

SEC Shows War Is Not Hell for Corporations

NO NEW millionaires will be made by this war! That was promised the American people when their sons were drafted for the fighting and workers' wages were frozen.

What becomes of that promise, in the light of a report made public this week by the Securities and Exchange Commission? Of all the disclosures yet made of wartime profits—and most of them have been printed in LABOR—this one is the most sensational.

The report shows total gains made from 1939 through 1944 by all American corporations, except

banks and insurance companies. In other words, it includes all manufacturing, commercial, railroad and many other kinds of corporations, whether big or small.

For the five-year period since the war started in Europe, the report shows:

- 1—That the corporations' "current assets" nearly doubled, from \$54,600,000,000 to \$98,000,000,000. These current assets include "cash on hand," "U. S. government securities," money due the corporations from the government and other customers, materials in "inventories," and other assets.

- 2—The corporations' "cash on hand" more than doubled, from \$10,900,000,000 to \$23,100,000,000.
- 3—The U. S. government securities owned by the corporations multiplied nearly ten times, from \$2,200,000,000 to \$20,800,000,000.
- 4—At the end of 1939, the U. S. government owed the corporations virtually nothing. At the end of 1944 the government owed them \$4,700,000,000.
- 5—The corporations' "net working capital" nearly doubled, from \$24,600,000,000 in 1939 to \$45,500,000,000 in 1944. Net working capital is the cash

and other "ready money" assets owned by the corporations, after subtracting every cent they owe anyone. It does not include the value of their factories and other "fixed assets." The latter have also increased enormously, but their value is not shown in the report.

The corporations' working capital "reached a new high" at the end of 1944, the report says.

The total increase in the corporations' working capital was \$20,900,000,000. That was after paying billions in dividends and interest on their stocks and

bonds, and after setting aside enough money to pay all their income taxes.

Moreover, the report points out, at the end of 1944 the corporations had \$2,100,000,000 coming to them from Uncle Sam in "post-war tax refunds."

On top of all that, after the war the corporations will get back immense but still unknown amounts through such income tax law "loopholes" as "carry-backs," "excess profits credits," "accelerated amortization," and "recomputation of base period income."

—Reprinted from "Labor."

WE SAY—
Independent Labor Party
Labor Must Form an

LABOR ACTION

WE ARE FOR—
A Guaranteed
Annual Wage
For All Workers

JUNE 4, 1945 A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR ONE CENT

N. Y. ELECTION ISSUE: JOBS

Slap at Browder Signal for CP Change of Line

By ALBERT GATES

By this time the whole world knows about the public attack made by Jacques Duclos, leader of the French Communist Party, on Earl Browder, chief editor of the Daily Worker and president of the Communist Political Association, for having "dissolved the Communist Party," drawn "erroneous conclusions" from the Teheran Conference and made "himself the protagonist of a false concept of social evolution in general, and in the first place, the social evolution of the U. S."

In continuing his sharp criticism, Duclos wrote that "one is witnessing a notorious revision of Marxism on the part of Browder and his supporters," that "the French Communists will not approve the policy followed by Browder, for it has swerved dangerously from the victorious Marxist-Leninist doctrine."

Duclos' criticism appeared in Les Cahiers du Communisme, the theoretical organ of the French Communist Party, and this is what makes the whole nature of the attack so unusual. When the Communist International functioned openly such matters were dealt with in the up-

States, the Communist Parties were presumed to have obtained their independence. That is why the attack launched against Browder employed the device of making it appear to have originated in the leadership of the French Communist Party.

WHY THIS ATTACK?

What is behind this attack on Browder, who is noted for his abject following of Russia and the Stalinist leaders in all their political turns? Browder was never noted for any great intelligence, audacity or independence of action. Whatever policies he pursued and foisted upon the American Communist Party were an automatic reflection of the political course of Stalin. The answer to this apparently puzzling question must be looked for in the field of world politics, that is, the relations which exist between the Big Three who dominate the international scene today.

These relations have gone through various stages during the war. Suspensions were evident from the start. First were the mutual fears of a separate peace with Germany. Second was the dispute of the second front, when and where it would begin. Third were the disputes over the division of Europe, which are sharper than ever now that the war has ceased in Europe.

So long as the European war was on and Germany remained a dangerous antagonist, the policy of Russia and the Communist Parties was to strengthen the Big Three coalition in order to guarantee the continuation of the war on two fronts and

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per circles of its executive committee, which is another way of saying in the ruling committee of the Russian Communist Party.

Since Stalin formally "dissolved" the Communist International as a means of strengthening his alliance with Great Britain and the United

D-Day for Labor



Full Employment Program Of Workers Party Nominee

By V. P. JENSEN

In this November's mayoralty election, the workers in New York City will have an opportunity to take the lead in the nation-wide fight for jobs and full employment. For regardless of the windy platitudes and dull platforms of the candidates, the real issue for the coming period is—jobs for New York City workers.

Behind the scenes, in the smoke-filled rooms of the machine politicians, there is frantic maneuvering to discover a candidate to succeed La Guardia in the most important mayoralty position in the country. A dozen or so candidates have arisen as possibilities. There are district attorneys, council members, lawyers, doctors—every type has been mentioned as a mayoralty possibility except one—a labor man. And from out of all this political maneuvering there has been not one word of PROGRAM. Not a word as to what is to be done in the nation's largest city to provide full employment in the post-war period. Not a word about the cutbacks in the aircraft and shipyard industries which are already beginning.

Yet—the issue is JOBS. The politicians may talk of "clean government" or clean streets, but every worker in New York, as in the nation, talks of one thing: will there be jobs for all? If elections and the democratic process mean anything, this election must show that the people of the city will not be content with talk, that they want action. Action now for full employment.

WHAT IS AHEAD FOR LABOR?

It is not too early for labor to act. Already cutbacks in aircraft, shipyards and the metal trades have begun. The shutdown of the Brewster Aircraft plant in Long Island City last year was only the beginning. Between February of last year and

February of this, employment in the manufacturing trades in New York declined 8.2 per cent. And this decline was during the period of war in Europe. And in the metal trades, which are the highest paid in the city, the decline has been even greater—15.7 per cent. These figures indicate the dangerous trend—the steady



MAX SHACHTMAN

fall in the standard of living of New York workers.

But these declines are only the beginning. The International Association of Machinists (AFL) estimates that before the war there were 300,000 workers in the metropolitan area in the metal trades. The union estimates that during the reconversion that figure will fall as low as 180,000 and that even after retooling it will not rise to the pre-war figure! This is the future for metal trades workers in the city. It is not greatly different for the other important New York trades.

New York workers have grim

(Continued on page 4)

Is \$25 A Week Adequate Benefit?

President Truman's Proposal: A MAXIMUM of \$25 a week for all workers for twenty-six weeks.
Workers Party Proposal: A MINIMUM of \$30 a week for single men and women for the duration of the period of unemployment.

By MARY BELL

On May 28, President Truman requested of Congress emergency legislation extending the present coverage of unemployment benefits and increasing the maximum payment to \$25 a week.

This is late recognition of the fact that NOTHING has been done for the workers who have toiled, fought and borne the cost of the war.

