anti-labor development is taking place on the Mesabi Iron Range. Several weeks after the Shahtman visit to Hibbing, where the Secretary of the Workers' Party spoke before a rank-and-file audience of mine and railroad workers, a group of local labor leaders convoked a meeting of invited mine, railroad and other workers to consider forming a joint "social and welfare" committee.

THE LABOR FAKERS

At the first meeting, attended by about thirty-five unionists from the AFL, the CIO and the Railroad Brotherhoods, Acting Chairman Peter Stark of the Central Labor Union (AFL) of Hibbing and several others took the position in discussion that labor should not organize its own independent labor party. In the words of Stark, "labor doesn't want to get criticized. You can't control the labor vote—labor would get a black eye if it got in politics."

Once Stark and others had committed themselves on this vital point, one member of the railroad delegation pointed out that the meeting had apparently been called to consider a joint social and welfare committee. He pointed out that since the meeting had been called by union members who had invited workers to attend that it must logically be the welfare of the working class that was under consideration. Therefore, he said, the first thing that should have been considered in the meeting was the needs of the working class. By establishing those needs and proceeding from that basic point, you would inevitably arrive at the only possible means by which labor's problems can be solved—the independent labor party.

The railroad delegate got nowhere

with his stand so far as the leadership of the Joint Labor Council were concerned. He went into the question of an independent labor party at the second meeting of the Council and again tried to explain what should now be clear to a schoolboy—that labor could not be worse "criticized" nor get any blacker "black eyes" than it was getting right then in the state legislature where the Secondary Boycott Bill was being polished up, nor at the hands of Roosevelt and his crowd who were going all out in the drive to Hitlerize American labor with the totalitarian labor draft. He explained the role of Hillman, Murray, Green and the rest of the labor bureaucracy in misleading the workers in the November, 1944 elections and their reactionary, anti-union stand in fighting rank and file pressure for the independent labor party.

With Stark, Swanson, Wenberg and other local labor leaders openly opposed to such progressive views, however, the organization was directed along lines of endorsing candidates for local political office. The candidates, of course, are to be the usual "friends" of labor. Rank and file railroad and mine workers in the Hibbing area will not follow such a sterile, threadbare, hollow, stupid program. With over 30 million votes at its command, enough to elect its own labor party candidates to every office in the land, American workers would be criminally foolish to go on sticking these company candidates in office any longer. A group of union members who are either so uninformed or so self-seeking as to try to steel Iron Range workers away from any line of militant action such as backing their own labor party, are not qualified to represent working men on the trade union field.

The big issues, the real issues, today are not microscopic pay raises that never catch up with price boosts, but the guaranteed annual wage, the thirty-hour week, the adequate pensions after 25 or 30 years service, etc. About these vital issues the labor bureaucracy is doing some talking—and that is all.

The economic condition of Mesabi mine and railroad workers is not good. Mine labor gets about 82 cents an hour, railroad labor scales from 62 cents an hour up to \$1.15 for the "aristocrats" of railroad labor in the Big Five group. Despite the generally low wages and stiff retail prices, there is an adequate labor supply in the Range area. Job freezing has forced job-changers into line and the labor turnover is slight. Overtime work is being cut down in the mines and it is rumored that railroad workers will get back to the eight-hour day very soon.

INDEPENDENT LABOR POLITICS

The Iron Range country and Northern Minnesota generally is tough country for a worker in normal times—that is, when we are not producing for war. Instead of mining some 68 millions tons of ore, production drops to as low as 20 million tons a year. The mine workers don't work, the railroad workers with 30 years' seniority are lucky to hold more than six months a year and their families pull in their belts and eat rutabaga porridge.

Mine workers here hold seniority, usually, in only one mine. That makes it possible for the mining companies to get rid of their older men by closing one mine until many of them fan out across the country in search of Horatio Alger. It also means that a miner with 25 years in the open pit can be out of work in one town while another miner with 2 years in the red mud holds on in another.

The Minnesota mine and railroad workers are waking up, though, and will not much longer be misled by the labor bureaucracy and the two-party farce. The progressive Iron Range Section of the Railroad Workers Joint Action Committee is doing a thorough job of educating Minnesota workers to the need for an independent labor party and is developing the trained, informed, fighting leadership that the workers must have in the coming struggle against unemployment, poverty and labor enslavement.

—By a Mesabi Worker

THE AKRON BRANCH of the WORKERS PARTY

Sends May Day and Birthday Greetings to

LABOR ACTION

GREETINGS AND SOLIDARITY FROM

DETROIT BRANCH 2, WORKERS PARTY

Greetings on Your Fifth Birthday

B. C. BENNEM, MUMFORD, N. Y.

In Labor's Fighting Ranks . . .

UE Is Not Prepared For Post-War Crisis

Climaxing a series of disastrous policies pursued during the war by the leadership of the Communist Party-dominated United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers' Union of America, the union has now, through its general president, A. J. Fitzgerald, come out for the retention of the no-strike pledge after the war.

Speaking to UE members in Minneapolis, Fitzgerald stated: "As far as I am concerned, the no-strike pledge was not made just for the duration of the war."

This latest policy of the UE leadership means the further weakening of the union which is already ill-prepared to meet the problems which will confront it in the post-war period.

UE FACES THE POST-WAR

Every union man expects a drive by the employers, at the conclusion of the war, to lower wages, to weaken or break the unions. The right to strike, the fight for the short work week, and the strict interpretation of seniority clauses will be labor's chief weapons against the plans of capital.

On these three scores, the UE leadership has given up the fight in advance. In addition to Fitzgerald's statement heralding the complete surrender of the strike weapon by the union, the UE is the only one of the big CIO international unions which has come out against the thirty-five hour week. The seniority clauses in most UE contracts are very weak and containing "bumping" provisions, according to which workers moved from a higher to a lower paying job have their pay cut to the level of the lower-paying job. Only a firm policy on seniority can prevent the UE seniority clauses from becoming completely non-operative in the face of widespread layoffs.

Such a policy is lacking in the leadership of the UE.

The UE incentive pay (piecework) policy, which is written into most UE contracts, plus its opposition to the short work week, will mean grave difficulties for the union when layoffs come. The bosses will find it easier to cut piece rates than hourly rates by the simple expedient of upping production quotas. At one blow, the incentive pay system will cut wages and increase the number of layoffs. UE workers will find that they have worked themselves out of jobs, thanks to incentive pay.

Many unions are preparing to keep up their strength in the post-war period by conducting organizing drives now. The UE organizing drives are conducted on the basis of promising the workers "harmony between management and the UE, and joint planning in the post-war era." This, of course, meets with little response from workers harassed by low wages and management provocations. The recent loss of the Hudson American shop in New York City by the UE to the UAW, is indicative of the ineffectiveness of UE organization policy.

Perhaps the most dangerous factor for the future of the UE is that the membership has been completely miseducated in the ideas of trade unionism. The leadership has inculcated into the membership the idea

that the main function of their union is to act as a sort of advisory body to management. The membership is taught to rely on the bosses' sense of "fair play" instead of on their own organized strength.

The UE leadership substitutes political activity for collective bargaining and the building up of the union's economic strength. They give full and uncritical support to the War Labor Board. They preach and practice reliance on governmental agencies and support so-called "friends of labor" in the capitalist parties as a means of bettering working conditions. At the same time they (and their mentors in the Communist Party) are the most vicious opponents in the labor movement of independent workers' political action as a corollary to collective bargaining.

A TOTALITARIAN POLICY

The UE leadership uses the weight of the union apparatus to stifle opposition wherever it raises its head. UE publications are used to give the viewpoint of the leadership and to hide the existence of an opposition. All the force of the national office is brought into play against individual militant workers who try to resist the policies of the leadership.

Recently in Local 1227 (New York City) several workers who expressed dissatisfaction with the piecework rate in their department were expelled from the union on charges of slow-down.

