

New York **WORKERS:** VOTE FOR MAX SHACHTMAN FOR MAYOR OF NEW YORK
Vote the Last Name of the Last Line on Voting Machine

LABOR ACTION

NOVEMBER 5, 1945

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

ONE CENT

TRUMAN OPPOSES LABOR'S DEMAND TO MAINTAIN WAR TAKE-HOME PAY

President Waves "Big Stick" in Foreign Policy

By MARY BELL

President Truman's Navy Day speech, hailed by the reactionary United States press with "At last we've got a foreign policy," is a continuation of the basic U. S. policy to dominate the world. If Truman's speech is stronger than any of Roosevelt's war speeches, it is because the United States has emerged from the war unquestionably the supreme power in the world. If Truman's speech is tougher with Russia than any of Roosevelt's during the war, it is because the war is over and the military necessity of unity among the Allied nations is gone.

Obviously, Truman did not say openly that the U. S. is out to dominate the world. That would be too much to stomach for the little people who fought, sacrificed and died for what they were told was democracy, freedom, security and international peace and good will. But the circumstances in which the speech was delivered and a translation of its abstractions into their concrete meaning will prove our contention.

A SHOW OF FORCE

Speaking on Navy Day, accompanied by the display of a huge flotilla of warships, Truman bragged that "By that day (V-J Day—Ed.), ours was a sea power never before equaled in the history of the world." He added: "In addition to that naval power, we shall still have one of the most powerful air forces in the world. And just the other day, so that on short notice we could mobilize a powerful and well equipped land, sea and air force. I asked the Congress to adopt universal training."

Later in his speech, the President flourished the proud product of the "arsenal of democracy"—the atomic bomb. He will deign to discuss it with Great Britain and Canada—not Russia, as yet—"But I emphasize again, as I have before, that these discussions will not be concerned with the processes of manufacturing the atomic bomb or any other instruments of war."

The President stated that our huge military forces were not designed for war or conquest but for peace, and that our possession of the atomic bomb is "no threat to any nation." But this is precisely what Russia, Britain and all the other lesser Allies who have defeated the "aggressor" nations are saying as they, too, preserve their military power and embark on programs of military training of youth. If all the Allies are arming to preserve the peace—why don't they disarm and truly "renounce war as an instrument of international policy"?

The truth is, of course, that the war was not fought to end war, but was a contest between two sets of imperialist nations. Now that one set has been subdued, the victors are beginning to quarrel among themselves over the booty and are beginning the preparations for the next world war.

Else what is this huge armaments race for? Against whom is it directed? Weren't the "criminal, aggressor" nations defeated by the "peace-loving" powers?

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Behind the "Civil War" In China

By SAM ADAMS

The beginnings of warfare have broken out between the government forces of Chiang Kai-shek and the "Communist" armies of the North. Whether the present skirmishes will develop into a full-scale civil war is difficult to determine at this time since the dominant forces in China are not the two contending armies, but two foreign powers, the United States and Russia. These will decide whether the time is ripe to test their respective strengths and to determine who shall be dominant in China.

The struggle in China, reported as a conflict over who will control the North, actually reflects the rivalries of the Big Three powers. Anyone who believes that this struggle is a conflict between a reactionary Chinese government and a "Communist" army which seeks to change the social order in China for the benefit of the people will go astray.

The so-called Communist armies of the Yenan are Stalinist armies. They represent the interests of Stalinist imperialism in that country in the same way that the Stalinist parties do in all other countries.

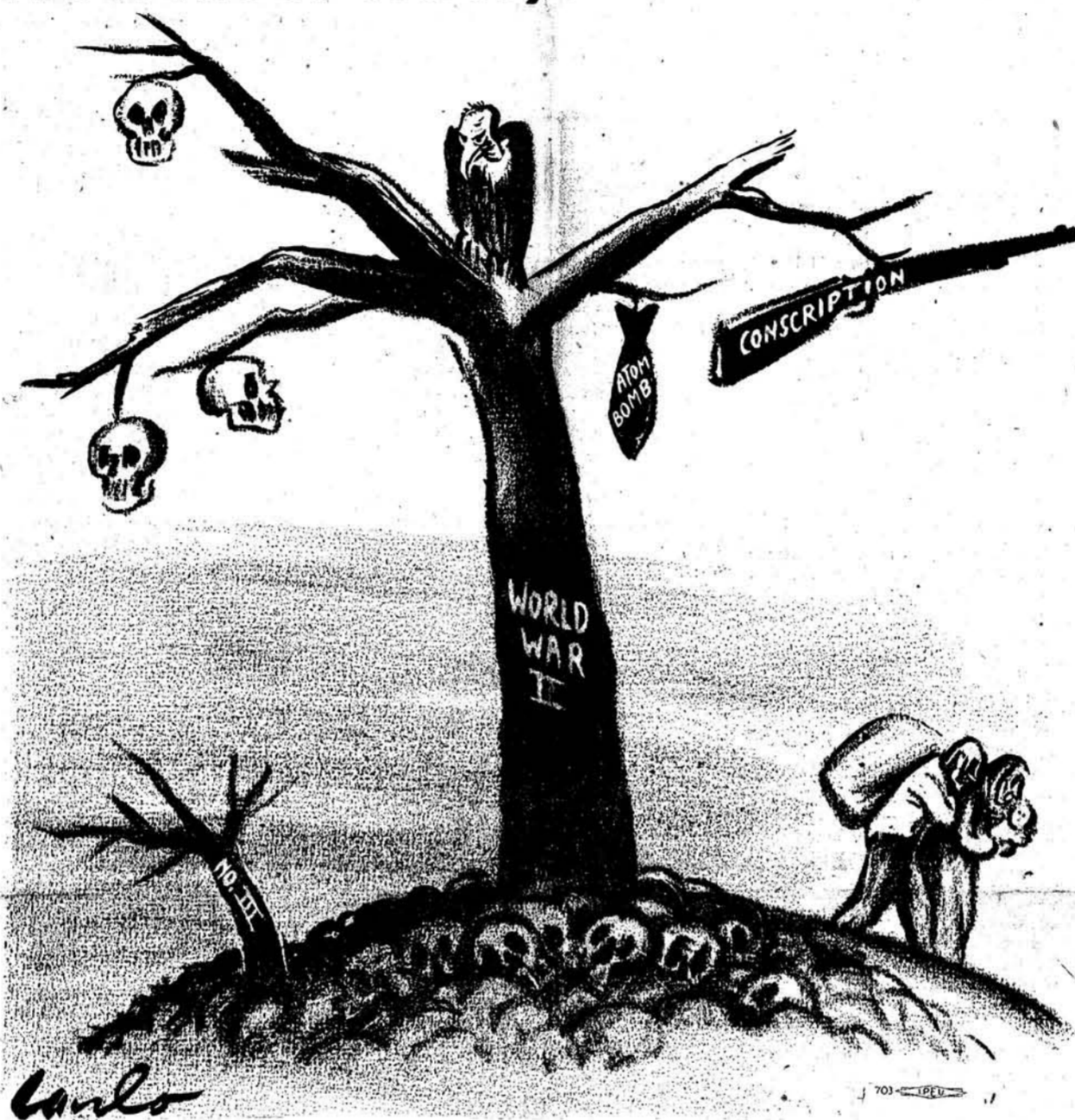
AFTER RUSSO-CHINESE TREATY

Shortly after the Japanese surrender, a Russo-Chinese treaty was signed which recognized Chiang's sovereignty over the whole nation. In exchange for this wholly gratuitous acknowledgment, Russia received special concessions from Chiang. After this treaty, negotiations between Chungking and Yenan were opened and a "basis of understanding" was reported.

Why, then, has the present civil war broken out? It should be clear that the "Communist" armies of Yenan are not acting independently, but reflect the policy of the Kremlin. They are at war with Chiang

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The Fruits of Victory!



Workers Party Leads Again In Oakland Picketing of Smith

By LARRY O'CONNOR

Special Wire to LABOR ACTION

OAKLAND, Cal., Oct. 29—Three thousand shouting and singing pickets hurled their defiance at Fascist Gerald L. K. Smith in front of Technical High School here last night. Representatives from labor unions, Negro, Jewish and other minority groups, political and youth organizations filled the picket lines and thousands of placards were borne overhead by the marching anti-fascists.

Smith had first announced that he



was going to speak at Odd Fellows Hall in San Francisco as well as one of the public schools in that city. But the massed picket lines which greeted his appearance in Los Angeles and Detroit and the labor movement in San Francisco which threatened to ring Smith's meetings with picket lines, caused the Odd Fellows to cancel their meeting.

The San Francisco Board of Education, by a vote of three to two, decided to refuse him the facilities of the city schools after a hearing at which he was denounced as a scabber, a fomenter of race hatred and a fascist.

The Payroll Guarantee Association (formerly the Townsend Ham and Egg organization, which is working with Smith in California), now threatens to impeach the three members of the San Francisco Board who refused Smith speaking facilities. The state law for alleged infractions, the basis on which impeachment pro-

ceedings have been instituted, give the Board discretion to deny facilities under their jurisdiction to organizations which "advocate the overthrow of the government by force and violence."

SMITH MOVES TO OAKLAND

After being denied private and public halls for his fascist meetings in San Francisco, Smith prevailed on the Oakland School Board to grant him the use of Technical High School of that city.

When the news of Smith's meeting in Oakland became known, the San Francisco Bay Area Branch of the Workers Party contacted other organizations for the purpose of forming a joint anti-fascist movement to picket his meeting. Some organizations like the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Socialist Workers Party and the Alameda County Council of the CIO stated that they would take no action until the Council for Civic Unity had decided what to do at their meeting of Thursday night, October 25, three days before Smith was scheduled to speak.

The Workers Party representatives

pointed out that while it was important to get the biggest possible participation in the fight against American fascism and that they would gladly work with the many organizations represented on the Council for Civic Unity, it was necessary to act in the case of the planned Smith meeting.

Time being short, the Workers Party issued thousands of leaflets to workers attending two great union mass meetings that same Thursday night. The leaflets called upon them to picket Smith. Thousands of leaflets were also distributed to a strike meeting of the East Bay Union of Machinists (CIO) on Saturday, and to railroad workers and the Negro population of Oakland.

