

# LABOR ACTION

HELP PUT SHACHTMAN ON THE RADIO!

The Election Campaign Committee is arranging for a radio broadcast by the Workers Party candidate for Mayor of New York City, Max Shachtman, over one of the large New York stations, so that hundreds of thousands of workers may be familiarized with the issues in the coming elections and the fighting program of socialism.  
A special Radio Fund has been set up. We appeal for your help in this. Please send all contributions to: Radio Fund, Workers Party Election Committee, 114 West 14th Street, New York 11, N. Y. This will be greatly appreciated.

SEPTEMBER 17, 1945

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

ONE CENT

# TRUMAN'S PLAN—OR OURS?

WHAT THEY FOUGHT FOR

## U. S. and British Imperialism at Work in Asia

Korea

Hong Kong

By SAM ADAMS

The announcement by Lieut. Gen. John R. Hodge, commander of the American occupation forces for Southern Korea, that he will administer that part of the nation through existing Japanese officials, has aroused the widest protests by the Korean nationalist organizations. An additional statement that these Japa-

Among the various deals made among the Big Three is one that permits British imperialism to retain its possession of Hong Kong. The British rulers have held this territory for so long that many people have come to believe that there is something really British about this land and that it belongs by all rights to the Empire.

### The Military Mind at Work

"We are trying to get Korean police," said General John R. Hodge, commander of the American forces occupying Korea, "but they are not as effective as the Japanese. They are too excited to get much work out of, and we will have to wait until they calm down...."

"There's political chaos here. The new parties have no central theme except desire for immediate independence and to get hold of Japanese property...."

"The trouble is that the Koreans thought they were independent as of August 15...."

"They had better get busy on their homework or I'll crack some heads together."—Herald Tribune, Wednesday, September 12.

Imagine wanting freedom and independence after chafing for forty years under Japanese rule! Imagine Koreans wanting to claim the Japanese-run industrial properties which exploited them all that time! Imagine wanting a government of their own instead of Japanese imperialist rulers!

What do they think the war was fought for, anyway—democracy?

nese officials will merely carry out directives of the United States has not served to lessen the protests.

Recent news dispatches have revealed that the heroic Korean's hatred of Japanese imperialism was such that they revolted and seized the factories. Thousands were jailed by the Japanese officials who quelled the revolt. Now, these same officials

Hong Kong, like so many other imperialist possessions in Asia, was annexed to the British Empire. It was and remains essentially Chinese territory. The British obtained the island and territory adjacent to it as a result of their war with China, the Opium War of 1839-42. This war broke out when the Chinese Com-

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## 'Superseniority' Bar To Labor-Vet Unity

By MIKE STEVENS

The recent decision by Judge Matthew T. Abruzzo of the U. S. District Court at Brooklyn in upholding the super-seniority claims of Abraham Fishgold is part of the super-seniority drive getting under way with the increasing demobilization of servicemen. The Fishgold case was a test case and the judge's ruling will be used as a precedent in all future cases of this type.

### BACKGROUND OF CASE

Abraham Fishgold was employed as a welder by the Sullivan Drydock & Repair Corporation until he was inducted into the Army in May, 1943. He was discharged from the Army in August, 1944, and was reinstated on his old job according to a seniority agreement in the contract between Local 13 of the Industrial Union of

Marine & Shipbuilding Workers, CIO, and the company.

Under the agreement Fishgold received accumulated seniority from the time he first started to work for the company, prior to his induction. When the work in the yard fell off this year, Fishgold and other welders were laid off from time to time, while the old-timers with many years of seniority continued working.

Fishgold protested, but the union and later an arbitrator pointed out that when Fishgold was restored to his former job, with accumulated seniority, he became subject to the same conditions of employment and layoffs that cover all other workers in the yard.

In this period, Selective Service Director, Lewis B. Hershey handed down his interpretation of the re-

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## Gates on Tour

Plans have been completed for the tour by Albert Gates, editor of LABOR ACTION, announced in previous issues.

Consultations with various branches have necessitated some changes in the schedule printed in last week's issue. Please take careful note of the revised schedule.

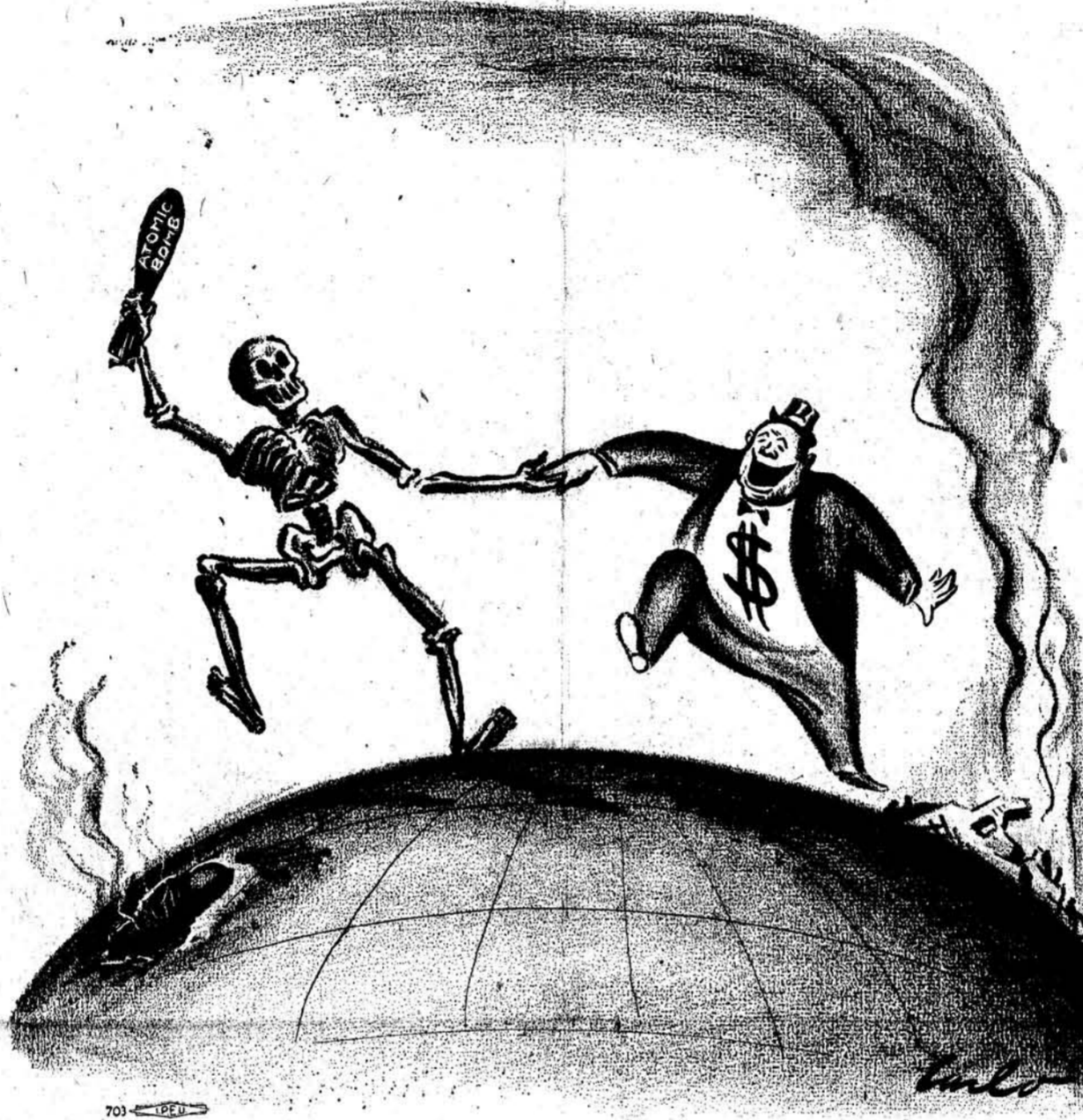
More time has been allotted to Hibbing, Minn. The dates have been shifted in St. Louis, Akron and Cleveland. Philadelphia and Reading have been omitted from the schedule so as to permit the speaker more time in the Midwest, and will be covered later. Buffalo has requested that the editor speak on the topic, "The Significance of the British Labor Party Election to U. S. Labor."

In other branches the topic will remain as scheduled previously: "How to Get Jobs for All." Gates will re-

### 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, 29
St. Louis	Oct. 2, 2
Akron	Oct. 4, 5
Cleveland	Oct. 6, 7

## THE VICTORS!



## Atomic Energy--for Chaos or New Future for Mankind?

By STANLEY PARKER

What to do with atomic energy, now that the atomic age is a reality, is a problem that is disturbing the scientists, capitalists, politicians and publicists of America. Scientific conventions, newspaper and magazine articles and congressional debates are concerning themselves with this new, potent force that is certain to play an enormous role in world development.

How is atomic energy to be utilized? Shall society as a whole benefit by it through an unprecedented development of the productive forces of society? Shall the hitherto undiscovered power that has now been released be used for lightening the burden on man, by reducing the hours of labor and producing undreamed of riches?

Or shall this force be utilized only for purposes of destruction? Shall it be put to use to reduce other cities to nothing, to make heaps of rubble and dust of cities that it took hundreds of years to build, as it did to the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki?

In other words shall it be used for life or for death?

Who is to control this atomic energy? The bomb was built as a result of the combined brains of scientists. Not only American scientists worked on the bomb, but some of the best scientific brains of the world. In addition to the American and British scientists, there were also Germans and Danes, and Italians, ironically many of them refugees because of the theory of racial superiority.

But more important still was the fact that the United States financially sponsored the research for the building of the bomb. It threw over two billion dollars into the bomb, more than it has ever spent for any scientific venture.