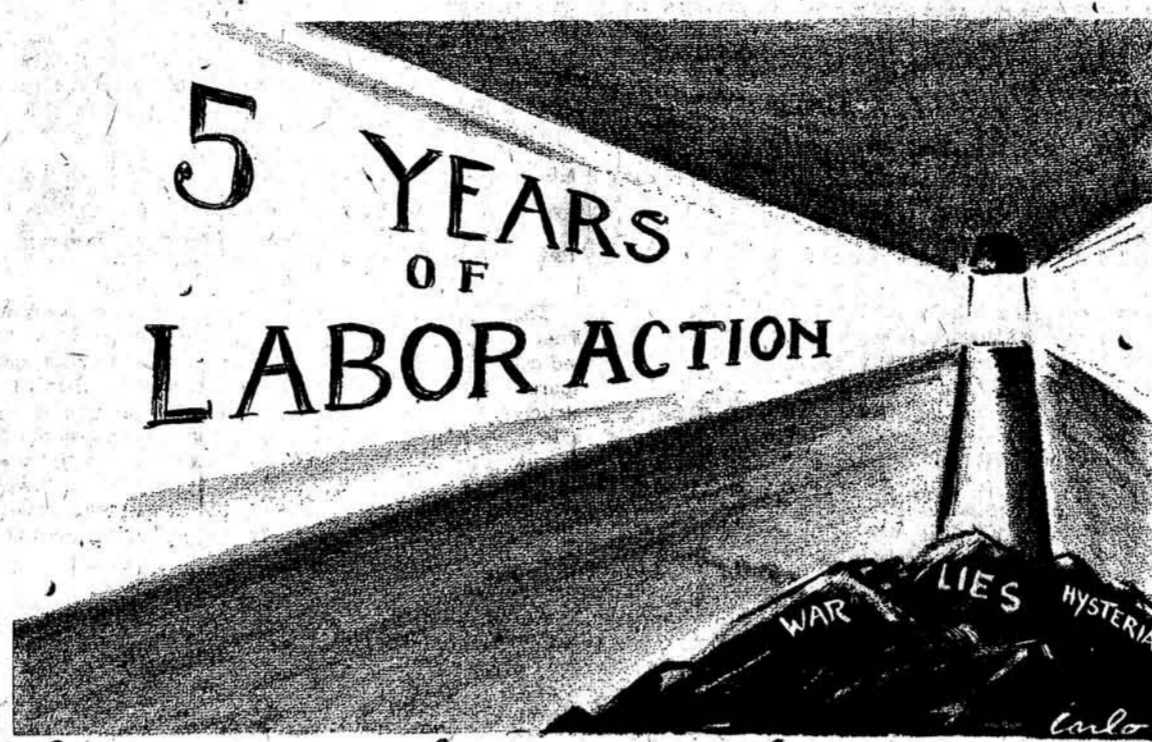
In spite of the leadership, however, dissatisfaction and opposition do exist. Nearly one hundred spontaneous strikes and stoppages last year testify to that fact. At the UE national convention last fall, the entire Connecticut UE, under the leadership of Delegate Hogan, was in opposition to the national officialdom. Unfortunately, Hogan's opposition was hesitant, unclear and ineffective.

The most effective and best organized opposition exists in Local 425 (Ford Instrument Co.) of Long Island City. This local has the best contract in the district and has consistently turned down the incentive pay schemes of the UE district and national offices.

Since the convention, rank and file opposition has sprung up in various General Electric and General Motors locals. Last week's LABOR ACTION reported that Local 107 (G. E.-Westinghouse) of Chester, Pa., passed a resolution supporting the rescinding of the no-strike pledge by the Textile Workers Union.

The future of the UERMWA, with its present leadership and policies, is black. It may go to pieces under the onslaught of the employers in the post-war period. It may adapt itself to the demands of the employers and convert itself into a company union.

The hope for the UE lies with the opposition. In order to be effective, the opposition, now scattered in different locals and without a clear program, must unite its forces around a fighting program. It must awaken and educate the membership and remove the present leadership if the UE is to be an effective collective, bargaining instrument in the stormy days ahead.



SOME INT'L HARVESTER HISTORY

By ROY GOULD

There was a time when the Chicago workers were in the forefront of the international working class movement. They led the fight for the eight-hour day and the first May Day celebration was in Chicago.

This may seem strange to some Americans, taught by the capitalist newspapers to believe that May Day, a workers' holiday, is a foreign importation. This is not true. It was at McCormick's International Harvester Company, where the workers are slaving at piece work for 9, 10 and even 12 hours a day, that the battle of the first May Day was fought.

STRIKE OF 1886

In 1886, a great general strike for the 8 hour day was planned. The McCormick workers went out three days ahead of schedule. The Anarchists supported them, and came down to help them. To protest the police brutality (present-day McCormick workers also know something about this) a huge demonstration was held in Haymarket Square.

The movement was gaining ground. The eight hour day was the cry of the working people throughout the country. The capitalists feared lest the workers discover their own might in a revolutionary general strike. So a bomb was planted in the Haymarket crowd. The plot to frame the leaders was successful and they were arrested and hung.

This barbaric act stirred the working class round the world. It is in memory of the Haymarket martyrs that we celebrate May Day as the day of the working class.

But the struggle for decent con-

ditions at McCormick's still goes on. As long as there is a privileged-owning class exploiting the workers, there is bound to be a class struggle. The story of McCormick's—the rise and fall of the International Harvester Company—is like the history of capitalism itself.

EVOLUTION OF McCORMICK'S

The McCormick plant was not laid out at any one time. It just grew. The buildings are now rotting to pieces and have been condemned, but are still in daily use. They are dark and cut up. It breaks the backs of hundreds of Negro and old Polish workers to haul and push the wheels and castings from one place to another—up and down, over brick roads and railway tracks, and through the mud. Over canals and up elevators and down again. Thanks to the Chicago fire, the works is not still older!!

There was a time when capitalism was progressive and raised the standard of living of the people. There was a time when Cyrus McCormick created new labor-saving farm machinery, when he gave jobs and made a fortune. At that time the McCormick workers were in the forefront of the international working class movement. But capitalism runs its course, then shrivels and dies. Now the McCormick workers' labor 9, 10 and 12 hours a day or night. They produce old-fashioned implements which can not stand up to post-war competition. They know that the Deering Works had to shut down from this same malady.

They read in Colonel McCormick's Tribune, not of the fine new inventions and new factories of his family. No. They read of divorce scandals among the de-

scendants of Cyrus McCormick, legal battles for possession of rich children, and of hundreds of thousands of dollars per year accumulating to one McCormick who is entirely incapacitated, who never produced a thing in his life. All the while the factory gets older, the machinery more obsolete and the supervisors scramble for power and position.

With the rise of the CIO, the Harvester workers began to stir again. Although the first strength of the United Automobile Workers was in farm equipment plants, a clique of Joe Stalin's followers set up a Farm Equipment Organized Committee in the CIO and international Harvester plants into this tiny outfit. The workers, however, wanted a real union and soon discovered that they had not a union, but an auxiliary to Stalin's political machine. The result has been a series of struggles between company unions, AFL unions and the Stalinist FE. This latter got the bargaining rights, but has been unable to build an effective union.

The UAW was busy organizing auto and aircraft. Recently it has awakened to what is going on in the farm equipment industry. In plants in Chicago and Peoria, it has opened a drive in the FE causing one of the first jurisdictional battles inside the CIO. The national CIO is now trying to solve this dispute peacefully, and has created a three man committee to arbitrate the jurisdiction. The bulk of the workers want the UAW. Unless the jurisdiction is taken away from the Communist misleaders, there is little hope of getting the kind of a union which the workers want and need.

URW Militants Need Organized Program

By BILL FORD

AKRON—Development of a nationwide fighting caucus of rank and file workers within the United Rubber Workers, CIO, is the crying need of the hour for labor in the rubber industry.

It is not putting the question too sharply to say that ONLY through forming such an instrument in the immediate period ahead will the rubber workers be able to BEGIN to make headway out of the dismal swamp they are now bogged down in. Without an ORGANIZED effort involving ultimately the democratic participation of thousands of rank and file members throughout the international union, the labor movement can expect to receive only further kicks in the face such as it got from the War Labor Board on April 13.

WAGE BID TURNED DOWN

On that day the WLB announced it had denied the seventeen cents per hour general wage increase demanded for 138,000 of the URWA's members. It had been a foregone conclusion for months that such action would be taken by the industry-stacked WLB. Indeed, it has taken fourteen months since the original raising of this demand in February, 1944 for the whole question to get up to the WLB level.

However, "What has all that to do with the necessity of rank and file workers getting together and forming a fighting caucus inside the union?" some uninformed unionist may say. Did not our union officers go to Washington and fight for us before the WLB?" he might continue.

Yes, the international and local union officials went to Washington and—ARGUED with the representatives of industry and their political stooges. They went through the same "bargaining" process there that goes on so unsuccessfully in every organized plant in the land.

There were, however, three separate arguments that the international union REFUSED to permit in its brief before the WLB. These arguments are the type that would really have worried the industrialists and their henchmen, worried them enough to think twice before upholding the Little Steel formula in the face of the rubber workers' obvious need of higher wages.

Through Attorney Patterson, the Dalrymple-Burns-Buckmaster-Stalinist leadership of the international union gave assurances to the WLB that no matter what decision the WLB arrived at, whether just or unjust, the URWA would maintain its no-strike pledge. These miserable misleaders of labor in this manner REFUSED to use the best and most elementary argument—use of the strike—that labor has when faced with capitalist obstinacy.

Furthermore, the labor skates REFUSED permission to use the next most effective argument—that the whole URWA would withdraw its support from the WLB unless the Little Steel formula were revised upward so workers could obtain necessary wage increases. Instead, the WLB was given to understand that the union believes the WLB is a wonderful and necessary institution, with only minor faults.

Finally, by all of its actions and propaganda over a period of years the top bureaucracy of the URWA has sworn its complete devotion to the founder of the WLB's policies—the present administration of the United States. It does not contemplate a break with that administration. Consequently, the WLB heard not a word of workers' POLITICAL argumentation, that the union would undertake the formation of an independent Labor Party to drive the present administration and the WLB with it out of office so that labor could fight the corporations with its political arm as well as with its economic might.

When the URWA leadership deliberately threw away all of its trump cards and conceded the game in advance to the company-dominated WLB, is it any wonder that that body flatly rejected its major demands, granting only part of the "fringe" demands? Of course not!

FOR A FIGHTING RANK AND FILE

And right here, fellow worker, is where that pressing need for a fighting caucus of the rank and file comes in. Such a caucus, like the one within the United Auto Workers, would set out to win the majority of the membership of the international union to the understanding that the main reasons for the URWA's present impotence lies in the stupid, cringing, sell-out policies of Dalrymple and his bureaucratic cronies.