The response to this call by the Workers Party was excellent. A militant but orderly picket line formed in front of Smith's meeting. They roundly booed the affair, shouting such slogans as: Who Pays Smith is Hitler's Ghost! Smith Today Means Storm Troops Tomorrow!

At seven-thirty in the evening when the picket line was captured by a

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Is Vague on Wage Increase; Proposes No Cut in Profits

By ALBERT GATES

President Truman's radio address reciting the Administration's policy on wages was listened to by the whole nation. None was so interested in this aspect of the government's domestic policy as the workers of the country, for the problem of their wages and standard of living is immediate and acute.

The end of the war found labor rewarded for its sacrifices by mass layoffs and a drastic reduction of its wages. But labor is now on the march, fighting desperately to prevent further slashes in its income and demanding in its counter-offensive wage increases up to thirty per cent to make up for the great drop in take-home pay. It is this offensive of labor which caused President Truman to treat the problem of wages in a public address to the nation.

The President's speech was both an acknowledgment of the justness of the demands of the workers and an evasion of any concrete proposals which could immediately alleviate the sufferings of millions of workers brought about by the lack of a plan and program by the Administration to meet the post-war and reconversion period.

Thus the speech also was an admission of a tremendous failure on the part of a government which planned for war but could not plan for peace. The President, in justifying his general position that labor deserves an increase in wages, pointed out that already there has been a decline of twenty billion dollars in wages paid to the workers. This is creating, he stated, great hardships for the workers. To overcome this slash in the workers' income he proposed that wage increases be permitted in three categories:

1. Cases in which the percentage of increase in average straight-time hourly earnings since January, 1941, did not match the increase in the cost of living.
2. Cases of inequalities among plants in the same industry in the same locality, in conditions of normal competition.
3. Cases necessary to insure full production in an industry designated by the Stabilization Administration as necessary for reconversion and where existing wage rates are inadequate to recruit manpower.

This is presumably an executive order. But it is really a statement to the effect that the overwhelming majority of the workers in this country have been and are being cheated of their just earnings. In all three categories it is acknowledged that industry has not been paying labor its full wages.

CASE FOR INCREASES

President Truman outlined five reasons why wage increases can be given by industry. They uphold every argument of the labor movement at the same time that they indict the President's evasions in his wage speech. The five reasons given are:

1. Reduction in per hour labor costs by the elimination of time and a half for overtime.
2. Increase in the number of people needing jobs.
3. Increased output per man hour.
4. The very favorable profit position of business.
5. Prospective elimination of the excess profits tax.

Having endorsed labor's demands for wage increases and having con-

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SKF Picket Lines Hold Firm!

PHILADELPHIA—"The line yielded like rubber, without breaking. Then, like rubber, it snapped back, bouncing policemen in all directions." Those are the words a Philadelphia Record reporter used to describe the answer an aroused labor movement gave to over 200 club swinging police, trying to smash the mass CIO picket line at the SKF ball bearing plant here.

The SKF plant was struck on Sept. 27th, when Local 2898 of the Steelworkers Union charged that company refusal to settle hundreds of grievances was part of a campaign to bust the Union.

As the strike moved towards the end of its first month without any break in the spirit of determination of the union, the company, last week, called on the police to go to work on the union. Up until then, the SKF bosses had hoped that the discredited company union might be able to start a back-to-work movement. This group had tied up the union's funds in a court case, but the company union efforts in behalf of the SKF multi-millionaires had accomplished nothing.

POLICE SWING CLUBS

So, on October 23rd, the company made its next move. An agreement with the union, to which the police were also party, provided that certain top company officials could enter the plant. But on this day, as the lines parted to permit these officials to enter, other cars carrying office workers swooped in to follow and as they did, police clubs started flailing. Under the expected barrage, the weaponless pickets fell back. Two of them, Gerald P. Kennedy, financial secretary of the striking local and William Riley, a discharged war veteran, were badly banged up from blows on the head, face and chest.

The steel workers immediately sent out word to other CIO unions in the area and the following morning a great cheer went out from the throats of the steel worker pickets as up the street with banners streaming, marched a hundred helmeted shipyard workers from Local 1, the big

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New York Election Campaign Notes

As the New York election campaign moved through its next to last week, Workers Party Candidate Max Shachtman delivered four fifteen-minute radio speeches, over Stations WNYC, WHN, WHOM and WQXR.

To our friends in New York and elsewhere: Send a contribution to the Workers Party Radio Fund, 114 W. 14th Street, New York 11, N. Y. The money is needed. Having no capitalist backers, we depend on you. Show your loyalty to our working class campaign in a concrete way. NOW is the time!

In complete contrast to the so-

called major candidates (or, in other words, the candidates of the capitalist parties), who continued to spend most of their time shouting about each other's gangster associates, Shachtman hammered away at the real issues of this or any other election in the present period of history: PEACE and SECURITY.

Again and again Shachtman asked, what all workers are asking: If the government could plan full production and furnish jobs for all during the war for purposes of death and destruction, why can't it plan in peace. (Continued on page 2)

Mesabi Miners Face Big Wage Cut

HIBBING, Oct. 27—Hanging heavily over the heads of Minnesota's Iron Range miners are the sullen skies of approaching winter and the certainty of hard times. The long, hard winter looms up grimmer than ever because of the wage cuts brought about by reduction of their work week to forty hours. Mine after mine is cutting down to the five-day week, with cutbacks to three and four days a week threatening in some cases. Even at forty hours the take-home pay of Mesabi Range miners will average about thirty dollars a week—a paltry sum in view of the sky-high cost of living.

Those miners who are not already swallowing aspirin tablets to ease their "reconversion" headaches will

a week—not with eggs at sixty-three cents a dozen and butter at fifty-five cents a pound.

Such, then, are the facts—fat profits and tax refunds for big business; wage cuts for the workers. Guaranteed cost-plus for du Pont, Rockefeller, Ford and their corporation kin; insecurity, peon paychecks and joblessness for those who toil. But the facts alone, as the Range miners know, neither buy the groceries nor pay the landlord.

The big question they, like all workers, ask is this: "HOW can we end this intolerable condition and achieve the job security at a guaranteed annual wage, the thirty-hour week, the real pension at fifty years

of age, the stable prices and other reasonable conditions that can so easily be provided for every worker in this vastly rich country?"

THE NEW FORMULA

It is becoming clear to Range miners, as to workers throughout the country, that a new formula, a new plan, is necessary. Neither independent union action on the wage field nor so-called "political action" of the CIO-PAC brand will suffice. Fighting for wage gains is necessary and justified, but inadequate. Let the steel workers win their \$2.00 a day wage increase and the steel trust ups the price of basic iron \$6.00 a ton. Since

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NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

The Case for the 30% Wage Increase

By SUSAN GREEN

The unions have backed up their demands for wage increases by their own unbeatable statistics. But that's not all. The figures of the economists of the Office of Reconversion also support the unions—at least to the extent of eighty per cent of their demands. These economists have published figures which prove that industry can grant wage raises of TWENTY-FOUR PER CENT and still make \$4,800,000,000 profits in 1946, which is more than twice as much as the pre-war average and almost as much as in the war year 1942.

At the same time these government economists show that average take-home pay has FALLEN TWENTY-EIGHT PER CENT below April of this year and that, after tax deductions for 1946, the worker's average purchasing power will be TEN PER CENT LOWER than what his wages could buy in January, 1941.

This actual lowered standard of living is bringing more and more workers into the fight for maintenance of take-home pay at wartime levels.

The vote of the UAW workers of General Motors, 6 to 1, for a strike in case their demand for a thirty per cent increase is not met has brought to a crux the war of wages-prices-profits between the Auto Workers and this colossus of industry. With each encounter between the union and the company, on the air, in the press or in reported conferences, the strength and progressiveness of the union's position is emphasized against the untenuably reactionary and profit-bound position of the company, whose stockholders have in the last nine years received dividends of one-hundred and forty-five per cent on investment.

The same is true of the bitter controversy between the giant United States Steel Corp. and the Steel Workers who have made a demand for a \$2.00-a-day wage raise—the same steel workers who even during the war were going into the red each week because wages did not meet a minimum budget.

Another large group of workers to join battle with their profit-bloated employers are the electrical workers, comprising 170,000 in General Electric, 100,000 in Westinghouse, 30,000 in General Motors electric divisions, etc. The demand of the United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers is that of steel, for a \$2.00-a-day boost in wages to make up for cuts in take-home due to shorter hours, downgrading, etc.

OVER-ALL FIGHT

Pushed by the determination of the CIO rank and file not to be left holding the postwar bag, union officials have placed the wage fight in its proper relationship to the whole post-war problem. In the first place, the

workers are determined to break the vicious circle by which wage increases are passed off by corporations in higher prices, thus at least partly nullifying the wage increases. In the second place, the unions are treating their demands for higher wage levels to sustain worker purchasing power as an absolutely necessary measure toward full employment.

Union facts and figures leave the industrial barons without a leg to stand on. Indeed the unions have such great confidence in their position that in a nationwide radio broadcast, Walter P. Reuther, vice-president of the UAW, threw down the challenge to the corporation that if it can prove in public that the union's demand for a thirty per cent wage boost is unsound, the union will retreat from its demand!

The reader will recall that the union's statistics show that, allowing for the thirty per cent wage increase demanded as well as for a ten per cent advance in material costs, the corporation can not only net more profits but can actually reduce the price of cars!

However, with typical capitalist arrogance, GM declares that prices and profits are none of the union's business, nor anybody's business except that of the industrial overlords who own GM. As the struggle becomes more intense, it is increasingly clear that GM has no interest in real collective bargaining on the issues, but is bent on forcing the workers out

on strike. The union claims GM wants "a strike so they may turn it into a springboard for anti-labor legislation in Congress." This is undoubtedly the case.

Unwilling to yield to the workers on their irrefutable demands, the corporation is spending millions on propaganda. Full-page advertisements are run to gain support for GM President Wilson's plan to have Congress increase the work week to forty-five hours instead of the legal forty. According to the ads, this plan "would be good for the working man, good for the employer, good for the farmer, good for the professional man, good for the housewife—good for America!"—no less!