### ATOMIC ENERGY FOR PEACE

If it could do this to produce atomic energy for a war, then why can't it do this to use atomic energy for peace?

(Continued on page 2)

By SUSAN GREEN

Soon after President Truman's message was read in Congress on September 6th, two things happened. The liberal and so-called labor spokesmen as well as chronic New Deal haters immediately declared that the New Deal, officially buried by Roosevelt, had arisen from the dead. Yet one hour after the message was made public, prices on the Stock Exchange moved upward, attesting Wall Street's confidence that private enterprise has nothing to fear from President Truman and, conversely, that the common people of the nation have not much to hope for from that source.

## Longshore Fight For Wage Raise

SAN PEDRO—Sept. 1, 1945.—Yesterday West Coast longshore delegates at a special caucus being held in San Francisco went on record for a six hour day at \$1.75 an hour and 30 hours a week. This demand is to be presented to the shipowners in October as the basis for a new contract.

Longshoremens now make \$1.10 an hour plus a recent award of the War Labor Board of 5 cents an hour increase retroactive to Oct. 1, 1944.

Just a month ago the Communist Party members and followers led by Schmidt, Bulke, Goldblatt and the rest of the international clique were whooping it up for an eight-hour day. Bridges played a cagey role in not pushing the eight-hour day but letting his stooges lead the fight at the recent Seattle conference. The longshoremens now enjoy a six-hour day but actually work ten hours most of the time. All time after six hours is overtime. It was this six-hour day provision in the present contract that the Bridges clique and the Communist Party were proposing to dump overboard.

Then something happened. The Communist Party changed its line. Stalin said you don't have to lick American capitalism the way you have been doing. Presto out goes Browder, in comes Foster, and the Communist Party is reconstituted. The war ends and now the Stalinists and Bridges deny they ever were for, an eight-hour day. But the delegates at the Seattle conference in July know different.

### CHANGE IN "PARTY LINE"

Now Bridges appears as the champion of the six-hour day. But how are the longshoremens going to get \$1.75 an hour for a six-hour day. Certainly not on the appeasement line that Bridges has had for the last five years. And as yet Bridges and the

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To be sure, there are some high-sounding words, phrases and sentences in the message. There is the pretense of adopting the position known as "left of center."

But no politician in his right senses would dare go before the Congress, after this war supposedly fought for the common man, and not make at least a gesture toward the solution of unemployment and toward social security.

As President Truman himself put it: "The American people have set high goals for their own future. They have set their goals high because they have seen how great can be the productive capacity of the country."

By making a big noise about their "good intentions," the protectors of capitalism, like President Truman, hope to delay the disillusionment of the masses. Furthermore, these capitalist politicians see in the hungry, suffering, war-bled peoples of Europe a revolutionary threat to the whole capitalist system. They are also shaky over the mandate of the British people in the last election for a socialist solution of their problems. It is the part of wisdom for forward-looking capitalist politicians in this country to say to labor: "We'll do it for you, boys. Take it easy. Depend on our political parties; you don't need your own." Besides, why should not President Truman bait the hook of the Democratic Party for the labor vote by playing around with the unemployment problem?

### SHABBY PROPOSALS

The proposals contained in the Truman message are not only inadequate, they are positively shabby. His proposals for the immediate reconversion period are exceeded in their insufficiency only by the weakness of his proposals for long-term full employment. None of them bears close examination.

As a reconversion emergency measure, the President again asks that unemployment payments be raised to a \$25 per week maximum for a twenty-six week maximum per year.

Many workers, if not all, have the decidedly wrong impression that this means every unemployed worker will get that \$25—which is little enough—for twenty-six weeks a year—which leaves twenty-six weeks in which to starve. Mr. Truman's message assures Congress that "not ev-

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## The \$5000 Workers Party Building Fund

Less than two weeks after the adjournment of the Active Workers Conference of the Workers Party, the war ended and then it became more than ever necessary to speed up enormously the carrying out of the decisions, ideas and suggestions made at this meeting of Workers Party militants.

The National Committee of the Workers Party issued an appeal to its members for a \$5,000 Party Building Fund so that all the decisions of the conference, and more that are now indicated, may be put into effect IMMEDIATELY.

In less than two weeks after this appeal for an extraordinary sacrifice on the part of each member, the National Office of the Workers Party reports that it has received \$3,573.50 as of September 11.

The National Committee of the Workers Party has decided that the following steps to expand the activity and growth of the party shall be taken right away:

1. Four pamphlets to come off the press in rapid succession:  
(a) "The Struggle for Socialism: the Program of the Workers Party

of the United States," by Max Shachtman. The text is already at the printer's. This book, which is a popular presentation of the basic party program, has been a long-felt need. It will run close to 200 pages.

(b) A popular pamphlet on "Reconversion," by Max Shachtman.  
(c) "Plenty for All," by Ernest Lund. Having completely sold out the first edition, this pamphlet will be revised in many respects and brought up to date.

(d) "The Truth About Gerald L. K. Smith," by Harold Draper. This excellent pamphlet, printed on the West Coast, was an instantaneous success. Another edition is already off the press and available for circulation.

(e) Several other pamphlets are also projected.  
2. Five full-time functionaries are being added to the national staff, an organizer in Chicago, an organizer in Los Angeles, Ernest Erber as managing editor of The New International, Paul Bern as administrative secretary of the Workers Party, and the national secretary of the provisional youth organization.

3. Complete cooperation with the Youth Committee in the building of a nation-wide socialist youth movement, including the publication of a monthly youth paper, "YOUTH ACTION for Socialism."

This is the beginning, the immediate beginning!

To be announced soon are plans for a LABOR ACTION Expansion Fund, a subscription drive and a Workers Party recruitment drive.

Members of the Workers Party have shown, despite layoffs and pay cuts, that they are able to make a success of an expansion campaign.

We are confident that LABOR ACTION readers and sympathizers, who are not yet party members, will do their share.

City	Quota	Pledged	Cash Sent	City	Quota	Pledged	Cash Sent
Akron	\$300.00	\$350.00	\$300.00	St. Louis	50.00		
Baltimore	10.00	10.00	10.00	Streator	50.00	60.00	50.00
Boston	10.00	40.00	40.00	San Francisco	250.00	605.00	233.50
Buffalo	250.00	313.00	288.00	Syracuse	10.00		
Chicago	250.00	250.00	64.00	Youngstown	50.00		
Cleveland	100.00	189.00	129.00	New York	2,300.00	2,300.00	1,387.00
Detroit	500.00	800.00	315.00	Minnesota			55.00
Denver	50.00	150.00	150.00	National Office			317.00
Philadelphia	400.00			Totals	\$5,570.00	\$5,987.00	\$3,573.50
Los Angeles	600.00	600.00		Signed,			
Louisville	140.00			PAUL BERN, Fin. Sec.			
Seattle	150.00	200.00	135.00	September 11, 1945.			
Reading	100.00	120.00	100.00				

# MASS ACTION

By DAVID COOLIDGE

The hearings of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee on the Wagner-Murray "Full Employment Bill" have called out all of the top labor leaders as well as the representatives of the big employer groups. Probably the most direct and pertinent testimony was presented by John L. Lewis of the U.M.W.A. As is his custom, Lewis really only nibbled at the root of the problem. Lewis told the committee that Congress should and must regulate the hours of work if there is to be full employment in the midst of immense technological development and a "glutted market."

The problem of unemployment "is indubitably associated with the question of the number of hours and number of days that we operate our production and fabricating plants. . . . Should capitalist enterprise go ahead with production on the basis of its increased capacity "the warehouses and shelves will become full and the market will be glutted, because buying power on the part of the population and their ability to consume the products that they buy will not keep pace with the constant increase of productivity. In consequence we will be faced with a reaction."

There is something wrong in the statement quoted above. It is correct to say that with a great increase in the tempo of capitalist production and with an accompanying lower wage the "population" will not be able to buy, but what does Lewis mean when he says that the "population" will not be able to consume the products that they buy because of the "constant increase of productivity."

Does he mean that the orgy of capitalist production will go on so blindly that the people who do buy will have so much on hand that they will not be able to consume their supplies? His use of the expression "glutted market" would give this impression. This is fantastic, and of course not in line with Lewis' main argument about the reduction of hours. The main problem in connection with increased production is not whether people will be oversupplied but whether or not they will be supplied at all.

Whether or not they are supplied at all depends on the level of wages. If wages are low and there is mass unemployment, production will not go on for long. The rate of production will not increase, but the rate of unemployment will. This condition cannot be correctly described as a "glutted market" but rather a condition of no market. Bursting warehouses and bursting banks—that is, "glutted" warehouses and banks—do not produce a market. In practice this is determined by full employment, the level of wages and the standard of living.

Lewis calls on the Federal Gov-

ernment to provide for a "reasonable minimum standard of living" through the "adjustment and shortening of the hours of labor. . . ." This is very vague. Capitalism has its own notions about what is a "reasonable minimum standard of living." Right now this seems to flutter somewhere between 50 and 75 cents an hour. Lewis wants Congress to fix the minimum wages only. The rest is to be taken care of through collective bargaining. But to leave it this way will get us into difficulties.

## HOURS AND PAY

Lewis is convinced that hours must be reduced. The employers are willing to reduce hours. With a demand for the reduction of hours must go a demand for no reduction in wages. The workers organizations must first describe what the minimum wage should be in order to maintain a genuinely decent standard of living. They should demand that hours be reduced so as to keep the "population" in a job without any reduction in wages or standard of living. To have any meaning this must be done concretely as it has been done by the Workers Party in its Reconversion Program. There the Workers Party calls for "Absorption of all workers

**"SWEATED" CONGRESS**

"Operating Congress on the present sweatshop basis (i.e., \$10,000 per year—Ed.) hardly makes much sense." Fulton Lewis "over WOR," 7:00 p.m., September 11.



thrown into unemployment during reconversion by reduction of the work-week with no reduction in the weekly take-home pay."