A genuine rubber workers' Rank and File Caucus would inscribe on its banner the very best arguments that union labor has against the conditions it works under today. It would not rest content with talking about how abused it is by the companies and pleading helplessly for governmental agencies to step in and help it. Instead it would carry on a consistent and active campaign among the rubber workers to educate them in the methods of re-establishing collective bargaining by rescinding the no-strike pledge and withdrawing union support from the WLB.

It would, further, conduct a struggle within the international union to change the support that the union now gives mistakenly to capitalist politicians, Democrats and Republicans. The need for independent political action by means of converting the PAC into a Labor Party would be stressed, so that labor's enormous political weight could be actually utilized, instead of being frittered away.

Such a program is the only kind of program that is going to bring the rubber workers out from under the stranglehold that the government stooges of big business now have on labor and permit the unions to regain their lost freedom of action against the corporations.

Progressive individual workers or groups already existing in the URWA need to face up to just where they are going, if they have not already found agreement with this type of program. It will be exceedingly hard to win effective progressive support against Dalrymple unless a sound approach is made by combatting his policies with those of genuine progressive unionism.

Detroit UAW Rank and File Faces Reconversion Fight

By MARTIN HARVEY

DETROIT—May Day, 1945, marks a turning point for the Detroit labor movement. For the UAW-CIO in Detroit, this May Day is V-E Day and the immediate problem it faces is reconversion and mass unemployment.

During the years of war the primary object of the workers of Detroit was to maintain their living standards and their union against the dual onslaught of the auto corporations and the government. To do this they had to fight the vicious regulations and restrictions of the Roosevelt war government and the power of the profit-swollen corporations.

They were aided in this fight by the serious shortage of labor for war production, a shortage which labor could have used to excellent advantage. This favorable strategic position, however, was more than wiped out by the sell-out policies of the labor leadership—R. J. Thomas, George Addes, Walter Reuther and Richard Frankenstein. The struggle during the war years turned naturally, because of this, against the leadership which voluntarily surrendered the right to strike and accepted compulsory arbitration from an employer-packed War Labor Board, the leadership which voluntarily retreated from the most favorable bargaining position labor had ever held.

Out of this struggle was born a new rank and file leadership, the UAW Rank & File Committee, which organized and led the fight for a militant and fighting UAW. It was this committee which pressed for and won a membership referendum on the no-strike pledge and rallied over

thirty-five per cent of the vote against the pledge. It was this committee which obviously reflected the interests and desires of the rank and file of the union, a rank and file which established a stirring record of strike action against the anti-union offensive. There was hardly a day that one or more Detroit plants, large or small, was not shut down by strike action.

This fighting spirit reached its peak in the recent Dodge and Briggs strikes and the Kelsey-Hayes strike just ended which won substantial concessions from the corporations and the WLB.

With the war in Europe reaching its end, however, a new and more threatening enemy is faced by the auto workers. The Army has announced that the contracts for the huge Willow Run bomber plant will not be renewed. This means the dumping into the streets of over 21,000 workers from that plant alone. Affected in addition are substantial numbers of workers on aircraft engines at the Ford Highland Park and Rouge plants, and aircraft workers at Hudson, Murray Body and Buick in Flint. The minimum layoff in the Detroit area from this one contract cancellation will surpass 50,000 workers.

Add to this the tens of thousands already laid off and the layoffs to follow and a rough idea is presented of the seriousness of the situation and the urgency of the problem.

The auto workers can take two roads in the coming period. They can follow the timid, vacillating program of the UAW leadership—and

achieve nothing. Or they can fight for a bold, uncompromising program that will meet their needs.

The minimum that is required in the present situation is the following:

- 1—An immediate reduction in working hours to thirty hours per week with no reduction in weekly pay.
- 2—A minimum annual guaranteed wage of \$2,500 for each worker.
- 3—All government owned plants that are not needed for war production must be continued in operation with the production of needed peacetime goods. These plants must remain government owned and their management turned over to the union, which is the only organization interested in the maintenance of peak production.
- 4—All privately owned plants which shut down in whole or in part must be taken over by the government and operated under trade union control.
- 5—Any deficits which arise out of such operation to be met by taxation of current or previously accumulated war profits of the big corporations.

Greetings from the Friends of Labor Action at the University of Arizona
Russ Green
Andrew Mills
John Barb

Greetings From

Harry, Jack, Chick, Don and Blake who wish they could be with us in more than spirit today

May Day Greetings: BERNIE AND ROSE New York City

MAY DAY GREETINGS AND SOLIDARITY FROM MARTY YOUNG

Revolutionary Greetings From a DeLeonist Bellaire, Ohio

Good Luck—Merritshaw Newark, N. J.

Best Wishes—Shadow. Long Live L. A.—S. K. Revolutionary Greetings—W. L. M. All of Buffalo

May Day and Anniversary Greetings from STREATOR, ILLINOIS

Greetings on Fifth Anniversary

WILLIE GORMAN
P. HOFFMAN
MARY HOWARD
S. COLLINS
V. JENSEN

De Ol' Debbil Linoiyper

A FRIEND
A FRIEND
S. DRAKE
SARAH PETERS
JOHN ANDREWS
New York

May Day Greetings—K. S. V. B.—New York

GREETINGS FROM LESLIE CHICAGO

MAE H. RINGS
Los Angeles, Calif.

GREETINGS FROM HELEN CHICAGO

MAY DAY GREETINGS TO LABOR'S FIGHTING PAPER

Workers Party of Los Angeles

The San Pedro Harbor Area Section of the Workers Party Sends May Day Greetings Fifth Anniversary of Labor Action and Workers Party

We, mainly shipyard and maritime workers, wish to extend a hand of solidarity to the courageous mine workers and auto workers who have devotedly kept alive the flame of militancy and working class struggle.

GREETINGS FROM FRIENDS AND MEMBERS OF THE

Cleveland Branch of the Workers Party

THE WAR THEORIES--AFTER SIX YEARS OF FIGHTING

By WALTER JASON

Those analysts of the war who based their whole orientation on a firm belief that sooner or later the war in Europe would turn into a combined struggle against Russia because it was a "workers' state," must be completely disoriented by recent events, or else assume an ostrich-like attitude. In the February issue of the English *Socialist Appeal* these views were present in glaring fashion in an editorial. It stated three major points. (1) The Allies couldn't smash through the western front. (2) Russia was achieving the greatest military miracle in history because it had the resources created by the October Revolution. (3) It had a morale based on the October Revolution. If the editorial had only named the "organizer of this world-shaking victory," I am sure it would have been reprinted in Pravda. But the analysis was wrong on all three counts.

The collapse of the western front speaks for itself. As for point (2), even Stalin has grudgingly admitted that lend-lease material made the recent offensive possible (not to speak of Allied air power, and the other two fighting fronts). As for point (3), neither the huge toll of Russian prisoners nor the thousands who fought in German uniform, especially in Southern France, nor the repressive discipline in the Russian army argue for a morale similar to that which repulsed Yudenich against greater odds in the defense of Petrograd during the Revolution.

Earlier, some ultra-lefts argued for a concept characterized best perhaps by the term, "short war theory." War-

weary masses would soon end the world conflict by the overthrow of ruling regimes. Last spring, this view went so far as to assure a quick end in Europe based on a German revolt. This view I rejected for two sound reasons. If the French workers, bound in a magnificent resistance movement, were unable after freeing Paris, to seize and keep power, how could one expect anything from the German people, who are not only leaderless, like the French, but also pulverized, atomized and brutalized by the regime to an extent almost unbelievable? Besides, the politics of the Allies were calculated precisely to prevent any such occurrence. Italy, and above all, Greece, were lessons for the Germans on that score.

Currently, the war in Europe has not ended despite military disaster for Germany (1) because of the repelling politics of the Kremlin (2) the terror regime of the Nazis (3) and because the strategy of the "war of annihilation" refuses anything but piecemeal surrender. Refusal to accept Von Rundstedt's offer was in conformity with that strategy. The

German people are going to be taught the hard way what it means to take arms against the Allies.

In this connection, Eisenhower's memo to Roosevelt, recently made public, is not so much a prognosis as a plan. In my view, it is unlikely that the Nazis will make things so simple as some hope, namely that they shall band together in a final *Gotterdammerung*. This is too simple a solution. The strategy of chaos, Hitler's last bet, can make more skillful plans, as witnessed by the decree separating the party functionaries from the state administration.

In passing, one can't help but laugh at the ignorance of those who argued, or continue to argue (1) Only the Russian offensive was responsible for the defeat (2) only the Allied offensive is causing the disastrous defeat of Germany. Without the victory in the battle of France no Russian offensive would have been possible. Air power, too, played a considerable role. Conversely, the eastern front gains made possible the Western breakthrough. Even today, the Russian army is occupying the attention of the bulk of the Wehrmacht. Chauvinists, Russian or any other brand, might argue in terms like the editorial writer of the *Socialist Appeal*, but this method has nothing in common with a serious military analysis, or an internationalist who understands things in their totality.