GM, STEEL PROFITEER

So shockingly reactionary is this proposition that even the writers for the capitalist press, despite receiving huge fees for GM advertisements, are constrained to condemn it. The financial page of the Washington Post points out the obvious, that GM's plan would cut jobs; and the financial editor of the New York Times thinks GM's idea "unsound." Do the GM moguls really think they can get "public opinion" behind a scheme that will take bread out of the mouths of millions of returning soldiers and other workers wanting jobs?

Better beware, you lying auto and steel barons, lest workers ask: If it is true that the giants of industry cannot pay us a decent wage and cannot even keep themselves out of the red, why don't we throw them out as a lot of reactionary bankrupts, and take control of production ourselves?

The low-down is that corporations, fattening on steadily advancing war profits, don't want any interruptions. "What is all this nonsense about wage rates to maintain take-home pay and the workers' standard of living? And what is this unheard-of demand not to raise prices and pass wage increases on to the consumer? Aren't we, the industrial masters, the ones to determine all that?"

The workers have answered an emphatic "No!" to that question.

Election Notes - -

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time for security and a decent standard of living? If the government could spend \$100 billion a year for war purposes, why not half that much now for decent housing, parks, schools, hospitals and medical care?

During a radio forum on October 21, Newbold Morris, Mayor LaGuardia's handpicked candidate, was forced to admit that Shachtman's speech had sounded very "compelling." But let's get down to earth, let's be practical, said Morris. We're living under capitalism, so where (he demanded) is the money coming from?

In his radio speeches during the following week, Shachtman met this challenge head-on.

During the war, he said, the government could demand and take the very lives of all the younger men. It could regulate the wages, hours, and even eating habits of the rest of us. It could guarantee the highest corporation profits in history.

The Workers Party proposes: Let the government nationalize (take over) the huge monopolies and run them full blast under workers' control. That is the road towards full production, full employment, a guaranteed annual wage, and plenty for all. Can it be demanded the Workers Party candidate, that the monopolies and their profits are more sacred than the lives of the people?

Even as the capitalist Congress was about to push through an almost unbelievable program of tax "relief" for the corporations and the rich, Shachtman called for the following program:

- (1) A 100 per cent tax on all the blood-soaked profits;
(2) A limit of \$25,000 a year (\$500 a week) on incomes;
(3) A graduated capital levy—a tax on all accumulated wealth over \$50,000.

But who believes that the present

government or any other capitalist government will either tax the rich or nationalize the monopolies? If the government will not take the necessary steps for full production and employment, then it confesses its bankruptcy, said Shachtman. It is a "good government" for destruction and for profits, but it is useless for insuring peace and human welfare. It is a "good government" for the capitalists, but not for the workers and the overwhelming majority of the people.

Speaking over WQXR, Shachtman summarized the character of present-day capitalism in the following memorable words: Capitalism works very well only to kill and maim. It's at its best when it's at its worst.

The capitalists and their politicians say that socialism isn't practical. For the working people, experience has taught by unanswerable lessons of war and unemployment that it's really the capitalist system which is no longer practical.

Any worker who votes for capitalist candidates, a capitalist government, and the capitalist system is wasting his vote. This is equally true in a city, state, or national election. Labor needs its own party, its own candidates, and its own program.

If you agree with us on this, be sure to vote for Max Shachtman, candidate of the Workers Party, on November 6. Pull down the lever over the LAST name on the LAST line of the voting machine.

Tell your friends and shopmates to do the same!

And don't forget: You can get the campaign and other literature of the Workers Party by writing to Workers Party, 114 W. 14th St., New York 11, N. Y.

You can still hear brief radio statements by the WP on the "People's Choice" program over WNEW, 1130 on the dial, on Saturday, November 3, between 9 and 9:30 P.M. and on Monday, November 5, between 10 and 10:30 P.M.

W. P. Leads Smith Pickets - -

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member of the Workers Party, assisted by a representative of the Young People's Socialist League, it was at its height of militancy.

It was only after this that a sound truck from the Council for Civic Unity appeared to take over the demonstration. The anti-fascists on the picket line were treated to the self-defeating spectacle of being urged to stop marching and sing "God Bless America" while Smith was exhorting his audience to sing the same song inside.

At about nine o'clock in the evening the sound truck of the Council told the pickets to sing the Star Spangled Banner and to go home. The protests of the pickets were drowned out by the sound truck. And slowly the picket line dissolved. But it had already served its magnificent purpose. Thousands of workers and other citizens of Oakland were made aware of what Smith stands for and have actively demonstrated their hatred for fascism. They are learning through action how to organize the great struggle against the real threat of American fascism which lies ahead.

Truman's Wage Policy - -

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clusively demonstrated that such increases can easily be granted by industry, what does President Truman recommend? NOTHING! Why not? Because the President is straddling the issue. His aim is to placate labor's demands by acknowledging the necessity for wage increases while at the same time advising capital that he is not proposing what these increases should be. He merely says that wages should be settled by collective bargaining and that labor must expect a drop in its take-home pay.

SILENT ON CUTTING PROFITS

But the President has not a word to say about profits. He does not propose a cut in the tremendous profits of industry. He does not come out in support of labor's demand for a thirty per cent increase in wages. He merely says that a wage increase should be given. Even industry is willing to grant that. The real issue is HOW MUCH of an increase should be given?

The Administration had sufficient information at hand to know how much should be given to the nation's wage earners. Government statisticians have reported that a blanket wage increase of fourteen per cent would allow industry a profit of \$3,300,000,000 in 1946 after all taxes are deducted. This is three times as

much as the pre-war average profits of \$2,142,000,000! An average wage increase of twenty-four per cent would still allow industry profits of \$4,800,000,000 after all taxes are deducted, which would still be more than twice the profits of the pre-war years.

Truman evaded the question of how much wage increases should be permitted because he did not want to come to actual grips with the real problem of the day: the refusal of big business to cut down its profits and its insistence that labor pay the bill for the post-war period and reconversion just as it paid the bill for the war economy.

Back of the President's speech is the militant struggle now carried on by labor. It is only this struggle which compels the President to give such consideration to the problem. But labor should remember that Mr. Truman proposes nothing. Labor will get something only if it carries on a vigilant and persistent fight in its own behalf. Without such a struggle labor will get nothing from the government or big business.

The propaganda purpose of Truman's speech must be sought for too in the international situation, which sees relations among the powers deteriorating swiftly. Truman's speech is also a plea to American labor, aiming to procure its support in any future political crisis.

It is true that the President criticized two committees of the House for scuttling the Full Employment Bill and the Unemployment Compensation Bill, as well as Congress for turning back U. S. Employment Service to the states. In this he merely stated to the nation that he is the head of a party which is the majority of the government but which acts for big business against the best interests of labor.

The answer to that is clear. Labor has no political party in Washington. Labor needs its own party. It needs a Labor Party, independent of the political parties of big business which can and will act in the interests of the working class.

If industry cannot pay the just wage demands of the workers there is an answer to that too. Let them get out. Nationalize the big monopolies under workers' control of production so that industry may produce for the needs of the people and give the workers a living wage and security.

If this government won't do it, then labor should get its own government, a government of, for and by the workers. This is the only fitting answer to a situation where labor bears the brunt of the post-war period and reconversion unemployment. It is the only real answer to the situation described in the President's address.

Imperialist Foreign Policy - -

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The brunt of the President's talk was directed against Russia when he said: "We shall approve no territorial changes in any friendly part of the world unless they accord with the freely expressed wishes of the people concerned," and "We shall refuse to recognize any government imposed upon any nation by the force of any foreign power." This refers to Russia's imposition of governments upon Yugoslavia, Rumania and other Balkan territories which have been the seat of discord in recent Big Three power talks.

How fundamental and enduring these "principles" are is shown by the fact that when the exigencies of war so demanded, Roosevelt ceded Poland, whose government had been "imposed," to Russia, just as before the U. S. recognized the incorporation of the Baltic countries into Russia. How all-embracing this "principle" is, is further underscored by the fact that the U. S. has never withdrawn recognition from the British-imposed government of India, the Dutch-imposed government of the East Indies, the French-imposed government of Indo-China or the Axis-imposed Franco government of Spain.

The U. S., Truman proudly affirmed, does not seek "one inch of territory in any place in the world." "Outside

the right to establish necessary bases for our own protection," of course. That's an easy principle for the U. S., because its tremendous wealth, its productive power and its strength to compete favorably with any other nation do not compel it to grab anything except a few military bases for "protection." But Russia maintains, from the Stalinist-imperialist point of view, that it is just as necessary for her "protection" that she have a friendly cordon sanitaire of satellite governments ringing Russia.

RUSSIA UNDERSTOOD

That Russia understood what lay beneath the surface of Truman's beautiful generalities about freedom and democracy was manifested immediately. While Russia does not possess the same military might and won't develop the production of the atomic bomb for five years or so, she, too, has a big stick to brandish. Despite the fact that amity between Yenan and Chungking had been signed, sealed and delivered, as soon as the London fiasco of the foreign ministers was over, "civil war" broke out in China. This is Stalin's warning to the U. S. The actions of his foreign legions serve a similar purpose to the armed strength of the U. S.

While it is impossible to dragoon

the war-weary peoples of the world into a new war tomorrow, none of the victors is intent on preserving world peace, least of all the United States. If she were, why wouldn't she really internationalize the knowledge of production of the atomic bomb with her allies of yesterday instead of announcing that an atomic armaments race is already on?

Why wouldn't she demand that all the victors renounce war and armaments and embark upon genuine international collaboration?

Why wouldn't she have spoken for the genuine and immediate independence of all oppressed peoples—India, Indo-China, the Dutch East Indies, the Philippines, as well as Poland, the Baltic and Balkan countries, instead of reiterating the mocking phrase, "independence when these people are prepared [they're never prepared by their imperialist masters] for freedom"?

She wouldn't because she is not genuinely interested in peace, freedom and security. That is not the way of imperialism, democratic or totalitarian. That is why the job is up to the little people, the colonially oppressed people, the exploited workers and farmers of all nationalities.