"A job for every worker with a guaranteed minimum annual wage of \$2,500 per year. . . . A guaranteed annual income to all workers' families. . . ." Of course this money must come from somewhere. It cannot come from industry directly, then the government should conscript the war industries, nationalize the banks, big industrial monopolies, transportation systems and place a 100 per cent tax on war profits above 5 per cent on invested capital. These procedures, of course, cannot be left to the present Congress or any capitalist Congress. Production would necessarily have to be under the control of the workers' committees. The whole working class would need its own labor party as the government to run the country. None of this program can be left to free enterprise.

Neither Lewis nor any of the labor leaders have any program that answers the real needs of the "population." Lewis wants to "maintain free enterprise in America." This is the sore spot and the source of the real bottleneck. "Free enterprise" doesn't go for full employment, for short hours, high wages. That isn't the capitalist conception of freedom.

The capitalist conception of freedom and "free enterprise" is high salaries to its corporation officers, high interest and dividend payments; social, political and economic power for the capitalist class and no more to the working class than is necessary to maintain that working force needed in capitalist production at a certain period and under certain conditions. To look at capitalism, including the capitalist government at Washington in any other way, is to give oneself a big dose of opium.

## A GOOD POINT

Lewis made an attack on the clause in the bill providing for the payment of "locally prevailing wages." This was correct. This clause in the bill only underscores the fact that what this bill really aims at is not a high standard of living for everybody but a minimum standard of living for everybody. It is a "full employment bill," but not a high standard of living bill. Lewis said that this clause should be stricken out and "wages fixed through collective bargaining" substituted. In connection with this clause he mentioned specifically the low wages in the South and particularly the "vicious economic exploitation of the Negro race."

It is correct to insist on collective bargaining in connection with wages, hours and conditions of work. Collective bargaining, however, if it is to produce anything worthwhile is not something to fight for "in principle" only. This is particularly important today when the capitalist employers are hell bent for making the unions weak and impotent. In fact capitalist society has reached the stage in its degeneration where collective bargaining, if carried on vigorously by organized labor, becomes a millstone around the neck of capitalist profits.

When Lewis mentions the low standard of living in the South, the vicious economic exploitation which goes on there and the demand that wages be settled by collective bargaining, he poses the question of the trade union organization of the South. Before we can have collective bargaining in the South, the workers there must be organized. They are not today. The millions of agricultural peons and the unskilled urban workers are not organized. The CIO talked about "organizing the South" before the war but did virtually nothing. Lewis can do a far better job for the working class by sending District 50 organizers there than he can by talking before the Senate Committee on Banking and Finance.

## NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

# Wage Increases -- Fact and Fiction

By WALTER WEISS

If you believe the headlines in the papers, the government is going to see to it that wage rates of all workers go up forty or fifty per cent—by and by, in five years for sure.

Authority for this statement is William H. Davis, Director of Economic Stabilization and former chairman of the WLB. The generous Mr. Davis also promises that living costs will be held at their present levels.

At a time when take-home pay is being drastically cut or is disappearing altogether, it certainly is fine to know how rosy the future is going to be.

Most unions are demanding raises of at least thirty per cent right away. Pooh, pooh, says Davis, don't be pikers. You'll get forty or fifty per cent—in one year maybe, in five years surely.

But how about NOW? Prices are still going up NOW. Take-home pay is being cut thirty per cent or more NOW.

Well, there is still a little difficulty, as President Truman pointed out in his message to Congress last week. Until industry has been reconverted and there is plenty of production, higher wage rates would mean higher prices. Of course, if an employer is

willing to raise wages without raising prices. . . .

All of this has an old familiar smell about it. A couple of years ago, to quiet labor complaints about the Little Steel formula, Roosevelt PROMISED a rollback of prices, especially of food prices. Not many months ago OPA head Chester Bowles PROMISED a rollback of clothing prices. About a year ago Mr. Davis himself said that any damn fool could see that the Little Steel formula would have to be changed after the defeat of Germany. He

later shifted the date to "after reconversion." And so on—PROMISES without end.

Today the temper of the workers calls for SUPER-PROMISES. So we are getting them. This fifty per cent (no measly fifteen per cent at a time like this) is one. The phony "full employment bill" is another.

Some reporters, remembering previous blah blah sessions with Davis, asked him whether higher wages did not necessarily mean higher prices. Not at all, said he, because in most industries wages are not the major part of costs. (And even if they were, there are plenty of government statistics to show that the amount produced per worker has increased tremendously during the war.)

Yet this same Davis was shouting not so long ago that any petty violation of the Little Steel formula would lead to terrible inflation, to skyrocketing prices. Of course he did point at that time—as Truman and all his subordinates still do with reference to the present "reconversion" period—to the scarcity of consumer goods.

The argument was a fake. Take the steel industry, for example. It was NOT producing consumer goods. What happened after the WLB

granted the steel workers a few "fringe" demands at the end of last year? The OPA decided that the steel monopolies were "suffering" and raised prices several times in the course of a few months. Result: recent reports show that the steel giants have increased their profits, in spite of the wage raise, more than any other industrial group as compared with last year.

Was this because workers were out buying black market steel with their "extra" money? Or was it because the government furnished the market, being a capitalist government serving its capitalist masters?

The fine new bouquet of Truman-Davis-Bowles PROMISES is stage decoration for the coming industry-labor conference, where the capitalists and their government plan, with the aid of subservient labor leaders, to bind the workers with another no-strike pledge.

The answer to this must be: An end to the no-strike pledges! No labor support for War Labor Boards or Reconversion Labor Boards or Peace Labor Boards!

No more capitalist politics. An independent Labor Party with a program to serve the needs of the people, whatever may happen to profits!

## Atom Energy--

(Continued from page 1)

The government sponsored the research. It compelled all of the scientists working on the project to sign over all patents involving the bomb to the government. And without this direct governmental intervention, it is doubtful whether or not atomic energy could have become a reality for many years to come.

Now there is a campaign on to get the government to turn all of the patents over to what is so delicately labeled as "free enterprise." One report had it that the State Department wanted to present the patents to the DuPont Corporation, the powerful DuPont monopoly that is one of the dominating forces in the economic life not only of the United States but of the entire world.

The spokesmen of the American monopolists in the halls of Congress have already started the campaign for the DuPonts and their like, or, as they like to refer to it, for "free enterprise."

One of their representatives in the Senate, Senator Wherry of Nebraska, summed up their views in a recent speech before the Senate.

### SENATOR WHERRY'S FEAR

Wherry said: ". . . in the final analysis we cannot depart from our private enterprise system. Our capitalist system out-produced the world and won the war."

"I agree that the government must control all military developments of the atom bomb, but I am against letting the Government control its industrial uses. That would mean the end of our free economy."

What Wherry is saying is that it was all right for the government to sponsor the building of a bomb, that helped to secure the mastery of the American monopolists over the world.

Wherry knows that it was only government intervention that produced the bomb. Why couldn't "free enterprise" do it, Senator Wherry? And now that the war is over, he wants to turn it over to the monopolists who will use atomic power not to enrich society but to enrich themselves.

Why shouldn't the government continue its ownership of the patents and further research for peacetime uses of atomic power? Why isn't the duty of government to help provide well-being for the overwhelming majority of the people? Why isn't it the obligation of all sane people to see to it that this tremendous scientific advance is used for peace and not by those who thrive on war and benefit by it?

The propagandists of capitalism fear the effects of atomic power. They fear that the people will now begin to ask themselves: why shouldn't all the peoples of the world benefit by this, and why shouldn't the government see to it that they do?

They fear that sooner or later the people will say to themselves: if capitalism can't do it, then why not socialism which will be able to do it?

### ENERGY FOR ABUNDANCE

Many of the periodicals such as Life are now printing stories proving how expensive the production of atomic energy is. And it is on the basis of expense that they campaign against the use of atomic energy.

But it was also expensive to build the bomb. It cost over two billion dollars. It was also expensive to conduct the war. At a conservative estimate, it cost the United States over 300 billion dollars. Which of these publications bemoans that expense?

Let the government continue its research and we will see what uses can be made of this power. And above all let this power be vested in the people, and not in the DuPonts and the other dubious agents of "free enterprise."



"WE DID OUR PART"

## Truman's Program--

(Continued from page 1)

everyone" will get \$25 a week. In the first place, the worker must be "ready, willing and able to work" and that means he must take any distasteful job offered him at no matter what pay. In the second place, the worker "must have earned wages high enough so that the percentage rate will yield this maximum figure." These are Mr. Truman's words, and they mean what they say—only SOME workers will be entitled to the maximum figure of \$25 a week.

To make up for the deep slashes in take-home pay, the President asks Congress to increase the minimum hourly wage provided by the Fair Labor Standards Act from forty cents an hour to—. Very delicately the President refrained from setting a figure, leaving the whole matter to Congress. It is believed that the President, in his private thoughts, favors a sixty-five cent minimum wage rate. Even if the sixty-five cents an hour were made minimum by law, this would legalize a minimum wage of about half the requirements of rock-bottom living. It will certainly not make up for the slashes in take-home pay.

### PRICE JOKER

Other reconversion proposals made by the President are about as pitiful as those examined above. He asks that the price line be held on food, clothing and shelter as well as on washing machines and other new civilian goods. But how? The way prices were held during the war? Anent the prices of newly released civilian goods, he said not a word against fixing the 1942 high war level of costs as a basis for prices, which is the OPA rule.