A third view, and one which was much closer to reality, was that which prevailed fortunately in our movement. A stalemate was considered probable, and a "long war" view was held. The long war, indeed has

been with us, but an amendment is necessary in the prognosis. Europe is confronted with a military victory, and a decisive one at that. The weight of material and men has been decisive. The Big Three have conquered Europe.

Before the battle of France it was legitimate to pose these questions, for events hadn't settled the issue: Would the resistance movements be able to utilize the conflict to assume a dominating role, or would their inspiring struggles be fully subordinated to the Big Three? Temporarily, at least, the second question became the reality. This is now the fundamental relationship in Europe. It determines the course of political events in the next period.

A RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

The war in Europe ends with the decisive elimination of one of the major contenders for world empires. The grand prize of the war, the fabulous colonies in the Orient, and decisive influence in China stands before the Big Three. It is here where the sharpest differences exist among the Big Three.

In Europe, once Germany is eliminated, a compromise on differences is not too difficult. The Allies remain united on one major principle; defeat of any social revolutions. The reduction of Europe into spheres of influence is accomplished.

WAR IN THE PACIFIC

In the Pacific, precisely the major differences, real and impending among the Big Three, assure full and joint participation in the campaign to exterminate Japan, which will

learn an unforgettable lesson of the Ghenghis Khan variety.

England needs desperately to regain colonial conquests lost to Japan, if it is to remain among the Big Three. The resources of China, and its potential market have not escaped the eyes of the merchants of Manchester. Britain will participate fully in the Pacific. The problem is not whether she will participate, as some falsely argue, but rather how to remove the imperial flag from a recaptured Singapore, Hong Kong, the Indies, and elsewhere.

Stalin's regime needs badly some substantial compensation for the losses sustained in the European war. Manchuria, Korea, and perhaps China are not exactly trifles. Besides, a Russia which needs a chunk of Poland for protection must obviously safeguard its approaches from Japan by seizing all adjacent territory. In China, there exist already pliable allies, or puppets for Stalin's Far Eastern plans. The almost indecent haste with which the Stalinist regime breaks with Japan indicates simply how much faster the timetable in the Pacific war has moved than was expected.

In its "open door" policy, and the new version of "trusteeship" of the colonial lands, the USA clashes with the interests of both England and Russia. The rubber and oil resources already belong to a large degree to the American industrialists. Why not friendly governments? Or trusteeships, which mark the decline of the imperial flag, and exclude the Kremlin?

The truly grandiose plans of the

USA in the Pacific are the surest sign that Washington understands thoroughly the politics involved there, and what the basis for decisions at a "peace" conference shall be. The connection between the vast armadas and armies concentrated or "earmarked" for the Pacific, and the "peace" conference are not fully understood by many. The large-scale landings planned on the China coast, the shifting of the greatest military might in world's history to the Pacific; these are not moves only for, or necessary, to smash Japan. The time-table in the Pacific is over one year ahead of schedule. And the pace of Japan's complete defeat accelerate.

The tremendous gains of the USA against Japan, in contrast to earlier military prognosis, arise from two factors: In the first place, Japanese military strength was greatly overestimated. In the second place, the ability of American industry to produce a super-military machine was vastly underestimated. This is reflected in the present relationship between the two nations in two basic arms: Airpower and seapower. In each it is a matter of a giant against a pygmy. In landpower, also, the Japanese are suffering fantastic losses. If two was a shock to the victorious nation, imagine how the Japanese people felt? The Okinawa operation reveals the glaring weakness of the entire Japanese military structure.

In view of this strategic picture, the grandiose plans hardly make sense. They make less sense when one adds coming British and Russian

military intervention. Already, half the Japanese army is immobilized by the threat of Russia. When Stalin moves at the propitious moment, the days of Japan are numbered. But the scope of American planning does make sense viewed against the conflicts and clashes of interest in the East. China will not be a Poland if American armies are in control of decisive areas. Or, more exactly, a Lublin government is excluded. There is also the military occupation of Formosa, the Indies, etc., etc. to be considered. Decisive influence will rest with that power among the Big Three which has recaptured the territory involved in dispute. No doubt, just as "guerrilla warfare" in Europe can justify use of more security troops, a similar phenomenon will exist in the Far East.

Just as the end of the war in Europe didn't bring demobilization, so the collapse of Japan and its reduction to a colony will not bring that peace which the people yearn for. Huge naval and land forces will remain in the Pacific.

The kink in these grandiose plans rests not only in the colonial masses, but, above all, in the people of USA and England. The views of the serviceman shall also play a considerable role. Already the non-fraternization law has failed. Everyone recognizes the "letdown" problem after VE day, both at home and in the army. The extent and scope of this reaction is the modifying force to the big plans. The process of disillusionment expands. But greater disappointments still are ahead.

For Punishment of the Real War Criminals--

(Continued from page 1)

are taking out of Germany, fascism may indeed be a matter of taste when it's a choice between the two totalitarian states.

During the Spanish civil war, when both Italian and German fascism were sending arms to their brother Franco to use against the masses, neither Britain nor the United States would lift the arms embargo to permit assistance against this Spanish butcher.

Therefore the Big Three leaders have no right to be indignant about the Nazi atrocities. The indignation they are arousing has one purpose: to saddle the German workers with the war guilt, to allow harsh punishments to be inflicted upon the German masses, to permit Russia to enlarge its slave-hold with German labor.

Aside from their past record, the current role of the Allied Military Government in the "liberated" areas is additional proof of their hypocrisy. They placed a friend of Mussolini in power in Italy. Only the fierce resentment of the Italian people forced his removal. The AMG cooperates with former fascists all over Italy--persons the Italian masses want removed. A notorious fascist, Roatta, was allowed to escape from prison with the purported assistance of the British. In both Italy and France, it is the members of the popular resistance movements who are demanding a real purge of the fascist elements.

PUNISHMENT OF CRIMINALS

Further, we have the policies of our own State Department. Roosevelt's appointees, James Dunn and Julius Holmes, have both stated that punishment will be meted out for "specific criminal acts." This would eliminate the real sponsors of Nazism, like the representative of the Krupp munitions industry, Alfred Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach, recently captured in his 800-room palace; like Von Papen, former Vice-Chancellor under Hitler, and many similar evil geniuses and brain-trusters for Nazism. They were not the ones who wielded the truncheons or cremated the Jews. They did not commit "specific criminal acts." They merely financed, planned and ordered them!

In Germany, representatives of the trusts are used as advisers to the Al-

lied Military Government. No worker, social democrat, communist, trade union official or even left Christian is permitted in office in the German civil government.

The Russians have promised to shoot first any revolutionaries who want to overthrow the existing social system in Germany.

LABOR ACTION believes that every war criminal should be brought to justice.

The war criminals are all those in both camps, Axis and Allied, who temporized with, aided or abetted fascism in any way.

The war criminals are those on both sides who carried out a war of imperialist plunder and enslavement under false slogans of "liberation" or "freedom."

The war criminals include the authors of specific criminal acts, the thinkers and organizers of those acts and the profiteers for whose freedom of exploitation the acts were carried out.

LABOR ACTION believes only the workers can punish the real war criminals. In Germany, only the slaves are interested in getting rid of their slavemasters. The same is true of every oppressed nationality. The task of American labor is to solidarize itself with its exploited European brothers.

We have no doubt that however many youth fascism was able to captivate, such a régime of terror could only throw most of the population in opposition to it. Those very atrocities are heartrending proof of the unquenchable will to resist all exploitation. We have no doubt that the German masses will one day rise to deliver themselves from their oppressors. If the policy of Nazism-in-reverse is carried through in Germany and a new enslavement is brought about, they will deliver themselves from the new oppressors.

The surest way to guarantee the punishment of the Nazi beasts and their sponsors, the German industrialists and financiers, is to give the enslaved German masses, the imprisoned, tortured, starved workers, complete freedom of action. But this the Allied governments have refused to do. They fear that the victims of the people's revenge will be the true authors of the Nazi atrocities, the business partners of Standard Oil, General Electric, Alcoa, Imperial Chemicals and Vickers!

Third Camp in the War--

(Continued from page 1)

THE NORWEGIAN WORKERS for the 1941 strike in defiance of the Nazi authorities. They struck over the heads of their own union leaders and called to the world's attention that labor resistance to fascism was alive.

THE FRENCH WORKERS AND UNDERGROUND FIGHTERS, who carried on the struggle against foreign oppression after the shameful betrayal by their own ruling class. They organized the resistance to deportations, drove the Nazi troops out of Paris and began to purge all fascists and collaborators. They continue to oppose their own leaders, who want to disarm them, to curb them and keep them from completing their fight.

THE WORKERS OF ITALY, who astonished the world with their general strike and struggles which caused the collapse of the Mussolini régime and showed that twenty-two years of fascism had not corrupted their spirit. They demanded the abolition of the monarchy, release of all political prisoners, an end to the war and freedom of the press and organization. The struggle which they started so heroically under the Nazi occupation they must now continue under the domination of their "liberators" -- England and the United States.

THE WORKERS OF DENMARK, who in July, 1944, answered the attempt of the German authorities to deport the Jewish people with a general strike. They stayed out, despite pleas of the Danish Freedom Council to return to work, until a number of their demands were met.