The final liberation of mankind from imperialist war and oppression is a socialist task.

The Chinese "Civil War" - -

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because it serves the interests of Stalin in his present difficult relations with the United States and Britain. Stalin has issued a warning:

If you do not grant my European and Far Eastern demands, if you insist on keeping the secrets of atomic bomb production, if you do not want to reach an agreement with me as to my interests in world affairs, I have the means to make it extremely difficult for you. I can call upon my international supporters to go into action. I have done that in the Balkans, in Greece, Yugoslavia, Italy and France. I can do it in China, and here is a sample of it. But I can also prevent such embarrassing situations from arising. I can call off my legions. But for that you must accede to my demands or guarantee your willingness to reach an understanding with me.

Do Stalin and his ruling régime actually say these words? No; they do not have to. The rulers of Great Britain and the United States understand the show of force.

BIG THREE CONFLICT

The heart of the Chinese situation is to be sought, then, in the antagonisms which exist among the big powers, which regard China as one of their battlegrounds.

Do you want proof of this? Observe the reaction of the Communist Party in this country. It knows what its role is. The war is over. The United Nations coalition is not now an urgent requirement, since the Axis has been defeated. The previous support given to the Washington Administration, of Roosevelt and Truman, has now been withdrawn. But the support of the American Communist Party to Stalin and the Russian ruling class remains as ever loyal and persevering.

STALIN'S U. S. PUPPETS

Through its spokesman, William Z. Foster, the American Communist Party has denounced the war in North China as an unwarranted attack upon Yenan by Generalissimo Chiang. It denounced American interference in China, charging the

State Department with inciting the Chungking government to make this attack on the Yenan forces.

To lend force to its position, it issues the slogan: Let Northern China Alone! It calls for the removal of American warships and marines from across Port Arthur Bay with the question: What are "our" troops and ships doing in China? It does not say a word about Russian armed forces in China. It does not say a word about Russian interests in China, except to defend them.

Here you have additional evidence of the true nature of the Communist Party in this country (which is the same as all Communist Parties in all other countries). It is carrying out Stalin's policy in this country with an apparently anti-imperialist propaganda which is really pro-Stalinist imperialism.

If the United States, Great Britain

and Russia reach an understanding in international affairs and repair their rotting relationships, the Chinese conflict will end with the same suddenness with which it began. Then, too, you will observe the American Stalinist party end its "anti-imperialist" agitation and lend full support to whatever agreement is reached between the powers, no matter how detrimental it may be for the Chinese masses.

It is now more necessary than ever to raise the cry: Hands Off China! Let the Chinese masses, the hundreds of millions of workers and peasants, decide their own fate. Oust all imperialisms from China, and that includes the Stalinist variety, too. American military forces do not belong in China. Neither do the Russian. Both violate Chinese independence and integrity.

James T. Farrell Resigns As Chairman of Civil Rights Body

(LABOR ACTION received the following letter from James T. Farrell, noted American novelist and literary critic, announcing his resignation as chairman of the Civil Rights Defense Committee which handled the celebrated "Minneapolis Case."—Ed.)

Oct. 12, 1945
New York City

George Novack, Secretary
Civil Rights Defense Committee
160 Fifth Ave.
New York City
Dear George:

With this letter, I am tendering my immediate resignation as chairman of the Civil Rights Defense Committee; however, I am not resigning from the Committee proper. I have received no communications

from the CRDC office since last January. To my knowledge, the Committee has been inactive since early in the winter of 1945, when the last of the Minneapolis defendants returned from prison. Thus, it seems to me that the CRDC has now become merely a paper organization, and that my sole remaining role as its Chairman is that of having my name on its stationery. I assume that I have performed my function as Chairman, and that there is no further work for me to do. I am, therefore, resigning.

Needless to say, I stand ready to offer any effective collaboration that I can in the event of future defense cases.
Sincerely yours,
(Signed) JAMES T. FARRELL
P.S.—I take it that copies of this letter will be sent to all members of the Committee so that they may be informed of this fact.

BUSINESS MANAGER'S PRESS ACTION BY PAUL BERN

Sunday night the New York Election Campaign Committee had the best dance and affair that we have been to in years and years. A bang-up musical show was put on entitled "On To City Hall." Fun was had by all.

I don't have space to go on and on, but there is one song from this musical that belongs in this column. It's a song dedicated to our many active, energetic LABOR ACTION boosters. Here it is:

JOHNNY PLUGALONG
Now Johnny Plugalong, is a fellow fine and strong
And a comrade good and true.
And he gives the best he has, when he's fighting for his class
He's the guy for me and you.

And whenever there is work for us to do
Our Johnny's always ready, he's the best in the crew
Selling papers
Making speeches
Fighting off the Stalin leeches
On the Picket line a wonder
Bosses fear him like the thunder

Johnny's always on the spot
Johnny's always on the dot
Johnny's giving everything he's got
CHORUS:
So here's three cheers for Johnny

Plugalong, Plugalong, Plugalong
Johnny Plugalong, Plugalong,
Plugalong, Hey
Johnny Plugalong, Plugalong
To Johnny Plugalong
We dedicate this song.
He's the best man of us all, Hey.
There is a second verse also. Soon all the songs will be compiled with the music.

One of our LABOR ACTION Johnny Plugalongs from Minnesota writes: "It is now snowing to beat hell and the wind she blows! To continue: I am being as active as I can find time to be. I mail out copies of LA. . . . During noon hours I distribute copies to miners. . . . It is almost never that I see one discarded. . . . And I talk, talk, talk, until sometimes I wonder why some of these guys don't whack me on the noggin. . . ."

Well, Johnny, we notice they not only don't whack you on the noggin but that they do buy subscriptions from you.

This week we received 51 new subscriptions.
As you can see lack of space prevents us from printing the entire list.

NOW ABOUT SUBSCRIBING NOW? HOW ABOUT EACH WORKERS PARTY MEMBER SENDING US A NEW SUB A WEEK.
LABOR ACTION must grow and expand. Help us! Use the form printed below.

LABOR ACTION 114 West 14th Street, New York 11, N. Y. SUBSCRIBE NOW TO LABOR ACTION

DETROIT WORKERS PARTY FORUMS ANNIVERSARY OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION Speaker: Stanley Grey SUNDAY, NOV. 11, 8:30 P. M.

CHICAGO FORUM: "SOME LESSONS OF THE 1917 RUSSIAN REVOLUTION" Speaker: R. L. Ferguson Organizer, Chicago Branch Workers Party WEDNESDAY, NOV. 7, 8:30 P. M.

AN ANALYSIS OF THE DETROIT ELECTIONS Speaker: Martin Harvey SUNDAY, NOV. 18, 8:30 P. M. LABOR ACTION HALL 3773 GRATIOT AT MT. ELLIOTT

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

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Editorials

The Elections in France

The elections in France contained few if any surprises. General Charles de Gaulle was called the victor by the capitalist press because the electorate voted for a new constitution which would inaugurate the Fourth Republic and decided that the new Assembly shall last for only seven months to draft the new constitution.

On the other hand, the election of deputies to the Assembly recorded that the Communist Party of France has become the largest single party in the country, followed closely by the Socialist Party and the Catholic Movement Républicain Populaire.

The old parties of France are dead. These organizations sought to prop up a tottering empire, a third-class power which lived in the past and sought to solve the insoluble problems of a decaying capitalism by playing the game with the fascist reaction of Doumergue, Laval and Pétain.

The Radical Socialist Party (neither radical nor socialist) of France was practically wiped out in this election. But its fate was sealed even before the war began when, as Trotsky once wrote, "Like the camel under its driver's whip, Radicalism gets down on its four knees to let capitalist reaction sit between its humps."

Those parties which survived the holocaust of the war and the triumph of reactionary fascism expressed through military defeat and German occupation, were those parties which maintained a consistent and persistent struggle against the foreign oppressor and the native fascist. In one sense it is possible to say that all three parties which gained so heavily in the elections were new.

Of course there is a definite continuity in the CP, SP and MRP. But they are new in the sense that during the years of occupation and since, they have been forced more and more to reflect in their demands the deepest desires of the French masses for social change.

WHAT PARTIES STAND FOR

They demand nationalization of the important monopolistic enterprises. They call for a rising standard of living for the masses and for a general improvement of the lot of the poor. They give voice to the need for "social change." But none of these parties means anything it says. The Socialist Party has not changed its fundamental program of reform and gradualism at a time when the decay of French capitalism cries out for drastic measures to ameliorate the conditions of life of the French people.

the SP calls for a "Western bloc" of capitalist imperialism against the aspirations of Stalinist imperialism.

The MRP is, of course, a "radical" capitalist party, the broad base for de Gaulle's power. To expect any serious aid to the masses from them is to live in a past that can never be revived.

The biggest danger to the French masses, to progressive, revolutionary and socialist thought and practice, is the Stalinist party of France, which is nothing more nor less than an agent of the Russian ruling class. Its policies and activities are dictated in the Kremlin. Its program for France arises directly from the needs of Russian foreign policy. It is Stalin's French battalion. Its present radicalism is dictated by the necessity of barring any anti-Russian policy by whatever new government takes over in France.

None of the parties which won in the elections can rule the country. This fact denotes the impasse of French society. France is really at a crossroads. The country is poverty-stricken; its economy is completely disrupted. Industries are destroyed; transportation is in a state of chaos; agriculture has suffered, the ravages of war.

FRENCH CRISIS VERY ACUTE

It will be impossible in a world that is in decay to revise the French capitalist economy to bring relief to the exploited and suffering masses. Only one solution remains: a fundamental social change, the abolition of the capitalist social order and the establishment of a workers' government, the building of a socialist economy which would give a tremendous impulsion to the socialist revolution on the whole European continent.

This cannot be achieved by a Blum-Thorez government, that is, a Socialist-Communist régime. Such a régime could only mean the rule of France by Stalinism, which would control the means of propaganda, justice and police to begin a reign of terror against all revolutionary elements in the country.

