

FOR A GUARANTEED ANNUAL WAGE AND JOBS FOR ALL!

Workers Party Program for Organized Labor

FOR THE UNEMPLOYED AND VETERANS

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

FOR THE POST-WAR PERIOD:

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

tional income and a thirty-hour maximum work week.

THESE AIMS TO BE ACHIEVED THROUGH:

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

THIS PROGRAM TO BE CARRIED OUT BY:

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

LABOR ACTION

SEPTEMBER 10, 1945

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

ONE CENT

FOR A LABOR V-DAY: JOBS FOR ALL!

By SHIRLEY LAWRENCE

Reports culled from all over the country tell a grim tale of shutdowns in shipyards, aircraft plants, instrument plants and munitions industries. As we go to press, cutbacks and layoffs are getting into full swing, hours are being cut, workers are being down-graded, entire plants are being closed. The great planners in government and business—planners for war and destruction—simply have "no plans" for these workers and plants in peacetime.

Here are reports of current layoffs in some of the most important industrial centers of the country, and the figures are growing every day, but fast!

DETROIT

Militant CIO auto union locals have begun setting up unemployment committees and making preparations for a monster Labor Day parade and demonstration against layoffs, which this week threw more than 350,000 Detroit workers out into the streets. Demands are being raised by the more advanced auto unionists for full compensation for time lost in layoffs, a thirty per cent general wage increase, a thirty-hour week, and operation of idle plants by the government under trade union control. Monday, August 20, will go down in history as "Black Monday" for the "heroes of production" in this key center of American industry. Hundreds of thousands were dumped out of the plants like so much scrap. Regional WMC Director Edward L. Cushman admitted that no more than 33,000, less than 10% of those fired will be re-employed at the end of 60 days.

CHICAGO

Over 7,000 unemployed CIO workers demonstrated in the Coliseum auditorium and the streets of Chicago's Loop on August 20, demanding jobs, severance pay and adequate unemployment insurance. Layoffs here are expected to exceed 500,000 within a few months. Marching in the parade were contingents of workers from Dodge, Buick, Studebaker, Bendix and other war plants, which had closed their doors, turning close to 100,000 workers into the streets with only a few hours' notice in many cases. They marched, shouting "WE WANT JOBS," and held aloft hundreds of banners and militant slogans and demands such as, "THERE WILL BE NO PEACE WITHOUT JOBS," "WORK OR FIGHT," "IT HAPPENED IN ENGLAND, IT CAN HAPPEN HERE," "THE LITTLE STEEL FORMULA BE DAMNED," "NEGRO AND WHITE UNITE FOR JOBS!"

PHILADELPHIA

"Brother, don't you know there's a 'peace' on? Is the grim jest circulating among the approximately 70,000 war workers in Philadelphia who (Continued on page 2)

Leaders Flop On Buffalo Joblessness

By JOHN BARNES

BUFFALO, Sept. 2—Something new and necessary was added to the Buffalo labor picture Thursday night, August 30, when over three thousand workers massed in front of the City Hall to protest the layoffs that have taken place since the war's end. The meeting, sponsored officially by the two Curtiss Wright locals, District Lodge 585, IAM (AFL), and Local 64, UOPWA (CIO), but supported by virtually every ranking union in the city, was notable in three respects.

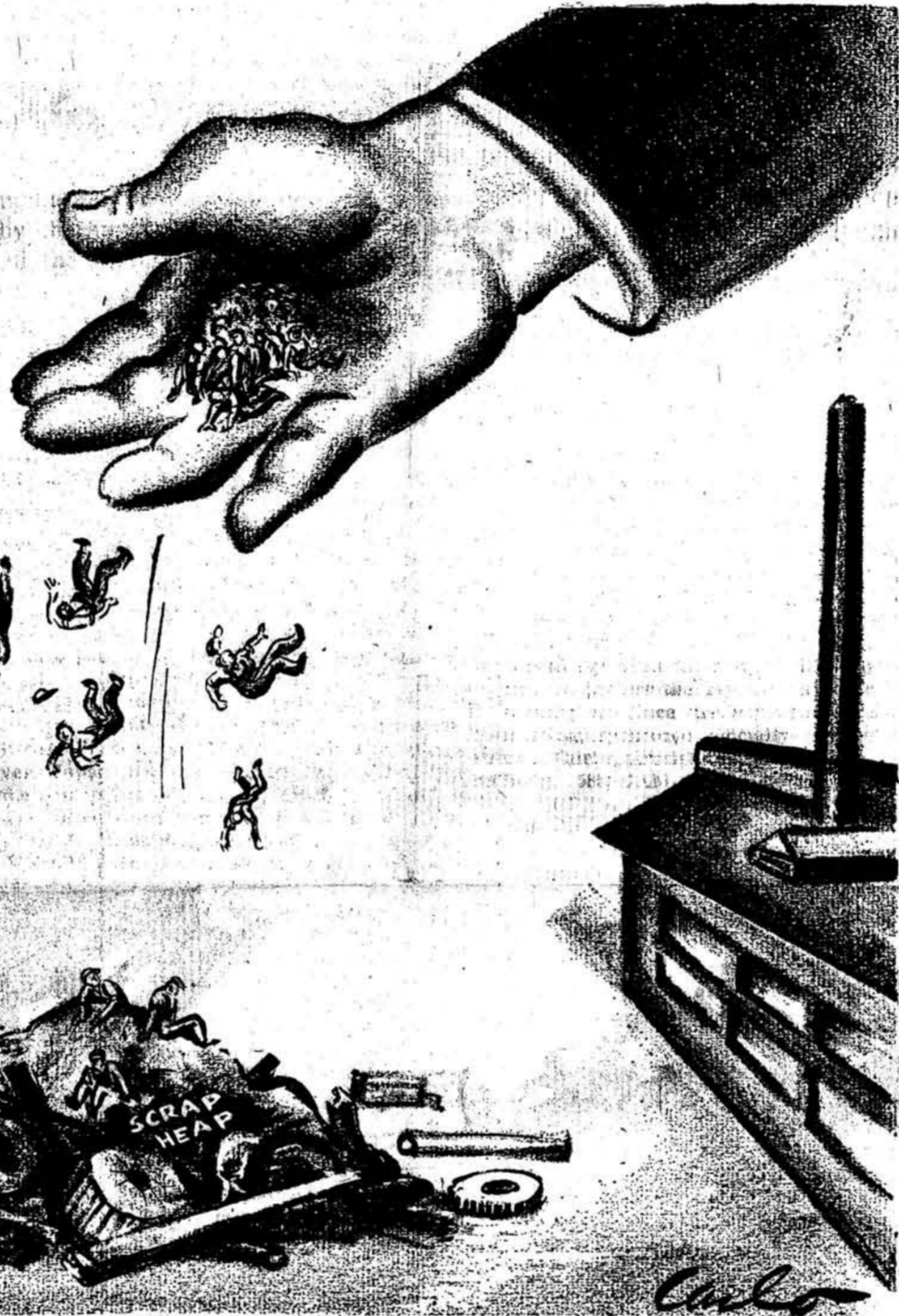
First, it showed in practice the ability of the AFL and CIO to work together. Second, it demonstrated that the labor leadership, when pressured from below by the rank and file and sat on from on top by the government run-around experts, will move. Third and most important, it proved that the workers of Buffalo are already seeking a positive solution to the job problem, and seeking it in their own organizations.

Actual organization of the meeting was accomplished largely by the Stalin-Communists who control Local 64, have a finger in the Lodge 585 pie and sit in high places on the CIO Council. Militants in the Council had attempted, at the August 27 meeting, to make a real honest-to-goodness rally of the proposed meeting. The CP followers had planned too well and too far in advance, however. Consequently the speakers' list was packed with Stalinists and "the" speaker of the evening was none other than that "friend of labor," Senator James Mead.

TALK, TALK, TALK

The honorable senator delivered his usual fiery address, tie, fists and hair flying. He called for full employment—but who in Washington isn't giving lip-service to full employment these days? It was "how" we achieve this full employment that nailed the senator for the "friend" he is; it can be accomplished by the same show of labor-management unity that won the war, he said! And further, "how" in essence, a bigger, (Continued on page 2)

"All Manpower Controls Lifted"—News Item



Stalin Levies An Imperialist Peace on China

By CARL DAVIS

The treaty between Russia and China is another chapter in the long history of imperialism. It is accompanied by the same kind of misrepresentation and hypocrisy which attend the signing of all treaties between antagonistic powers. In the case of China and Russia, the antagonism is of long standing. It dates back to the days when Russian Czarism warred upon China and obtained territory and special privileges from the disunited and weak Asiatic country. For a brief period of years, when Russia under Lenin and Trotsky abolished all Czarist privileges in China, relations between the two countries were marked by mutual understanding. They began to deteriorate in the Stalinist epoch when the present "ruler of all the Russias" resurrected the imperialist aims of Czarism.