THE PEOPLE OF WARSAW AND THE REST OF POLAND, who kept up an unrelenting struggle for five years against the invader which culminated in the glorious battle of Warsaw last summer. For sixty-three days, the lone Warsaw workers kept up the fight to oust the Germans, pleading for help from Stalin and Churchill, who stood idly by watching the massacre of over 300,000 poorly armed, starving people. Only when Warsaw was bled white did its people surrender. Our admiration for these fighters is equalled only by our condemnation of their betrayers, the imperialist rulers in London and Moscow.

THE WORKERS AND PEASANTS OF GREECE, who never stopped their fight to drive out the occupying armies of Hitler and continued this fight against the British, who backed the Greek reactionaries and collabo-

rationists and sought to restore the hated Greek monarchy. Through the shameful betrayal of the Stalinist leadership this struggle was halted mid-way, but it is far from over.

THE WORKERS OF GERMANY, who, at the greatest peril, solidarized themselves with their foreign brothers, helped them escape, and even went on strike whenever they could. They are the workers who are now slated by the Big Three to be taken into slavery to pay for the crimes of their fascist rulers against whom they struck.

THE PEOPLE OF INDIA in their struggle for national independence from British imperialism, in 1942 rejected the hypocritical Cripps proposals to postpone independence until after the war and staged a civil disobedience and strike movement, demanding immediate freedom. Only brutal suppression by superior forces of the British and the half-hearted leadership of the Congress Party temporarily halted this fight. But the Indian people are as determined as ever to have their freedom.

THE BOLIVIAN TIN MINERS, who struck in 1942 against the inhuman conditions of toil, against brutal suppression and against intervention of the U. S. Ambassador on the side of the mine owners.

IN THE UNITED STATES we remember the coal miners' strike of 1941 and the three strikes in 1943 which showed the way to break the Little Steel formula. There was the great strike in 1941 at North American Aircraft into which the U. S. Army was sent by the President. There were also the rubber workers' strike in May, 1943; the Detroit strikes and struggles against the companies' anti-labor drive; the sit-in demonstration of the Brewster workers in June, 1944, against the closing of the plant and ensuing layoffs; and the gallant effort of the Rank and File in the UAW to free labor from the shackles of the no-strike pledge.

There were the struggles of the Negro people for democratic rights, for economic, political and social equality, which led to the formation of the March on Washington Movement. It was the timidity and incorrect policy of the leadership which stalled this battle half-way.

And we must recall the magnificent fight put up by the sharpshooters and farm laborers of Southeast Missouri in the summer of 1942 in which they won their thirty-cent hourly wage demand and other improvements.

All of these struggles, no matter how different may have been their immediate goals and forms, have this much in common: They testify to the irresistible urge that the working people everywhere have to secure these improvements in the conditions of life which are made possible by the tremendous achievements of industry, and science; they testify also to the great capacity to recuperate from past defeats and to sacrifice anew for what they consider a just cause.

In the course of these battles, they have had to face not only superior strength from the direct foe, but what is far worse, treachery within their own ranks. The most pernicious influence they have had to contend with was that of the Stalinists in their organizations, who have always tried to seize the leadership of these movements in order to convert them into appendages of the Russian ruling class. Wherever they have not succeeded in this they have sold out the movements in the most brazen manner.

In other cases, the workers have been confronted with leaders who, in the interests of class peace, preferred to derail the movements and to give up the struggle. And finally there were the leaders who did not know where they were leading and got stalled in the middle of the battle.

Yes, the Third Camp exists! It lives and it fights! It has the will to struggle and the capacity to sacrifice. It needs above all clarity of program, consciousness of aim and goal. It needs a program which is consistent with and embraces all the aspirations of the peoples; a program which means fighting on till these are achieved. This is the program of world socialism, the order of democracy, freedom, peace, security and plenty.

That program is now emerging in the form of revolutionary socialist parties in Europe, in the as yet small groups of French, Italian, Belgian and Greek Fourth Internationalists, as well as the growing Revolutionary Communist Party of England. In the United States, this program is represented by the Workers Party.

On this May Day, when we salute all the fighters in the Third Camp, we extend special greetings to our co-thinkers and comrades in Europe who have withstood the years of reaction and are now prepared to take their places in the coming struggles.

In the Militant Tradition of the Northwest
We Send May Day Greetings to Labor Action

ELLEN, BERT, HARRY, ARTHUR,
CARL, DON, HELEN

SEATTLE BRANCH, WORKERS PARTY

REVOLUTIONARY GREETINGS FROM THE
BUFFALO BRANCH, WORKERS PARTY

WORKERS PARTY, BRANCH 1, DETROIT

GREETS LABOR ACTION ON ITS
FIFTH BIRTHDAY
LONG LIFE TO YOU!

MAY DAY GREETINGS FROM THE
QUEENS BRANCH, WORKERS PARTY, NEW YORK

MAY DAY GREETINGS FROM THE
MANHATTAN BRANCH, N. Y. WORKERS PARTY

BIRTHDAY GREETINGS FROM THE
Harlem Branch, Workers Party
TO LABOR ACTION

"LABOR WITH A WHITE SKIN CANNOT EMAN-
CIPATE ITSELF WHERE LABOR WITH A BLACK
SKIN IS BRANDED."--KARL MARX

Chicago Branch, Workers Party
SENDS MAY DAY GREETINGS TO
LABOR ACTION

"Salute to LABOR ACTION on May Day
and the Fifth Anniversary of Its Struggle
Against Imperialist War and for
SOCIALISM"

San Francisco Branch
Workers Party

MAY DAY GREETINGS FROM THE
READING, PA., BRANCH
OF THE
WORKERS PARTY

A PAPER IN THE INTEREST OF LABOR

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FORWARD TO INDEPENDENT LABOR ACTION
AND A SOCIETY OF PLENTY FOR ALL

Brooklyn, N. Y. Branch
Workers Party

May Day Manifesto of the Workers Party For Independent Political Action of Labor!

(Continued from page 1)

The German fascists told the masses that they were fighting for their existence, their very life. They were defending the "proletarian" Germany, robbed and impoverished by Versailles, against the "plutocratic" democracies fattening upon the victors' spoils of the first World War. Allied rulers told their masses that they were defending democracy, fighting totalitarian bestiality, struggling for a world of true peace, security and freedom for their children and the future generations.

The ideals embodied in the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms duplicated in every important respect the propaganda of all the warring countries in the first world war. But as the war developed, it became clear as we revolutionary socialists said from the very beginning, that war has nothing whatever to do with these lofty principles.

By their actions in the post-war period, the capitalist rulers prepared the march of fascism into power. They deliberately divided up Europe and saddled it with a Versailles treaty which made a new war inevitable. They disorganized post-war Europe and brought about the period of mass unemployment. The European masses threatened to destroy the profit system and establish a new social order which would forever destroy the power of capitalism to make war. Against them, the ruling classes of the Allies and the Central powers who had been at each others' throats for four years of bloody battle, now joined hands to defeat them.

WHY FASCISM CAME TO POWER

Fascism came to power in Europe over the imprisoned and slain of the most heroic elements of the working class. The brutal Nazi agents of capitalism had to destroy the organized power of the working class before they could "reorganize" the capitalist systems of Germany and Italy to prepare for war. But Fascism gained strength by promising a "new order" in Europe. It promised to make Europe an economic unit, an essential requirement if the peoples of the continent were to avoid the permanent crisis of capitalism. It even called itself "socialist" in order to win the support of the masses of workers in Europe.

Fascism fulfilled none of its promises. It did not bring peace, security or freedom. It ushered in war and totalitarian rule and helped to push Europe and the whole of civilization to the edge of utter destruction.

Hitler's hordes were ordered and paid for by the handful of monopolists and cartel organizations of the Reich's industrialists and financiers. The Nazi movement was the jagged club this class of industrialists needed to beat the rebellious German workers who were then fighting for the same things that American labor is fighting for today: security, peace and freedom. The movement was helped to power through the assistance of its "democratic" agents of the owning class, Hindenburg, Von Papen, etc.

What did fascism do for the German capitalist rulers? It organized the continent for German exploitation. But it organized the continent through violence and the enslavement of its peoples, binding

them to the war economy of a renaissant German imperialism which was preparing for a new world slaughter in order to obtain for German capitalism what it failed to achieve in the first world war. Throughout it all, the German capitalists aided by loans of the Allied countries, regained their strength and became enriched once more.

The war was inevitable so long as the capitalist social order continued to exist. The powerful German industrial system could not exist without expansion; its rulers could not profit. The same was true of Italy and Japan. They needed colonies to exploit, markets for their goods, sources of raw materials, cheap labor, etc. The Axis countries prepared to acquire those things which they needed in the same manner in which the Allies had acquired them—by means of war, violence, direct seizure. In a fundamental sense the causes of the second World Imperialist War are the same as the causes of the first.

BARBARISM IN EUROPE

Today a new barbarism stalks Europe. The full weight of mechanized destruction has wrought such ruin in Europe and Asia that it will take more than a generation to restore them to their former level. Cities that are the product of centuries of human labor and culture have been razed almost overnight. Tens of millions of people are homeless and starving. They are modern cave dwellers. The economy of Europe as well as Asia is in a state of complete disintegration. Relief needs are stupendous. The aid contemplated by the Allies will not meet two per cent of the needs. Whole generations have been wiped out. The new generations will be stunted, diseased and ill-equipped to endure the shocks of new depressions and new wars.

