



GM PROGRAM ELECTS REUTHER!

Attlee Offer To Indians Is a Fraud!

By HENRY JUDD

So India is to be free! What better news could there be for those who have asked for this for many years? No fuss, no feathers, no trouble, no rioting or bloodshed—India is to be free, and it doesn't even have to remain in the British Empire if it doesn't care to. It's all too wonderful for words, and we have the personal guarantee of Mr. Attlee (he's the Prime Minister of England, you know, and a very important man) to this effect. Why, said Mr. Attlee, only last week—we know that the people of India want their independence and we're for it! They don't have to fight for it—here it is, just take it.

It reminds us of the time Sadsack was "invited" into the Officers' Club. He wound up cleaning the latrine. And so with Mr. Attlee's latest announcement to the people of India; the greatest skepticism and caution must be maintained. For 200 years blood has flowed at every attempt of the Indian people to claim their freedom. A phoney declaration doesn't wipe out history. What is it really all about?

WHAT'S THE HITCH?

Are we to believe that suddenly, after fighting with violent might and main, the imperialists of Great Britain are turning loose their precious possession—the wealth, resources, labor and sweat of this nation of 400,000,000 people? And the capitalists of England—those men with their huge investments in Indian plantations, commerce, factories and mines, bank and transportation (valued at over \$4 billions before the war began)—are they going to turn all this over to the people of India? You must excuse us while we politely snicker.

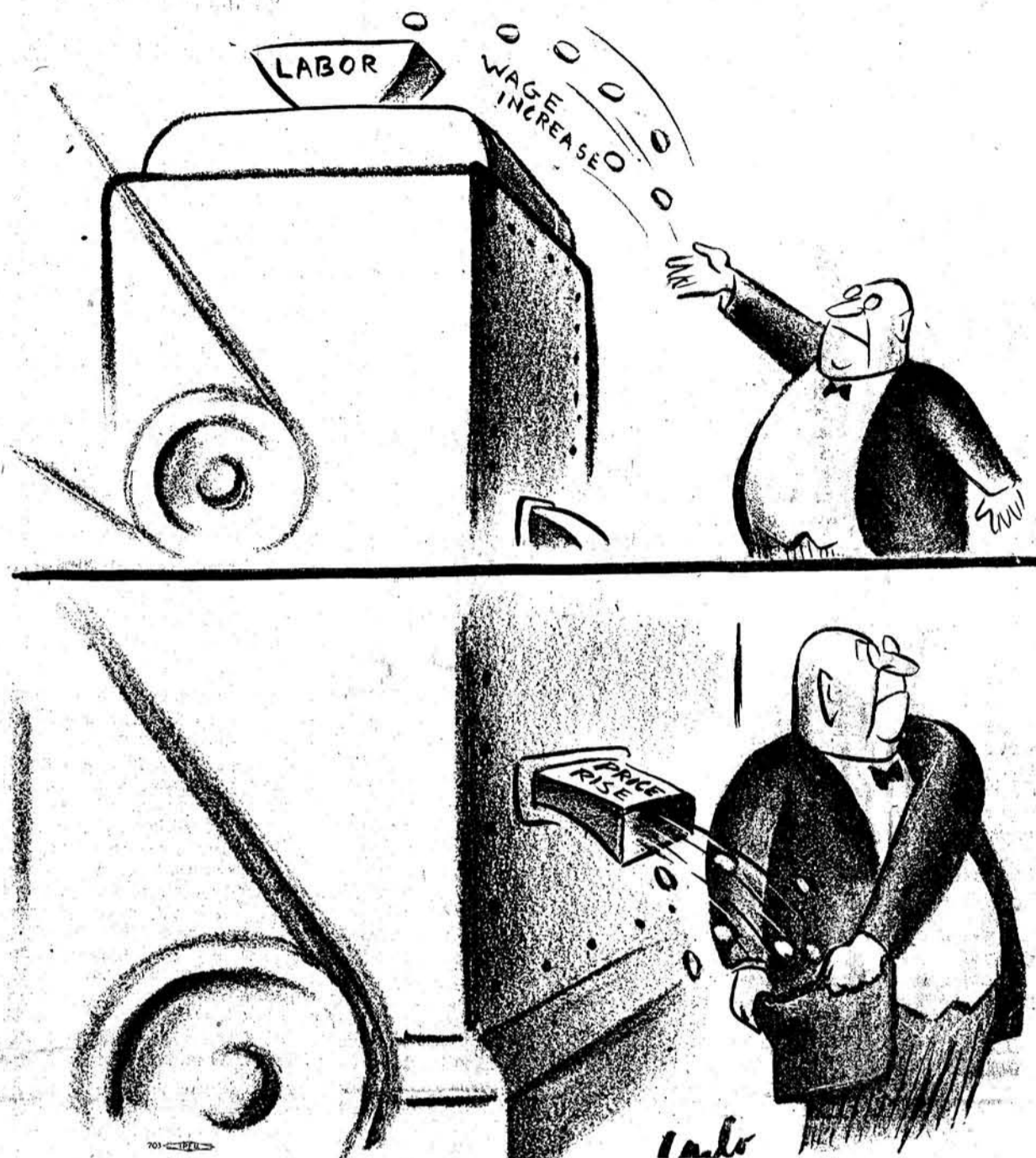
What has happened is basically nothing new. The British government has been approaching India for 30 years now with various offers, promises and fancy tales. Always with one eye on the outside world, in an effort to make a good impression, the British have sent missions by the score. The latest Cripps mission now in India has had many a predecessor. Always the story has been the same—so many strings were attached to the "offer" that not a one was acceptable. There is little or no reason as yet to think the present mission comes in any different spirit, or with any less strings attached to it than previous ones.