There are several aspects to the present Russo-China relations which

the Russo-Chinese treaty of 1900. It reflects the same greed, expansion and imperialist aims of Russia's old ruling class.

1. The promise to recognize the sovereignty of China, to recognize the existing government and to refrain from interfering in the nation's internal affairs has been given to China by every imperialist power which obtained special privileges and territory in that vast country. Great Britain, the United States, France, Czarist Russia and even Japan in 1931, have all, at one time or another, invaded the country to guarantee its integrity. In exchange for such "guarantees" China has always paid a price.

2. Russia's agreement to withdraw her troops from Manchuria after eleven days of war has its humorous side. But, of course, without an agreement and concessions from China these troops would stay there as long as Russia's new ruling class desired.

3. The recognition of the Chiang government is only formally a repudiation of the Chinese "Communist" régime of Yen-an. Actually, the treaty said nothing about the Yen-an régime or the Chinese Communists. Even if Stalin had formally repudiated his Chinese agents, it means absolutely nothing. Stalin once said to Pierre Laval, in reply to the latter's question on the role of the French Communists during the Franco-Russian pact: "Shoot them!" This only means that Stalin may SAY anything about the parties. What he DOES is quite another matter.

The dissolution of the Communist International in 1944 in no way meant the dissolution of the Communist Parties of the world, or their severance from Moscow, whose policies and interests they serve. No such formal ties are required by parties and movements which are the creation of the Kremlin. They have long ago learned to act automatically in Russia's interest. As we shall show, the Chinese Communists did get a substantial concession from Chiang.

4. But in exchange for these formal concessions to China—concessions made in agreement with Great Britain and the United States and mindful of the latter's interest in China—Russia received some handsome payments.

5. Old Czarist Russian interests in Manchuria have been re-established. The Chinese Eastern Railway and the South Manchurian Railway will be operated jointly by China and Russia under the name of the Chinese Changchun Railway. The re-establishment of Russian interests in the railways means an influx of Russian

(Continued on page 4)

Workers Party Tour

The topic on which Albert Gates, editor of LABOR ACTION, will speak on his tour which was announced in these pages last week, is "How to Get Jobs for All."

The tour, a part of the Workers Party expansion and recruitment program, begins in Syracuse on September 14 and, after covering important industrial centers of the Midwest up to the Iron Range of Minnesota, will end in Philadelphia and Reading on October 7 and 8.

Workers Party branches in cities listed should take note of the organization of Labor Action Clubs. The report of the recently concluded

Active Workers Conference of the Workers Party, on page four of this issue, gives further details of the purpose of the clubs.

Akron and Cleveland branches, please note the change in the schedule from that of last week.

The revised schedule follows:

GATES TOUR SCHEDULE
Syracuse, Sept. 14; Buffalo, Sept. 15, 16; Detroit, Sept. 17, 18, 19, 20; Chicago, Sept. 21, 22; Streator, Sept. 23; Chicago, Sept. 24, 25; Madison, Sept. 26; Hibbing, Sept. 28; St. Louis, Sept. 30; Akron, Oct. 2, 3; Cleveland, Oct. 4, 5; Philadelphia, Oct. 7; Reading, Oct. 8.

Philadelphia Ship Local 42 Campaigns for Labor Party

PHILADELPHIA — In addition to carrying on the fight for the thirty-hour week and government subsidies to cover the difference in take-home pay to make forty-eight hours' wages, militant Local 42 of the Industrial Union of Marine & Shipbuilding Workers, CIO, is spearheading the fight in Philadelphia for the formation of an independent Labor Party.

On August 23, Local 42 introduced a resolution for an independent Labor Party at the meeting of the Philadelphia Industrial Union Council. The Resolutions Committee opposed this resolution. Feldman, of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, defend-

"Ronald Chance, chairman of Local 42's Reconversion Committee, said that a year ago he had been strongly opposed to formation of a Labor Party but that he was now convinced that it was badly needed...."

"Kaz Miller, of the Steel Workers, said he has been for a Labor Party for many years, and he is still ready and anxious to help get one started. He said he thought we shouldn't waste any more time."

The vote at the Industrial Council showed 378 votes against the Labor

Party resolution and 195 for. Twelve out of twenty-nine unions represented voted in favor of the resolution. This, Local 42 News reports, is in sharp contrast to a previous debate on this question, when Local 42 received no support at all.

Out of the 378 votes against the resolution, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers cast 150 in a bloc vote. The actual vote among delegates showed that thirty-three were against the resolution and twenty-eight dele-

(Continued on page 2)

How They Lied About Pearl Harbor

By ERNEST LUND

The truth about how the United States got into the war is now beginning to be officially revealed. The Army and Navy reports on Pearl Harbor issued last week have definitely contradicted the war propaganda upon which the public was fed for the last four years. In the place of this propaganda there is presented a picture of the negotiations and maneuvers between the Japanese and American governments which confirms the position of the Workers Party that the war was the result of imperialist rivalry for domination of the Far East.

For the duration of the war every agency of public information in the United States was mobilized to sell the people the idea that the United States government had no interest in the Pacific except to defend itself and its possessions. We were told that like a bolt out of the blue, while negotiations were peacefully proceeding in Washington, the Japanese

treacherously struck from behind in the "sneak attack" of that "day of infamy" December 7, 1941. So went the official propaganda.

The 130,000 word report of the Army and Navy boards is full of quotations that establish that the American government was steering a course toward war as deliberate and calculating as that of the Japanese government. The crisis in these maneuvers was reached between October 16th and December 7th. During this time the only question at stake was which side would strike first.

PREPARING FOR WAR

It was the strategy of the Army and Navy authorities to delay the outbreak of the war until they were more adequately prepared. The Army's report states:

"The advice of the Army and Navy to delay matters and get more time for defense preparations and not precipitate the issue evidently did not reach the President or the Secretary of State in time

to be considered before the memorandum of the 26th was delivered to the Japanese."

What was the nature of this memorandum? The report states that when Secretary of War Stimson saw this memorandum of Secretary of State Hull to the Japanese, he considered it so drastic that he immediately rushed to confer with the Army Chiefs of Staff to warn them to prepare. The report states:

"Thus the Secretary of War felt the situation that was to be precipitated by the action of the Secretary of State, Hull, necessitated his informing the Chief of Staff immediately of the threatened difficulty."

MORE ULTIMATUMS

At still another place the report speaks of this memorandum as an "ultimatum" to the Japanese. The Army and Navy reports both accuse the State Department of sending the ultimatum despite their having

warned the State Department against it on grounds that the American forces were not yet adequately prepared for war.

On November 5, 1941, the Chief of Naval Operations and the Chief of Staff, United States Army, submitted a joint memorandum to the President, recommending that no ultimatum be delivered to Japan at that time and giving, as one of the basic reasons, the existing numerical superiority of the Japanese Fleet over the United States Pacific Fleet.

Hull determined to have a showdown with the Japanese despite the warnings of the Army and Navy. For the report states:

"Apparently on the 26th in the morning, Mr. Hull had made up his mind not to go through with the proposals shown the day before to the Secretary of War containing the plan for the 'Three Months Truce'." (Continued on page 3)

MASS ACTION

By DAVID COOLIDGE

Labor Day has come and gone again. As is the custom, the working class was regaled with wind and gas from labor leaders, government officials, "friends of labor" and preachers in their Labor Day sermons. Bill Green made a pilgrimage to Pennsylvania, N. J., to speak at the ceremonies honoring Peter McGuire, the "father of Labor Day."

Along with Sam Gompers, McGuire was one of the founders of the AFL. He was an official of the carpenters international and led the fight for a day to be set aside "as a tribute to labor and the working man." He led a big demonstration in New York City in 1822 for the establishment of Labor Day. Congress enacted a law in 1894 and made Labor Day a national holiday.

It is customary each Labor Day for the labor leaders and others to extol the virtues of labor, of the working class and of "the laboring classes" in general. Labor is again told how important the working class is in the scheme of things and how thankful everyone is that there is a working class. "Labor is honorable." "Honest toil is commendable." "Work promotes thrift and good morals." "Idle hands are the devil's workshop."

The capitalist ruling class has always been terribly worried over "idleness" among the workers. This was true from the earliest days. Their main argument against reducing the working day from "sunrise to sunset" was their solicitude about what the workers would do with their "free time." If the workers toiled only ten hours there would be fourteen hours left. This would be bad for the working people. Fourteen hours in which to take strong drink, steal, gamble, idle away one's time fishing, beat one's wife, and engage in all kinds of immoralities.

The fact that some workers might want to read or sleep could not be accepted as a reason for the shorter day. The ruling class was convinced that workers would not sleep, and even if they did this was a form of idleness also. And as for reading, this was bad also.

DECRYING IDLENESS

This concern of the ruling class with idleness is not just a joke. An Associated Press dispatch from Detroit reads that the UAW is demand-

ing "\$25 a week for twenty-six weeks of idleness." The UAW of course is demanding no such thing. The UAW is not interested in workers being "idle." The unions are demanding that workers have jobs. It is the capitalist government at Washington and the capitalist employers who are the organizers and promoters of "idleness," now that the profit-making imperialist war is over.