CONGRESS AND BUSINESS

Not so with big business. Congress guaranteed the profits before they took the "risk" of converting to war production. That was in the period of "priorities unemployment" when the workers walked the streets, haunted employment agencies and suffered below - subsistence living. The war assured business undreamed of profits. And Congress again guaranteed its post-war profits through refunds out of the excess profits taxes.

The workers have gotten the wage freeze, job freeze, high taxes, a rising cost of living, deductions for war bonds, etc. They are going to be more than a little fed up when they go on the dole, whose present maximum is from \$16 to \$18 a week.

President Truman is belatedly recognizing this fact—when cutback unemployment is already throwing thousands out of work.

But \$25 a week is the minimum on which a single person can live and receive the minimum necessities of life. Twenty-five dollars a week for a family of any size means a substandard of existence! If you multiply the present benefits of \$16 a week by the rise in the cost of living (45.3 per cent—CIO figure) the result is about \$25 a week. In other words, the President's proposal, aside from extending the workers covered, does no more than compensate for the increase in the cost of living. And this is the MAXIMUM!

ONLY DECENT PROPOSAL

The Workers Party proposal for unemployment insurance to all workers for whom government and industry do not find jobs, beginning with \$30 a week for single men and women, is the only proposal that will guarantee a decent standard of living to those who have toiled and are now being arbitrarily tossed out of their jobs.

This is only a beginning for labor. It should also fight for the incorporation into its union contracts of a clause calling for the absorption of workers thrown into unemployment in the reconversion period by a re-

duction of the work-week with no reduction in weekly take-home pay. It has to proceed to the guarantee of a year-around job, a minimum of \$2,500 annual wage to each worker, and a rising standard of living by means of government planning to assure a \$5,000 annual income to all workers' families, together with a thirty-hour maximum work week.

All these things are within labor's grasp. It is the biggest, mightiest organized force in the country. All that is necessary is that it rise up on its feet, repudiate the supine policies of its leadership, such as the

no-strike pledge and the support of capitalist candidates who refused last year to give labor \$25 a week unemployment benefits but guaranteed the billions to big business!

(And it ought to be noted that one of the houses of Congress just voted itself \$2,500 a year "pin money" in addition to present salaries of \$10,000. This is only four times the maximum unemployment compensation a worker could obtain in a year!)

Labor must get back on the high road of independent class action and form an independent class party of labor!

Chicago Truckmen Back to Work

CHICAGO, May 24—Six thousand five hundred truck drivers returned to work today after President Truman issued an order for the government to take over the 1,000 companies affected.

At the same time Army officers agreed that the WLB would reconsider the decision the board had previously handed down on the union's demands for wage increases and shorter work week.

Units of the Regular Army had been brought into Chicago to break the strike and in some cases Army

trucks and army personnel hauled goods for employees affected.

KEESHIN LOCKOUT

Eighty-five of the drivers who participated in the strike were ordered by the Keeshin Motor Express Co. to sign new application cards when they returned to work on termination of the strike. The drivers refused to sign the cards, pointing out that the signing of new applications would mean loss of seniority, vacations and back pay. They resumed picketing of the concern on the basis that the company was pulling a lockout.

The striking truck drivers were members of the Chicago Truck Drivers Union, independent. Frank Brown, president of Teamsters Joint Council No. 25, AFL, ordered all AFL teamsters to continue work as usual. International members of Teamsters Local 705, AFL, competitor of the striking local, were ordered not to strike, even though the AFL local made the same wage and hour demands. However, it was estimated that 2,500 members of Local 705 stayed away from work in sympathy with the strike.

British Labor Party Faces Election Fight

The decision of the British Labor Party to step out of the coalition government was taken at its Blackpool conference last week under the pressure of many urgent problems which are looming up before the working class.

The Labor Party turned down Churchill's proposal that it continue in the present government until the end of the war with Japan. Instead it proposed that it continue until October, at which time a general election should be held. Churchill countered with a formal resignation, which compelled the calling of a general election on July 5th, a date more favorable to him.

them. Because of the less favorable condition of British economy and because England itself was a war area, subjected to terrific bombings, destruction and dislocation, these problems are much more intense.

The big question, naturally, is full employment. Who will provide jobs for all in England? How shall they be provided?

Another big question is housing. How will adequate housing be provided for all?

What about social security, health insurance, old-age insurance, unemployment insurance?

Two solutions are being offered to these questions—one is a solution offered by the employers and the present government; the other is a solution offered by the advanced section of the British working class.

The Conservatives and the class of bankers, industrialists and monopolists which they represent propose to

(Continued on page 3)

POST-WAR PROBLEMS

The British working class is now faced with a whole series of problems similar to those which the workers in this country have before



NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

WAR PROFITS IN RUBBER INDUSTRY

Table with columns: GROSS PROFIT (Average of Years 1937-8-9-40, 1944), SURPLUS (Average of Years 1937-8-9-40, 1944), and Pct. Incr. for companies: GOODYEAR, GOODRICH, FIRESTONE.

By MEL STRONG

The big three of the rubber industry are not doing so badly in the matter of squeezing profits from their employees during the war period.

It must be clear to the workers by now that industry has no Little Steel formula for its profits. Contract cancellations for war material are causing increasing unemployment throughout the nation.

operated for profit through the wage system. Is it sensible then to allow these modern new plants to fall into the hands of the class that has failed to produce even the necessities of life for one-third of the population?

The Miners Win Another Victory

By MIKE STEVENS

The hard coal miners returned to the pits last week and dug coal for the first time since April 30, the day their union agreement with the mine owners expired.

this agreement is accepted by the WLB, other unions will follow the correct role of the miners.

The negotiations for a new agreement began early in April. The latter part of that same month the hard coal miners cast an overwhelming "Yes" vote in the National Labor Relations Board's strike vote.

with it. The UMW never formally acted on this order. The government seized the mines on May 3. And, as the New York Times laments, "This action made the criminal provisions of the War Labor Disputes Act operative, but not a wheel turned in the anthracite mines."



There is no doubt in anyone's mind that if the WLB stalls around or suggests that another agreement within the government's "stabilization" formula be worked out, there will be a stoppage in the mining of hard coal.

As the date approached for the expiration of the old agreement, the government sent in Frances Perkins, ex-Secretary of Labor (according to our legal experts, that post still exists) to meet with the union officials and the mine owners in an attempt to work out some compromise.

There are three significant points in the behavior of the government and its agencies during this period that prove they have learned to respect the workers' strength—when it is exercised in militant action and not wasted writing post cards: (1) The WLB permitted the negotiations to continue even while the strike was going on; (2) no miners were arrested and (3) Fuel Administrator Harold L. Ickes, who was in charge of the mines for the government after they were "taken over," did not negotiate the new agreement.

Steel Local Scraps "Pledge"

LOUISVILLE—The following letter has been sent to Philip Murray by the members of Local 1693, USA-CIO (Henry Vogt Machine Co.—approximately 800 employees).

tion of the seventeen-cent wage adjustment has been pigeon-holed in Washington and probably will remain there until all our bargaining power is gone, i.e., until men are again walking the streets.

keeping delegates on the WLB; the purpose of which has been not to help the working man but, on the contrary, to hold his wages down.