The long-range prospects for the American people, if confined to what the Truman message has to offer, would not be at all rosy. Truman came out again for what he calls full-employment legislation, which is the Wagner-Murray bill. In a prior issue LABOR ACTION gave an analysis of the loopholes and evasions of the bill, which is designed to serve and bolster private enterprise, which makes no specific plan for public works and construction but leaves everything in the hands of the capitalist politicians—and big business behind them.

### HOUSING NEEDS

Also for the long run prospective, the message says much about building houses as the principal source of jobs and industrial activity. Indeed, an adequate building program is a

cries need of this slum-ridden nation and would indeed provide jobs. But Truman's proposals are for an investment of a mere six to seven billion dollars a year by private business, subsidized and aided by the federal government. He estimated there would be about three or four million people employed in construction under this plan. Is this what Truman has to offer to replace the hundred billion dollars a year spent for war materials? Is this the employment he can provide for ten million war workers and eleven million men and women in the armed forces?

Of course, he offers grandiose paragraphs about more TVA's, about harbors and flood control, about schools and hospitals, about sewers and streets, about roads and airports. But nary a word about how much in money should and must be appropriated for such public works except in the case of highways. However, the President made it amply clear that all this must be done "without competition with private industry" and without making any dents in private enterprise. A rosy prospect, indeed!

Liberals who so gladly hailed Truman's message are so afraid of the workers' taking over the country to solve its social problems that they kiss the hand of any capitalist politician who makes the slightest gesture toward social solutions. Weak-kneed labor leaders like Murray, Green and their lieutenants also have a sigh of relief because what they tremble at most is taking the responsibility to lead labor into independent political action and a socialist solution to the social problems.

### LABOR AT CROSSROADS

The working class today stands at a crossroads of history. The workers cannot afford to be lulled into a false sense of security. The empty gesture of capitalism to save itself and to save its face before humanity must be repudiated—as must also be all those who support capitalism.

The Truman message makes it clearer than ever that labor must take the lead to solve the social problems of the working class and all the disinherited people—through its independent labor program, through its independent class party, through a workers' government, through the socialist solution for social problems.

## Superseniority--

(Continued from page 1)

employment clause in the Selective Service Act. Hershey said that a veteran was entitled to a job even if it meant laying off a worker with greater seniority.

This decision and its validity were immediately challenged by the labor movement and even by arbitration bodies, which feared chaos if this interpretation were permitted to stand. When the Fishgold grievance came along, Hershey decided to make it a test case for super-seniority and had his aide, Colonel Arthur V. McDermott, and the U. S. Attorney in Brooklyn start action against the company.

### THE DECISION

The decision by Judge Abruzzo upheld Fishgold's claims for payment for time lost on the days he was laid off. The Judge also decided that Fishgold can work every day that the Sullivan yard has welders on the job, regardless of seniority. In other words, a non-veteran worker (even if he has twenty years' seniority) will be permitted to work ONLY if all the veterans are working full time.

This Federal Court decision by a U. S. District Court judge on charges brought in by a U. S. District Attorney at the instigation of Selective Service directors shows that the super-seniority advocates in the government are really planning to go to town with this issue.

Super-seniority will not provide jobs for the veterans—the only thing it will do is weaken the only force and power that can fight for jobs and security—the labor movement.

The value of super-seniority can be easily seen in the case of the Sun Shipyard in Chester, Pa. Due to the cancellation of war contracts, the Sun yard has laid off thousands and now employs only 7,000 workers—and more layoffs are expected. There are over 19,000 men in the armed forces who formerly worked in this yard and who will come back as veterans. Under super-seniority, 7,000 non-veterans.

### WHAT ABOUT THE REST?

But what about the other 12,000 veterans? What about the 7,000 workers who will be replaced, half of whom have fifteen to thirty years' seniority in the yard? What about the thousands who were laid off when the war contract outbreak came? This is the picture throughout the country, and the Sun yard is not the most extreme case by a long shot. There are plants in the aluminum, aircraft, magnesium and other industries that are closed up tight—never to re-open.

The only way labor can protect itself and guard the veterans from falling for the super-seniority propaganda of the agents of capitalism is by militantly struggling for a program that will guarantee JOBS FOR ALL. Only by having such a program and fighting for it can labor prove to the veterans that JOBS FOR ALL is the only solution to the problem and that no amount of preferential legislation will give jobs and security to the veterans.

## Labor Notes From Buffalo

By JOHN BARNES

### Buffalo Continue

While strikes sweep other areas and labor moves forward toward genuine collective bargaining and wage raises (Studebaker, South Bend), this city remains passive and quiet and the layoff lists continue to grow.

Bell Aircraft announced a layoff of another eight hundred workers on September 10. Union officials have been assured that more such cuts are coming soon. The UAW local finds itself in a desperate situation. The bargaining unit has shrunk to less than twenty-three hundred, from a high of well over sixteen thousand. As the rank and file militants go, their places in the ranks are taken by company favorites and former foremen. The bitter fact is that Local 501, once the largest UAW local between Detroit and New York City, is being chopped into relative insignificance.

The lesson of Local 501, and many other comparable examples could be given, must be made clear to all Buffalo workers.

During the war, which they termed a war against fascism, a war for freedom and so on, the Stalin-Communists and the patriotic bureaucrats pointed to such locals as 501 and screamed that labor was strong, stronger than ever before. Wasn't the membership roll high? Wasn't the treasury filled? To such people this was proof that all was well for labor. No, real collective bargaining was not necessary. Hooray for the War Labor Board! The strike weapon was not necessary. Hooray for the no-strike pledge! An independent labor party was not necessary. Hooray for Roosevelt, Truman, Wallace and the PAC! They wrapped themselves in the flag and boasted. Labor was powerful. Labor was secure. Labor was being taken care of by its friends.

Buffalo workers must now ask themselves and the present leadership what was gained from this policy. The rights and wrongs of the

question of class collaboration, support of the war and dependence (political and otherwise) on capitalist "friends" must be thrown open for inspection.

The labor leadership and the Stalin-Communists must be made to account for the vanishing membership rolls and depleted treasuries. They must answer for the sudden and drastic loss of labor's "strength." They must explain the actions of their PAC-supported "friends" who no longer show even superficial friendship for labor. That was their program and they are responsible for it!

On the other hand the workers of Buffalo should recall the arguments and program of LABOR ACTION during the war period and judge if the position of LABOR ACTION holds water today.

To begin with, LABOR ACTION, and only LABOR ACTION, openly typed the war for what it truly was: an imperialist war between rival capitalist powers. LABOR ACTION, week in and week out, attacked the No-Strike Pledge, the War Labor Board and BOTH capitalist political parties. LABOR ACTION pointed out that membership rolls and stuffed treasuries in themselves meant nothing, that the American labor movement was built and based on struggle and strike.

LABOR ACTION fought class collaboration in the political field as well as in the economic field, saying that labor needed an independent labor party rather than a PAC tied hand and foot to the capitalist-controlled Democratic party. LABOR ACTION made clear that unless the policy of support, collaboration and sell-out was stopped, labor would be unable to maintain its pre-war gains and would find itself, at the war's end, greatly weakened. That, basically, was our program and we proudly assume responsibility for it!

The lesson of Local 501, and thousands of other decimated locals, is to be found in the difference between these two programs. The victories or defeats of the future will be found

in the program now being offered by the Stalin-Communists and career-bureaucrats as opposed to the Reconversion and Post-War program of the WORKERS PARTY and LABOR ACTION.

### Boss Politics

A situation, not unworthy of a musical comedy, has developed in the local majority campaign. As has been already written, the American Labor Party is lined up (or under) with the Democratic party machine except for a few posts where Republican hacks have been endorsed. An evaluation of all the candidates supported by the ALP is not necessary. It is enough to know that the man being boosted for mayor, in a previous term, did everything in his power to crush the Bethlehem Steel organizational strike and earned the undying hate of the City workers by repeatedly denying them raises. So much for that "friend" of labor. . . .

What is important about this batch of empty fireworks is that the ALP has not been able to corral the votes of the steelworkers. The international director for steel in this area is as yet unwilling to go along with the ALP choice. He has his own favorite—a Republican.

How this will affect the vote of the steelworkers is not of consequence. But the efforts being made by the Republicans, Democrats and the ALP to win the support of this official, and the thousands of workers he represents, is most significant. It shows so simply and clearly that an independent labor party could be organized in this area overnight! Absolutely! The capitalist party bosses admit it by their actions! They say in effect that as labor votes so go the elections! If they did not believe this, they would certainly not bend every which way to get labor's support! Add the votes of the steelworkers to the votes of the workers already pledged to the ALP and you have the nucleus of an independent labor party in Buffalo, ALREADY capable of sweeping every local post in an election!

**Streator Readers:**

HEAR

**ALBERT GATES**

Editor, Labor Action

**"Jobs and Reconversion"**

SUN., SEPT. 23 TRAPPS HALL

3:00 P. M. 406 E. Main St.

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Workers Party Program for Organized Labor

In the Reconversion and Post-War Period

FOR THE UNEMPLOYED AND VETERANS:

1. Full unemployment insurance beginning with \$30 a week for single men and women and graduated upward for dependents to all workers for whom government and industry do not find jobs.

2. Absorption of all workers thrown into unemployment during reconversion by reduction of the work-week with no reduction in weekly take-home pay.

3. Two 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 job.

FOR THE POST-WAR:

4. A job for every worker with a guaranteed minimum annual wage of \$2,500 per year. A rising standard of living, by means of government planning to insure the highest national production and income.

5. A guaranteed \$5,000 annual income to all workers' families by means of a planned rise in

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

THESE AIMS TO BE ACHIEVED THROUGH:

6. A \$250 billion five-year program to provide decent housing for all, extensive public works, rural electrification and modernization.