Labor and the unions are only saying that they want jobs at high wages, short hours and better working conditions. If the federal government and the employers cannot or will not supply the jobs, then let them pay unemployment insurance.

The capitalist ruling class is very touchy about this word "idleness," but only when it relates to the working class. They really don't object to millions of workers being "idle" so long as it doesn't cost the ruling class anything. If the workers pay for their own "idleness," that's a step in the right direction. That is what is known as "labor coming of age," "labor taking its responsibilities seriously." But not only must labor pay for its own "idle," it must also pay for the idleness of the capitalist employers. Labor is expected to do this even when it is unemployed.

LISTEN TO THE WIND

Stripped of the drive, nonsense and pap, this is about all the Labor Day speeches mean. Under-Secretary Patterson congratulates every worker for his "contribution toward victory." They "deserve our highest commendation." Gen. Arnold is convinced that "the workers who stayed at their jobs . . . are entitled to the gratitude of the entire nation." Gen. Devers thanks "the workers who forged the tools of victory . . . including the atomic bomb."

Secretary Schwelkenbach said that "the wage earners of America . . . stand today on the threshold of a tomorrow which they can and will fashion." But how should labor fashion its tomorrow according to the new Secretary of Labor? "The rights of labor have been established . . ." but "with the establishment of rights labor must be ready to express in greater and greater measure its responsibility to the common good which grants their rights."

That great friend of labor Mr. Vinson asks for "intelligence and energy to wage the peace and the reconver-

tion . . ." Then we can have "an era of high wages, employment and a good standard of living for each and every worker."

Phil Murray has discovered that reconversion is under way but there are bad signs. "There are many tragic signs that selfish privilege and governmental inertia are obstructing the fulfillment of this promise." Bill Green thinks that Labor Day 1945 is a good time to begin putting "our economic house in order." Bill is still for "a higher standard of living and security against depression and want."

PREACHERS JOIN IN

The preachers got in on the Labor Day festivities also. The Rev. William Kernan of Scarsdale, N. Y., had high praise for labor and for labor unions. He also believes that Henry Kaiser and Eric Johnston are "great friends of labor." These men "clearly realize the validity of the labor movement."

The Rev. Bernard Iddings Bell of Providence, R. I., doesn't believe that labor is beginning to sprout wings. To the Rev. Bell labor is "as selfish, as covetous, as sub-human as ever the economic master classes have been." We have found labor seeking to dethrone the old despoiling classes chiefly that its own despoiling forces may control and plunder."

At any rate we are pleased to know that the Rev. Bell admits that some despoiling and plundering has been going on. We wonder though if the good Episcopal rector knows that some of the despoilers and plunderers were right there under his nose, in Trinity Church at the head of Wall Street, when he uttered those words. And also, what does he think of the fact that it is these plunderers who pay his salary?

All of these things took place on Labor Day 1945. They were going on right at the time three million workers are "idle" and many millions more face "idleness" because and only because capitalism right now has no use for them. The imperialist war of the Anglo-American capitalists has been won. The billions in profits are tucked away. The living, the maimed and the dead have been duly decorated, praised, extolled, and now may be respectfully forgotten. All they need do is wait together with the discharged "soldiers from the factories" for another Labor Day.

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

For a Labor V-Day: Jobs for All --

(Continued from page 1)

have been fired since V-J Day. The total is still rising and government reports reveal it may soon reach 100,000. Hardest hit are the shipyard workers at Cramp and Sun. The fast-mounting sentiment for decisive action among the union ranks was shown in the membership meeting of Cramp Local 42, CIO Marine and Shipbuilding Workers, which called on the CIO to initiate a national labor holiday to force Congress to act immediately.

A proposal to retain laid-off members in the local and establish a "Job Now" Committee to lead the fight for the unemployed was adopted. As its first assignment, the committee was instructed to prepare for a mass CIO unemployment parade and a sit-in at the offices of the local War Manpower Commission. Other resolutions were adopted calling for the formation of a local Labor Party and raising the demand for the 30 hour week at 48 hours pay.

OTHER AREAS

Plant shutdowns affected 175,000 in North Jersey thus far; 52,000 are due to lose their jobs in the Twin Cities; 10,000 are being laid off daily in the Massachusetts area; 50% unemployment is seen for General Motors at Flint; 200,000 fired in Los Angeles; two-thirds of Toledo's working force are on "holiday," with 45,000-75,000 jobless; scores of thousands of shipyard and aircraft workers in Seattle face a precarious future; Kaiser disregards seniority in heavy

Portland layoffs; 5,000 jobs in Buffalo for 50,000 jobless. The list can be extended but the stories are painfully alike. In New York, CIO United Electrical Workers, Local 425, representing some 7,000 members, staged a mid-town demonstration march in protest against widespread layoffs at the Ford Instrument Corporation plants.

Top union officials seem paralyzed in the face of these wholesale layoffs. They merely issue statements and send wires and letters of protest, but give no thought to mobilizing the workers in demonstrations and mass actions. Pressure of widespread unemployment however, is bringing about a resurgence of militancy among the union workers of the country and is crystallizing sentiment in some locals for independent labor political action. Workers are refusing to abide by the complacent advice to collect unemployment insurance at \$18 a week for 20 weeks, or to take jobs at lowered salaries.

In the meantime they are reassured by War Production Chief A. J. Krug in his report last week on the first three weeks of reconversion that: "the rate of reconversion is much better than we had expected." His appraisal was based on a survey of 5,000 manufacturers in sixty-two industries which are now "swinging back to peacetime production."

This is all very jolly for the optimistic corporation owners; the government merely guaranteed them millions in profits for "liding over" purposes in the reconversion, but the workers have to do their "tiding

over" at the old prices, on twenty miserable dollars a week.

Why doesn't the government give the workers a living wage during this period? The answer is simple: the government is run in the interests of big business and not in the interests of the majority of workers. Nor are the workers being promised post-reconversion jobs by their bosses. Here again the answer is simple: no guaranteed profits, no guaranteed jobs. Now, as before the war, the boss' greed for profits motivates his actions. Now, as always, the rich get richer, and the poor get poorer.

FULL EMPLOYMENT

True, there are proposals before Congress, which have benevolently decided to curtail its vacation period, to (1) increase unemployment benefits to \$25 a week for 26 weeks to tide over persons made jobless by reconversion and (2) for a Full Employment Bill, which would instruct the President to prepare an annual estimate of potential employment, and propose, if he thinks necessary, measures—not specified—for providing jobs through government aid if "private enterprise" is not expected to offer sufficient employment. The bill stipulates that government funds shall be used for such purposes only as a "last resort."

Thus while most of the witnesses before the Senate Banking and Currency Committee on the Wagner-Murray Bill agreed that full employment was "desirable," there were also those who would like an army of unemployed big enough to knock down

wages and weaken the labor movement.

CIO President Murray's threat that "if private enterprise fails to give workers jobs at good wages, turning out things we all need, the people will recognize the failure of private capitalism and vigorously call for government operation," fools no one. The repercussions in this country of the British Labor Party victory, the economic crisis precipitated by the end of the war and the growing clamor of the American workers have convinced an important section of capitalists and their political agents that they must now make a gesture of offering labor "something"—that something is the Full Employment Bill.

FAILURE OF CAPITALISM

It is the belief of LABOR ACTION and the Workers Party that the workers cannot rely on the capitalist system, the capitalist government or a piece of legislation projected by capitalist politicians to solve the basic evils of the private profit system. Unlike Murray who warns "that the people will recognize the failure of private capitalism if the bill is not passed," we recognize now the failure of capitalism which has already proved itself unable to give the people either economic security or peace. Therefore, labor must project its own demands for full employment, and should be ready to enter the political arena with a class party of its own and to fight for its own program. (See Workers Party program for organized labor.)

Buffalo Leaders Lack Job Plan --

(Continued from page 1)

better and more heavily camouflaged WPA!

Yes, that's the advice and approach of labor's "friends." Keep bending the knee to the bosses, they say, and we will try to get you back on a high-class WPA.

The other speakers also "talked a good game." They spoke of industrialists in a sneering tone, hinted and waved a weak backbone at free enterprise and kept repeating such catch (but empty) phrases as "we mean business." They got no closer to earth than the platform from which they spoke. Their sentiments were superficially noble—but it was their lack of "know how" and past sell-out records that gave them away.

Eleven resolutions were enthusiastically approved by the worker audience at the conclusion of the meeting. They called for many of the things the audience had been long waiting to hear. What the workers were not told, however, is how these demands, as expressed in the resolutions, are going to be won. Not one word about that . . .

This meeting, it must be clearly understood, DID NOT furnish the leads and answers that the Buffalo workers require. It DID NOT swerve one little bit from the "official" labor line of the past four years. It DID NOT present the picture in its true economic and political light.