But, hasn't Attlee gone further than other Prime Ministers in his House of Commons statement? Didn't he talk about complete independence this time? Let's hold on—not quite!

He made this "offer" with the basic stipulation that all Indians and their parties must get together and agree on the form and content of a new constitution. If they don't, or cannot, then it's no soap. This is EXACTLY the condition laid down by every other British government. And who is to decide whether the Indians have gotten together? Why, Mr. Attlee and

(Continued on page 3)

Reconversion!



Petition Nuremberg Court to Investigate Stalin Frame-Up Charges Against Trotsky

More than a hundred American writers, trade unionists, clergymen, professors and political figures, among them Max Shachtman, national secretary of the Workers Party, this week addressed a cablegram to Chief Justice Sir Geoffrey Lawrence of the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg, Germany, petitioning for an investigation of the charges made against Leon Trotsky and Leon Sedov in the infamous Trials of 1936-1938.

The signers of the petition, with titles for identification only, include Matthew Woll, vice-president of the AFL, Norman Thomas, Socialist Party leader, Powers Haggood of the CIO, Frank Crosswaith of the Negro Labor Council, A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, Leon Nelson, of the Knit-goods Workers Union, Israel Feinberg of New York Joint Board, ILGWU,

Msg. L. G. Ligutti, Des Moines, Dorothy Thompson, Oswald Garrison Villard, James T. Farrell, Edmund Wilson, Louis P. Goldberg, Councilman, New York City and Harry D. Glendon, president of Brooklyn College.

Cabling of the petition was announced on March 26 as the Nuremberg Court continued its examination of Rudolf Hess, who is alleged by Moscow to have been Nazi contact-man with the murdered revolutionist, Leon Trotsky, in the period before Stalin signed his pact with Hitler.

A similar petition, initiated by the British Trotskyists, was recently addressed to Sir Geoffrey Lawrence by a group of men and women prominent in British letters and socialist activities. The best known of these is H. G. Wells, famous novelist and historian. LABOR ACTION reported

the text of this petition week before last.

LABOR ACTION, in giving its wholehearted support to bringing this issue before the Nuremberg Court is sure that any objective investigation of its alleged conspiracy will clearly establish the Moscow Trials as a gigantic frame-up, and once again pin the murderer's label on Stalin. The truth or falsity of these charges is of more than historic importance. Involved are not only Trotsky, but virtually every Old Bolshevik, the men who with Lenin and Trotsky led the Russian workers to victory and who were framed by the Stalinist Dictatorship in its destruction of the great revolution of 1917.