7. Conscription of all war industries; nationalization of the banks, big industrial monopolies and transportation systems, and no handing over of government-built and owned plants and facilities to private ownership.

8. A 100 per cent tax on all war profits above a five per cent maximum on invested capital; a \$25,000 ceiling on total individual income, and a graduated capital levy on all accumulated wealth over \$50,000 to cover war costs and provide post-war security for labor.

THIS PROGRAM TO BE CARRIED OUT BY:

9. Control of production by democratically-elected workers' committees.

10. An independent Labor Party and a workers' government.

Some Background History Of British Labor Party

By BRITANNICUS

American labor is profoundly interested in the great advance made by British labor at the last election. To many American workers it has come as a surprise—though as a pleasing surprise. Yet the power of the labor movement in the British social structure is an inspiration and an example to us.

The total population of Britain is about forty million and the working force is about fifteen million strong. Of these, ten million are in productive industry. In 1937 the union movement contained 5,842,000 members. Of these, 4,460,617 were affiliated to the Trade Union Congress. In 1943, of a total union membership of 8,109,000, no less than 6,442,317 were affiliated to the Trade Union Congress. The unions are united—a tremendous lesson for American workers.

Considering the smallness of the country, some of the individual unions represent great concentrated power. The Transport and General Workers in 1943 had over a million members. The Engineering Union had over 800,000; the Municipal Workers over 700,000; the Miners over 600,000. (In America John L. Lewis' powerful Mine Workers Union amounts only to 500,000.)

UNITED LABOR MOVEMENT

Another important factor in estimating the labor movement in Britain is the close association between the unaffiliated unions and the organized and united labor movement. The National Union of Teachers (454,000), the Union of Postal Workers (128,000), the National Association of Local Government Officers (100,000) and the Civil Service Clerical Association (685,000) all more or less look to the Trade Union Congress for leadership.

Some years ago the doctors of the Medical Association seriously debated affiliation to the Trade Union Congress. Such is the prestige and social power of the united trade union movement in Britain.

Much of this is due to the geographical structure of Britain. The country is so small that it is doubtful if any single spot is more than a hundred miles from the sea. There is thus an enormous concentration of labor. There are no vast agricultural areas with millions of backward farmers or peasants. The bulk of the peasantry was destroyed centuries ago. Instead there are over a million agricultural laborers, all within easy distance of some large industrial town with a powerful and united labor movement.

The countryside may be conservative but it is

not reactionary. It is accustomed for decades now to see organized labor in action. The middle classes in the town are familiar with the idea of organized labor as a social force.

POLITICAL POWER

But what has raised the power of labor is its manifestation of political power. The trade union movement is the basis of the Labor Party. Over the last thirty years the trade unionists have learned to vote Labor, only Labor and nothing else but Labor. Two million votes in 1918, six million in 1923, eight million in 1929, a drop to six million in 1931 which represented an almost solidly labor vote. And so on to the great victory of a few weeks ago.

In addition to the massive support of the unions there are the local Labor Parties which consist of radical middle class people, clerical workers, teachers, etc. But these know that without the labor vote and the support of the unions they are nothing. The local trade union leaders are always members of the committees of the local Labor Parties, which cannot move a step without them. Very often the paid secretary is an old union man. Of late years unions and labor parties have been working far closer together than before.

LABOR'S ENEMIES SPEAK

Perhaps it would be best to hear what labor's enemies in Britain think of labor. Winston Churchill's right-hand man is Brendon Bracken, who controls The Economist, a famous British periodical. Just before the election, this paper published an article on "Labor's Responsibility." Let American labor ponder over these sentences:

"The trade unions are now a recognized estate of the realm. Their power has grown so great and is so solidly established that very little in this country can be undertaken against them."

And again:  
"But if the national economy is now to be under conscious direction—not indeed in its details, but in its main shape and structure—an anti-social attitude by the unions would be disastrous, since they have, in effect, a power of veto over public policy."

This was not due to the election. This had not taken place as yet. The article noted that the unions had this power, whichever party was elected.

That then is British labor, the most powerful social force in the country, if it could mobilize this power and use it. Why it does not and why it will have to will form the subject of future articles.

STALIN AND THE KURILE ISLANDS

By ALBERT GATES

Every speech made by Generalissimo Stalin during the war indicated a progressively increasing adoption of the language of reactionary imperialism. For the new "Czar of all the Russias" this is inescapable. Pursuing an imperialist policy of aggression, expansion and exploitation, the language used by Russia's ruler necessarily conforms to the practice.

Therefore, each speech on Russian foreign policy is filled with lies and falsifications of history to justify an imperialist policy. The latest evidence of this fact is Stalin's "victory address" announcing Russia's intention to seize the whole of Sakhalin and the Kurile Islands.

Following Stalin's announcement, Secretary of State Byrnes in a neat exhibition of doubletalk, disclosed that these seizures were agreed upon at Yalta. No, they were not really agreed upon, but an understanding was reached and a final decision of Russia's permanent occupation of the islands is still to come. One by one, the secret compacts of Yalta, which the Big Three leaders declared did not exist, are coming to light.

What is of tremendous interest to the world political labor movement, however, is not so much the imperialist division of the world decided on at Yalta, as the reasons Stalin gives for Russia's share in this division. The politically advanced and conscious worker knows what to expect from the capitalist imperialist rulers. He is not surprised by anything they do. But Stalin still has a reputation as the leader of "socialist" Russia, a leader of the oppressed and exploited people of the world, a man who wants to establish the true freedom of world socialism.

THE NEW NATIONALIST

The reactionary, extremist spokesmen of capitalism help to strengthen this fiction. But that Stalin and his Russia are, not socialist can be proved in a hundred different ways. He represents the power of the new class of exploiters in Russia. He is the spokesman and personification of this new class which lives by exploiting Russia's millions of workers and peasants and now seeks to extend this exploitation beyond the borders of Russia. Russia has ceased to be internationalist in its aims and policies.

Why is nationalist policy reactionary? Because it is based upon the retention of national borders, national antagonisms and national exploitation in a world which has outlived national boundaries, where the retention of national boundaries and all the antagonisms they evoke are a hindrance to the future development of human progress.

The Bolsheviks under Lenin's great leadership were internationalists. They understood that the future of the world, the progress of civilization and the advancement of mankind depended upon the eventual abolition of national boundaries in order to guarantee international collaboration of the peoples of the world. Another reason why the international socialists were ardent internationalists is that the continued existence of national boundaries, national antagonisms led to jingoism, reactionary sentiments in the thinking and feelings of the people and, in turn, strengthened the rule of capitalist imperialism.

Lenin never subordinated the international interests of the workers to any national party. Specifically in the case of Russia after the Revolution of 1917, he did not subordinate the interests of the workers of the world to narrow

Russian interests. On the contrary, Lenin always declared that the long-term aim of the Russian Revolution was to advance the international struggle for socialism.

FALSIFYING HISTORY

Does this contradict the support socialists give to movements of national independence? Not at all. Movements for national independence are progressive in that they represent the struggle of oppressed peoples against their oppressors whether such struggles occur in Europe, Africa or Asia. A victory of nationally oppressed people against imperialism is a defeat for and weakening of imperialism. Thus it advances the struggle for socialism. It is impossible for nationally oppressed peoples to fight for socialism without fighting for national independence. National independence of nations is a preliminary condition for the true international freedom of all humanity.

Stalin's aims and practices are directly opposed to those of Lenin and the Bolsheviks. Listen to what

Russia would establish such powerful interests in China as to bar them. Japan was not only fighting in her own imperialist interests; she was fighting for England and the United States.

That is why, despite the obvious exhaustion of Japan in this short war and the threatening mobilization by Russia of all her resources which would have resulted in a defeat of the Nipponese Empire, England and the United States forced peace upon the two contenders for Empire. That Japan acted the hog in the peace negotiations and demanded more than the other imperialists thought she should have, is not in the least surprising or interesting. In doing that Japan acted as do all imperialists.

What is important is that the Russo-Japanese war was not a local war between two countries. It involved all the big powers at that time; the peace treaty was underwritten by all the powers.

TWO HORSE-TRADERS

In the case of the Sakhalin and the Kurile Islands, we are dealing with pure and simple horse-trading by two imperialist powers. Sakhalin and the Kuriles did not belong to either country. Their occupation by the Russians and the Japanese came as a result of empire race between them. The Sakhalin Island which lies off the coast of Siberia and is part of the Japanese archipelago, and Kurile, which is also an extension of the Japanese archipelago, were for many centuries, so far as is known, inhabited by native islanders, neither Russian nor Japanese.

In the peace treaty of Portsmouth in 1905, the Japanese based their demand for Sakhalin and the Kuriles on the ground of geographical identity with the homeland. With regard to Sakhalin, they demanded the island on the basis of prior exploration and settlement. This was disclosed in the peace negotiations. The Japanese presented the uncontradicted position that they had settled on the island in 1624 while the Russians in their eastward expansion did not reach it until 1803. Count Witte, head of the Russian peace delegation, stated that:

"... in the main Russia could do without Sakhalin, but as a matter of principle she could not make territorial concessions." (Pre-War Diplomacy, by J. J. Korostovetz.)

The peace negotiations following the Russo-Japanese war, revealed that 39 years before, in 1875, Russia and Japan had reached an agreement which permitted the Russians to occupy Sakhalin, while the Japanese annexed the Kurile Islands. Thus, two imperialist powers trade off territory which belonged to neither of them!

The Japanese diplomats answered Count Witte by saying that in the thirty years during which the Russians held Sakhalin, they had not decided what to do with it, while the Japanese felt it necessary to own the island as a matter of national security.