It DID reinforce the feeling among

the workers that action MUST be taken.

WHAT SHOULD BE DONE

The workers of Buffalo will in all probability be asked to attend more such meetings in the months to come. They will be asked to listen to more

of the high-sounding talk. They will be asked to pass more resolutions and to applaud more "friends of labor."

They will no doubt be asked to send postcards to Congress and to the President. And in the course of events, as the talk and the friends and the postcards lead further and

further up the blind alley, they will be asked to be patient—and to pull in their belts a little tighter.

"What else can the bureaucrats, the 'friends of labor' and the Stalin-Communists offer?"

They CANNOT offer a real reconversion program that gets to the roots of the problem of jobs. They CANNOT offer leadership that rests solely and squarely on the working class. They CANNOT hammer away at the genuine, basic reason for unemployment and crisis—capitalism. They CANNOT advance and fight for the only honest, effective answer—SOCIALISM.

None of them can do this. All of them, the bureaucrats, the "friends" and the Stalin-Communists, fear and bitterly oppose socialism.

We of the Workers Party ARE fighters for socialism. To the workers of Buffalo, we say this: Rally to these meetings. But come to talk as well as to listen!

Counterpose the weak, senseless policy that will be offered with the reconversion program of the Workers Party. This program puts away the fakery that now surrounds the problem of jobs and future security. It states facts; plain, hard facts. It tells (1) HOW, (2) WHO, (3) WITH WHAT. It puts labor where labor belongs, where it must always be—on its own! It is the SOCIALIST answer to the pressing problem of the jobs and security of the future.

American Can Strike and the CCF

SEATTLE—Farmers, fishermen and can workers in Western Canada are facing heavy losses due to the defiant anti-union attitude of the American Can Company. A strike had been in progress at the company's Vancouver plant for more than two weeks, and the only issue under dispute was a union shop agreement, which the company is stubbornly resisting.

The American Can Company maintains a tight monopoly in the canning industry in Western Canada, and enormous quantities of food were spoiling while company officials arrogantly defied the public interest. The federal Dominion government, controlled by the capitalist Liberal Party of Mr. King, came out in support of the company by offering mediation under the condition that work be resumed without a satisfactory contract.

But the bright spot of this strike is the fact that the

Canadian workers have their own political party. The Cooperative Commonwealth Federation supported the workers to the hilt. This support ranges from financial contributions of the Vancouver CCF clubs to intervention of the CCF parliamentary representatives in Ottawa. Vancouver's CCF News advocates the expropriation of American Can, which, it charged, "is a private monopoly operated contrary to the public interest. It should be expropriated immediately."

In addition to the support from the CCF, the strikers have received moral and financial support from all the United Steel Workers' locals in the Vancouver area, the Dock & Shipyard Workers' Union, the IWA Local 1-357, the AFL Bakers Union, the Civic Employees Union, the Vancouver Labor Council, the Amalgamated Electrical Workers Union, and the Street Railway Workers. Dozens of merchants contributed food to feed pickets.—A. S.

Labor Party--

(Continued from page 1)

gates, or forty-six per cent of the total present, favored it.

The unions supporting the Labor Party resolution were Distillery Workers Union, No. 163; Printing & Paper, No. 163; Railroad Workers, No. 1365; Credit Store, No. 117; Steel Workers (Brill's), No. 1263; Steel Workers (Columbia), No. 1619; Steel Workers (Belfield), No. 1804; Steel Workers (SKF), No. 2898; Transport Workers Union, No. 234; United Electrical (Bendix), No. 114.

LOCAL 1 PRESIDENT SPEAKS

Another interesting development on the Labor Party question was the speech delivered by Andy Reeder, president of Local 1, IUMSWA, N. Y. Shipyard, to Local 42, in which he came out for the formation of such a political party of the workers. Local 42 News reports that: "Reeder spoke for twenty-five minutes and his fighting speech brought the Local 42 membership to its feet in a rousing demonstration upon his conclusion."

Sentiment for a Labor Party has grown enormously among the rank and file in the Philadelphia labor movement. It is reported that:

"Strong sentiment for a Labor Party was seen during the week when workers gathered around the union's sound car outside the yard (Cramp's) all week long, talked constantly about the need for ending a situation where the majority of the people get nothing but promises which are never kept, while the minority get more and more of the wealth of the country. They were all talking 'Labor Party.'"

Philadelphia Labor Party Resolution

Whereas, Labor, even though a majority, is not properly represented in Congress, and

Whereas, Congress has failed to hold the line on runaway prices and ever-increasing profits and has made no provisions for jobs for returning servicemen and workers, and

Whereas, Congress has taken no action to break the "Little Steel Formula" which has frozen wages, while it has made careful plans for Big Business through providing tax refunds guaranteeing profits for two years after the end of the war, and

Whereas, even Congressmen of good will are unable to defend Labor's interests because both old parties are dominated by employer interests, and

Whereas, Labor needs its own party to defend the interests and present the program of the majority of the people to prevent the industry-made slack periods which hit only those least able to afford it, the working people and their families, therefore,

Be It Resolved; that Local 42, IUMSWA, CIO, urges the formation of a Labor Party, independent of all other political parties and adhering to the Bill of Rights and the Constitution of the United States, and

Be It Further Resolved; that copies of this resolution be sent to the IUMSWA National Office, the National CIO, the Philadelphia Industrial Union Council and other interested parties for concurrence.

Adopted August 19, 1945

By Local 42, IUMSWA, CIO

FE Votes Against UAW Entry

CHICAGO—The Communist Party-controlled United Farm Equipment & Metal Workers Union has just completed a "referendum" vote among its membership to determine whether or not the FE shall affiliate with the UAW-CIO. This action on the part of Stalin's stooges climaxes the organizing campaign of the UAW on the FE. This jurisdictional dispute between the FE and the UAW has dragged on now for seven months.

At the last CIO Executive Board meeting, the board ordered the FE, by a vote of 41 to 4, to merge with the UAW. The CPers, determined to keep control of the FE, and knowing full well that a two-thirds vote of a CIO convention is necessary to revoke their charter, were not to be scared by this order. When they received the order they said: "No, thanks. We've got FE, we like it and we mean to keep it. However, to show you how democratic we are, we will let the membership decide by referendum vote whether or not they wish to affiliate with the UAW."

The final count in this plebiscite, in which of course the CPers counted the ballots, was 29,086 for remaining in the FE, 2,250 for the UAW, and 167 void. This is out of a claimed membership of 70,000. Being good democrats, the Communists allowed only those who are in good standing in the FE to vote. As the majority of those workers who are in favor of the UAW are not in good standing (they were told by the UAW that it was not necessary to pay dues to the FE any longer, as the UAW would soon take over) they, of course, were not allowed to vote.

Where the UAW will go from here, we are in no position to say. And, from all reports, neither is the UAW

leadership. But this we say to the militant FE workers who want to get into the UAW:

You should be prepared for a return to the FE. You must organize yourself strongly around a program based on the real needs of the workers. The Communist Party can be defeated, even in the FE, provided their opposition is well organized and understands for what it is fighting.

NEW YORK UNEMPLOYED DEMONSTRATION

By CHRIS WARREN

The first mass demonstration in New York City against post-war unemployment was held on Thursday, August 30, in Madison Square Park. Fifty thousand workers attended the rally sponsored by the Greater New York CIO Council.

These New York workers, part of the two million men and women who found themselves jobless within two weeks of the order to "cease fire" in the Pacific, enthusiastically voiced their approval of proposals for concrete legislation for full employment. Signs and banners emphasized their demands for action by the government to provide peacetime jobs.

"A PRAIRIE FIRE"

A statement addressed to President Truman declared that "A prairie fire of unemployment is sweeping the nation" and demanded that Congress act at once to "achieve the program essential to the security of our nation and its people."

Trying to Make Scabs of Vets

By RAY MANTLER

Mr. Rankin and his class, by pretending to be the particular friends of the returning soldier, are in reality sowing the seeds of disunity between those workers who were taken off their jobs and thrown into uniform, and those who did not have to serve. H3384, a bill introduced by Mr. Rankin and already passed by the House of Representatives, amends the G.I. Bill of Rights, so that a return-

ing soldier has the "right" not to join a labor union. Mr. Rankin has been proposing such a measure for a long time. In a press release in June, 1945, he said it would "break wartime strikes. Now it can be utilized to 'break' labor unions."

NEW YORK UNEMPLOYED DEMONSTRATION

The workers present at the rally voted to send a delegation of 500 people to Washington when Congress returns from its ten-week "recess" to demand immediate action on the problems of unemployment and reconversion.

Private Al Evanoff, who was recently rescued from a German concentration camp, informed the meeting that American soldiers were fed "poisonous propaganda" by certain interests.

"If all the GI's overseas could be here to see this rally, they would see that the people are not getting rich, making fat salaries and striking without provocation."