All of these conditions express the social decay of capitalism. They exhibit strong tendencies of a return to characteristics of earlier societies which humanity thought it left far behind. These are the fruits of capitalism and its war. The Allied imperialists have already demonstrated that they are unable to bring about a change in these conditions.

The turn in the war which has resulted from the tremendous military might of the Allies and the assurance of an Allied victory caused the rulers of the Big Three to discard all pretenses about the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms. The talk about the right of self-determination; national independence; freedom of speech, assembly, press and organization, and the rights of the peoples to choose their own governments have been replaced by actions which, for the peoples of Europe, mean the continuation of the fundamental German policy of national oppression, even though the methods may be more subtle, and the oppressor has changed nationalities.

The struggle of the European masses against their German oppressor for their national freedom has now been transformed into a struggle against their Allied "liberators." Thus the fight for national freedom continues unabated. It is directed against Russia in Poland, the Baltic states, the Balkans—most of Eastern Europe up to Berlin. In Greece, Belgium and other countries it is directed against the British oppressors. It is directed against the United States insofar as the latter is deeply involved in Europe,

vetoes the demands of the oppressed for freedom, and acts as guarantor of the new enslavement.

The unrelenting struggle of the European peoples will go on so long as the imperialist decisions of Moscow-Teheran-Yalta remain in force. Europe cannot exist, however, unless its economy is organized and unified on a continental basis, unless the numerous countries and the many frontiers are bridged with the consent of the peoples, and European economy produces for the whole continent with a plan to raise the living standards of all the countries. This requires, of course, uprooting the exploiting ruling classes and eliminating artificial borders which create the national antagonisms exploited to the full by the Allied rulers. Only a voluntary union

But just as throughout the war there have been signs of a reawakening of the masses of Europe through the struggles of the third camp of labor, the future will see a continuously rising struggle of these masses against all ruling classes for their freedom against the new usurpers of power. This struggle will continue to be a struggle for national freedom, against oppression and exploitation and inevitably for a new, free society.

AMERICAN LABOR'S ROLE

While the American continents were the only ones that did not see actual fighting, and while consequently the people of the U. S. went relatively unscathed, the rulers have failed in their promises here, too. The promises—equality of sacrifice, no new war millionaires, profit-curbs, price ceilings, control of the cost of living—were all shattered by profiteering organized and guaranteed by a capitalist government in Washington. The "New Deal" died at the war's inception. Representatives of big business were called to Washington to run the war economy.

Labor paid the bill for the war through a one-way sacrifice program that saddled the workers with price rises, frozen wages, the no-strike pledge, longer hours under worsened conditions, etc. Its leaders became servants of the Administration rather than representatives of labor's interests.

But despite this weight upon its back, American labor in this war has accomplished something that points to the possibility of genuine plenty and freedom. Workers of factory and farm have produced enough not only to keep up the home front, supply and equip American armies on a half dozen fighting fronts, but to help supply and equip the home fronts and armies of several other Allied Nations, including lend-lease materials to the two biggest, Britain and Russia.

With over ten million of its ablest workers overseas, American labor has raised production to such heights it is possible to say without fear of contradiction from any source: We have the skills, the tools and the manpower to produce plenty for everyone. To organize society so that the giant factories, mines, mills and farmlands will give everyone a good living through a guaranteed job in a peaceful society: this is the central problem of our generation. Capitalism has demonstrated up to the hilt, its inability to do this.

Under capitalism, you work only when it is profitable for big business. When the profit-making mechanism broke down in 1929, the capitalist government had to step in and bail out business and provide relief for the unemployed. It took a war, under capitalism, to remove unemployment. Again, the government had to furnish the war orders, supervise and compel conversion to war production and organize the chaotic capitalist economy. It has even had to guarantee profits during the reconversion period because of the "sacrifices" made by industry in converting to war production. Once the market is exhausted in the post war period, and the capitalist has made every penny of profit he can extract at home and abroad, there will be a crisis again, unless Labor plays the role it is entitled to: Labor, the producer of all wealth, the most exploited class,

James T. Farrell Greets Labor Action

April 23/45
New York City

The Editors
Labor Action
114 West 14th St.
New York City

Dear Friends and Comrades:

Greetings and congratulations on your fifth anniversary. The fact that you have maintained yourselves, honestly presenting your views and defending your position—this fact is, in itself, no inconsiderable accomplishment: It should be a cause for the renewal of confidence in the socialist future as we approach another war-time May Day.

Fraternally yours,
JAMES T. FARRELL.

of free peoples can accomplish such a unity. Only a socialist United States of Europe can achieve such a task.

What do the Allies offer to Europe? A hard peace to the German people (not their capitalist rulers) which means a new enslavement. This enslavement of Germany will have reverberations on the whole continent, because the destruction of German economy can only mean a further destruction of the present miserable living conditions of the people. The Allies are dividing Europe, not unifying it. They offer "free enterprise", that system of exploitation and profit which is responsible for the decades of misery which have existed on the continent.

the largest class, must have its own labor party which aims for the complete control of the government.

To form its own party, labor must get rid of the class-collaborationist policy of the labor bureaucracy, whose own predicament is best exemplified by its recent attempt to unite with the reactionary employers' Chamber of Commerce, while members of that same organization already had their post-war blue prints in hand for a union-smashing program.

It has to rid itself of the influence of Stalinism (the Communist Party). This American wing of Russian imperialism is out to tie labor to the ruling class in the interests of the joint exploitation by Russia, the U. S. and Britain of the "liberated" (newly-captured) nations.

Labor should assess its powers demonstrated in the recent elections. It rejected Roosevelt and reactionary Democratic party through the PAC. But it thereby demonstrated that its numbers are so vast and its influence so powerful that labor can rule the country in the interests of progress against capitalist reaction.

We address all labor, but especially its militants. We are powerful. We can help to raise mankind to a new level. We can stem the tide of barbarism and turn history to new peaks of civilization. But first labor must make its political declaration of independence. Adopt a program of security for the people and against the starvation plans of the capitalist owners of the means of life. Organize a great party of labor. Challenge the rule of the monopolists and fight for power. Then it will be possible to organize society for the common good.

American labor's task is to act as a class in its own interests the same way the capitalists act as a class in theirs.

Labor must also have an international perspective. It must not do less in its own interests than the international cartelists who paved the way for this war against "fascism," and now stretch out a hand to save their Nazi brothers (and also their private profits) did in theirs!

The American workers must aid their European brothers in their struggle for freedom, security and peace. If American labor succumbs to the pleas of the rulers and supports the subjugation of European labor, its hopes are doomed, too. Europe in bondage will produce new wars, new Hitlers, new revolts.

If American labor acknowledges its class kinship with world labor, the aims of all labor can more easily and surely be realized.

Once international labor solidarity is achieved, neither earth nor heaven can withstand the power of labor to organize the new society which will finally have left barbarism behind for all time.

ON TO A LABOR PARTY—TO THE DECLARATION OF POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE OF THE AMERICAN WORKING CLASS!

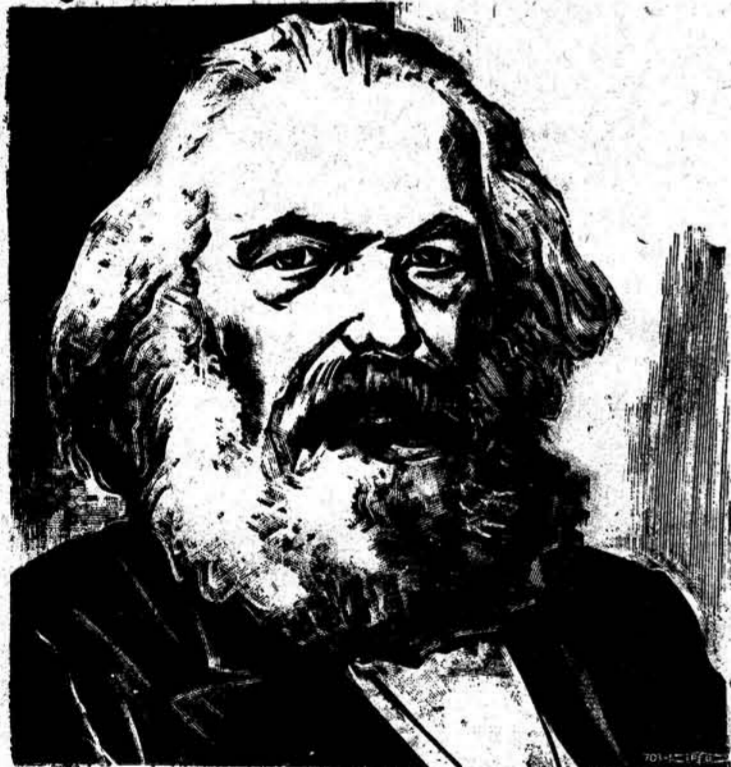
ON TO A WORKERS' GOVERNMENT—TO FREEDOM, PEACE, SECURITY AND ABUNDANCE FOR ALL THE PEOPLE!