These then are the facts about the disputed islands. None belonged to Russia or Japan. They were seized by them and changed hands in accordance with the changing fortunes of war. The workers and peasants of Russia and the workers and peasants of Japan had no interest in these territories, gained nothing from them and had only to shed their blood in two wars. The only ones to gain from these imperialist rivalries and wars were the ruling classes in Russia and Japan. When Stalin claims them as Russian territory he is merely falsifying history in order to justify his imperialist policy.

(Concluding article next week)



GENERALISSIMO STALIN

he said about the Russo-Japanese War, the Sakhalin and Kurile Islands.

"Japan began her aggression against our country as far back as 1904, during the Russo-Japanese War . . ."

"As is well known, at that time Russia suffered defeat in the war with Japan, and Japan took advantage of Czarist Russia's defeat to wrest southern Sakhalin from Russia, to strengthen her hold over the Kurile Islands . . ."

Stalin, speaking as a great Russian Nationalist, identifies himself with the imperialist history of Czarism. The falsifications are many.

1. The Russo-Japanese war was not the result of Japanese aggression alone. That Japan was an aggressive imperialist power at that time is, of course, true. But so was Russia. So was England, the United States, France and Germany. They all sought to carve up the Far East, principally China, in their own national interests, that is, in the interests of the profits of their financial and industrial ruling classes.

In the case of Russia and Japan, Russia was clearly the aggressor. Her expansion into China and Korea threatened the imperialist interests of Japan. Japan's attack on Russia came only after months and months of negotiations between these two imperialist powers and at a time when the Czar stalled negotiations in the hope of seizing disputed territory and confronting the Japanese with accomplished facts.

The Japanese countered with an attack on the Russian fleet and then declared war. Supporting Japan in this war against Russia were England and the United States who then greatly feared that Czarist

GERALD L. K. SMITH  
America's No. 1 Fascist

By HAL DRAPER  
(This is the concluding installment of the above-titled pamphlet issued by the Los Angeles branch of the Workers Party. Copies of this pamphlet may be obtained by writing Labor Action Book Service, 114 West 14th Street, New York 11, N. Y. The price is five cents.)

The Workers Party is the socialist organization of American labor WHICH MEANS BUSINESS. We mean to push the fight against the black threat of fascism through every channel and every method.

THAT CAN BE DONE ONLY THROUGH A BROAD UNITED FRONT OF ALL LABOR AND ALL PROGRESSIVE ORGANIZATIONS WHICH WILL CONCENTRATE OUR STRIKING STRENGTH ON THE FASCIST ENEMY.

This means AFL and CIO and Railway Unions TOGETHER, trade unionists and socialists together—all labor putting aside other differences and disputes to smash the fascists back!

That's Point No. 1: WORKERS' UNITY.

Smith and his friends are openly talking again of STORM TROOPS, in Los Angeles. They are serious about it. They will start with uniformed bodyguards and "color guards" and other devices. Their aims are those of Hitler's—physical assault on the organizations of labor and terror against all progressives and racial minorities.

The greatest mistake the labor movement can make, in which it would be following footprint for footprint in the steps of the German trade unions, would be merely to say: Let the cops and the courts take care of these rowdies; WE will limit ourselves to protests and indignant speeches.

Point No. 2: LABOR MUST DEPEND ON ITS OWN STRENGTH.

Labor must build its own defense guards. Labor must answer the fascist storm-troops in the only language they know. It must protect labor meetings. It must not wait till Smith has gone too far. It must act INSTANTLY on the first sign of fascist violence. It must be READY.

Labor must depend on its own strength. It own industrial strength and its own political strength.

The Workers Party tells you that the LESSON OF GERMANY AND ITALY IS:

The profit system's government will not stop the fascist assault on labor when things get hot. Pressure on the capitalist politicians will not WIN the fight against fascism.

Labor must BE the government. Labor must strive for ITS OWN government. To this end it must organize ITS OWN INDEPENDENT POLITICAL ACTION, not merely as a tail on the Democratic or Republican Party kites, but in ITS OWN INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY!

A UNITED FRONT OF ACTION—INDUSTRIAL AND POLITICAL—IS THE SECRET OF VICTORY AGAINST THE FASCIST MONSTER.

It is also the secret of the emancipation of the working class from this whole round of insecurity, fascist threats and slaughterous wars. IT CAN GO FORWARD TO A WORKERS' WORLD OF PEACE AND PLENTY!

This is the Workers Party's program. If you are for it, DO YOUR PART! Fight with us for real democracy and freedom, for this is the fight for the SOCIALIST WORLD OF ECONOMIC ABUNDANCE AND POLITICAL LIBERTY!

Clear the Slums!  
Says the New York Workers Party Election Platform:

VOTE

"For a 12 1/2 billion dollar, five-year housing and public works program in New York City, as part of the national 250 billion dollar program to provide decent housing, schools, hospitals and recreational facilities.

"Make anti-Negro or anti-Semitic practices by employers and landlords a criminal offense.

End Discrimination!

"End high rents and prices in Harlem by enforcing the right of Negroes to live in any section of the city at equal rents.  
"Withdraw building rights from landlords and real estate companies that bar Negroes and Jews.  
"No Jim Crow projects like the proposed Stuyvesant Town."

FOR

MAX SHACHTMAN  
for New York Mayor

Longshoremen Fight for Higher Wages--

(Continued from page 1)

Communists have not come out for dumping the No-Strike Pledge and still talk about labor-management cooperation in glowing terms. But the only way the longshoremen will ever get a \$1.75 an hour for a six-hour day is THE HARD WAY: HIT THE BRICKS! STRIKE!

The Communists are slowly traveling that way. The prospect of a strike on the waterfront may not be so far off. This time Bridges and the Communists will come out for a strike. NOT BECAUSE THAT IS THE ONLY WAY TO PRESERVE THE UNION BUT BECAUSE OF THE PARTY LINE. Certainly Bridges

and the Communist Party leadership have put the union in a bad position to fight the shipowners. First he isolates the longshoremen from the West Coast sailors in a personal union feud over the last ten years. Then he lets the army move in civil service and dock seamen so that there are trained stevedores handy in case of a strike. Then under the "Bridges plan" the Maritime Industry chisels away here and there at conditions. And the shipowners are having a holiday because they know the union won't fight back. That is the record of Harry Bridges and the Communist Party leadership of the longshoremen in the last few years.

The longshoremen got a nicker raise just recently when Bridges opened the contract in 1944 under rank and file pressure. Think of the money the Stalinists saved the shipowners by not opening the contract in 1943 as it should have been. All that overtime on ammunition should have been raised to the East Coast rate a long time ago instead of in the recent award of the WLB. But Bridges was too busy being a production expert to fight for wages then.

Now Bridges may try to appear as a militant again and advocate progressive policies but all it means is

a change in the "Party line." Who knows—tomorrow he may be honey-mooning with the shipowners again. All it takes is another change in the Communist Party line. The only way the longshoremen will ever have a consistently progressive program is to dump Bridges and the whole C.P. crew.

Buffalo Readers:  
Workers Party Forum

TWO LECTURES  
"The Labor Organizations"  
FRIDAY, SEPT. 21

"The Revolutionary Movement"  
FRIDAY, SEPT. 23  
By JIMMY LITTLE

WORKERS PARTY HALL  
639 Main Street (2nd Floor)

PLENTY FOR ALL  
By ERNEST LUND

The first edition of this pamphlet has been all sold out. We are preparing a second, revised edition, to be off the press shortly. Watch for ads in Labor Action.

LOS ANGELES READERS:  
Communists Change Their Line Again  
SPEAKER: HAL DRAPER  
Question Period  
St. Paul's Church,  
21st St. and Naomi  
October 1, 8:00-P. M.

NEW YORK READERS:  
MAX SHACHTMAN  
Speaks in the  
Third in a Series of Forum Meetings Being Held on the Roof Terrace of the Hotel Diplomat, 108 W. 43rd Street.  
on  
United States and World Domination  
Friday, September 21, 8 P. M.  
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# Old Misleaders Await the Fall of Franco

By R. and M. Gould

After dividing the spoils of war in the rest of Europe, the Big Three are now jockeying for position on a division of Spain. A nation left whole in Europe? Something must be done! Spain must have her dose of "National Liberation."

Unquenchable Russian imperialism wants hers, that is, certain. The USSR refused to allow Franco to join the United Nations. Russia got herself seated at the Tangiers Conference, where this area was taken from Franco and re-established as an International Zone. Stalin insisted on excluding Franco from the conference.

According to Time, Russia gives Franco's regime six months.

The British Labor Government is after Franco's hide too.

The miserable English labor leaders hope that by a "firm," "harsh" policy towards fascist Spain, they can withdraw attention from their own most undemocratic oppression of India, their openly imperialist retention of Hong Kong, and their penetration of Indo-China.

The Iberian people's vigorous hatred of a fascist oppression, which sustained them through the incredible sufferings of the 3-year Anti-fascist War (1936-39), will certainly overflow into the political arena if Franco's police dictatorship is removed.

Two weeks ago the professional Spanish Republicans were inspired to form a new Cabinet down in Mexico City. Only respectable, middle-of-the-road capitalist democrats, with a history of complete loyalty to non-intervention and British diplomacy, were included. The two decisive mass-supported Spanish parties, the anarchists and Caballero-socialists, were conspicuous by their absence.

The Communists were dropped unceremoniously. The Professional Politicians were either acting on orders from Washington (which has a certain influence in Mexico City) or they were attempting a bid for Anglo-American confidence by basing themselves on inter-Allied rivalry.

These worthless politicians are deservedly hated by the Spanish people, since they are the very criminals who allowed the fascists to arm and prepare their revolt unimpeded.