In the spirit of brotherly concern for the future of the union movement, the membership of this local hereby gives you solemn warning that unless you as president of the CIO take the above steps, the union movement which is today in grave danger because of this policy of retreat, will eventually collapse because of that policy.

West Coast Labor Round-Up

By AL MARKS

CIO's Harry Bridges throws unity party at the Palace Hotel for such people as Publisher Roy Howard of the Scripps-Howard chain of newspapers and other prominent "labor friends."

ing held at San Francisco, charged it was a "sham and a farce" and that the members of the Regional Labor Board were pre-opinionated.

While the San Francisco Conference uses every conceivable subterfuge to cover up its intentions to redivide the world, the same old home hypocrisy goes on. Fifteen hundred German and Italian prisoners of war are to be held here until fall harvest, at lower rates, naturally, than would be paid to regular labor.

ence. It makes everyone brotherly. For example: Stockton Longshoremen's Local 6's 300 members have protested working with Japanese-Americans. Nisei girl who lost two brothers fighting for "democracy," was told by unidentified persons to leave the country.

After many months of negotiations and anxious waiting it became apparent that the company was unwilling to grant any of the demands excepting a five cent intra-plant adjustment, a compromise on the vacation clause and a compromise on shift differential.

of this plant are without a wage increase despite the fact that they have spent many months trying to get one. During these months living costs have not remained as stationary as did our wages.

Numerous rank and filers spoke in favor of the letter. Not one rank and filer spoke against it! The vote was then called and the motion passed by a very good margin.

The Bethlehem Steel Strike

BUFFALO—Eight thousand Bethlehem Steel workers returned to work Friday, May 18, after a six-day strike which began when the company, in a speed-up move, removed two men from an eight-man limestone crew.

lehem area steel locals. It was enthusiastically received. In addition this leader read resolutions to rescind the no-strike pledge and amalgamate the locals (2601 to 2605, inclusive and 3144).

And of course, two Stalinist scabs wrapped themselves in the flag and gave a splendid exhibition of the sell-out tactics for which they are so well known.

The mass meeting held Monday, May 14, reported in LABOR ACTION two weeks ago, at which the international union officials and five out of six local presidents were booted from the speakers' platform, was followed by another meeting on Thursday, May 17.

A motion immediately came from the floor that the resolution be voted on. The chairman openly ignored this motion and in order to nip this genuine union action gave the floor to another speaker!

The inevitable vote-taking then began. It is significant that out of two thousand workers present only nine hundred and ten voted. The rest were obviously too fed up with the whole affair—as well they might be. The final count read six hundred and two for returning and three hundred and eight against. Not a bad showing after absorbing three and a half hours of defeatist windbagging!

UE Slaps Post War "No Strike"

PHILADELPHIA—At a meeting of Local 107, United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers Assn., held on May 1, this union almost unanimously rejected the attempt on the part of President Fitzgerald to saddle the union with a post-war no-strike pledge.

who pledged his union to a post-war no-strike pledge, the members of the local decided to nip this new piece of appeasement in the bud before it flowered into a greater piece of treachery and "sell-out-ism."

It is already grappling with post-war problems, although the war with Japan has many months, if not years, to go. As we approach the end, when manufacturing associations are fattening on wartime profits and getting ready to take advantage of the unemployment that is bound to occur, we certainly do not feel that this is an opportune time to give employers the feeling that labor has lost its militancy.

Editor's Note: This is the same local that recently passed a resolution in support of the rescinding of the no-strike pledge by the Textile Workers Union. We are gratified to see another UE local whose international union is dominated by the Communist Party join progressives in the labor movement.

It all began with a news story in the April 7 edition of the UE News in which the UE "leader" was quoted as saying to 1,000 shop stewards and CIO members in Minneapolis that "As far as I am concerned, the no-strike pledge was NOT made just for the duration of the war and I hope the day comes when labor leaders and leaders of industry who fail in their responsibilities will pay as dearly as people who start wars."

LOCAL 107'S ACTIONS The motion passed by the local was strong and direct, indicating the attitude of the members, who were sick of the present misleadership in the international. It read: "That a letter be sent to President Fitzgerald, informing him that Local 107 certainly does not agree with the statement he made in the UE News that the no-strike pledge was not made just for the duration of the war and that we roundly condemn any action taken by our national leaders to pledge our union to a post-war no-strike pledge."

It is now the job of this local to join with other progressives in the UE in an attempt to restore militancy to the union by fighting for the repeal of the no-strike pledge, to urge labor to withdraw from the WLB, for a shorter work week with no cut in pay, and for the formation of an Independent Labor Party to replace the energetic but misdirected PAC.

Sharecroppers Fight Eviction

MEMPHIS (WDL)—Negro and white sharecroppers, tenants of the Delmo farm labor homes in southeastern Missouri, are planting their gardens and plan to fight to keep their homes. H. L. Mitchell, president of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union, reports. The homes were advertised for sale by the Farm Security Administration two months ago.

Cleveland Readers: MAX SHACHTMAN National Secretary of the Workers Party SPEAKS ON: Can Labor Fight Cutbacks? Slovenian Home—Old Hall 6409 St. Clair Thursday, June 7, 8:15 p. m.

Buffalo Readers: Labor Action Party GUEST SPEAKER: MAX SHACHTMAN Nat'l Sec'y, Workers Party Saturday, June 9, 8:30 P. M. Admission 35c—Refreshments LABOR ACTION HALL, 639 Main Street

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Editorials

Anniversary of Brewster Sit-In

Last year at about this time the Navy Department cancelled its contract with the Brewster Aeronautical Corp., thus throwing thousands of employees out of work. This was a foreshadowing of the future—cutbacks, layoffs, mass unemployment.

BREWSTER SIT-IN

Last spring, however, the Brewster workers, members of the militant UAW Local 365, took the matter into their own hands. They were not going to be thrown out into the streets to starve without putting up a fight. The Brewster workers remained in the plant and refused to leave until they were given some guarantee of jobs. Around the plant they threw a demonstration picket line carrying colorful banners, some of which read "Is This Post-War Reconversion?" "We Want Work!"

The Brewster sit-in drew nation-wide attention to the situation and there was a great deal of bustling about by labor's officialdom and the members of various government agencies. There were many loud promises forthcoming from the Administration spokesmen—promises of jobs and re-employment for the 13,500 who faced dismissal at that time. These promises had no practical basis. Their only purpose was to get the workers out of the plant—which they succeeded in doing. Once they walked out of the plant, the Brewster workers were not given back their jobs. They were forced to seek work elsewhere or to remain unemployed.

The problem of reconversion unemployment that the Brewster workers were faced with a year ago is now an issue facing every worker in the United States. Official government announcements and top union leaders state that due to war production cutbacks, millions of workers will be on the streets within a year. It is an accepted fact that reconversion unemployment is fast becoming a nation-wide phenomenon.

WILLOW RUN SHUTDOWN

Just one striking example among many others is Ford's million-dollar Willow Run bomber plant. It is scheduled to close down entirely by June 15 and 10,865 workers will be thrown out of their jobs.

R. J. Thomas, president of the UAW, and George Addes, secretary-treasurer, were offered the plant through a repre-

sentative of a government surplus disposal agency. They refused, saying their job was to defend the interests of their members rather than to go into "business." Thomas proposed that Boss Kaiser of the ship industry take over the plant.