The charges against Trotsky and the Old Bolsheviks, such as Zinoviev, Bukharin and Kameney, have already been exploded. After his conviction in absentia, Trotsky was assassinated

ATLANTIC CITY, March 27 (By Phone)—At 4:15 p.m. today, Secretary-Treasurer Addes, as chairman of the convention, introduced Walter Reuther as the new president of the UAW-CIO. Reuther was elected by a comfortable majority. Reuther spoke, pledging himself to unifying the organization. In a speech after the election, Thomas repudiated his charge that Reuther was seeking to lead the UAW out of the CIO.

By SUSAN GREEN

ATLANTIC CITY, March 25—When the readers of LABOR ACTION get this report, the 1700 delegates to the tenth convention of the UAW-CIO will have made their choice for president. The test came when Delegate E. Murphy, Dodge Local 3, touched off a pro-Reuther demonstration. She made a motion for a closed night session to discuss the issues involved between the rival candidates for president. For almost fifteen minutes an undoubted majority of the delegates let loose with cries for Reuther, with whistling, clapping, waving of Reuther placards.

The Murphy motion has a background. Earlier in the day Reuther issued, in leaflet form, a challenge to Thomas to debate the issues raised in the campaign at "a night session of the convention with press and public excluded so that no punches need be pulled." Thomas responded with a written rejection, also in leaflet form, calling Reuther's challenge a stunt. However, the majority of the delegates disagreed with Thomas, for a motion to table the Murphy motion was defeated. The Murphy motion would have carried had not Secretary-Treasurer Addes, chairing

Subways Run at a Profit, But Banks Want Fare Raise

NEW YORK—The bankers and real estate owners are putting up a fight to increase the New York subway fare from five to ten cents even though the revenue from the subway more than covers operating expenses. They're trying to toss the burden of the interest on bonds and amortization on the shoulders of the New York commuters. The transit statement for 1943-44 shows:

Total income	\$125,000,000
Total operating expenses	108,000,000
Profit	\$17,000,000
Debt charges	56,000,000
Deficit	\$38,000,000

Today, half of every nickel placed in the subway goes to the bankers to help pay part of the debt charge which the commuters did not incur. The rest of the debt is taken from the General Fund.

The Tammany machine politician, Mayor O'Dwyer, truly showed himself as a representative of big business and big business' party through his tax program, part of which will go for subway improvement. His program is based on a double sales tax, which falls heaviest on the worker. He has not only failed to list an increase in real estate taxes, but permits the wealthiest taxpayers to enjoy decreased federal and state real estate levies.

If real estate taxes were brought up to their full legal limit, the city would have an additional \$45,000,000 in revenue. Although the state constitution permits a \$2.00 tax on \$100 of property, the present basic tax rate is only \$1.72. In order to cover the subway debt approximately 94 cents is added, making the full rate \$2.66, as compared with \$2.75 in 1945 and \$2.89 in 1944.

the meeting, made crafty use of the rules on procedure by calling for a two-thirds instead of a majority vote.

This show of Reuther strength came after CIO President Murray, though he entered the convention hall in the company of Reuther this very morning, lavished praise on Thomas and pleaded not to "endanger the future of your own organization," bringing in, of course, the "more than a million men and women, kids, bread and butter, living standards, life." Such pleas are, from time immemorial, tantamount to support of the status quo. However, the majority of the delegates are convinced they need a change in leadership, because Reuther has shown himself to be more progressive and more aware of the needs of labor in this post-war turbulence.

IRRESPONSIBLE CHARGES

While at this writing the convention is only getting under way—the big questions of the General Motors strike, of the union-emasculating company security clauses, of the new crop of anti-labor attacks by both major parties raising the issue of independent political action, having not yet reached the floor of the convention—the fight for the presidency of the union is at its height in the corridors, in caucuses and in press conferences. The fight is not a pretty one. It smacks of the campaigns of capitalist politicians, and any fair-minded person would have to admit that the low in this respect is reached by Thomas, who is supported by the Addes-Stalinists.