**ON TO A WORKERS' WORLD!
ON TO SOCIALISM!**

—National Committee of the Workers' Party

By V. P. JENSEN

Four Champions of World Working Class Freedom



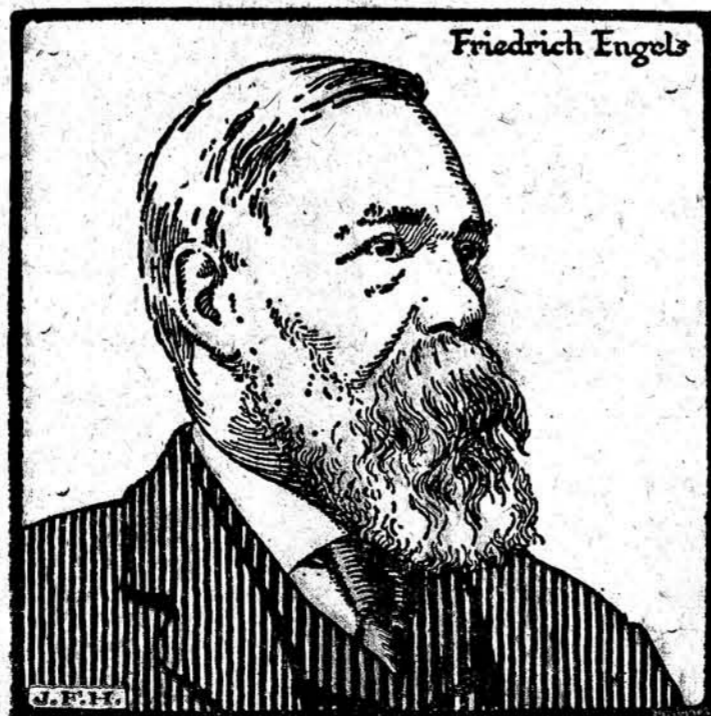
MARX'S great collaborator and lifelong friend, Friedrich Engels, was the son of a rich Rhenish manufacturer. His father owned a cotton mill near Manchester, and young Engels was sent to England in 1842 to study English business conditions. Already an eager critic of social conditions, he was able to draw conclusions on political economy in an article which Marx, living in Germany, hailed as a work of genius, and whose author he hastened to invite to visit him.

For ten days Marx and Engels compared views and found that each had independently reached the same revolutionary conclusion: that the capitalist social order was, historically, a transitory phenomenon—a social order doomed to give place, sooner or later, to the rule of the working class and a system of socialism. Each had reached this conclusion by a separate route—Engels by a study of the classical English political economy and of the English labor movement and Marx by the study of the great French Revolution.

From that time on, Engels was to be Marx's faithful collaborator, thoroughly loyal, without an atom of personal ambition, generous and self-effacing, practical and energetic. His unstinting literary assistance hardly less than his constant and generous financial aid were the materials that helped determine Marx's future career. Marx owed his knowledge of English sources of economic theory to Engels. Without Engels, it would have been difficult for Marx to undertake the research to which the first volume of Capital bears witness; and the publication of the last two volumes of the great work after Marx's death was a great and painstaking tribute on the part of Engels.

Together Marx and Engels labored for the cause of socialist freedom. They fought to win support for the Paris Commune during its brief lifetime of working class rule, and together they labored at the work of providing theoretical and practical guidance for the rising socialist and workers parties, which emerged before, during and after the life of the First International.

After Marx's death, Engels helped guide the working class movement of the world and devoted the rest of his days to the task of completing, vindicating and popularizing the work of his lifelong friend.



NO name in the history of social ideas occupies a place more remarkable than Karl Marx, the founder of modern scientific socialism. Just as Darwin discovered the law of evolution in organic nature, so Marx discovered the law of evolution in human history. Marx made clear the simple fact that mankind must first eat and drink, have shelter and clothing, before it can pursue politics, science, religion, art, etc., and that therefore the production of the immediate material means of subsistence, and consequently the degree of economic development, attained by a given epoch, form the foundation upon which the state institutions, the legal conceptions, the art and even the religious ideas of the people concerned have been evolved. But that is not all. Marx in his major work, Capital, discovered the special law of motion governing the present-day capitalist mode of production and the kind of society that this mode of production has created. It was Marx who showed that capitalist profit derives from the exploitation of labor.

Before all else Marx was a revolutionary. His mission in life was not merely to make scientific studies of capitalist development, but to contribute to the overthrow of the exploiting capitalist society and of the state institutions which it had brought into being; to contribute to the liberation of the present-day working class, which HE was the first to make conscious of its own position and needs, of the conditions under which it could win its own emancipation.

Marx founded not only a science but a great ideal—the emancipation of the working class—and he fought for this ideal of social justice with great passion and zeal in collaboration with his comrade, Frederick Engels. He fought through his newspaper articles, his revolutionary pamphlets and his organization of revolutionary workers' clubs throughout the large cities of Europe—a fight whose crowning triumph was the organization of the International Working Men's Association—the first international workers' organization dedicated to the fight for socialist freedom.



V. I. LENIN was the great organizer of the Russian Revolution of 1917 in which for the first time a working class took and held state power. From the time he was twenty-three, Lenin devoted his entire life to the task of destroying Czarism and in particular to forging the revolutionary instrument of a party reflecting the needs and aspirations of the working class.

Winning a majority of the party, Lenin, from 1905 to the outbreak of World War I, devoted himself, from abroad, to directing the activities of the Bolsheviks who were represented in the Russian legislative body, the Duma, leading them in their fight against those who would weaken labor and make concessions to the Czar. During this time, Lenin made his masterly studies of modern finance capital and imperialism, and elaborated the Marxist theory of the state. Lenin showed that the state was the means of oppression of the ruling class and that the working class could only free itself from exploitation by taking state power.

From 1912, when the 1st World War loomed unmistakably on the horizon, Lenin began to search within the Second International of the Social-Democratic Parties, for elements who, like the Bolsheviks, knew that the war was not one for democracy but for imperialist redivision of spoils and colonies. Lenin mercilessly castigated those "socialists" who forgot their internationalism and supported their oppressors, the capitalist class.

When the hungry, war-weary Russian workers and peasants overthrew the Czar in February, 1917, Lenin hurried back to Russia, to lead the masses to power under the slogans of Land, Peace and Bread. Lenin and the Bolsheviks then organized a new, Third International, hoping that Europe's working-classes would follow the lead of the Bolsheviks.

Serving as the head of the Soviet government until his unfortunate death in 1924, Lenin guided the difficult course of the new and isolated government. His writings and speeches compose an indispensable textbook of revolutionary practice, unequalled for clarity, realistic insight, and power of weighing men and ideas.

IN SO FAR as there was a leader of the defeated Revolution of 1905 in Russia, that leader was a young man of twenty-six who was elected president of the first Petersburg Soviet of Workers' Deputies in that year, the brilliant young orator and political leader, Leon Trotsky.

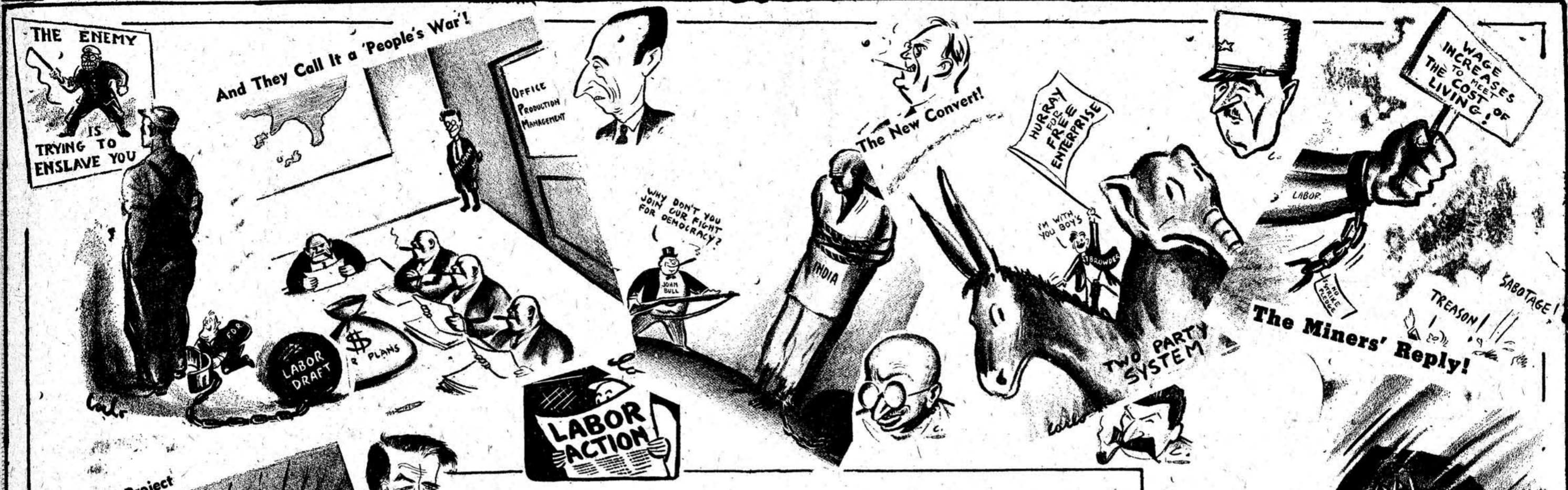
Trotsky managed to escape to Europe, where he continued his political activities. Returning to Russia after the downfall of the Czar, he joined the Bolsheviks in July, 1917, to become, together with Lenin, the outstanding leader of the Russian Bolshevik revolution. It was Trotsky, as president of the Petersburg Soviet, who under the political leadership of Lenin who was in hiding, led the actual insurrection of October 25.