It was easy enough to organize production at Willow Run when the golden stream of war profits was flowing.

Now the whole capitalist class, plus their government in Washington, plus the union leaders cannot find a way to "convert" the Willow Run plant, i.e., make it produce peacetime goods and maintain the jobs of the Willow Run workers. Therefore it is high time for the workers to do something serious.

LABOR ACTION proposes: Let the government continue to operate the bomber plant. Let the workers control production. They are the ones who bear the suffering of unemployment. They are the ones who want to guarantee full employment, the sixty million jobs. Capitalism is showing by the Detroit shutdown that it is both unwilling and unable to keep the plant in operation.

Willow Run is only the first big plant that it is proposed to scrap. There will be more, which for reasons of unsatisfactory profits or competition, capitalists will not want to operate. The result will be masses of unemployed, insufficient production to meet civilian needs and a decline in the standard of living.

Let the government operate Willow Run under workers' control!

Freedom of Speech In Occupied Italy

The British arrest of Pietro Nenni, secretary of the Italian Socialist Party, for making a speech to workers in the town of Vercelli, near Milan, in the industrial North, has only served to emphasize the fact that since the Allied "liberation" of the country, Italy is still an occupied country.

Nenni was immediately released upon his acknowledgment that he had violated the Allied ban against public speeches to workers. In obtaining his release, the press reports that Nenni promised to abide by this law. The Nenni case is highlighted by the fact that the same Allied have "imprisoned" such fascists as Fritz Thyssen, steel magnate, and Hjalmar Schacht, banker, in hotels, where they continue to live in their accustomed splendor.

Palmiro Togliatti, boss of the Stalinist-Communist Party, is also reported to have violated the ban against speeches, but he was not arrested. Whether these were test cases to see what British authority would do is not very important.

Almost two years of Allied occupation of Italy has amply demonstrated what its policy is. It is to deny the Italian people the democratic right to govern themselves in any way they see fit; it is to deny the Italian people, and the workers in the first place, the basic democratic rights so that they may reorganize the country in the interests of the vast majority against the social scum represented by the decadent monarchy, the native industrialist-financier gang who put Mussolini into power, the gang of fascists who continue to go on their way with the aid of AMG.

Britain's imperialist interests govern her policy in Italy. Control of the Mediterranean Sea as the water highway to her colonial possessions means control of the Mediterranean countries of Europe and North Africa. Churchill's policy in Italy is really a simple one: keep the rotten monarchist-big business-conservative interest in power against the people.

What has made the British policy, as part of the Allied program, so easy to execute is the fact that so-called "socialist" leaders of the Socialist and Communist Parties have followed policies which have enabled the Allied imperialists to maintain their death-like grip on Italy.

Therefore, no democratic elections have yet been held in the country. There is no genuine freedom of press in the country. There is no genuine freedom of assembly for all parties of labor but only a partial freedom for the Communist and Socialist Parties, because these are really part of the Allied coalition, the former as a supporter of Russia and the latter as a supporter of the cause of the United Nations.

The right to free organization is still barred by AMG, which, in addition to denying the Italians these basic liberties, has worsened the terrible economic conditions which existed under Mussolini and the German occupation.

Thus, the primary task in Italy remains the struggle for democratic rights, which are indispensable as the basis for the organization of the working class. The achievement of such conditions will enable the advanced workers of the country to develop the struggle for socialism as the only hope for the starving, unemployed and poverty-stricken Italian masses.

This means a struggle against the policies that govern Allied occupation. It means that the Italians must demand an end to the occupation and fight for the national independence of the country. But this requires a struggle against the policies of the parties led by Nenni, who is playing ball with the Stalinist-Communist Party, and Togliatti, Stalin's agent in Italy. It demands in the first place the organization of a truly independent Italian revolutionary socialist party.



By Reva Craine

Imperialist Altruism

India is still the richest jewel in the crown of the British Empire, but it shines ever less brightly. Under the colonial system, the development of her agriculture and industry has been greatly impeded. Both were subordinated to the design of keeping India a source of raw materials and cheap labor for the British imperialists, rather than raising the standard of living of her people. Agriculture was reduced to a few money crops for export, with little or no attention paid to the raising of food for the Indian population. Industrial and railroad construction were planned solely for the transport of goods from the interior to the coastal cities and thence to England.

We have dwelt at length on previous occasions on what this exploitation has meant for the Indian people, the untold suffering it has imposed upon them. The current famine in that country tells the story.

But the imperialist treatment of India has had another result. While India has continued to be a great supplier of the raw materials for Britain, her role as purchaser of British manufactured goods has

steadily declined. For example, in 1913 Britain exported to India 15 per cent of her total exports; in 1929, 10.7 per cent and in 1938, 7.2 per cent.

At the present time, when England looks to an expansion of her foreign trade as a means of retaining her position as a great power, a section of her ruling class is advocating an industrialization policy in India for the purpose of raising the purchasing power of the Indian people. Through retention of India as a colony, this purchasing power can then be exploited by the British manufacturers.

Only a section of the British industrialists are now advocating this policy, that section which is interested in export trade. They are motivated solely by considerations of trade and profit, and not at all by considerations of the conditions of the Indian people. An important factor which spurs them in the advocacy of this policy is the threat of United States competition for the Indian market.

More and more openly, United States big business talks in terms of "our stake" in India. An editorial in the New York Times describes this stake in very precise terms:

"If we of the United States think that the troubles of far-away India are no concern of ours, we shall do

well to consider some of the facts which this new organization (American Relief of India, Inc.) has assembled for us. For American business men, India is one of the mightiest potential markets on the globe, about to enter upon an industrial era that will release the latent energies of one-fifth of the human race. She will want machinery for farm and factory; she will want tens of thousands of products that America can provide. We of this country have a stake in India. For our own well-being, if for not higher reason, we can no longer think of India as outside our world. We cannot deny her our interest or leave her ill and misfortunate to others to cure." (Emphasis mine—R. C.)

You may rest assured that whenever the representatives of the business interests express concern about the plight of the oppressed peoples and propose ways and means to help them, there are motives other than brotherhood and love of man involved. Aid to starving India is looked upon by big business as a good investment for the future. Without the prospect of future exploitation, both the British and American business interests would not care a damn, as they haven't for decades past, about the Indian people of any other colonial peoples.

One-Tenth of the Nation

Balance Sheet of the War

By J. R. Johnson

During recent weeks, in connection with the celebration of May Day, labor's day, there has been much thought given to the position of labor.

How have the Negroes fared during this period? How do they stand today as compared, for instance, with their position in May of 1940. The answer can be unequivocally given: unmistakable progress has been made.

There has been substantial progress in the integration of Negroes into industry. True, it has been the result of the needs of the capitalist war machine. But the fact is that Negroes are a part of the labor force as never before. They have had steady wages. They have been able to learn skills. Despite the handicap of late entry and the prejudices of white workers, Negroes have been up-graded in many plants. Thus their claims to equality in production have received token recognition.

EDUCATION IN INDUSTRY

The mere presence of so many hundreds of thousands of Negroes in industry has resulted in a great education of the Negroes themselves. They have been forced to recognize more clearly than ever the solidarity of labor, black and white, Jew and Gentile. Hundreds of thousands of Negroes and their families have been helped to think in terms, not of black and white, but of employer and laborer, in terms of class and not of race.