Members of the Workers Party circulated through the crowd distributing copies of LABOR ACTION and the Workers Party election pamphlet, "Jobs for All." This pamphlet presents the program of Max Shachtman, Workers Party mayoralty candidate, for full employment.

There are really two purposes for such a measure. Unless sand is thrown into the eyes of the worker, he will see that his misery and insecurity in the post-war period is due to lack of planning by the owners of industry. He will see that in order for such planning to take place, the economy must be nationalized. The natural reaction of the worker would be a resentment against those who are responsible for his suffering. Mr. Rankin very obligingly supplies the "sand" by creating the impression that labor's rights, like the closed shop, are the causes for veterans not obtaining jobs. The Rankins and the Trumans think they will be spared the workers' wrath because they have seen to it that the workers be kept busy fighting among themselves.

Another purpose of the bill is to weaken the labor movement by highlighting the contradictions within it. There is a natural antagonism between the man who has undergone the hell of war and the man who has only had to imagine it. The government of the capitalist class tries to stand as the "protector" of the soldiers and sailors, by seeking to get them some special advantages at the expense of organized labor. This practice will open wide holes in the labor movement, and that is exactly what Rankin wants.

There is only one answer which the intelligent worker and returning serviceman can give to Rankin and his class. "We will fight to the last by every means at our disposal, all your efforts to break our ranks."

VOTE FOR

MAX SHACHTMAN

FOR NEW YORK MAYOR

A PAPER IN THE INTEREST OF LABOR

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

Vol. 9, No. 37 September 10, 1945

ALBERT GATES, Editor MARY BELL, Ass't Editor



Subscription Rate: 60c a Year; 35c for 6 Mos. (75c-80c for Canada, Foreign, New York City, Bronx) Re-entered as Second Class Matter, May 24, 1940, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. Under the Act of March 3, 1879

Scientific Progress Under Capitalism!



GERALD L. K. SMITH

America's No. 1 Fascist

What Does Smith Count On?

In the third place, don't expect Gerald Smith to come right out with it and LABEL himself a fascist. Especially now. The word is discredited for public consumption. It was his teacher, Huey Long, who said that when fascism came to the United States it would come in the guise of being opposed to fascism. And he knew. That was what he was trying to do. Smith's name for it is "Christian Nationalism." Every decent member of the church will proclaim that it is no more "Christian" than Hitler's "national socialism" was socialist. But get behind the name. Look at the thing itself. Learn to recognize its innermost nature. See it mirrored in Gerald L. K. Smith. Smith once told a reporter: "You know what my ambition is? I think chaos is inevitable. I want to get to as many people as I can now, so that when chaos comes, I'll be leader." (The Nation, July 25, 1936.) Leader of what? Leader of—chaos? Perish the thought—get wise to Smith. He made this statement in the 1930's when even solid bankers' magazines and Wall Street organs were talking fearfully of the danger of "revolution" and the breakdown of the profit system. In their dictionary this is always called "chaos." Today once again, even before the war boom is over, the capitalist class is fearfully quaking before the prospect of the terrible crisis that shapes up for the profit system as soon as the shooting ends. The depression that ravaged the world for ten years from 1929 to 1939 was temporarily lifted only by the outbreak of war. Capitalism went from mass starvation to mass slaughter. The profitable markets that could not be found for a surplus of goods and capital, though millions were in dire need—were found on the battlefields. Now they know that peace under capitalism will mean 20-600,000 unemployed. That is what Smith is waiting for. Capitalism will have to deal with a working class that was told to sacrifice its all, and that will be rewarded with breadlines. They will strike out for a living wage and jobs. The workers will say: "We were told to 'work or fight.' Now if you don't let us work on your idle machines—WE WILL FIGHT—FOR OURSELVES THIS TIME!" In such a crisis, in peril of its profits, capitalism moves to put the labor movement in a straight-jacket. It tries to tie the labor hand and foot so that the parasites who live by owning can suck the last life-giving ounces of profit out of our labor without resistance. This straight-jacket is fascism.

The Road to Fascism

The trick is to get it on the body of labor. That is where the fascist demagogue comes in. The Fords and the Morgans and the du Ponts cannot do it themselves. They are a handful. They need the mass organization of blindly rebellious, hypnotized, hopped-up followers of a well-paid Fuehrer—followers especially recruited among despairing middle-class people, youth without a future, and unemployed willing to be regimented for a square meal. The capitalists provide the money. They are told to destroy this "democracy" which is starving them, destroy the trade union movement, destroy all independent organization as all independent thought. And when it is done the same Sixty Families are sitting on top of the straight-jacketed nation, going through its pockets. This is what happened in Germany, to the letter. This is what Smith is organizing for here. It is only going on a bigger scale exactly what he did for Ford and other tycoons from 1937 to 1939. That is what fascism is—the capitalist answer to "chaos." It is the steel hoop which they put around the rotting barrel of the profit system. Gerald Smith stands four-square for that profit system. "Public ownership? Not in anything!" he has said. "I'd rather that a municipality didn't even own the town pump. It would be better in private hands. Even the police department and the fire department. I mean it, everything." (Current Biography, 1943.)

The Socialist Answer

We socialists stand for the OTHER way out of capitalist chaos—the way of Plenty for All. Our factories and plants can produce Plenty for All. This is not a dream any more. It is a solid fact. But they will NOT be so used as long as they are owned by private profiteers, who allow us to work on THEIR machines only as long as they can make a profit out of our toil. The working class must own and control these factories and plants if the products of THEIR LABOR are to be THEIRS. Socialists fight for a workers' government which will take the means of production back for the people. This is ECONOMIC DEMOCRACY—that is, SOCIALISM. Without it, political democracy is doomed. Without political AND economic democracy, working men are SLAVES. THAT IS WHY SOCIALISTS ARE THE FIRST AND FIERCEST ENEMIES OF THE FASCIST SCUM.

Editorials

What Labor Must Do

The New York Times reported on Sunday, September 2, that there were 3,000,000 unemployed in the country, with the number of jobless steadily rising. This means that 3,000,000 workers and their families have been deprived of their means of livelihood by a social system which has proved over and over again that it cannot and will not provide for the well-being of the people. The fact that unemployment is now very large and will continue to rise does not prevent the New York Times editorial writers from denouncing even the totally inadequate Murray-Wagner bill and deploring what it calls the high rates of unemployment compensation. The best of all possible worlds, according to the New York Times, is one in which there are large profits constantly accruing to big business (of which it is a part), low taxes on industry and finance, high taxes on wages and a big army of unemployed to keep wages depressed. Anything else would, for this spokesman of capital, threaten the "free enterprise" system. So the Times tries to sweeten up the situation by pointing out that unemployment will continue to rise through most of next year, when it should reach 8,000,000. By then reconversion will have been seriously started and most of the unemployed will be reemployed, at least half of them! TAKING THEIR SWEET TIME In the meantime, Congress is still holding hearings on the Murray-Wagner bill. But it is taking its time! Congressmen

haven't yet returned from their vacations (paid ones, of course) to act on the pressing problems of joblessness and reconversion. And business is already taking advantage of this situation by offering many jobs at depressed wages. The United States Employment Service is acting as an agency for low-paid jobs ranging from forty to sixty cents an hour and complains that workers do not want to take these jobs. Big business hopes to force labor to take jobs at depression wages and sweatshop conditions by threatening to deprive the unemployed from their present insurance benefits. The situation demands that the labor movement act quickly. Pleas to congressmen are totally worthless. Experience has shown that no matter how many trips to Washington Murray and Green take, these are unavailing. The reasons are obvious. The government in Washington is a capitalist government, a government serving industry and profits. The speed with which it acted when war broke out to convert industry to war production, to guarantee profits and materials to big business is in sharp contrast to its response to labor's needs. The moral is obvious: Labor must break all its ties to capital and capitalist politics. It must immediately rescind the no-strike pledge, to which the labor officialdom clings so strongly. It must organize a political party of labor. A good way to begin is to transform the PAC into a Labor Party to begin the struggle immediately on the political field in behalf of the workers of the country.