Diego Martinez Barrio, "President" of the so-called Spanish Republic, is the very man who formed a Cabinet on July 19, 1936, the day of Franco's revolt, dedicated to "finding a point of coincidence" with the fascists! That Cabinet lasted exactly three hours in face of the tumultuous wrath of the Madrilenos.

Who thinks that he can return to govern Spain? (Without a good supply of American rifles, that is!)

José Giral, new Premier of the so-called Government, is another worn-out politico. (How can we give that word, politico, the stink and unsavory flavor the Spaniards do?)

Giral too, formed a Cabinet on July 19, after Barrio's fall. His lasted six weeks. His record as Disorganizer-in-Chief of the anti-fascist war brought his downfall.

Giral's Government had no army—Franco took it over—but they would neither organize or finance the only army in the field fighting the fascists—the workers militia.

Giral refused to lend or give one ounce of the Bank of Spain's gold to reconvert Catalonia's heavy and light industry to war production. Giral refused to recognize, or aid, the workers' committees in reorganizing Spain's tattered internal economy to fight the anti-fascist war.

Popular disgust, and a rising tide of revolutionary activity, as the anti-fascist committees tried to organize things themselves, brought the fall of Giral's Cabinet on Sept. 4, after his inefficiency had lost Badajoz and Trun.

Russia, too, will be busy finding prostitutes to revive the Spanish Communist Party. So much are the Communists hated by Spaniards as the hangmen of the Iberian revolution, that even among the exiles, in Mexico City, the GPU has had some difficulty finding refugees for paying jobs writing filth for their paper, and "theoretical organ."

During the anti-fascist war, at the height of its influence when Madrid was besieged, the Communist Party couldn't recruit workers or peasants. They enlisted neo-fascist police and army officers, frightened middle-class proprietors, and unscrupulous government bureaucrats, anxious for their jobs.

The very nature of the Stalinist bureaucracy forced it to oppose the popular democratic committees that stopped Franco and ran Spanish economy from the first week of the revolt.

When Russia got control of the Spanish Republican Government under Juan Negrin, in 1937, the GPU brutally crushed the popular committees, killing the leaders in their concentration camps, burning the collective farms, restoring capitalist state control over the factories. They finished disrupting the economy, and paved the way for Franco's victory.

Popular hatred of the Russians reached such a point that Spanish anti-fascists, interned in French concentration camps after their defeat, murdered and even tortured Communists, as the GPU had taught them in its secret jails in Valencia and Madrid.

Barrio, Giral, Prieto & Co. proved that to the hilt in 1937, and ended up with a vicious police dictatorship organized for them by the GPU. They had to fill the jails fuller than under the Bienio Negro to keep down the masses.

Given the slightest lee-way, the Spanish working people, who have tasted political power, will give the world another demonstration of their unsurpassed vitality and recuperative power. It's either fascism or workers power in Spain today, as it was in 1936.

Spain will bear watching by workers everywhere if, for any reason of their own power politics, the Allied Imperialists remove Franco from the back of the Iberian masses.

# Allied "Liberation" in Europe Bevin Aids Greek Reactionaries

By JIM TANAKOS

Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin's remarks on Greece in his speech to the House of Commons on August 20 showed that he does not fully realize why the people of England voted his party into power and threw out Churchill, Eden & Co.

About one-fifth of Bevin's entire speech was devoted to Greece and he went into detail enough to show that the foreign policy his office plans to pursue—in Greece and elsewhere—will be no different than Churchill's policy.

Bevin began the section of his speech where he spoke on Greece by supporting the British massacre of last December. He said violence had broken out and that England had "supported the restoration of law and order." Bevin did not add another word about that bloody war where thousands of Greek workers were killed by British soldiers and a handful of Greek fascists. Bevin did not dare go into detail about those days, because he would have refreshed the memories of the British workers who held demonstrations and even threatened strikes against the Churchill policy in Greece during that period.

Bevin then spoke of the present administration in Greece, under the Regent, Archbishop Damaskinos, and the Premier, Petros Voulgaris. Bevin said he is satisfied to leave the Voulgaris government in power to prepare for elections in Greece this winter or next spring. When the elections are held, Bevin said: "... the United States, French and British governments have undertaken to assist in the supervision, and I propose to invite, as part of that contingent of observers, representatives of the Dominion Governments."

### WHAT THE FACTS ARE

The above is the real farcical section of Bevin's whole speech. The Voulgaris government that Bevin has so much confidence in to conduct an honest election, is busy hounding out, arresting and killing the anti-fascists of Greece. The army, the police and the home guard go on daily sprees wrecking the meeting places and newspaper printing plants of the working class and liberal organizations. No anti-fascist dares register for the elections for fear of reprisals. Even the conservative anti-monarchist parties like the Liberal and Progressive Parties will refuse to take part in the coming elections, knowing that they will be a farce. But Bevin is satisfied that the Voulgaris government is preparing for "democratic" elections.

Bevin also spoke about political prisoners in the jails in Greece. He is for amnesty but not for complete



Ernest Bevin, British Foreign Secretary

amnesty, he said, because "not only violent criminals but also collaborators with the enemy" would be released from the prisons. Bevin knows better. The Greek fascists who collaborated with Hitler and Mussolini are NOT in jail. They are walking the streets of Athens as free men or they are in the army, police and home guard.

Premier Voulgaris announced, a few days after Bevin's speech, that the political prisoners will be released from jail. This announcement was obviously made to give credence to Bevin's remarks about democracy in Greece. This announcement by Voulgaris was given wide "circulation"—but a later announcement of what types of prisoners would be released was not so widely publicized. It is estimated that only about 3,000 of the 20,000 prisoners will be released—only the old women and the neutral by-standers who were picked up in the dragnets when the British soldiers and Greek fascists were arresting everyone who was not shooting at the workers. But Bevin is still satisfied that "democracy" reigns in Greece.

Plauded by Eden and the other members of the Conservative Party, a Major Wilkes took the floor. Major Wilkes, a member of the Labor Party, was recently elected to the House of Commons from Newcastle-upon-Tyne. Central Wilkes mentioned in this, his maiden speech in Parliament, that he was in Greece during the last weeks of the German occupation, then stayed for over four months in ELAS (Greek resistance movement) territory, and then served in Athens during the massacre last December. He was therefore speaking from his own experience.

Major Wilkes went into detail on who is in the new Greek army that the British are financing. He said: "We are committed in Greece today to the arming of three Greek divisions and their training. All reports from Greece, and my own personal experience, are that the recruiting toward these three divisions today is so one-sided that anyone suspected of any connection with the resistance movement or anyone even of Venetist (Editor's note—conservative anti-monarchist) views is excluded from the new Greek divisions now being created."

Wilkes spoke on the political prisoners in Greece, mentioned that there were over 20,000 of them in

the dreadful jails and that "many of those political internees are held on charges of having sat on (resistance movement) courts-martial during the German occupation and condemned to death Quislings of the German Armed Security Battalion. I draw the attention of this House to the fact that a great friend of mine, a member of the resistance movement, George Dallas, has been in prison for the last four months in Kalamata Gaol because he is accused of having caused the death of one Pirotsis, the Quisling provincial governor of Messinia.... I would draw the attention of the House to another incident, not because it is an individual incident, important in itself, but because it shows the general political line that is being pursued in Greece, without, apparently, any protest being made by the British Ambassador or by British military formations in Greece. There was a gentleman who was head of the Security (Quisling) Battalion in Tripoli. His name was Dionysios Papadongonas. He sent a servile letter to Hitler in July, 1944, congratulating him on his escape from the bomb attempt on his life. This man was furnished with supplies, dropped from German airplanes, which had been sent from Athens, in order that he might fight the Antartics (anti-fascists). When the Germans left Tripoli a special airplane proceeded from Athens on the 19th of September to drop his arms and equipment. His adjutant, a Captain Taboularis, was employed subsequently (and is there now—Editor's note) in the National Guard at Salonika, and two other officers from the Tripoli Security Battalion, a Second Lieutenant Korolis and Captain Leras, are also in the National Guard at Salonika. Security Battalion officers are today forming the cadres of the new Greek army."

We print these lengthy quotations from Wilkes' speech because they constitute first-hand information and because this speech which shows the complete falsehood of so many of Bevin's remarks has not appeared in this country's newspapers—although they printed full sections of Bevin's speech.

The working class in England should tell Mr. Bevin and the other Labor Party leaders that if it had wanted a continuation of capitalist policies, it would have kept Churchill in power. One of the things that has helped the Greek workers to keep on fighting against reaction has been the conviction that the workers in the other countries were supporting them. The English workers cannot let them down. The triumph of reaction in Greece means the strengthening of reaction in England and elsewhere.

# Allied Victory No Help To Europe's Jews

By Jessie Kaaren

"In one respect, Hitler has been entirely successful," is the current expression in Europe. The Nazi program of liquidating the Jewish people of Europe has not only succeeded in killing off five million Jews but has loosed a lynch spirit of anti-Semitism abroad that may take decades to erase. This anti-Semitism is an aftermath of the war and is the result of both Nazi and Allied propaganda.

Europe is in ruins. Starvation is the common lot of most of its people. These conditions together with the tyrannical political overlordship which the Allies now exercise over most of Europe are mistakenly blamed on the Jewish people.

Thus the one million Jewish survivors in Europe have a double burden if they attempt to go back to their native lands, which very few of them wish to do anyway. They will be beset with the same difficulties as are non-Jews, trying to earn a living, establish a home, etc. But in addition they will have to combat the fierce anti-Semitism rampant in Europe.