As the climax to this process, they have had the inestimable benefit of union education. Despite the strikes

against employment and upgrading of Negroes, the record of the CIO, in particular, on the Negro question in the unions is undoubtedly the brightest page in the history of race relations in this country.

The penetration of large numbers of Negroes into industry and the unions, the experiences gained, the publicity in the Negro press, have resulted in a great increase of pro-CIO sentiment among Negroes whether are members of unions or not. This social and political consequence of the mass entry into production is a gain whose full significance will appear as the political life of the country sharpens and clarifies itself.

With this must be coupled the education of the white workers too. Under the stress of the class struggle in the process of production, guided by the firm leadership of, for example, the UAW, white workers have been compelled to face the Negro question in the factories and to take a position on it.

The progress made can be gauged by the fact that during the fighting and rioting in Detroit the workers in the factories stood firm. They recognized the threat to the union and with them, black and white, the union came first. This was not only of first importance for the unions. It was of the first importance for the Negroes as well. Because if the unions had divided on this question, then the flood-gates would have been loosened and the immediate consequences for all Negroes in Detroit would have been much worse than even what actually took place.

At the same time, the last five years have seen an intensification of the struggle between American capitalist society as a whole and the oppressed Negro people. The strains and stresses of the war have intensified all the antagonisms of capitalist society. The result has been a sharpening of racial tensions and of racial conflict. It is not necessary to recapitulate incidents here and now. It is sufficient to say that the vigorous offensive of the Negroes has resulted in nation-wide concern with the position of the Negro people in the United States.

Roosevelt gave the first official response when the threat of a march on Washington was countered by the formation of the ineffectual FEPC. Since then the process has continued.

NEGRO STRUGGLES

Its highest point has been the Ives-Quinn bill, which aims at abolishing discrimination on account of race in New York State. No bill can abolish racial discrimination in capitalist society. Yet the overwhelming support given to the bill is evidence of the recognition on all sides that the claims of the Negro people for equality can no longer be ignored. Foremost among those who were roused to action in New York were the local CIO and AFL unions.

(To be continued)

The British Labor Party Confronted With Stiff Election Fight--

(Continued from page 1)

achieve full employment through the extension of foreign trade. That is, they want to return to the time when England was the workshop of the world.

But it is too late for that now. At one time, through exploiting the foreign market and the colonies, England was able to keep her workers busy and even bribe a section of them with higher wages.

But the world position of England has steadily deteriorated. During this war alone she has lost over half of her foreign trade and her shipping. Her hold upon the Empire has steadily been loosened to a point where Canada, Australia and New Zealand are now competitors. In India she is constantly threatened by the incursions of American trade and the struggle of the masses for independence.

To restore her foreign trade and to retain her empire, England has to

be able to undersell her rivals, that is, to produce more cheaply. With her present obsolete industrial plant, this can be done only at the expense of labor. It means fiercer exploitation of the British workers, longer hours, less wages, more intensified work. Whereas at one time in history a small section of British labor was an indirect beneficiary of British imperialism, now the entire British working class is slated for a worsening of its conditions in order to retain the colonial empire.

The program of the ruling class, as expressed by Churchill, calls for more toil and sweat (and tears and blood, too) for a long time after the end of the war.

There is, however, another solution, that of the working class. In order that work be provided for all and the standard of living of the British people be raised, it is necessary that the government undertake to plan and organize production. The Brit-

ish capitalist class is violently opposed to this because it knows that such a practice would reveal how utterly unnecessary to society is this class of parasites. They want production to continue as in the past, under private ownership and control, and for profit. Full employment for them is only the by-product and not the aim.

To plan for decent housing, a particularly vital question in England after the destruction by German bombing, and to plan production as a whole, it is necessary that the government control the industries. That is why the advanced sections of British labor insist upon the nationalization of all major industries, beginning with coal.

If carried out, this program means the beginning of the end of the system of private ownership for purposes of exploitation and profit-making, and the beginnings of a socialist system of planned production for use and the raising of the living standards of all the people. It is most consistently put forward in the socialist program of the Revolutionary Communist Party (Trotskyist) of England, which calls for confiscation of big industry without compensation, government planning of production for use, and a workers' government.

When the British Labor Party joined the coalition government in 1940, one of its leaders, Major Attlee, declared: "We are entering, not as hostages, but as partners." In the five years that followed, this party shared responsibility for every shameful act of that government. In

the name of maintaining the coalition, the Labor Party had to take responsibility for the passage of the Essential Works Order (the equivalent of a national service act), the breaking of strikes, the Trade Disputes Act, which outlawed strikes; the suppression of the Indian revolt in 1942, and finally all it could do in the matter of British imperialist intervention against the Greek people was to abstain on the vote of confidence.

Whether as hostages or partners, the leaders of the Labor Party had to substitute for labor's program the program of the ruling class with which it had joined in coalition against the workers. The conditions of the workers deteriorated steadily as war profits soared.

To every demand by the workers that they break the coalition, these leaders replied that it was essential to maintain "national unity" in order to win the war against fascism. Actually what they were doing was permitting the reactionaries in Britain to carry out their program, while they kept labor bound with a political no-strike pledge. At the end, the Labor Party even gave Churchill the choice of the date of the general election.

Now that the domestic problems have become so acute and the restlessness of the British workers so great, these leaders have had to break the coalition. The program on which the Labor Party is going to challenge the Conservatives (every-one admits that the race is really between these two parties) is a far cry from the one that labor must

have in order to begin to achieve the things it so badly needs.

Programmatically, the Labor Party is committed to the nationalization of the big industries. At the recent Blackpool conference it adopted a program for nationalization of some industries and called for supervision over others. The program of nationalization as a first step must be the central one in the coming elections. It must not be diverted into a debate on the question of the controls over industry which were established during the war. The Labor Party favors retention of these controls, whereas the Conservatives wish to repeal them in order to give private industry a free hand to operate as it sees fit.

The program on controls is entirely inadequate and misleading for the problems which now face the British people demand a most thoroughgoing solution. If the Labor Party wins the elections, as it has a chance of doing, it may once again reveal its incapacity of solving these problems. As in the Labor government of 1929-31, it may show itself incapable of nationalizing the mines and other industries, of bettering the standard of living, of freeing the colonial peoples under British rule. In that case, it will serve once again as a prop for the capitalist order.

This need not be, however. The workers in Britain are steadily showing that they are moving far ahead of their official leaders. It was they who compelled the break-up of the coalition.

In this first election in ten years, the workers of England are once

more fighting along class lines in politics. Freed from the shackles of a coalition government, they can and will fight for a more complete program. If they elect a Labor government, and such a victory would be a tremendous step forward, they will push that government farther

and farther along the road of a socialist solution, or else they will turn to the party which offers such a solution, the party of revolutionary socialism, the Revolutionary Communist Party of England. The fight for the freedom of labor is being fought now on a new plane.—R. Craine.

Don't Crowd the \$2.00 Window, Boys Or, "The Class Will Be Served"

The Great White Father in Washington, in his benevolence and concern for the well being of the unemployed jockeys, handlers, trainers, bookies and tipsheet employees, has decreed that something must be done to save them from destitution.