Of Special Interest to Women

By SUSAN GREEN

Seven and a half million women joined the working force of this country during the war, raising the number of women workers from the pre-war 11,000,000 to 18,500,000. What is happening to these women workers now that they are no longer wanted to drive buses, make ammunition, fashion scientific instruments, build airplanes and other wartime goods? These women did not flock into war jobs as a patriotic gesture. The fact is that eighty-five per cent of working women today support themselves and one or more dependents. Before the war the women who were the SOLE breadwinners of their families numbered nearly three million. The war with its long list of dead, maimed and crippled fathers, husbands and sons has put an economic burden on more women. Women know, above all else, that when the pantry is bare and the icebox empty, the kitchen is not the place for them to be. The economic compulsion of women to stay in industry is reflected in surveys taken to ascertain the working woman's own opinion. In New York State, on the West Coast, in the Detroit area, working women have overwhelmingly expressed their need to continue on their jobs and earn a living in the post-war period. In the United Auto Workers, CIO, eighty-five per cent of the women members want to stay at work. Women and Unemployment How to get security against unemployment and how actually to get jobs for all who want to work is an issue of burning interest to working women, more especially so because they are the first laid off; or, if not laid off, their inexperience is exploited by the employers, who threaten to fire them unless they accept lower wages or worse conditions. The Workers Party has a program for working women. It is the reconversion and post-war program the Workers Party urges all workers to support. Here are its outstanding points: First and foremost the working people must be assured food, clothing and shelter by a guaranteed annual wage. A guaranteed annual wage of \$2,500 or around \$50 a week for each worker, man or woman, is today a minimum. Does this sum look unattainable to women workers? Perhaps it does to women on slave wages of less than eighteen cents an hour, less than thirty cents an hour, less than fifty cents an hour, less than sixty cents an hour, less than sixty-five cents an hour. But women must not be bound by their degree of exploitation. A country rich enough to burn up three hundred billion dollars in three and a half years of bloody, devastating war is rich enough to pay its workers, men and women, a guaranteed annual wage of \$2,500, so they can at all times buy the necessities of life. That much security every worker is entitled to and must have. But how about jobs? Workers want to work for their wages. They want to be able to earn more than the guaranteed minimum, at work they can do. Therefore, the demand of the Workers Party for

a thirty-hour work week—at the same weekly wage—is fair beyond question. Let every working woman who is today getting her walking papers, consider the rank unfairness of keeping the forty-hour week whereby the employers are getting at least thirteen hours more productivity out of each worker employed, while other workers are hitting the pavements—out of jobs. Government Operation of Plants Today thirteen billion dollars in government plants—paid for by taxpayers' money, paid for by workers, including millions of women workers—are being turned over to big business for a song. This must be stopped. Government plants must be kept as public property to provide jobs for workers and goods for consumption. But that is not enough. All the war industries, all the great monopolies, the transportation systems, and all major industries on which the life of the nation depends, should be nationalized, should be made public property, and placed under the management of committees of workers, including women workers. This is the only way to insure that these industries will be kept running to provide jobs for workers and the things of life for the people. The terrible paradox of unemployed men and women and idle plants must not be allowed. The standard of living of the working people must be raised. A minimum annual income of \$3,000 for a working class family is as easy for American industry as rolling off a log. Before the war only eleven per cent of the population were able to buy the products advertised in American magazines. In 1940 thirty-eight per cent of the nation's city families were living below a bare maintenance level. Let the industries of the country run at full capacity to abolish poverty. Public Works Aid Women The Workers Party demands a flat two hundred and fifty billion dollar program for the next five years. For destruction and death three hundred billion dollars was consumed in three and a half years. Is it too much to ask that two hundred and fifty billion dollars be spent in five years for housing, public works, rural electrification and other crying public needs? Women would benefit especially by this program. It would mean, not only a real tackling of the housing problem. It would mean also building day nurseries for the children of working mothers and after-school playgrounds for older children. It would mean all that and much more to every working class family and would provide jobs for workers, men and women alike. If the above points of the Workers Party program for security against unemployment and for jobs for all, have interested the women readers of LABOR ACTION, we hope they will go further and learn how to get these things. They will want to know that the rich will have to be taxed to pay for this program—not the poor.

Lies About Pearl Harbor - -

(Continued from page 1) "Evidently the action 'to kick the whole thing over' was accomplished by presenting to the Japanese the counter proposal of the 'Ten Points' which they took as an ultimatum. 'It was the document that touched the button that started the war,' as Ambassador Grew so aptly expressed it." WHO IS GUILTY? There arises from this report a picture quite different from the "sudden, sneak attack" version peddled by official propaganda. The truth was, as the report established, that both sides were carefully sparring for position in what had become for them an inevitable show-down. As the report states so ably:

"It was not a question of fact; it was only a question of time. The next few days would see the end of peace and the beginning of war." The endorsement added to the Navy Report by Admiral E. J. King even complains of the fact that due to the Constitutional requirement that Congress officially declare war before our armed forces are permitted to strike, the American military and naval commanders were at a disadvantage. Says King: "This requirement made it impossible for Admiral Kimmel and General Short to employ the offensive as a means of defense, and, therefore, was a definite handicap." Thus we see from these official documents the true face of history. Two great nations are speedily being carried to war. Both are feverishly making last minute preparations. And both are proceeding under a heavy smoke screen of peace propaganda. Each wants to place the other in a position where the enemy takes the

blame before public opinion for starting the war. The Japanese finally decided that the military advantage of striking the first blow would outweigh the political advantage of waiting until the United States struck first. The Army report even states professional admiration for the way in which the Japanese calculated their chances and executed their decision to attack. They call it a "bold and considered venture." What was the driving force that made war inevitable between the United States and Japan? For a full understanding of this question we must go back into history, back even before the last World-War when, after defeating Russia in 1905, Japan emerged as a first class power in the Pacific. From then on the economic interests of American imperialism and those of Japanese imperialism crossed each other. By chance both the United States and Japan were on the same side in World War I. However, at the end of the war the tension between the two nations led to a sharp war fever in both countries. The 1922 Washington Naval agreement brought a temporary relief. But the factor of economic conflict was again sharpened with the world-wide economic crisis. Japanese capitalism launched the attack upon Manchuria in 1931. From then on it was only a matter of time, as the report states in another connection, before the inevitable conflict between the imperialist rivals.

to the working people of the United States and of the world, stating clearly that this war, like the last, had its roots in the economic rivalry of capitalism. WORKERS PARTY RIGHT! On these grounds, regardless of who happened to strike first, the working class had no interest in supporting either imperialist aggressor. The Workers Party, therefore, continued to make its chief concern the struggle of the working class against capital; the struggle in behalf of Labor's economic and political rights and against all no-strike pledges, all wage and job freezes, all war-time dictatorial acts by government, all war agencies to enslave labor to give up its rights in the name of "equality of sacrifice" like the War Labor Board. The Workers Party understood the true nature of the war because it had based its program and principles upon the tested teachings and experiences of the Socialist and labor movement in the past. The Workers Party holds fast to these principles. It believes that as long as we permit capitalism to exist, imperialist wars will be inevitable. It states that the workers have nothing to gain from imperialist war and everything to lose. The Workers Party therefore teaches that the workers of all nations must regard each other as brothers and stand together in behalf of the interests of world labor. These interests demand that in order to gain a world of plenty for all, freedom, and a permanent peace, the capitalist system must be abolished and replaced with a Socialist system of planned production for use through a nationalized economy operated by a Workers Government.

Detroit Sunday Night Forum: Fight Against Fascism Begins. SPEAKER: LEE ROBERTS. SEPTEMBER 16, 8:45 P. M. LABOR ACTION HALL 3778 Grand at Mt. Elliott

LOS ANGELES READERS: Communists Change Their Line Again. SPEAKER: HAL DRAPER. St. Paul's Church, 21st St. and Naomi. September 24, 8:00 P.M.

NEW YORK READERS: MAX SHACHTMAN Speaks in the Second in a Series of Forum Meetings Being Held on the Roof Terrace of the Hotel Diplomat, 108 W. 43rd Street. Tickets—\$1.00 for the series at 114 W. 14th Street. on Russian Imperialism—New Factor in World Politics. Friday, September 14, 8 P.M.

NEWARK READERS: Hear MAX SHACHTMAN National Secretary Workers Party "Russia and the Post-War World" SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 16, 8:00 P.M. 319 HAWTHORNE AVENUE (Near Osborne Terrace) Newark, N. J. ADMISSION FREE

DETROIT ACTIVE WORKERS CONFERENCE OF WORKERS PARTY

By ALBERT GATES

Attended by 125 delegates, alternates and visitors, the second Active Workers Conference of the Workers Party, held in Detroit, the industrial heart of the United States, on August 18 and 19, was a signal success. The great majority of the members present were industrial workers, active in the leading mass unions of the country. They represented twenty-one branches from seventeen cities and eleven states. Fraternal delegates added to this list.

The Active Workers Conference, organized by the National Committee and held between conventions, called together the party functionaries and activists to review the work of the organization, examine how the party is functioning, take an inventory on the tasks executed and to recommend proposals for the extension of party work based upon reports of members of the National Committee.

In the case of the present conference, the activists of the party gathered to review the period since the convention of February, 1944. They received a series of reports and recommendations from national officers, discussed them at great length, acted on these recommendations and made proposals of their own to the National Committee. All of the actions of the conference were in the nature of shaping up the work of the party in the next period prior to the forthcoming convention of the organization.

TASKS AND PERSPECTIVES

Highlighting the conference reports was the presentation by Max Shachtman, national secretary of the Workers Party, of "The Next Tasks and Perspectives of the Party." This report dealt with the necessity of developing a party cadre, a firm party core as "the indispensable spinal column, heart and mind of a revolutionary movement."