At an Addes caucus last night, to which Thomas was invited, in a typically Stalinist distortion of history, Addes gave—for the benefit of first-time delegates—such a review of the UAW-CIO as to make Reuther appear as the all-time menace. On his part, Thomas, like a man made unscrupulous by his desperation, accuses Reuther of the fantastic nonsense of trying to lead the UAW-CIO into the AFL because, forsooth, he took money from Dubinsky's union in support of the GM strike. Shaken in his position, Thomas identifies himself with the CIO and shouts that the contest is not between Reuther

(Continued on page 4)

The Meaning of the Fight in the UAW

Auto Labor's Struggle for GM Strike Program

By MAX SHACHTMAN

The UAW-CIO has set the pace for the entire working class so often that it has become a commonplace to speak of it as the vanguard of the labor movement. For that reason alone, the Atlantic City convention of the auto workers' union would be an important event for every worker in the country. But the issues that confront the UAW convention this year are of a kind that give its deliberations an extraordinary importance. What it decides will shape the course of the American working class for a long time to come.

The issues before the convention are fundamental and—if you are not too frightened by the word that gives the shivers to the monopolists—revolutionary. They do not boil down to the question of who is to be elected president of the UAW, R. J. Thomas or Walter P. Reuther, although this question has its importance. They do boil down to the question which is of supreme and primary importance.

WHAT ROLE IS THE WORKING CLASS AND THE LABOR MOVEMENT TO ASSIGN ITSELF IN THE PRESENT PERIOD? WHAT IS TO BE THE MAIN AIM OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT?

The Atlantic City convention will have to deal with many questions, important ones, too, as it has in the past. It will have to deal with the question of the strike strategy recently employed against the Big Three manufacturers. But none of these questions can even approach in importance the ones indicated above.

In the all-important question, the union sees two positions. One is represented pretty consistently by such men as R. J. Thomas,

Richard Leonard and Philip Murray who has supported them, at least up to now. The other position is represented, very inconsistently, by Walter Reuther. The two positions are more or less summed up, or symbolized, by the "Ford program" on the one side, and the "GM program" on the other. The fight between the representatives of the two positions at the convention will not mean very much unless their basic significance is clearly understood.

The "Ford program," which Leonard and Thomas sought to put over, and which Reuther could not bring himself to fight openly, can be summed up in two words: company security. The very idea of "company security" is reactionary. It flies in the face of the basic principles of trade unionism—those basic principles which are so often ignored or violated by the leadership of the trade-union movement. The only real security for the companies, that is, for the big monopolists, existed when there were no unions to defend the security of the workers. The only way in which the corporations can reestablish undisturbed security for themselves is by destroying the unions. Then they can pay pretty near any wages they want, charge pretty near any prices they want, and take pretty near any profits they want. That would represent real security—for them.

We are not alone in saying that. In the statement he issued for the UAW during the strike, Walter Reuther declared on November 24 that General Motors is seeking to establish "an industrial economic dictatorship" and to conduct a "war to break the back of organized labor." The difference between us is this: we understand just what we are saying and we mean what we are saying.

For the labor movement to champion or support the idea of "company security" is utterly wrong in principle and disastrous in practice. First, the companies can be trusted to look after their own security. There is no sense in workers forming a special organization of their own, like unions, to give the companies a hand in this. Second, the idea of "company security" puts the interests and needs of the monopolists—the du Ponts, Fords and Chryslers—ahead of the interests and needs of the workers. It makes the conditions of the workers dependent upon the welfare of the monopolists. It guarantees the high profits of the monopolists as the basis, presumably, of decent wages for labor. Third, the idea means in practice (there are a thousand proofs of this) that the union is transformed from an agency of workers into a company watch-dog over the worker. Why the devil do the workers need an organization for that purpose? If we must have watchdogs, let the company hire its own and pay them out of its own treasury!

Follow the "Ford program," follow Thomas and Leonard, and you end up with a first-class disaster for the labor movement and the working class.

The "GM Program"

The "GM program"—we mean the original GM program—is something entirely different.

We of the Workers Party and of LABOR ACTION do not hesitate for a moment—quite the contrary!—to declare ourselves the enthusiastic champions of the GM program.

What did it call for? What did it mean?

It said the following tremendously important things: We, the workers, declare that the industry is easily capable of paying us a 30 per cent increase in wages. We declare further that this can be done without raising prices of automobiles and trucks. We say that wages can be raised and prices kept low without eliminating a "fair profit" for the corporation. We say, finally, that we can prove these contentions by the books of the corporation itself and we demand that these books be opened up so that the proof may be adduced.