He has no doubt taken into consideration also the fact that with the average worker struggling along under the wage freeze and the no-strike pledge, most workers will be glad to get a chance to make a killing for \$2.00 on Wobly Knees at 20 to 1, from Joe, the corner bookie. And of course, take their minds off their present problems, such as the high cost of living, rationing and the San Francisco prelude to battle.

Of course, such old American traditions and institutions as the Kaintucky Darby, the Greentree Stables, Pittsburgh Phil (the only guy who ever beat the horses) and Colonel Bradley must be preserved. Then, too, they must improve the breed for the betterment of the Sport of Kings. Therefore, he has lifted the ban on hoss racing despite the WMC, the ODT and the OPA. The war is over for the Sport of Kings.

But wait—don't get excited. He has not forgotten the poor capitalist class. Not at all. He also wants to insure that they too can enjoy life and not have their little minds troubled by such mundane affairs as labor unions bothering them for a fair share of their enormous profits or decent working conditions. No, sir. He doesn't want them losing any sleep over the safety of the no-strike pledge or wondering whether the bureaucrats in the labor movement will be there for another year to do their bidding.

The ODT just took care of that. They have ruled there shall be no permits for labor conventions composed of more than fifty delegates. Yes, the class will be served, as usual—THE CAPITALIST CLASS.

BUT ISN'T IT A BIT INFLATIONARY?

The following want-ad for the Postal Telegraph Co. appeared in Atchinson, Kan., on August 17, 1942:

MANAGER—Qualifications: Combination Morse and Teletype operator. Must have knowledge of operating routine and ability to turn out satisfactory copies in both Morse and Teletype. Must be able to make up payrolls, to rate messages speedily and accurately. Also experience in handling foreign and domestic money orders and special collections necessary. Must have knowledge of accounting practices, daily statements, call and delivery desk. Must have past successful record in both protective and development record in an office this size. Must be neat in appearance and work. Must be aggressive, persistent, resourceful and industrious. **Wages: \$0.30 per hour.**

Workers Party and Election--

(Continued from page 1)

memories of this great city in the depression—unemployment, starvation wages on home relief and works projects. The war has shown that the productive machine can provide jobs for all. The vast productive machine must work in peacetime, too.

This election can show that New York workers are determined that there must be production and full employment. Up to now the labor leaders of the city have supported Mayor La Guardia as against Tammany politicians. Now that he has announced his intention of not running in November, the labor leaders are searching for another candidate acceptable to the labor vote, for another "friend of labor" in the ranks of the capitalist parties. The Democratic and Republican Party machines, too, seek a "friend of labor." They know that New York workers hold the key vote in the elections; that they cannot elect a candidate without the support of either the American Labor Party or the Liberal Party, which control the labor vote in the city.

And what are these "leaders" of labor doing now. What are they telling the New York labor movement,

which faces the post-war crisis? In the ALP, they are tearing their hair and rending the heavens with bootless cries because La Guardia has let them down, because the "friend of labor" will not run again!

Why? What kind of friend to labor was La Guardia? He was certainly no friend to his own city employees. He has consistently fought against pay raises for the underpaid municipal employees. He has fought their unionization and, like any boss, has persecuted and discriminated against municipal employees who spoke up against him. La Guardia fought the appointment of Mark Starr, of one of the clothing unions, to the Board of Education. La Guardia has been trying to undermine the five-cent fare for years. He imposed a sales tax in New York City—the most unfair kind of tax which lowers the standard of living of workers by penalizing those least able to pay.

On the other hand, for two years running he has lowered the taxes on the predatory real estate interests who have New York in their financial grasp. He has done nothing to further the important and necessary city ownership of utilities. In spite of his much-touted housing program,

only the slightest dent has been made in the important task of New York slum clearance. The ten new projects that he announces for the city's total post-war plans will only provide housing for from 46,142 to 49,142 families—hardly a drop in the bucket of New York's housing plight.

This is the "friend of labor" for whose defection the ALP weeps so bitterly. On the other hand, the Liberal Party is mad as La Guardia. They don't like the way he has been treating the city employees, etc. So the Liberal Party is searching with futility in the ranks of the two major parties for another "friend of labor" among the capitalist politicians.

These "labor leaders" should be spending their time and effort in choosing a candidate from the ranks of labor who will stand and fight for a program of, for and by labor—a program of full employment. Because they have not chosen such an independent candidate on an independent program, the Workers Party, Local New York, has chosen a candidate to run for Mayor on a program of full employment and jobs for New York City workers. Max Schachtman, the national secretary

of the Workers Party, is our candidate. Voting for Schachtman will give New York labor the chance to indicate to their own leaders and to the capitalist politicians not only of the city but of the nation that they want action now on post-war problems and full employment.

SHACHTMAN'S PROGRAM

A program for full employment cannot be merely a city-wide program—it must be a national program of planning for full employment. Comrade Schachtman is running on the national program of the Workers Party for reconversion. This program is the following:

1—A Job for Every Worker at a Guaranteed Annual Wage. Every worker who wants a job is entitled to one at a living wage. Wage workers cannot live on post-war reserves and tax refunds, like the corporations can. They must have jobs. They must be jobs at a living wage.

—A Reduction in the Work Week With No Reduction in Pay. All workers thrown into unemployment in the "reconversion" period should be absorbed into industry by a reduction of the work week with no reduction in pay.

—Two Years Military Base Pay for Demobilized Veterans. Veterans should also have the opportunity to go to school at government expense while their families are given adequate maintenance.

4—A Housing and Public Works Program of \$250 Billions for Five Years Following the War. The Workers Party believes that the workers should have decent and sanitary homes to live in. This is a large sum, but it is not so large as the sum spent for death and destruction in the war. Under such a program New York City would receive approximately \$2.5 billions over a period of five-years.

The present program of the City Housing Authority and City Planning Commission calls only for a spending program of \$90 millions over a period of TWENTY-FIVE YEARS! This program would merely provide housing for 500,000 people in that long period—only a dent in the necessary slum clearance in New York. With the Workers' Party proposal, more slums could be cleared in five years and there would be enough left over for a public works program for building schools, playgrounds, public buildings. Then New

York would really be a city fit to live in.

HOW FINANCE SUCH PROGRAM?

The Workers Party believes that money for such a program should come from those who have it. It should not come from increased income taxes on lower brackets, from sales taxes, from higher fares. The war industries should be conscripted; the banks, industrial monopolies and transportation system should be nationalized. Their billions of dollars can be used for the benefit of all the peoples.

Furthermore, war profits should be taxed away. This would bring in billions of dollars. Labor created this profit—labor should have the advantage of it. Freeze the salaries of capitalists at \$25,000 a year and take away the accumulated wealth of the exploiters above \$50,000.

HOW CAN THIS BE ACHIEVED?

First, labor must control production. Idle war plants, mines and mills would not be closed down but run by the workers to produce goods for people to use.

But workers must have a political party of their own in order to win

such a reconversion program, the only realistic program for full employment. That party must be based on the workers in the unions and have millions of members. Workers must get their labor leaders off the coat-tails of the capitalist parties and say to them: let us solve our problems with our own party and our own government. Build an independent Labor Party!

NEW YORK! TAKE THE LEAD!