Comrade Shachtman reported on the solid progress made by the party during the war years when it stood out fearlessly as the outstanding anti-war organization in the country, a party which told the truth when war broke out and which carried out an implacable defense of the working class in the United States, as well as the workers and oppressed of all countries.

Citing the various stages of development through which the Workers Party has gone, Shachtman stated that "the principal task of the organization is AGITATION, that is, the putting forward of single ideas or slogans to the largest possible section of the working class. They are aimed at raising the class consciousness of the proletariat and thereby making it more receptive to the idea of joining or supporting the revolutionary organization as its leader, first in the daily struggle and last in the final struggle for socialism."

Shachtman discussed the present position of the Workers Party in a situation where it operates among a politically unorganized working class.

That the necessity of developing a mass revolutionary party of masses is the prerequisite for the emancipation of all the people is not even debatable, he stated. At what stage of development do we stand?

"Should we 'convert ourselves' into a mass party?" asked Shachtman. "Yes, we shall do so. But not by arbitrary decision. Not by any mechanical devices. Not by putting on a label which calls us that. Not by self-deception which deceives nobody else because it cannot (and should not!) We will never recruit a worker on that basis, or, if we do, we will never keep him in the party. We INTEND to become and act like a mass party. That is our firm aim. But that requires work; that is a struggle, and a long and complex one; that is an aim realized at the end of a road of fusion and splits and regroupments into a big movement in which we expect the elements of our present party will constitute the decisive political force (provided we continue to prove worthy of such a position). Nothing can substitute for this work, this struggle and the endurance and patience and self-confidence it presupposes."

The report by Shachtman made a profound impression upon the delegates. It elicited a long and fruitful discussion in which the leading activists participated with their own ideas and proposals aimed at strengthening and building the party on the basis of its political program which in the next period is to concentrate on the agitation for the party's reconversion program and the need for an independent Labor Party.

The organization report by Albert Gates followed the main report. It concerned itself primarily with the state of the party branches, the execution of the program of action adopted at the November, 1944, plenum of the National Committee and the main tasks of the party in the next period. Among the various activities reviewed in this report was the party's campaign for a Labor Party, the recruitment drive, the LABOR ACTION subscription campaign, the intensification and extension

of mass work and the varying successes enjoyed by the organization in this past period.

One of the main tasks of the party, Gates reported, is the need to strengthen branches which are the basic units of the organization. The general activity and life of the party depend largely on the health condition of the branches. Therefore attention must be constantly given to the healthy functioning of these units by selecting the strongest organizers and executive committees who have the main responsibility for carrying out decisions of the party.

The report dwelt at some length on the problem of integrating new members into the organization, citing a series of problems which are

created by party growth. The party made enormous progress during these war years, he stated, despite the fact that it has lost scores of comrades, among them leaders of the party, who became members of the armed forces. With all these handicaps and without any need to exaggerate, it can be said that the organization as a whole did a splendid job in maintaining the party, extending its activities and increasing its membership.

PROGRAM OF ACTION

In closing his report, Gates presented to the conference the following program of action:

1. The main political campaigns of the party will center around (a) the

reconversion program, which is to be inseparably linked with the Labor Party campaign and (b) the defense of Europe and the European Revolution from Allied imperialism, in line with the political analysis and position of the party.

2. The party will issue a series of pamphlets and booklets, among which shall be: (a) Program of the Workers Party; (b) Reconversion Program; and (c) The Labor Party.

3. A concentration will be made on colonization of party activists in leading party centers and the party will aim to have a full-time party organizer in every party center within six months to one year.

4. A provisional youth conference will be held following the AWC, the

aim of which shall be to set up a national youth organization at the earliest opportunity.

5. A subscription campaign for LABOR ACTION will begin October 1, to last for three months. A recruitment drive will follow at the conclusion of the subscription campaign.

6. An attempt will be made to build Labor Action Clubs for the purpose of broadening the base of support to the paper and establishing additional sources of financing.

7. A national educational department will be established which shall organize the training and education of the party.

The organization report was followed by a long discussion in which almost every delegate participated. As part of the organization question but presented in a separate report, was the state of the finances given by the financial director of the party, Mary Bell. This report paid tribute to the splendid response of the party to the financial needs of the organization. Every party member, almost without exception, gave a good account of himself, Miss Bell remarked. It was evident in the way the organization was able to issue a mass LABOR ACTION, a monthly magazine, maintain a national staff and issue literature. All of this was made possible by the fine efforts of the party membership. It was now necessary, she pointed out, to broaden the base of financial support to the party by calling upon the assistance of party sympathizers and supporters of LABOR ACTION.

GATES REPORTS FOR LABOR ACTION. The report by the editor of LABOR ACTION, Albert Gates, on "Labor Action as a Recruiting Agent" testified to the effectiveness of the paper, which now has a stable circulation of between twenty and twenty-five thousand. The report indicated the many ways in which the paper could be used for party recruiting purposes. LABOR ACTION has a wide following, he stated. Many workers call themselves "Labor Actionists." There is no reason to lament this fact. On the contrary, it is an excellent situation, for it affords the party an opportunity to do some real recruiting among hundreds and even thousands of union militants who accept and follow the program of LABOR ACTION.

The report dealt with the meaning of Labor Action Clubs, built up of readers and sympathizers of the paper. These clubs could become an invaluable source of support to the party and an arena for recruitment to the party. Following the report and discussion on this point, Comrade Gates gave a report on the circulation and promotion of LABOR ACTION and The New Internationalist, with stress laid on the necessity of increasing the circulation of the theoretical magazine.

Two major reports then rounded out the conference. The first of these was "The Tasks of the Party in the

Trade Unions," given by its national labor secretary, David Coolidge. This report revolved around the developments in the American labor movement, citing the great militancy of the rank and file unionists who fought desperately against a common obstacle represented by the government, big business and the labor officialdom.

COOLIDGE ON UNIONS

Coolidge's report showed that the Workers Party is a party of workers in the real sense of the word. The overwhelming majority of its members, he pointed out, were in industry and in the trade union movement. They didn't just pay union dues and sit in at union meetings. They took the lead in the fight for unionism and in defense of the working class. The militant policies pursued by our members won them great sympathy and support and the party has established a base for itself in the labor movement.

He summarized the experiences of the party in this most important field of party work, especially as it developed in the main CIO unions. Coolidge's report was followed by a number of regional reports by field workers. The latter included the rubber unions, railroad, shipyard, electrical, steel and auto. The discussions underscored the progress of the Workers Party in its union work, its political work in the unions and the recruitment of worker-members. A new program of action adopted by the conference can only hasten the progress of the party in its main activity among the masses.

The final report made to the conference dealt with educational work and was given by Comrade Ernest Lund, author of "Plenty for All." Lund, who is now the educational director of the Workers Party and managing editor of The New Internationalist, reported on the general problems of education in a socialist party, especially those which relate to the education of new members. He outlined a series of proposals for the organization of schools, classes, outlines and pamphlets which would all result in raising the theoretical and political level of the party and its membership. Most important among these proposals is one which calls for the issuance of a series of twenty-five educational pamphlets to be put out at the rate of one a month.

PARTY'S WAR DEAD. Before closing the conference, the delegates, alternates and visitors rose to give silent tribute to five party members who fell in the imperialist war which they hated so much, and to others who were wounded in the same bloody carnage.

In general, the Active Workers Conference was a tremendous success. It revealed a healthy, maturing, disciplined, and enthusiastic party membership, earnest in its convictions in the political program of the party and eager to execute that program.

MYTH OF "OVERPOPULATION"

By Paul Seward

In the Topics of the Times of August 31 it was stated that two scientists have written a book, Population Roads to Peace or War, in which they advanced the thesis that there are too many people in the world. This monstrous falsehood can be laid low by citing the facts. A socialist viewpoint will explain why this lie is being propagated.

PLENTY FOR ALL

In the summer of 1941 the newly appointed Secretary of Agriculture, Mr. Wickard, stated that it was possible today, for the first time in the history of the world, to grow enough food so that there would be plenty for every man, woman and child. The importance of this statement must be grasped by the working peoples of the world, for it is they who comprise the majority of producers and it is for their consumption that the theory of overpopulation has been put forth.

The earth's total land area is 51,000,000 square miles. From the magazine Life, September 3, we find that twenty per cent, or ten million square miles, is suitable for cultivation. This fact alone would not make an impression on one, but when compared to the following statements from the 1940 Yearbook of Agriculture, U. S. Department of Agriculture, the picture is clearly presented to the ordinary worker.

"Two billion acres (about FIVE PER CENT of the earth's land area, and forty-two per cent of the present area under cultivation) would, under scientific agricultural methods, provide an optimum food supply for the entire population of the globe." No account is taken of increased yields we may confidently expect from continual research by agronomists, plant geneticists, entomologists, experts in animal husbandry, forage crops and soils.

In short, ONLY FIVE PER CENT of the twenty per cent of the earth's surface suitable for cultivation would more than take care of the food necessities of the two billions of people on the globe.