Trotsky served the Soviet Government as People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs until after the attack on the Soviet Government by the capitalist governments of the world, when he became People's Commissar for War. Trotsky then organized the defense of the new workers' republic, creating the Red Army and conducting a war against counter-revolutionary forces who were backed up with armaments and supplies by the Allied powers.

Exiled from Russia in 1928, and thereafter hounded by Stalin's G.P.U., Trotsky was untiring in his theoretical fight for Bolshevik principles, analyzing the degeneration of the Communist party in the Soviet Union and abroad in a series of political studies which will ever stand as brilliant, unwearing landmarks in the rich field of Marxist politics. After the victory of German fascism, a defeat of the working-class caused by the betrayal of leadership of Stalin's International, Trotsky launched the movement for a new, Fourth International, to be dedicated to the cause of international proletarian revolution and bolshevism.

Struck down in August, 1940, by the axe in the hand of a Stalinist G.P.U. agent, Trotsky died a martyr to labor's cause, the last giant figure of Marxism. But the lessons taught by Lenin and Trotsky are not lost; they live in the program and organizations and movements of a Fourth International, of which the Workers Party is a proud part.





Labor Action In Review

By ALBERT GATES
Editor of LABOR ACTION

This is indeed a grand occasion—to celebrate May Day together with the fifth anniversary of America's most militant labor and revolutionary socialist newspaper. The satisfaction on this anniversary is greater when it is remembered that many did not give LABOR ACTION a long life, for the paper was born at the start of the second great imperialist war.

To start LABOR ACTION at that crucial period of social dislocation seemed a hazardous undertaking. LABOR ACTION and the Workers Party, with which it is associated, were new ventures. The future of both enterprises was difficult to foresee. But to have carried them through successfully testifies to the power of the ideas and the vitality of the movement behind them.

AIMS OF LABOR ACTION

The aim of those responsible for the editorial policy of the paper was and is to offer the program and ideas of the Workers Party in simple terms, to guide the militant workers in their struggle for labor's rights and interests, to teach them that the economic demands of labor, while important and necessary, were insufficient.

The economic struggle of the working class and all who toil must be joined to a political struggle against the political rule of the monopolistic capitalist class. To aid in the political development of the American working class, to help break it away from dependence on capitalist politics and capitalist politicians is still the great task of LABOR ACTION.

The success of LABOR ACTION manifested itself from the beginning. The response of the advanced workers enabled the paper to expand from a circulation of 5,000 to 12,000 in 1942. The next great step was the establishment of a one-cent LABOR ACTION and the organization of a drive to increase the circulation by many thousands. Since then the circulation of the paper has risen to as high as 50,000 for special issues and now circulates at a steady rate of 25,000 weekly!

LABOR ACTION circulates among a wide variety of American workers and farmers. Its readers number more than the actual circulation of the paper. It is read by the highest paid skilled workers and the poorest, most exploited sharecroppers of Southeast Missouri.

Over the momentous days of the past five years, LABOR ACTION has established an exemplary record of struggle and devotion to the cause of labor and its freedom. For this

time threatened by the Post Office authorities. But the paper did not flinch in the defense of its rights to circulate its ideas.

When the war broke out, LABOR ACTION published the manifesto of the Workers Party, declaring the war imperialist. It stated that the victors could only be the monopolistic capitalist classes of all countries who enriched themselves through profiting from the destruction of lives and civilization. The manifesto pointed out that the masses in all countries were the main victims of the conflict. They bore the main burdens of war. Their economic conditions deteriorated. They supplied the cannon-fodder for war. The hope of the people, said the manifesto of the Workers Party, was a socialist world of freedom, a system of production for use and not for profit, a system that would eliminate exploitation for all time. LABOR ACTION endorsed that manifesto and it has served to guide its writings ever since.

The economy of this country is an example of how the war has put enormous burdens upon labor. And yet the United States has felt the war less than other countries. The "equality of sacrifice" program of the Administration has turned out to mean that the sacrifices come essentially from the working people.

IN DEFENSE OF LABOR

For American labor, the war established long hours of toil, worsening conditions of labor, a loss of rights gained after years of sacrifice and struggle, and a declining standard of living.

When the labor officialdom gave a no-strike pledge, it tied labor's hands and served as a signal for every labor-baiter and union-buster to open up an assault upon the workers and their economic organizations.

With the war economy in the hands of big business, it was little wonder that wages remained stationary for the majority of workers, the cost of living rose continually higher, price ceilings were violated, quality of consumer goods deteriorated.

Labor paid the price for the enrichment of the capitalist class and for the greatest profits in the history of American business.

In this situation LABOR ACTION spoke out valiantly in behalf of the workers. It has consistently fought against the Administration's wage freeze, focused the spotlight on war profits, high prices, union-busting, and all attempts of reaction to tighten its grip upon the country.

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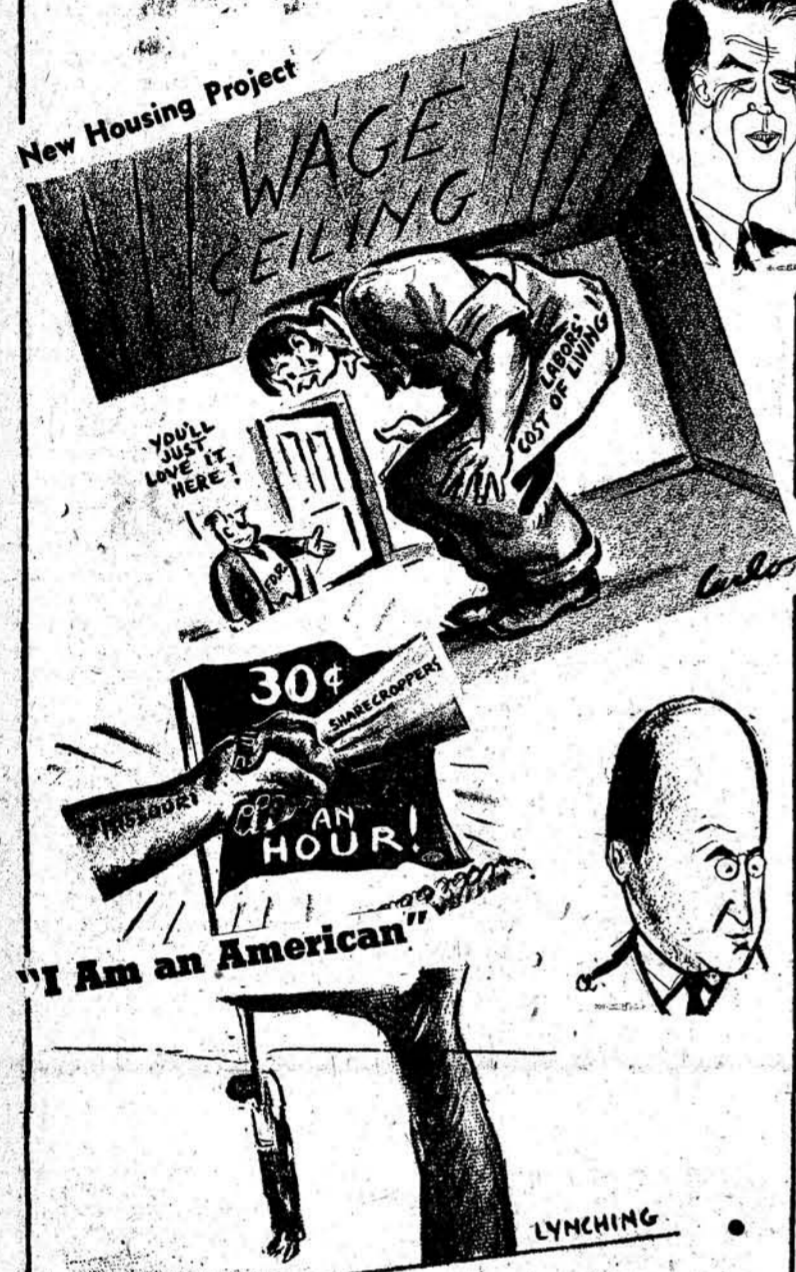
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3—A campaign against the National War Labor Board as an instrument of big business whose purpose it is to maintain the wage freeze and prevent redress of labor's wage demands. LABOR ACTION has consistently voiced the best interests of labor and called for the resignation of the labor members from the WLB.

4—LABOR ACTION carried on a vigorous defense of all minorities—Negro, Jewish, Mexican and religious—against the attacks of reaction. It has consistently fought discrimination in the armed forces as another expression of fascist racial doctrines which exist in so many places in the country, often fanned by big business interests.

5—Consistent with the international solidarity of labor's interests, it has reported the most important events in Europe, defending the rights of the European masses to national independence, their own governments, and complete freedom, peace and security. It has opposed intervention of any power in the affairs of any country and called upon all workers in this country to defend their class brothers across the ocean, to defend the European Revolution against counter-revolutionary intervention.

LABOR ACTION is blazing a trail toward the socialist future. We have only just begun; a long and winding road lies ahead. But we are prepared for it by the conviction that there is no hope for a new and better world except through the achievement of the new social order of socialism, a world of peace, freedom and plenty for all.



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