A VOTE FOR SHACHTMAN IS A VOTE FOR FULL EMPLOYMENT!

This mayoralty campaign should be the opening shot in labor's campaign for full employment. New Yorkers who vote for Max Schachtman will serve notice on the City and national governments and on their labor leaders that they want action NOW, that they are tired of talk and political maneuverings, that they want action on a REAL program for reconversion and full employment.

A VOTE FOR SHACHTMAN IS A VOTE FOR JOBS!

Even Pro-Russian Germans Are "Bad"

A STORY recently appeared in Pravda, as quoted in the New York Times of May 6th, which indicates the existence of revolutionary sentiments among the most highly placed of German technicians while simultaneously revealing the kind of political thinking that is produced under Stalin's totalitarianism.

The Pravda story is by one of its correspondents with the Red Army in Berlin. The correspondent visited the secret headquarters of the German general staff in a vast underground network south of Berlin, below the village of Zossen, describing what the Red Army found there, he goes on to say:

"There was one other striking feature. As we passed through the rooms we noted little boards hung on the most important telegraph apparatus. They bore messages in Russian, as it would be written by a foreigner. All had the same text: 'Soldiers, don't touch or stall these machines. They are very valuable booty for your Red Army.'

"It turned out that they had been penned by the civilian engineers who controlled the electrical equipment. All had been told to board a lorry under threat of death and make off in a certain direction. But the engineers, wisely judging that they had nothing to fear from the Red Army, locked themselves in the power room and waited till the generals had cleared off."

The technicians risked their lives in what, no doubt, they believed was an act of solidarity with a workers' army. Having heard nothing for twelve years but the Nazi propaganda about "bolshivism," large numbers of German anti-Nazis still identify Stalin's régime with the Russian Revolution. But what is the comment of Stalin's correspondent about this revolutionary act? He writes:

"And so the German general staff did not even command the loyalty of its servants."

This is an "All Germans are bad" story to end all such stories. The comment above is on a par with that of the radio announcer who denounced the German people for not having the decency to mourn Hitler in death after having "followed him in life."

Big Business to "Educate" Germans

By STEPHEN PARKER

The American military occupation of Germany clearly reveals one thing. The policies of the occupation forces are being dictated by the very top layers of American capitalism.

The roster of advisers to General Eisenhower and his chief deputy, Lieut.-Gen. Lucius Clay, reads like a Who's Who of big business. Included in the list are representatives of the big bankers, big insurance magnates, steel, coal, railroad and chemical monopolists. These are the men who will determine American policy in Germany.

The new administrators of Germany do not even contain the usual "window dressing." In the entire list there is not one representative of the American labor movement. There is no record of any trade union being invited to select "advisers." Evidently workers do not qualify as "experts."

BUSINESS WHO'S WHO

To control the destiny of Germany you must have a background like that of the following:

R. J. Wysox, until recently president of the reactionary Republic Steel Corporation, which achieved notoriety because of the pro-fascist activities of its real head, Tom Girdler.

Edward S. Zdzunek, formerly head of General Motors of Antwerp, Belgium, the organization which is trying to smash the power of the United Automobile Workers through a series of open provocations.

Philip Gaetke, connected with the Anacosta Copper Company, which has an anti-labor record of many years duration.

Phillip P. Clover, of Socony Vacuum Company, which has been in-

involved in cartel agreements with fascist industrialists for years.

These men can be expected to treat the German workers as they have desired to treat the American workers for many years. But in Germany they have one additional advantage. There, the workers are more defenseless. For the Nazis did what they would have liked to do in the United States. The Nazis completely destroyed the trade unions and the political organizations of the working class.

One main conclusion can be drawn from all the activities of the Americans since the occupation began. They are opposed to any change in the social structure of Germany. To this end they have been treating the German industrialists, the real supporters and backers of fascism, with kid gloves. The Thyssens and the Krupps, the billionaire supporters of Hitler, have not as yet been brought to trial. Instead they have proposed to the American administration that they put "their factories" back into production.

BAR ANTI-NAZI ACTIVITIES

The complaints of anti-Nazi workers against this policy have either been completely ignored or else have led to repressions directed toward the workers. The German workers have been forbidden to engage in anti-Nazi activities. They have been forbidden to do this by the very same people who claimed that they were waging a war against fascism.

In Cologne last week, U. S. soldiers were ordered to fire over the heads of a meeting of 5,000 German workers who had gathered to greet the returning inmates of the Buchenwald concentration camp. This was the camp where the Nazis committed

their barbarous atrocities which were publicized in the entire civilized world.

What wasn't publicized was that many of the inmates were German, and they had been incarcerated there because of their political opposition to Hitlerism. Instead of the Allies greeting them as heroes, which they are, they were met as if they were so many common criminals. The custodians of the "hate all Germans" and "all Germans are Nazis" campaigns don't want it known that many German workers are opposed to Nazism today and were opposed to it in the past.

This does not mean that many German workers were not supporters of Hitler. Some of them were. But all the evidence of the past few weeks also reveals that many of the German workers have been opposed to the Nazis for years, something all the more remarkable in view of the severe police measures taken by the fascists against any working class political opponents of their régime.

The latest move of the American military has been to begin to dissolve all anti-fascist movements. A dispatch to the New York Times on May 27 reveals that in the city of Hoffnungstahl, Germany, two anti-Nazi movements were dissolved by American officers. Their crimes? The dispatch states that they "compiled lists of twenty-five alleged Nazis," and that they "requisitioned food and clothing for near-by camps of Russian and Netherlands slave workers." The American officers evidently prefer that Nazis go unknown and that slave laborers freeze and starve. It's a crime for a German worker to act decently.

The treatment of workers and anti-fascists by the military is in strange contrast to the treatment of prominent Nazis and of German officers. Much of their attitude toward the latter is now being suppressed in the dispatches of American correspondents. This is due to the outraged response to the treatment of such individuals as Goering and the German general staff in Ifenburg.

WORKERS' REICH—ONLY HOPE

But enough does come out of the censorship to indicate that whereas workers' movements are discouraged, Nazis still remain in office and are encouraged to remain. German officers are still walking around fully armed so that they can "protect themselves" against slave laborers and anti-fascists.

Germany faces a long period of economic chaos and actual hunger. Much of its industrial structure has been destroyed. The capitalist masters of Germany have led it to ruin.

Only one class, the working class, is capable of reorganizing German society. The Allied authorities realize this, and the greater their awareness the greater their determination to crush the class that can effect the socialist reorganization of German society. The problem of Germany is also the problem of Europe and of the entire world. That accounts for the present attempt to demoralize completely the German working class and to try to isolate it from the workers of the world.

That is the purpose of the present "hate campaign." That is why reactionary industrialists are being put in charge of the administration of Germany. They can be depended on never to forget where their real class interests lie.

No Frozen Wages For Politicians!

HOW would you like a \$2,500 a year increase, retroactive to last January and—tax free?

That's what the House of Representatives has voted for itself this past week. The vote was taken when the miners were being condemned by these same congressmen and while 3,000,000 federal workers were demanding higher pay and trade union leaders were asking that an end be put to the Little Steel formula.