The great issue in France at this moment is the nationalization of the means of production, to take them from the hands of a small group of capitalist usurers who have brought France and the French people to disaster. The great need is workers' control of production and a workers' government to rule the nation in the interests of the masses.

To supplement this great need and great aspiration of the French people, it is necessary to demand independence for the French colonies which the French ruling classes are fighting so desperately to retain in order to continue to soak up profits from the millions of colonial peoples they exploit.

Above all, however, France needs a reorganized and revitalized labor movement. It needs a mass revolutionary socialist party of progress which can, by its will, audacity and perseverance bring about the necessary social changes which will, for the first time, achieve genuine and lasting peace, security and freedom for the people of France.

A Socialist Analysis:

GM and Theory of Wages

By ERNEST LUND

The way to increase your weekly take-home pay is to work longer hours at straight time.

This is the answer of Charles E. Wilson, president of the billion-dollar General Motors Corporation, to the demand of the United Automobile Workers that hourly wages be increased by thirty per cent to maintain the workers' weekly take-home pay.

The scheme which this clever capitalist shark has cooked up is designed to meet the demand of the workers that the weekly take-home pay enjoyed during the war on the basis of forty-eight hours, with time and a half over forty hours, be maintained.

The GM scheme is that workers maintain their wartime take-home pay by accepting only a five to eight per cent increase in hourly rates but work forty-five hours a week at straight time.

This scheme is designed to divide the ranks of the workers by appealing to the more backward of them, who understand only one thing—how much they carry home at the end of the week. These workers are the same ones who could never get enough overtime during the war and were always ready to ruin the piecework rates by turning out maximum production in an attempt to make as much as possible without a single thought about next week and next month. These are, of course, the same types who only join a union when they are driven to it, who, when they join, complain about paying dues, and who never show up at union meetings or cooperate in building the organization.

Because there still are many such workers and because this new scheme will probably become the latest propaganda weapon of big business in a nationwide campaign against a living wage, it is well that we immediately analyze the GM scheme and know the answers from labor's angle.

WHAT GM WANTS

Mr. Wilson argues as follows: "You say that you need \$45 a week take-home pay in order to live decently? Well, we agree to permit you to earn \$45 a week." The worker, however, asks: "But how many hours am I expected to work for this amount?"

"Hours?" says Mr. Wilson. "What are you worried about hours for? Did you not say you need \$45 a week to get along on? Are we not permitting you to earn this? What difference does it make whether you work a few hours more or less?"

Mr. Wilson's argument may sound ridiculous to union-conscious workers. But it does not sound ridiculous to the capitalist class. It is based upon the economic laws that govern capitalist production, which always have stacked and as long as capitalism remains always will stack the cards for capital and against labor.

In the early period of capitalism, before the existence of a powerful trade union movement, the capitalists were able to enforce their own terms upon the workers. And they did it in accordance with the point of view from which Mr. Wilson proceeds; i.e., pay the worker enough to live on and try to stretch out the hours as long as we can.

Basically, capitalism regards the worker as a machine with which to produce wealth and not as a human being. The worker is merely the motive power behind the screwdriver on a GM assembly line. If an automatic machine can be invented to tighten the same screw thousands of times a day as the worker does now, the machine will take the place of the worker. The machine would work forty-five hours or sixty hours or ninety hours without complaining.



CHARLES E. WILSON

It would simply work until it wore out or broke down.

WHAT IS LABOR

However, workers have the crazy idea that they are not machines. They think that they are human beings and entitled to the same right to live and enjoy life as the capitalist. Because of this, the workers have fought, not only for higher wages but for shorter hours. Since the birth of the labor movement the hours have, through countless strikes and struggles, been reduced from 16 a day to 14 to 12 to 10 and now to 8. Long experience has taught the worker that shorter hours are the gateway to a higher standard of living and a more dignified human existence.

As long as capitalism exists, the capitalist and the worker will never see eye to eye on this question. Regardless of what the capitalist may want to do, the laws of capitalist economy drive him to regard the worker as a wealth-producing machine. As long as workers are not slaves they will fight to live as human beings.

Capitalists do not deal with any other commodity on the same basis as they deal with the commodity called labor time or labor power. When GM contracts to use electric power, it is understood

that the cost of production of electric power is so much per kilowatt hour and that they must pay for it on the basis of the number of kilowatt hours used. GM does not say to the owners of the public utility company: "We will pay you enough weekly to live on. Why worry about how many kilowatt hours we will use?"

Let us assume that someone went to GM and asked: "At what price do you sell a car?" GM would answer: "That all depends upon how large a car you want. Obviously, we ask more for a Buick than for a Chevrolet."

Suppose the buyer answered: "If you sell a Chevrolet for so and so much, why can you not sell a Buick for the same price? After all, the Buick is only a little larger than a Chevrolet. And then I really don't see what the size of the car has to do with it. After all, a car is a car."

A man who reasoned in this manner would be regarded as a candidate for a padded cell.

CAPITAL-LABOR CONFLICT

But is not Mr. Wilson's proposition about the same? Does he not say in effect the following: "If you are willing to work forty hours for \$45, there is no logical reason why you cannot work forty-five hours for \$45. I do not really understand what the length of the work week has to do with it. We are permitting you to earn enough to live on, are we not? What have you to lose by working the extra five hours?"

No one nominates Mr. Wilson for a padded cell. On the contrary, the editors of the capitalist press and the professors of economics in the colleges will write and lecture about Mr. Wilson's brilliant grasp of economic problems.

We, also, do not nominate Mr. Wilson for a padded cell. We understand thoroughly the capitalist basis upon which he reasons. This concept of labor power as a commodity to be bought (i.e., hired) at its market value (determined mainly by the cost of living) and then worked for as long as the organized resistance of the workers permits, was long ago analyzed and explained by Karl Marx, the founder of scientific socialism.

In next week's issue we will continue the analysis of the GM scheme with particular regard to these questions: Mr. Wilson's argument for long hours and increased production as a means to raise the standard of living; the relationship between long hours and low wages and short hours and high wages; and why labor power is the only commodity that is purchased at its value (i.e., its market value as determined, roughly, by the cost of living) but from which the purchaser extracts surplus value to the degree that he is able to exploit labor power.

MARSHALL REPORT

What Kind of an Army Gen. Marshall Wants

By WALTER JASON

So General Marshall NOW blandly admits that the charges and criticisms about American tanks were correct. In addition, he now admits that two other basic items of German equipment were superior to American: one, the 88 mm. gun and the other, the smokeless, flashless powder, so vital in concealing firing positions.

The utter contempt which the brass hats have for the intelligence of the American soldier is expressed in Marshall's brazen excuse for covering up these serious deficiencies! It was necessary, says Marshall, to maintain the confidence of the American soldiers in his weapons! The German Tiger tanks were superior in duels with the Sherman tanks. All the courage in the world would not make up the difference. American soldiers were needlessly dying and they knew it. What was Marshall's solution, then? A statement of confidence in the Sherman tank issued by General George S. Patton, who, to be sure, never fought in one.

A second argument, equally false, was used by Marshall to justify the War Department's lies about the tank and other equipment: You couldn't afford to give the enemy knowledge of what weapons were doing the most damage. As though the German intelligence did not know that. As though they had not read the articles published in Stars and Stripes.

The truth of the matter is that there was only one portion of the world which did not know these ABC facts. It was the American people. And the reason the facts were suppressed from the people was to maintain the myth of brass-hat invincibility and to keep secure the prestige of the military bureaucracy.

Peacetime armies tend to have all of the vices and none of the so-called virtues of wartime armies. After all, there are more important things than Army regulations and Army red tape to dominate the life of an army in wartime. There are battles to be fought and won.

In peacetime the dead hand of routine grips the Army from top to bottom. It is the most conservative of all institutions. Armies always prepare to fight the former war. Only drastic political changes bringing sharp cleavages in the army itself provide some fresh air in this deadening atmosphere.

In the proposed American peacetime army there is lip service to technological advances which force themselves on every military system, but nothing is offered to counteract the deadly mental paralysis which is inherent in peacetime armies.

Marshall's proposal for a small professional army as the bulwark of military strength is ambiguous because the General is fishing for a bigger catch. One day the War Department says it desires an army of 400,000 and the next day the Air Corps demands 600,000 for itself alone. But more important than numbers is the kind of army!

WHAT KIND OF ARMY?

This question, the kind of army, is decisive. Already the question is answered by the present tendencies in the armed forces. Thousands of officers are seeking to remain in the Army. Why? Not because they are interested in a professional career, but because they have the softest job they ever can hope to find in their lives. The privileges of rank and lack of social responsibility have bought them body and soul. Among the handful of enlisted men rejoining the Army the same tendency is evident. The high grade non-commissioned officers are re-enlisting. The money and the petty privileges are what attract them.

The Army admits it has no attraction for the millions of citizens who served in its ranks during the past five years. Most of them hate the Army. And in this hatred of the present Army we see the kind of Army that it really is, and will be, if Marshall's proposals are adopted.

The present Army has a totalitarian régime in which the brass hats are supreme. The court-martial system and the Articles of War are the basis of a terrible system of injustice that have no place in an army claiming to serve democratic goals.

Enlisted men are guilty until proved innocent, while officers are innocent until proved guilty. For minor infractions the enlisted men obtain heavy sentences, but the officers' clique fights to defend its members, irrespective of how grave the crime of the offender.

There is no trial by jury for the enlisted men. The deadly red tape, the antiquated training, the stultifying atmosphere of garrison life—every feature of army life which the citizen-soldier found repugnant to his democratic beliefs and formed the basis for his hatred of the Army—are to be retained under the Marshall proposals.

A BUREAUCRATIC CANCER

The professional army in reality is a bureaucratic cancer eating at the democratic rights and ideals of the people and living off the fat of the land, meanwhile serving as the threat of armed force against the labor and progressive movements. Between Marshall's proposed army and a people's army, democratic in its nature as well as purpose, there is a gulf as wide as the distinction between dictatorship and democracy.