Why were these declarations so important?

Because for the first time on such a scale the workers tied together the questions of wages, prices and profits into an inseparable whole and declared that they were ALL the concern of labor.

Because for the first time on such a scale the workers gave the monopolists a vote of non-confidence. They said: We not only do not trust you to set wage scales by yourselves, we also do not trust you to set prices for the consumers or profits for yourselves. That's our business too. And your arguments are lies because you don't show your books. Your books are our business too.

Because for the first time on such a scale the workers said that up to now their wages had been dependent upon assuring corporation profits, but from now on profits would be dependent upon first assuring the workers a decent standard of living and assuring the consumer a "fair price" instead of a steep monopolistic price for industrial products.

(Continued on page 3 of Magazine Section)

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

West Coast Longshoremens Headed for Strike

By CHISPA
SAN PEDRO, Mar. 18—22,000 Pacific Coast Longshoremens, members of the International Longshoremens and Warehousemen's Union, CIO, have voted 82 per cent in favor of a coastwise strike on or before April 1.

public, the shipowners offered an 18-cents-an-hour increase, provided a speed-up system would be instituted and a security clause be written into the contract, making the union financially responsible for all work stoppages.

marine transport workers is a step in the right direction. However, Harry Bridges and Joe Curran have so far only made unity offers which would drastically curtail the independence and fighting spirit of the Sailors Union of the Pacific and which don't even attempt to reach the East Coast Longshoremens or the waterfront teamsters.

"militant program of action." Point number one must be: UNITED ACTION OF ALL MARITIME WORKERS IN THE FIGHT AGAINST THE SHIPOWNERS!

The second point should be: no compromise of the demand for a high enough wage raise to guarantee a decent living for longshoremens and their families without overtime work.

Point number three must be: OPEN YOUR BOOKS! If you are too bankrupt to guarantee a decent living wage to your workers, the government, which has invested 90 per

AGAINST OVERTIME WORK

The longshoremens up and down the Pacific Coast are on record for the abolition of overtime work. The provisions of the existing contract for overtime pay after six hours' work and a fifty per cent differential for all night work, have neither put an end to ten-hour shifts nor provided a high enough base rate to pay a living wage for a six-hour shift.

Therefore the negotiating committee has made demands which will end ten-hour shifts completely and discourage week-end work. Whatever shipowner strategy is not directed at outright smashing of the union will be directed toward continuing and expanding overtime work.

To win these demands the longshoremens must have a militant, fighting program of action. The support of all transportation workers, particularly marine transport workers, is essential.

FOR A UNITED FIGHT

The move of the West Coast Longshoremens, the National Maritime Union, and other CIO maritime unions toward "One Big Union" for all

BULLETIN

SAN PEDRO, March 23—The West Coast Longshoremens' strike scheduled for April 1, will probably be postponed until May 6. The National Maritime Union, CIO, has asked the longshoremens to postpone their strike until after the scheduled unity convention of six CIO maritime unions and one independent union.

days, and other improved working conditions.

Negotiations over the last six months have brought continued delays, evasions and outright refusals from the Waterfront Employers Association. After the results of the overwhelming strike vote were made

Akron Notes:

AKRON, March 10—Just about two short months ago Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company was vehemently maintaining that there was a labor shortage in Akron and that therefore it was necessary that they continue the eight hour shift. Let's see how that labor shortage has manifested itself.

A committee has been set up in Akron composed of business men, labor representatives, judges, veterans' representatives, etc., for the purpose of finding jobs for 5,000 unemployed veterans. Next month they say it will be at least 6,000. Bear in mind that this figure represents only veterans. It does not take into consideration the thousands that are out of work as a result of the ending of war contracts.

Goodrich Local 5 of the URW had a meeting scheduled for Sunday, March 10, the purpose of which was to formally acquit the membership with the 18 1/2 cent settlement and get their approval. This meeting was canceled at the last minute. Many rubber workers would like to know why.