The new wage increase voted by the House of Representatives for itself is called an "expense allowance" and therefore tax-free. Not only does this increase not wait until next Congress, according to accepted custom, but it is retroactive to last January. To avoid the indignation of the people in their own particular districts, no regular rollcall was cast, so that no one knows who voted for the tax-free retroactive wage increase.

Before this increase a House of Representatives member received annually the following salary and emoluments—which show he wasn't exactly starving: \$10,000 salary.

Twenty cents a mile for rail fare, round trip to Washington and home.

\$700 stationery allowance.

\$6,500 for three clerks. (Putting wives or other relatives or friends on these jobs is the common procedure.)

Free offices, including heat, light and other conveniences.

Free postage and telegraph service.

When corporations pay huge salaries to their officers, tremendous dividends to their stockholders and Congress tremendous dividends to their stockholders and the House votes itself \$2,500, isn't there as much danger of the "inflation" that workers are told about every time they ask for a wage raise to meet some of the increasing cost of living?

LABOR ACTION advocates that all congressmen be paid the average wage of all farm and industrial workers. In addition, they ought to be subject to the Little Steel formula and the Smith-Connally Anti-Strike Act. (We don't advocate an hourly rate of pay for congressmen, because their notorious record of absenteeism would soon drive them into the ranks of the "ill fed, ill clothed, and ill housed." Maybe that wouldn't be a bad idea, after all.)

Slap at Earl Browder Signal for Change of Communist Line --

(Continued from page 1)

lend-lease aid. Without the latter Russia would have been unable to continue the fight. The Moscow-Teheran-Yalta conferences represented successive stages in the active solution of the main military and political issues which both united and separated the Allies. With each conference, the alliance apparently became stronger.

Russia became an equal partner with Great Britain and the United States.

All during this period the Communist Parties of Europe and America, which maintained a close liaison with Moscow, accommodated their policies to Russian needs in this alliance. They agitated on a world-wide scale for support of the Teheran-Yalta decisions, national unity in the countries of the United Nations and total prosecution of the war effort in these countries. So far as the labor movement was concerned, the policy meant that it should conform itself to the needs of the national governments and the ruling classes in all countries, to subordinate the needs and interests of the working class to capitalism.

HOW THE PARTIES ACTED

All the Communist Parties pursued the same policy no matter where they were located. They naturally adapted themselves to specific national conditions in carrying out the general line. Stalinized parties which and in general conducted itself very much like any other capitalist party.

Did the American Communist Party make these decisions independently of its sister parties in other parts of the world, independently of the Communist Party of Russia, which is its real boss? Hardly! Otherwise it would have been inconceivable that two years should pass before any

are habitually addicted to sudden shifts in policy to conform to the needs of the Russian Foreign Office, had no difficulty in applying themselves to the new situation created by the Big Three coalition.

The Canadian Communist Party became the Labor-Progressive Party. In Cuba, the Communist Party took the name "Socialist," as did other parties. The American Communist Party, however, formally dissolved itself as a party and became the Communist Political Association. The one difference created by this "dissolution" is that it promised, in the name of national unity and support to Roosevelt for the purpose of strengthening the cause of Stalin in

this country, not to conduct itself as a competing party in elections. Thus it became an appendage to the Roosevelt machine of the Democratic Party.

It renounced the "class struggle," declared that the struggle for socialism was an unreal aim in this era, called for a permanent no-strike pledge, capital-labor peace and the rights of monopoly capitalism. It advocated a policy of "benevolent imperialism" for America's ruling class criticism was leveled at Browder for his actions.

The reason why the American party went much further than any other Communist affiliate is to be deduced from the special conditions

prevailing in this country and the extreme importance that good relations be maintained between Russia and the United States so long as the war in Europe was still in effect.

NEW BIG THREE CONFLICTS

Since the end of the war, the conflicts among the Big Three, which were always present and only provisionally solved at the conferences because of the pressure of the military struggle, have assumed a more open character. They are based upon American aims to dominate Europe economically and politically, British determination that no single power shall exercise control over the continent and Russian policy based upon the domination of the whole of Eastern and Central Europe. The conflicts over Poland, Greece, Italy, Trieste, the Balkans and Germany merely express the differences in aims of the three powers.

Stalin is calling on his reserves in this current struggle which has been expressed so sharply at the San Francisco Conference. These reserves are the Communist Parties in all countries. The threat he makes is a simple one: If you stand in my way, I have allies in your countries who can come to my assistance. It is true, they are not very strong, they have discredited themselves with labor in your countries by the policies which I imposed upon them, but they have great resiliency and stamina and they will do whatever I say to make things difficult for you at home.

This is a form of political blackmail to enforce Russian demands upon the Allied coalition. If anyone doubts that the Communist Parties will respond to Moscow's interests, it is only necessary to recall the many shifts which these organizations have already experienced.

Now that a new situation has de-

veloped in Allied relations, the Communist Parties are preparing a change of line, to be effectuated if it should become necessary. What are Stalin's interests in these parties? Those we have already mentioned. Negatively, they can make the situation difficult for the ruling governments in Great Britain and the United States. Positively, they can gather support for Russian policies and add to the Allied difficulties.

These parties have value to Stalin in this kind of situation only insofar as they have a mass base among labor. In supporting the anti-working class policies of Russia in the past period, many of these parties lost great strength among the workers. But this loss was justified in their minds by Russia's military needs. For patriotic window dressing they could rely on intellectual fellow-travelers and middle class elements. Since the European phase of the war has ended, the situation has changed. Now Stalin's needs are different and to serve these needs the Communist Parties must strengthen their position among the workers.

In Europe, where there is considerable ferment among the masses, Stalinism attempts to acquire leadership of the masses to strengthen his position on the Continent while at the same time he can, by such leadership, prevent any revolutionary changes that would have an adverse effect upon his rule in Russia.

A STALINIST PRACTICE

The correction of Browder's line, however, is in keeping with the current needs of Stalin. It is one way of warning the State Department that the American foreign policy of today is against Stalin's interests and that he is ready to use his foreign battalion in the U. S. to aid him. The change in party line is a familiar

Stalinist practice. Is there any question as to who ordered the change? The New York World-Telegram pointed out, when it forced this event into the open by publication of the Duclos story, that the latter had just returned from Moscow, where he was shown the secret minutes of the Central Committee meeting of the American CP where dissolution was decided. His article was unquestionably written at the behest of the Russian Stalinists.

Now Browder is being made the scapegoat for the policy. Whether this means the end of Browder's leadership in the party is impossible to foretell. Before the World-Telegram story appeared, the local central committee was already preparing for a "gradual" change of line. The publication of the story forced the issue into the open. It was featured by Browder's pathetic acknowledgment that the European parties did not agree with his course in America and that it was necessary to study their important criticisms and advice. Browder is evidently getting ready for a turn—about-face.

How far will the Communist Party go? Will it now become the advocate of militant labor action in the United States? Will it advocate the end of the no-strike pledge and cease to propagate for its extension in the post-war period? Will its trade union representatives and fellow-travelers make the switch, as some of them already indicate? Will they become advocates of class struggle and anti-imperialism? All of this depends on



The General Doth Protest Too Much!

In a brief speech delivered to the Agrarian Congress, but not delivered publicly, General Francisco Franco, the Spanish dictator, said:

"Spain is not a dictatorship."