All of the speculation about atomic warfare and the insistence on an armament race are simply a reshuffle of the military propaganda used after World War I. Then it was poison gas which threatened the existence of mankind. As a matter of fact, the failure to use gas was not inspired by moral grounds, but because both the creator of Dachau and the users of the atomic bomb feared retaliation and political consequences. In the use of the atomic bomb these factors will be as decisive in the future as they were for poison gas in the past.

The American war leaders fought as long as possible against the introduction of airpower. General Billy Mitchell was even court-martialed for advocating it. The atomic bomb development was primarily a civilian project. Even now, the Army is demanding a large ground force, and the Navy a large complement of battleships and other obsolete vessels. The Air Force seeks to maintain its strength, which can be done only by keeping vast fleets of outmoded planes. In each case the impelling urge is the drive to maintain the status quo, which means plenty of rank, prestige and privileges for the incumbent bureaucracy.

The Marshall report does not dare touch on this problem, especially as it reflects itself organizationally. A unified military service is an ABC requirement. Yet the vested interests of the cliques in the Army, Navy and Air Force maneuver around this question today, not from the viewpoint of what is a military requirement, but rather, what is in their selfish interests.

(Article Three will appear next week)

Budenz Changed Faiths

Louis Budenz, topflight Communist Party leader for the past ten years, editor of the Daily Worker and president of the Freedom of the Press Co., the Daily Worker publisher, left the movement and the party of his choice to return to the Catholic Church, the "faith of his fathers." The fact that he did this without first advising his party and co-workers causes great indignation among them, but it is not out of character with Budenz.

The implications of Elizabeth Gurley Flynn's article in the Sunday Worker that Budenz may have always been a Catholic boring from within the CP or the squealing of the CP Central Committee that Browder was at fault for granting to this man responsible positions, are completely beside the point.

There are several other things of interest in the Budenz affair, but they do not concern Budenz as a person. He is what he always was, a colorless mediocrity, an ungifted writer, a theoretical and political ignoramus. But the Stalinist hacks in the CP, ten years after Budenz's bootlicking services to the Kremlin bureaucrats and their American agents, declare that the reconverted ex-editor was destined to do what he did because he was at one time a "Trotskyist," that is, a revolutionary, socialist, and that by his present action he left the labor movement.

Budenz, of course, was never a Trotskyist. He was a member of the American Workers Party, which fused with the Communist League to form the Workers Party of 1935-37. Budenz never joined the Workers Party nor did he ever show his face around the organization. Almost in the same way that he left the CP, he joined it. None of his friends was told of his conversion to Stalinism. This appeared first in the Daily Worker. Budenz and some of his friends who were in the Workers Party were thereafter given "responsible" posts in the Stalinist organization as payment for their conversion and they were used for anti-Trotskyist purposes.

For ten years Budenz loyally obeyed his masters in the CP. First he served his apprenticeship as editor of the Stalinist Midwest Labor Record and then moved up to his post as editor of the Daily Worker. The attempt on the part of Browder's successors to blame the ex-secretary of the party for Budenz's rise is merely face-saving, since

they were part and parcel of the apparatus which elevated Budenz. More than that, they were Budenz's close associates and co-workers. If in ten years of association they were unable to discover any "deviations" in Budenz, it is because there were none to discover.

Equally important in the Budenz affair is the charge that by leaving the Stalinist movement and joining the Catholic Church he departed from the labor movement. Budenz really departed the labor movement ten years ago. The Communist Party is part of the labor movement only in the sense that it has many workers in its ranks and regards the labor movement as one of its fields of operation. So far as its program, tactics and interests are concerned, it is what Trotsky rightfully called it—"the syphilis of the labor movement."

There is at least one good thing in Budenz's departure. He can't be used effectively any more from inside the labor movement to mislead the workers.

Full Employment? Only a Matter of Convenience

Senator Barkley, majority leader, commented as follows on the Murray Full-Employment Bill, after it had been amended, altered, cut up, reassembled and given a face-lifting so that everybody could agree to it without committing himself to anything. "It now guarantees everybody out of work the right to seek a job if he can find one. In other words, if it is convenient for the government to help him, it will do so." —New York Times, September 29.

Now that is really something everybody can go for. Who, especially those vacation-loving congressmen, is against convenience? Who, especially those well-salaried, expenses-paid congressmen, would deprive the worker of the "right" to look for a job? Of course, it may be tough to find one. In that case, the workers must stave around waiting for a comfortable Congress to decide whether or not it was "convenient" to do something about it.

Socialist Party Leader Backs Free Speech for Fascists

The letter below appeared in the Detroit Tribune, Michigan Negro weekly, on October 20. We reprint it here for the information of anti-fascists in every city:

To the Detroit Tribune: In your issue of Oct. 6, Mr. Judah Drob rises to defend the rights of Gerald L. K. Smith to free speech and free expression, and by implication denounces all those who picketed his meeting as "totalitarian liberals." As organizer for the Workers Party, whose Detroit branch was one of the sponsors of the Sept. 27 picket line, and whose Los Angeles branch single-handedly organized a similar action against Smith in that city, I request space in your paper to reply to this accusation.

Mr. Drob is not alone in his viewpoint. In an editorial on September 29, the Detroit News writes: "The behavior of the pickets was tarred with the mark of fascism at least as much as anything that went on inside the hall." The News, however, carries its opinions to their logical conclusion, supporting not only the right of Smith to hold his meeting but the right and duty of the police who defended him to beat two pickets into unconsciousness.

I wonder if Mr. Drob confines the defense of Smith's rights to a verbal and literary plane, or if he too condones the actions of the police. For our part, indignation and protest are justly directed not against the pickets but against Smith and against the brutality of the police.

THE AIMS OF SMITH

Gerald L. K. Smith is a fascist. He seeks by his rantings against the labor movement, against the Jews, and against the Negroes, to do in this country what Hitler did in Germany. For proof of this contention, I refer

you to the pamphlet, "The Truth About Gerald Smith," published by the Workers Party, a copy of which I enclose.

Fascism aims at the brutal wiping out of the organized labor movement and at the destruction of the democratic rights of all the people. It would no doubt be preferable if this matter could be settled by amicable round table seminars, but unfortunately for fence-straddlers whose good intentions lead them astray, it cannot.

What we must face squarely is this: a powerful fascist movement will cause violence, bloodshed, and deaths. A "live and let live" attitude toward this developing movement will not prevent or eliminate these evils but will merely permit the fascists the luxury of choosing when and under what conditions to initiate their terror.

I have no doubt in my own mind that Mr. Drob's sympathies will be extended to the victims of any such fascist movement and that his protests against its violence will be forthcoming. (In fact, he himself might be one of its victims.) But we prefer that there be no victims, or if there must, then as few as possible, and that condolences become unnecessary.

CUT OUT THE CANCER

Cancer must be cut out early or the body perishes. The time to act against the cancer of fascism is NOW when there is still time to cut it out with the least injury. That is the only way to reduce its anti-workingclass violence to a minimum. Powerful mass action today can prevent a repetition of bloody anti-Negro riots tomorrow.

Mr. Drob should know these lessons well, for he heads the Socialist Party of Michigan which was affi-

liated to the German Social Democratic Party through the Labor and Socialist International. The SPD, the socialist party of Germany, was the most powerful single party in Germany prior to the rise of Hitler. It received 9 million votes in 1928 and enrolled 900,000 members. Despite this power, precisely because it shared fundamentally the same views as Mr. Drob, it permitted the Nazi bands to rise from a fanatical handful to a dangerous army. Did its passivity and tolerance prevent violence and terror, and preserve democratic rights? The answer is now history.

One might reply: if fascism attacks us physically, we will defend ourselves, but if it confines itself to meetings, we will ignore it. But this is a strange argument. Accordingly, if I see the fascist sharpening his knife to cut my throat, I must not take up a club and knock the knife from his hand; but once the knife is whetted and is on its way to my heart, then I may resist.

Now! We say: Organize against fascism NOW. The way to prepare now is for the trade unions to form anti-fascist Workers Defense Guards to train and organize to protect the labor movement and all the people against fascist violence.

Finally, Mr. Drob might say: "But some people, for example the Communist Party, call all their opponents, including the Workers Party, 'fascist.' Must I then support any violent measure that they may initiate against these opponents?"

My answer is simple. The Communist Party lies.

BEN HALL 3773 Gratiot Detroit 7, Mich.

Joblessness: Prospects for Next Year

By Henry Barnes

The question facing every working man and woman today is: "Will I have a job tomorrow? Will I have a job next month? Will I have a job next year?" This is the question facing those workers still employed, those who have recently been laid off and those who have been in the armed services and are now returning home.

Capitalist economists are unable to agree on any answer to this question. Federal authorities estimate five million unemployed by January and eight million by April. Senator Kilgore predicts that the figure will come closer to nine million, and Sidney Hillman thinks it will be ten million.

In a recent article in The New Republic, William Withers analyzed the various statistics and concluded that there will be twelve and a half million jobless next fall and possibly eighteen million later on. None of these figures is reassuring to the workers.

Class-conscious workers know, of course, that only socialism can guarantee a job and a living wage to every worker. Capitalism finds itself not only unable to guarantee full employment but also unable even to estimate the number of jobs and the number of unemployed.

CEC JUGGLES FIGURES

Optimistic predictions that there will be only a few workers unemployed, such as the figures issued by the Committee on Economic Development, are based on two fallacies: (1) The figures showing the number of workers in the labor force requiring jobs is artificially slashed; and (2) the number of jobs to be available in the next year is bloated beyond reason without even paying honest attention to the statistics used.

In computing the number of workers requiring jobs, the CED has set up several categories of workers whom it claims are not a part of the labor force and therefore, even if they do not have jobs, they are not unemployed because they shouldn't be working (according to the CED).

The Committee on Economic Development discards one group of six million workers in this manner by labeling them as "extra workers," persons who swelled the labor force during the war but who now (according to the CED) must return to their idleness. Included in this group are 2.8 million teen-agers, who are SUPPOSED TO go back to school and will therefore not be on the labor market; 1.5 million elderly and semi-disabled men who are SUPPOSED TO retire and will therefore not be on the labor market; and 1.5 million women over thirty-five who are SUPPOSED TO go back to their kitchens and will therefore not be on the labor market.