If we turn from farming to industry, the progress has been even more breath-taking. Mass production increased the productivity of labor by fifty per cent in manufacturing industries for the fourteen-year period of 1923 to 1937 alone. From 1937 to 1944, under the impetus of the war, production more than doubled itself — in the United States alone.

Not only were the needs of the American people produced, but a program of lend-lease, which threw billions of dollars of goods into the Allied countries, as well as bombs into enemy countries, was achieved. The rest of the industrialized countries of the world, England, Germany, Russia and France, although not on a par with U. S. industry, proceeded to embark on huge production programs for war.

NO EXCUSE FOR POVERTY

What does all this add up to? Just this. The old excuse for poverty no longer exists. Modern science has made comfort and leisure possible for all. The natural resources are there. The marvelous machinery is there. Knowledge to produce is there. Man is at last in a position to free himself from scarcity, insecurity and threat of hunger.

Now that we have established this fact, let us proceed to the figures concerning population. Today there are two billions of people on the globe. In a chart put out by the Office of Population Research of Princeton University it is expected that the world census in the year 2000 will be three and a third billions.

As stated in a previous paragraph, with only five per cent of the earth's surface under cultivation, the food needs of the two billion people would be taken care of. This would leave another fifteen per cent of cultivable land to render to the food needs of an increase of 1.3 billions of peoples in the year 2000.

MALTHUS' THEORY

In the year 1798, an Englishman named Thomas Malthus wrote a pamphlet stating that man is probably doomed to perpetual misery through overpopulation. He also concluded that the sole checks to population growth are starvation, war, vice, and disease. It appears, then, that our two scientists of 1945 are not without a prede-

cessor. However, we can forgive Thomas Malthus, but not the writers of "Population Roads to Peace or War."

We are living in the highest and most technologically advanced era of the machine age, not in the times of wood stoves.

Thomas Malthus was too gloomy. In the century following his pamphlet, Europe not only tripled its population but greatly raised its standard of living. The tremendous population spurt during the 19th century resulted not from a higher birth rate but almost wholly from a lower death rate. This was brought about by modern medicine and by better food and housing, results of the industrial revolution.

But to get down to some present day facts, we have to look at the graph charting the universal cycle of population growth of Sweden from 1750 to 1942. The following paragraph is taken from Life of Sept. 3, 1945:

"At the start of the period, the birth and death rates are in equilibrium at a high level. Population is about stationary. With the coming of the industrial revolution and modern medicine, the death rate begins to drop, while the birth rate stays up. This divergence results in a doubling of the population despite a steady drain of emigration. But by 1900 the birth rate is falling sharply and by 1930 the two rates are again in equilibrium at a low level."

REASONS FOR POPULATION DROP

There are many reasons for this drop. One is birth control. Another is the rising standard of living, for the well-to-do have fewer children. Another is urbanization. Children are likely to be an economic liability in a city instead of an asset as they are on farms.

What occurred in Sweden has occurred in virtually all the countries of Western Europe. It is happening in the U. S. today. It will happen before long in the USSR. Presumably when the countries of Asia become industrialized, they, too, will have a further increase in population, followed by a leveling off. It seems to be almost a law that people multiply under the impetus of industrialization and science, then assume stationary or declining populations when the change is complete.

The facts have been presented. There is more than ample room on the globe for all the earth's peoples plus millions more. There are enough resources, both natural and mechanical, to see that these peoples are well clothed, housed, and fed. All this is in contradiction to the starving millions of India, Asia, and Europe.

It is clear that there has been and is mismanagement of the world's potentialities. The majorities of the world's people are not benefiting from the latent power of the earth. All this is due to the system which grips the world today, a system which seeks not to better the lot of the common man but consistently strives for profits and power for the few.

It will be only through a planned world society, an international socialist society, that the masses of the world will be able to escape from the starvation, war, vice and disease of which Malthus spoke.

The theory of overpopulation has often been used by the rotting capitalist system as an excuse for the necessity of having wars. This is to cover up the real reason of imperialist aggrandizement and the constant need for revision of the world market by monopolistic capital.

During the depression years, food rotted, cotton was plowed under, grain was burned. Yet millions starved. Was that overpopulation, where not enough could be produced for the masses of people? Obviously not. And yet, with the advent of war, there suddenly arose a manpower shortage. In the space of a brief year or two, the country found itself suddenly with a case of underpopulation. And now once again, with the war's end, we find what could be called comparatively speaking in a capitalist society, an overpopulation.

One thing is still to be made clear. In all capitalist countries, propagation of the race is always the order of the day. More and more working class babies are wanted. This means not only an unlimited supply of labor for capitalism but also an endless source of cannon fodder for imperialist war.

It is necessary once again to stress the need for the internationalizing of society on a socialist scale, wherein family life can assume a greater fulfillment, and the theory of overpopulation be damned forever as a fraud.

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China, Russia - -

(Continued from page 1)

railway men, officials and the secret police. As in all such cases, that means special privileges for the foreign power.

China grants special rights to Russia in Port Arthur, which will be used jointly as a naval base "at the disposal of the battleships and merchant ships of China and the USSR." As everyone knows, Russia's battle fleets will hardly be crowded out by the Chinese "navy." But it does mean, in real life, the control of Port Arthur by Russia. In addition, the port of Dairen is to be "free...to trade and shipping of all countries." The primary interest there will be Russian. Both Port Arthur and Dairen are a long distance from Russian borders.

When Czarist Russia obtained these ports in her treaty of alliance with China, the latter represented the imperialist expansion of Russia and led directly to the war with Japan. This time, Russia entered the war against Japan in its final weeks for the purpose of re-establishing the claims of imperial Russia.

In addition to these concessions given to Russia, Chiang has agreed to allow in his government representatives of the Chinese Communist government.

BASIS OF TREATY

What pressures were exerted on China to sign this treaty? Undoubtedly Russia's threat to take Manchuria and to support the drive of the Russian-subsidized armies of Yenan to seize other territories and centers in Northern China. These pressures came not only from Russia, but from the United States and Great Britain as part payment for Russia's entry into the war against Japan.

The recognition of Chinese "integrity and sovereignty" and the renunciation of special privileges and territories in China by Russia is, of course, a fraud. Special interests in Manchuria, re-establishment of Russian interests in Port Arthur and Dairen belie any non-intervention in China. If you want to know what such concessions really mean, think of what integrity and sovereignty would mean if an American government signed a treaty with another power granting it full and exclusive rights in New York harbor, special

rights in the port of Boston and joint control over the New York Central Railroad!

That is exactly what the Russo-Chinese treaty means.

Such an imperialist policy was what Lenin and Trotsky fought against. It was one of the reasons for the outbreak of the Russian Revolution. Czarist Russia's imperialist policies led to the Russo-Chinese War of 1904-05. Stalin's imperialist policies today led to Russian entry into the recent war with Japan.

When the Russian workers took power in 1917 they renounced all special privileges in China and tore up all the Czarist treaties. Lenin called the seizure by treaty of Port Arthur, predatory Czarist imperialism. Russia under Lenin defended semi-colonial China against all the big powers. The famous slogan issued by Workers' Russia was "Hands Off China!"

RUSSIAN NATIONALISM

Stalin has reversed all of this. He is today the great Russian nationalist, the purveyor of the imperialist demands of Czarism, the representative of a new class of bureaucrats who rule Russia in their own interests. Just as they exploit the Russian workers and peasants and falsely call this exploitation socialism, so they seek now to exploit European workers and peasants, colonial peoples in Asia and call this exploitation "recognition of sovereignty," "freedom and democracy."

In all of this, Chiang acts as the servant of imperialism in helping to subordinate China to the great powers of the world.

It is time again to cry out: Hands Off China! Drive the imperialists out of the country! For a free and independent China! For a Workers and Peasants China!

Atlantic Charterism

"The British have a small army in Greece, approximately as large as the expeditionary force that came to Greece in 1941 to fight the Germans."—C. L. Sulzberger in the New York Times, July 15. It's probably there just to see that the Greeks vote dem-o-cra-tic-ally.

CAPITALIST BARBARISM AT WORK

Approximately 10,000,000 Jews lived in Europe in 1939. This table gives the 1939 figures and the 1945. In the case of the latter, wherever figures were available from various sources, the most conservative figure was chosen.

Table compiled by Christian Science Monitor

	No. of Jewish People—1939	Jewish Population 1945
Austria	185,000	6,000
Belgium	63,000	25,000
Bulgaria	47,000	35,000
Czechoslovakia	380,000	50,000
France	230,000	100,000
Great Britain	No. change	No. change
Greece	125,000	40,000
Hungary	450,000	150,000
Italy	50,000	35,000
Latvia	97,000	*
Lithuania	177,000	*
Netherlands	150,000	15,000
Poland	3,150,000	200,000
Romania	1,050,000	350,000
Yugoslavia	70,000	6,000

* Figures available only from main centers. There the Jewish population was completely exterminated.

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