During an Allied bombing raid over Germany, a German was reported to have said: "That is our retribution for burning synagogues." He was wrong, of course. While the SS men were burning and torturing Jewish prisoners and the Allied propagandists were howling to high heaven that it was to save humanity that we were fighting the "barbaric" Germans, the Allies, including Russia, tightly closed the doors of every country under their control and made escape for these Jewish victims absolutely impossible.

### WHAT HAS HAPPENED

Much interesting information is coming to light now about the excellently organized underground escape routes. We know that Switzerland turned back many people because they knew that once the refugees got into Switzerland, they would not have any other place to ship them to. The accounts of the wandering of Polish refugees in Russia reveal such callousness on the part of Stalin's regime as to make one shudder. No one knows how many thousands died of starvation in the trek. No transportation of any kind was offered them.

Hungary, at one time, offered to make a deal with the Allies to take out the Hungarian Jews. But the Allies dickered back and forth so long without bringing forward a plan to provide a haven for these Jews, that the Jews there finally suffered the fate of the others in Europe. The Polish Jews made repeated and desperate appeals to the Allies to get them out, but these went unheeded.

The German who made that remark about the burning of synagogues is under a delusion, but so are millions of Poles, Frenchmen, Dutchmen, Hungarians and natives of the Balkans. In Poland, where anti-Semitism was very strong before the war, the situation is so bad that Polish men and women of the underground movement who helped hide Jewish people from the Germans are now begging their Jewish friends not to reveal this fact in fear of recriminations against them. Anti-Semitic pogroms against returning Jews are extremely violent.

The following quotation from a left-wing Social Democratic newspaper in Holland gives an insight into the situation there. "Despite the terrible sufferings which our Jewish compatriots had to endure during the occupation, consciously or unconsciously an anti-Semitic train of thought has arisen among the majority of the people. . . . It, therefore, appears to us very tactless for our government to appoint so many Jews to posts on the military commission. . . ."

### EUROPE CLOSES ITS DOORS

According to the Christian Science Monitor, "In Romania, anti-Jewish laws were rescinded last October but so far the measure has had little practical value. Fewer than 300,000 of the country's pre-war Jewish population of 1,050,000 are estimated to have survived and the majority of them are said to live in the most precarious conditions with virtually no homes, no means to earn their living, no schools for their children, and depending on tragically overtaxed welfare organizations for their food and clothing. Long a stronghold of a particularly fanatical anti-Semitism, Romania has no politicians of consequence who have yet shown themselves willing to take up the cause of their Jewish citizens."

In view of this situation and in view of the sufferings they have gone through during the last several years, it is easy to understand why a Jewish nationalist ideology has taken such strong hold among large sections of these Jewish survivors. In every poll of concentration and refugee camps taken, the cry seemed to be the same: "We want to go to Palestine." There are many who would like to go to the United States, but they regard that as a more remote possibility.

So far, the European labor movement hasn't tackled the problem. In a joint Communist-Socialist Party conference held recently in France, the question of what to do about anti-Semitism was tabled on a motion from a Communist delegate despite the strong protest made against the tabling. As far as the general Stalinist position on Zionism is concerned, it seems to be hugging both sides of the fence. In some countries in the Balkans, they attack the Zionists. In Yugoslavia, for example, the leader of the Zionists was reported arrested.

Both the CIO and the AFL have adopted resolutions in favor of the Zionist program, but they haven't gone into the question very thoroughly or taken a correct stand. They have ignored the incorrect attitude of the Jewish labor movement in Palestine with regard to the Arabs, they have not made a demand on our government that the immigration bars be let down in this country to permit refugees to enter the United States, and they have not denounced American and British imperialist policy in the Middle East.

(Another Article Will Follow Soon)

# U. S. and British Imperialism in Asia--

## Korea--

(Continued from page 1)  
who only yesterday ordered shooting at a demonstration of Koreans who thought they were really liberated and came to welcome American occupation troops, are to administer American policy.

The New York Times reports that "The General said that Korea's desire for immediate independence could not be granted. It is necessary, he said, to maintain the Japanese administrative officials from Governor General Nobuyuki Abe on down, to prevent the chaos that probably would result if they were summarily ousted."

### NO INDEPENDENCE

This is the language of imperialism. One of its arguments is that independence cannot now be granted because there exists more than one organization fighting for independence, three to be specific, each desiring a major part of a Korean government. It does not occur to the American imperialists that an immediate election in Korea could easily settle this question.

The American action, however, is typical of the policy of all the powers in the United Nations who fought this war shouting the slogans of the Four Freedoms which they never meant and never honored. The "liberation" brought to Europe by victorious Allied arms has yet to be achieved. The Continent was divided into "zones" and "spheres of influence." After six years of bloody war, the real independence of Europe has still to be fought for.

It is no different in the Far East. Korea is a good example, but it is not the only one. This nation of more than 22,000,000 people has long been coveted and subjected by imperialism. Domination of Korea was one of the reasons for the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05. The victory of Japan gave her dominant influence over the country. In 1910, Korea was annexed by Japan and since then has been ruled in a ruthless and bloody manner by Japanese imperialists.

For more than forty years the independence movements of Korea have fought valiantly for their country's freedom. This time they believed that a Big Three victory over Japan would result in immediate and unquestioned independence. The announcement of American policy by Lieut. Gen. Hodge was a sharp blow to the aspirations of the Korean people, but it revealed the essentially imperialist policy of the American ruling class whose general program for Japan is to keep in power the feudal-capitalist ruling class over the bent backs of the heavily exploited Japanese people.

### FEAR OF REVOLUTION

This fear of revolution in the colonial world is what dictates American policy as well as British and Russian policy in the Far East. Genuine independence of colonial peoples in the Far East runs counter to the aims of Allied imperialism which is now busily engaged in dividing amongst themselves the possessions of defeated Japanese imperialism.

Imagine! The Koreans cannot have

their independence and right to rule themselves because "chaos" might ensue. The imperialist rule by the gun and bomb is not chaos. The imperialist exploitation of the colonial people for super-profits is not chaos. The imperialist policy of keeping the colonial world hungry, poverty-stricken, illiterate and backward is not chaos. Only the independence of these peoples and their own governments would create chaos!

Think back, American workers, and remember all the things that were said about Japanese people—not their brutal capitalist rulers—but the people. Think back about what our own imperialists said about the aims in this war and square them with the present action in Korea.

American labor, the whole people, must answer this slur on the Korean people, this policy of collaboration with the Japanese militarists and capitalist rulers by demanding: Immediate Independence for Korea!

For the Right of the Korean People to Rule Themselves!  
For a Free and Independent Asia!

## Hong Kong--

(Continued from page 1)  
missioner, Lin Tse Hsi, demanded that British merchants surrender their stocks of opium, a tremendous source of profit built up by destroying Chinese people who became its addicts.

The British, of course, refused and were thereafter quarantined by the Chinese government.

The British dictated the Treaty of Nanking which gave them Hong Kong, a number of free ports and extraterritorial rights (this meant that British nationals were not subject to Chinese law and had special rights). Among the ports opened up to British imperialism as well as other powers were Canton, Shanghai, Amoy, Foochow and Ningpi.

Ever since the rise of the nationalist movement in China, the Chinese have fought for rescinding extraterritorial rights and for a return of Chinese territory held by foreign imperialism. Chiang Kai Shek, while ready to continue as an agent of imperialism, hoped to achieve complete surrender of those foreign-held areas as a means of strengthening his own rule in China. His demand for a return of Hong Kong met with a sharp rebuke of Churchill at the Cairo conference in 1944.

Since then, the Big Three have settled the matter among themselves and told the Chinese that in exchange for her "independence," the Allies must be given certain concessions. The concessions are already known. The French retain their rights in China. The British retain Hong Kong and their special privileges. The Russians re-establish the old Czarist interests in this vast country. Suppose the Chinese did not agree to these concessions? They would be taken anyway and the nominal independence of China would not even be that.

Thus, American interests in China are defended and assented to by the British and Russians. British rights are supported by the United States and Russia. Russia's concessions are agreed to by the United States and Great Britain. Who is the loser? Not Chiang. Not the Chinese ruling class. The loser is the Chinese people—the real victims of imperialism.

Detroit Sunday Night Forum:

**NEW EXPLOITATION OF PEOPLES OF ASIA**

SPEAKER: STAN GREY

SEPTEMBER 23, 8:00 P. M.

LABOR ACTION HALL  
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### The Low Art of High Diplomacy

QUESTION: When is a secret agreement not a secret agreement?  
ANSWER: When it's a tacit understanding.

That dear, readers, is a lesson in diplomacy recently given by Secretary of State Byrnes to newspaper reporters at a press conference.

Somebody asked him whether the Russians at Potsdam had discussed taking over the southern half of Sakhalin Island and the Kuriles, which Stalin recently announced were to be taken from Japan.

Byrnes first said no, then admitted that the Russians had brought the matter up as early as the Yalta conference. (It's often hard to remember trifling things like this.) But the Americans, he insisted, made no "agreements," no "commitments" at all. However, he added, our government had no objection to the Russian action.

LABOR ACTION reconstructs, in simplified form, what happened at Yalta:

Stalin: By the way, do you mind if we take Sakhalin and the Kuriles?  
Roosevelt (with his famous frankness): I wouldn't say yes, but I wouldn't say no.  
By the way, do you mind if we take a few Jap islands too?  
Stalin (with his famous geniality and bluntness): Ditto.  
Roosevelt: Good! It's a bargain but not an agreement. Now I'll be able to tell my people that I made no secret agreements, no commitments at all.  
Stalin: Why tell them anything?  
Roosevelt: You don't understand democracy.  
Stalin: A toast to democracy!

NEWARK READERS:  
Hear  
**MAX SHACHTMAN**  
National Secretary Workers Party

**"Russia and the Post-War World"**

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