If some of the 2.8 million teen-agers who worked during the war (many of whom are no longer teen-agers) are either unable or unwilling to go back to school, and they cannot find jobs, they are not unemployed according to the CED because they are not a part of the labor force as decreed by the CED.

The CED discards another group of two and a half million workers by calling them part of the normal "labor float." This group includes workers who are shifting jobs, taking vacations, etc. In computing the number of jobs required for full employment in this country, the CED deducts two and a half million for those workers who are in the "labor float." The CED forgets that in order for two and a half million workers to shift jobs there must be two and a half million jobs for them to shift to.

WHERE THE FALLACY LIES

In 1943 there were fifty-five million workers in the civilian labor force and eleven million in the armed services. The total full employment labor force was therefore sixty-six million workers. The Committee on Economic Development says (1) that the six million "extra" workers MUST return to their former idleness; (2) that three and a half million men will still be in the armed services next fall (Didn't General MacArthur say that all draftees in the Pacific would be out of the Army by next March, that only the regular Army would remain?) and (3) that two and a half million workers will be in a "normal labor float" shifting jobs and it will not be necessary to have jobs for them. Thus, the CED concludes, there must be only fifty-four million jobs available in order for there to be full employment.

The fallacy is obvious. Not all the "extra" workers are going to return to their former idleness. William Withers in The New Republic estimates that nearly two-thirds of them will continue working. There must be two and a half million jobs available for those in the "labor float" shifting jobs to shift to. So even if there are still two and a half million men in uniform next September, over sixty million jobs will be needed before there can be full employment.

Can private enterprise provide sixty million jobs? The answer is no. Even capitalist spokesmen like the CED admit that private enterprise can supply no more than 53.5 million jobs and in arriving at that figure they completely ignore the statement of Morris Livingstone of the Department of Commerce that six million war jobs will not be converted to civilian production, even though they are using Department of Commerce statistics. In other words, six million of the jobs at which fifty-five million civilian workers were employed in 1943 will just vanish. Furthermore, in reply to a questionnaire circulated by the Department of Commerce, manufacturing employers stated they planned to employ three million fewer workers in 1946 than in 1943. There remains a maximum of forty-six million jobs available.

PRIVATE ENTERPRISE MEANS JOBLESSNESS

In other words, fourteen million workers, and possibly more, can look forward to unemployment in the coming year. Why? When we were producing for war, there were jobs for all. Why cannot there be jobs for all during peacetime? Over fourteen million men out of work does not mean that there are too many electric refrigerators, radios and cars, or even too much food and clothing. Then why cannot these workers be employed producing additional refrigerators, radios, clothing and other things which we need and want?

The answer is capitalism. Capitalism is in the game of production for profit and not for use. Production goes on if it is profitable. It ceases if profits are not guaranteed. Jobs? They, too, depend on profits. The life of the worker and his family in this social order depend upon the willingness of the capitalist to produce and keep factories open.

NEXT WEEK:

WHAT SOCIALISM MEANS

By Max Shachtman

AN ANALYSIS OF PROFITS

By Walter Weiss

THE HERITAGE OF DEBS

By Henry Salter

27th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution

What Russian Workers Did in 1917

By STEVEN PARKER

On November 7, 1917, one of the great historic events of mankind took place—the Russian Revolution. The oppressed workers, peasants and soldiers, under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, overthrew the capitalist government of Kerensky and instituted the rule of the Soviets, the councils of workers, soldiers and peasants.

Not since the great French Revolution had society experienced such an upheaval. Where the French Revolution shook the very foundations of feudal society, the Russian Revolution shook the very foundation of modern capitalist society. In the hearts and minds of exploiters, capitalists, landlords and militarists the world over, there was fear that the day of their rule had come to an end. In the hearts and minds of the



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working class there was hope—hope that the era of capitalist exploitation was finished.

The revolution provided the living proof that the working class could win state power, and establish a state based on socialist principles. It was an ever-present refutation to the faint-hearted, to the cynical, to the reformists, who cried and whined that the working class was weak, powerless, undeveloped and that its only opportunity of bettering its position in society lay in supporting the more progressive section of the capitalist class, the class enemy.

THE GREAT PROBLEMS

The Russian Bolsheviks saw clearly the problems of society. Either the working class established the rule of the Soviets, or else Russia was doomed to go back to the rule of black reaction, of the Czar, of pogroms, of ignorance, illiteracy and ac-

tual starvation. To their undying credit and glory, they acted boldly and audaciously and they established the workers' state.

Russia was one of the most backward nations in the world. Somewhere in the forward march of history it had been left behind. The feudal remnants were powerful in Russia. The overwhelming majority of the people were peasants, not far removed from serfdom. The Czar and his corrupt hangers-on, the nobility, and the landlords lived lavishly, while the great mass of people lived under conditions of the most abject poverty.

The capitalist class was weak and tied to foreign imperialisms. It had thoroughly demonstrated its inability to solve the problems of Russia. It could not and would not give land to the peasants. It could not and would not give democracy and freedom to the people. It could not and would not separate the church from the state. It could not and would not give freedom to the cultural aspirations of the many different nationalities that made up the prison that was Czarist Russia. In other words, it was incapable of solving the problem of the capitalist bourgeois revolution. It was the prisoner of both the feudal nobility and foreign imperialism.

WEAKNESS OF REFORM

In the two revolutions that preceded the Bolshevik Revolution of November, 1917, the new capitalist class had displayed its impotence. In 1905 the mass of people had arisen against the Czar and for freedom. They had organized soviets and demanded basic reforms in the structure of Russia. But the capitalists did nothing, the Czar made a few concessions and in a short time his power was returned and social conditions became worse than ever.

Again in February, 1917, the war-weary masses arose. Russia had suffered enormous casualties in the war. The people were sent out, ill-clad, unarmed, like unwanted cattle, to die in a futile, senseless war. Russia suffered greater casualties than any other country on the side of the Allies. The entire economy of the country was disorganized.

The provisional government that was set up after the February upheaval enjoyed the confidence of the people. But by its actions it soon lost the confidence of the people and became more and more openly the in-

strument of reaction. The government was headed by Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries. These were socialist parties, but their theory was that Russia was not as yet ready for socialism.

Their theory was that first in Russia, the development of a capitalist class was required. In practice, as each issue arose, they adopted the solutions of capitalism and not the needs of the people. The government that had been established with a strong socialist coloration became more and more the property of the capitalist class and had the Bolsheviks not seized power this situation would have led inevitably to the rule of Kornilov (a most reactionary militarist). In August of 1917 Kornilov did try to smash the government and it was only the efforts of the Bolsheviks that halted him.

WHAT BOLSHEVISM STOOD FOR

Against the efforts of Kerensky & Co., the Bolsheviks, led by Lenin and Trotsky, presented their program for the solution to the crisis. The masses wanted an end to the war. Kerensky, acting in the interests of Allied imperialism, wanted the continuation of the war. To the demands of the people for peace, he countered with empty mouthings of "obligations," "our glorious allies," "the Huns" and "our glorious motherland."

The Bolsheviks presented their demands with the utmost simplicity. "What is it that the masses want?" they asked. It could be summed up in the following words: land, peace and bread. It was something that every worker, peasant and soldier could understand.

To the soldier the Bolsheviks said: "We are for the immediate end of the war. We want a peace without indemnities, without annexations and with the rights of all peoples to self-determination." Let the Allied imperialists, who are today destroying the workers and suppressing the demands of the people for independence, who demand reparations and would bleed the peoples of the world for years to pay for the imperialist war, answer this most democratic demand of the Bolsheviks.

To the peasants the Bolsheviks said, seize the land. This act was a hundred years belated. They said that the provisional government will not do this for you. Only the rule of the Soviets will guarantee your ownership of the land.

To the workers they said, discredited capitalism cannot develop any further our economy. The ownership of the means of production, of the shops, banks, mines and transport system must be transferred to the working class.

This program won the support of the masses. Kerensky was left with only the capitalist class to rely on. To realize this program the Soviets assumed the full power.

FOR A WORLD OCTOBER

The Socialist Revolution, the rule of the working class, was a fact.

Much has been written about the violence of the Bolsheviks. The truth is that very few revolutions in history were accompanied by so little violence. Strange are these charges in the lips of those who had no com-



LEON D. TROTSKY

punction at all in sending Russians by the millions into the carnage of the imperialist war. There was so little violence because the heart and soul of the Russian workers were behind the Bolsheviks.

Much has happened since the great days of the Revolution. With Russia isolated and weary, power was seized by Stalinism and the great accomplishments of the Revolution destroyed.

But neither Stalinism nor capitalism can besmirch the great ideals and teachings of the Revolution. The working class did reach power. It was able to maintain the power. And workers will always know that if it was possible for the working class of Russia, one of the most backward countries, to establish a workers' state, then how easy it will be for the workers in more advanced countries to do the same thing.

Behind the Demobilization Slow-Down

By JOE LEONARD

The Navy's fleet is exhibited in New York harbor, while the men overseas are told they must wait their return home due to shipping shortages. Ship owners testify that they are sometimes ordered to sail from foreign ports without troops they could easily carry home. And there is evidence that these same ship owners do a little dirty work on their own, sidetracking ships into profitable commercial voyages instead of military transport.

Here at home where we are closer to it we see the same sort of monkey business even more clearly. Letters from servicemen and from their families pour into Congress protesting thousands of cases of discharges being held up. Men with points to spare, men over-age, men who are waiting around in camps with nothing to do. Soldiers and sailors who did their share and more are being

given the run-around instead of discharges. What is the matter? What's behind the stalling by the military bosses?

PREPAREDNESS FOR WAR

Some people think the generals and admirals are reluctant to release the servicemen because they want to keep their jobs. But the bureaucrats of many civilian wartime agencies did themselves out of jobs without any delay. No, the reason for refusal to release servicemen with all possible speed is more ominous. They are preparing already for another war! Not just the brass hats, but the whole Administration and a large section of Congress are committed to a policy of "preparedness."

It's not that they expect to keep the present servicemen in to fight again. The next war probably won't break out THAT soon. But the slower the rate of discharges, the greater the number of men who will always be in uniform, because con-

scription keeps bringing men in. The government wants to maintain a large standing Army and Navy because it is planning for another war. It does not want to let the number of men in uniform get below four million because it knows the American people will not tolerate building up such a war machine again, once the demobilization continues below that figure.

The plan originally announced called for releasing seven and a half million men in eighteen months, and conscription was to continue indefinitely at the rate of 50,000 a month. This would mean a military force of four and a half million men after eighteen months, nearly twice as many men as were in service BEFORE the armistice in 1918. Maj.-Gen. Anderson, Assistant Chief of Air Staff, announced that at least a million men would be kept in the air force alone.

(Article Two will appear next week)

SKF Picket Line Holds Firm --

(Continued from page 1)

CIO union at New York Shipyard in Camden.

2000 PICKETERS

Hardly had the cheering for this demonstration of working class solidarity died down, when another storm of cheering broke out as the banners of Local 42, Cramp Shipyard workers came into sight. Numbering another hundred, they too, marched into the lines where they were soon joined by delegations from the UAW, UE Transport Workers Union, Hosiery, Baldwin Steel, NMU and a number of others.

Shortly after 8 a.m., a company official drove up and demanded that

the police clear a way through the picket lines. As the police inspector gave the signal for the attempt to hack through the massed lines, the line gave slightly for a second under the impact of bodies and swinging clubs, then, like a giant sling-shot, snapped back, sending dozens of cops flying into the street.

The cops made two further attempts to break through and gave up finally when enraged pickets started joggling one of the bosses' cars up and down, which led to his hasty withdrawal from the scene.

INJUNCTION SOUGHT

The company ordered the cops to break through the lines again the

next day, but this time the picket lines were even larger than the day before, numbering over 2000, and they gave up after one attempt. Most of the CIO unions on the scene doubled their numbers on this day, especially the shipyard workers from Locals 1 and 2.

Their color and fighting spirit gave a real lift to the spirits of the strikers. As the week ended lines were still solid. Where there had been several victims of violence on Oct. 23, there was only one injured on the 24th, Irving Fleet, a steward of 2898.

However, the company's lust for blood has not been satisfied and it has asked for a court injunction against mass picketing. It has been

rumored that granting of the injunction, expected Monday, will bring mounted police to the SKF gates to institute a campaign of violence to break the union.

The company has also filed suit for two million dollars against the Union, charging interference with normal conduct of their business (millions in profits) by the union.

It is interesting to note, that despite PAC endorsement of the slate of Democratic Party candidates in the local elections, that Party has not issued one statement in support of the steelworkers. For that kind of support, the steelworkers and all workers will have to build a Labor Party and build it soon.

Iron Range and the Labor Party --

(Continued from page 1)

the coal miners won their \$1.37 a day pay increase earlier in the year, the price of coal has risen at least twice—and the burden has fallen on the workers.

The CIO-PAC and the National Citizens PAC have spent millions of dollars and marshalled millions of labor votes—for the benefit of the twin darlings of Wall Street, the Republican and Democratic Parties. Electing eighty-eight representatives, twelve U. S. senators and a President in '44 almost got labor, from Democrats and Republicans both, a Hitler-like labor draft. Now these same "friends of labor" make billion-dollar nestegs for the corporations in the form of tax cuts, tax refunds, guaranteed profits and other devices. At

the same time they castigate the workers as bums and loafers for demanding \$25 unemployment pay for twenty-six weeks and condemn millions of workers to starvation wages, unemployment and breadlines.

The new formula that is necessary is an independent Labor Party. Labor can no longer fight the union-busting corporations and their political reserves without its own independent political instrument. Every company-provoked strike staged by the unions is weakened or completely broken by open government intervention. Classical examples of how the vast political power of government is used to break strikes and hold down the living standards of the workers are the recent CIO Rubber Workers' strike at Akron, the truck drivers'

strike at Chicago and the CIO Oil Workers strike.

In each of these cases the federal agencies stepped in on the side of the companies, "seized" the struck properties, then ordered the workers back to work at the same rotten wages and conditions. To meet that government-big business assault, labor must organize a Labor Party, nominate and elect its own candidates to office and thus establish a workers' government in the United States. Then, and only then, can the banks, the mines, heavy industry, chain stores, transportation and the public utility giants be nationalized. This step is the key to the job security, real pensions, guaranteed wages, 30-hour week, etc., that labor can and must have in this production para-

dise.

In order to apply this new formula of an independent Labor Party, Minnesota miners, together with the long-suffering workers everywhere, must get into motion. They must agitate in their local unions for an independent political arm for labor. They must point out how ridiculous it is for labor to go on tossing its thirty-odd million votes away to company candidates when the votes could be used to nominate and elect genuine labor candidates to every office in the land. They must fight for the conversion of the CIO Political Action Committee into a real Labor Party. The alternative is a military dictatorship, fascism, destruction of trade unions in the United States. It happened in Germany, Italy, Japan...

Mixed Troops: Got Along OK In Infantry

By Eleanor Mason

A decisive affirmative answer to the question of the ability of Negroes and whites to get along was given in a long-suppressed report, only recently made available, on the conduct of Negroes in mixed infantry divisions which Lieut.-Gen. Brehon Somervell presented to the War Department. The report details the excellent record of Negro soldiers who lived, played, fought and died with their fellow white soldiers.

The findings of the Somervell report bear out the contention that Negro and white can get along well once outside divisive influences are eliminated. This, of course, has been amply demonstrated in the factories and in the unions.

THE SUPPRESSED REPORT

Based on official army interviews with white officers and men in seven infantry divisions with volunteer Negro platoons, the report of Somervell's information and education division tells of the excellent performance of the Negro soldiers in combat and their acceptance as equals by white soldiers. Two hundred and fifty personal interviews and 1,700 unsigned filled-out questionnaires were the basis for the report. Most of the men stated that originally they had been apprehensive about associating with Negroes. After they had served in combat together with the Negroes, however, three-fourths of the men declared their attitude had changed. Since most of the men in two of the divisions were Southerners, the Negroes had to surmount deep-seated prejudice. They did so easily once the whites got to know them and saw they were made of the same stuff as themselves.

The results of this modest experiment of mixed groups were suppressed on Somervell's recommendation. Why? Because the brass hats cannot permit the circulation of the most elementary truths that blast Jim Crow. The fact that they found a new source of supply for their war machine was not sufficient reason for them to allow the report's publication and use by progressive anti-Jim Crow forces as further proof of the equality of Negroes and whites.

The Army brass hats and the government found it extremely feasible to set up these mixed groups. When the necessities of their war demanded it, they encouraged amity between Negro and white. Their primary concern was to improve the fighting strength of their army in the imperialist war. In part, too, the War Department acted in response to the pressure of Negroes and progressives, who demanded the complete elimination of Jim Crow from the Army. But even this experiment called for all-Negro platoons in the midst of white divisions. The Army did not actually abolish Jim Crow. This trial plan was conducted mainly to find a new supply of good fighting men.

WHAT WAS PROVED

LABOR ACTION, as its readers well know, is not interested in finding soldiers for the boss Army. We opposed the war and consistently fought for all labor—Negro and white—against the war profiteers. We hammered away at the Jim Crow policies of the armed forces. We pointed out that they were a continuation of Jim Crow at home. However, once the Negro was drafted into the bosses' Army, we demanded the same rights for him as for the white soldier, insisting that he be given equal standing and not be thrown all the dirty work.

This report's findings answer the race-haters and the race-baiters, the Gerald Smiths and the Rankins and the Bilbos. It demonstrates that given equal opportunity the Negro turns in the same record as the white and affords additional ammunition in the struggle of white worker and Negro to end Jim Crow and discrimination. With this understanding both can work and fight together in a real war—in the war for freedom and labor's emancipation.

Gannett Fomenting Picket-Line Violence

Labor is emerging in this post-war period as a combination of bogeyman, big bad wolf and general scapegoat. According to Victor Riesel of the New York Post, the police department of one Western city is taking the current strike wave as a personal insult. The police chief has added a "riot control" course to the police school curriculum, probably motivated by hallucinations of the Red flag being implanted on the City Hall by tough CIOers who once turned out Flying Fortresses.

The course merely contains simple instructions on how to shoot into crowds when the strikers get rough, how to handle a picket line and how to toss tear gas grenades.

The fear of the recent strikes, from which violence on the part of the strikers has been noticeably missing, is characteristic of a hysteria which is not quite unspired. Much of it is planned and created by propaganda agencies of the powerful capitalist parties—Republican and Democratic alike.

This is no minor effort. Recently thousands of big business executives found in their mail a slick, illustrated thirty-two-page magazine called "America's Future." It was published by Frank Gannett's Committee for Constitutional Government, the country's biggest propaganda agency, financed by Republicans. Practically every other page, and the cover, carried photographs of picket-line violence illustrating a series of anti-union articles with titles such as "A Blueprint for Revolution," "Labor's Middlemen," "The Right to Work," "Why Shop Papers Are Red," etc. These pictures were discovered by Riesel to be five-year-old pre-war vintage stills of the CIO strike at Ford's River Rouge plant.

Gannett's publicity men simply filled the magazine with these pictures without bothering to report the time and place of action. Since they showed pickets wearing United Automobile Workers (CIO) caps, the impression conveyed was that these were shots of the "big trouble" in Detroit several weeks ago.

One of the pictures shows CIO pickets thumbing their noses at some one. The Gannett caption reports this as an instance of "defiance of the law," implying the nose-thumbing was aimed at police. A check of the original photos disclosed that the CIO was ridiculing AFL workers who were crossing the picket line.

Gannett's committee further recommends that readers "urge local law enforcement officers to uphold the constitutional right to work and to suppress strike lawlessness without calling on the federal government. Tell them you will protect them from political reprisals. Tell lawless labor organizers you will do your sworn duty." LABOR ACTION calls attention to this vicious action of the Republicans. At the same time we hold no brief for the Democratic Party or any other elements of capitalist politics which only serve the interests of big business. Labor has the potential strength to become the overwhelming political force in this country today. It should therefore organize its own independent working class party to preserve and guard its rights and gains and eventually to form a workers' state.