As this is written, no reason has been given publicly. But unofficial information has it that the company promised, while in Washington, to return to Akron, sit down with the Union representatives and negotiate further departmental adjustments as speedily as possible. These fine gentlemen know that the capitalist press will do a job on handling any strike that might occur now. If a strike should become necessary now, every paper in the country would sing the same song, "Goodrich gave them 18 1/2 cents, now the Union is showing its appreciation."

Sales for General Tire and Rubber Company for the past year were the highest in the history of the company, \$87,095,000, or \$13,000,000 more than last year. Get that now, \$13,000,000 more than last year. Yet when their jugglers got through with the books, they showed a profit which is \$500,457 less than the previous year. How would you like to have those boys figure YOUR income tax?

MEETING ON FRENCH CRISIS

One hundred and fifty workers gathered on Sunday, March 17, at a meeting sponsored by the New York Workers Party to celebrate the 75th anniversary of the Paris Commune.

Emanuel Garrett, editor of LABOR ACTION, paid tribute to the courageous Communards who first pointed the way for the French working class in the fight for socialism. Comrade Garrett, World War II veteran who served in France, pointed out the similarity of France's position in 1871, when the Germans at the gates of Paris were met by the resistance of the Communards, and in 1940, when the Nazis marched into Paris after the capitulation of the capitalist class. Only a new Commune could have saved France in 1940.

The political and economic position of France and the continent today was analyzed by Nathan Gould, national organizer of the Workers Party. He denounced the Communist and Socialist Party leaders in France today for failing to carry out the mandate of the French working class to take power and institute socialism in France. He saluted the Parti Communiste International (French Fourth Internationalists), who are calling for a CP-SP-CGT government in France as the only French working class party genuinely fighting for socialism.

Here's something the rubber worker should make a note of and then make use of, especially the leadership:

The companies have been making use of super-seniority wherever possible to pit the veteran against the union movement. Everyone in the union movement, veterans and non-veterans alike, is opposed to super-seniority. The beginning and the basis for the company arguments has been the decision handed down by Federal Judge Matthew T. Abruzzo of Brooklyn in a case concerning the right of a veteran to bump a non-veteran with greater seniority at the Sullivan Drydock and Repair Company. The judge ruled that he could. This sustained the unofficial position of Selective Service.

Now, however, the United States Circuit Court of Appeals has reversed the decision made by Judge Abruzzo and has ruled that the veteran has no right to bump a non-veteran who has more seniority. Now it's up to the union leadership to use that decision for the benefit of the union.

(For the information of those readers who are veterans, the writer states that he is a veteran of three and a half years himself.)

—GEORGE WHITNEY

With the Workers Party

AKRON

"The Development of American Capitalism," a new six-week class series. Albert Gates, Editor of L. A. Instructor. Tuesday evenings at 8. For information write to Bill Ford, Box 221, Akron, Ohio.

BUFFALO

HEADQUARTERS at 639 Main St.

CHICAGO

LABOR ACTION, 1703 West Madison St., Room 3, Chicago 12. Telephone: CHESAPEAKE 6798. Office Hours: 3-5:30 p.m. daily, except Sunday. Tuesday and Wednesday evenings.

DETROIT

LABOR ACTION HALL—3773 Gratiot (at Mt. Elliott). Office hours: Monday-Friday, 11 A. M. to 3 P. M.; Saturday, 1 to 5 P. M.

LOS ANGELES

Office, 127 South Broadway, Room 310. Office open daily 11 A.M. to 3 P.M. except Friday and Sunday. Open evening: Saturday 6:00-8:30.

NEWARK

LABOR ACTION HEADQUARTERS in Newark at 248 Market St.

Labor Action Hall is available to organizations for meetings. For rental terms and arrangements, write R. Shaw, Labor Action Hall, 248 Market Street, Newark, N. J.

FORUM: "The Riddle of John L. Lewis." Speaker: Jack Webb. Friday, April 5, 8:30 P. M.

NEW YORK CITY

CITY OFFICE—114 West 14th St., —open all day until 7 p.m.

Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday —open until 10 p.m.

NEW YORK WORKERS PARTY SCHOOL announces its fourth semester will begin on Tuesday night, April 16, and classes will be held on each Tuesday and Friday night until May 24.

Tuesday night at 7:30 beginning on April 16: A MATERIALIST APPROACH TO HISTORY; Instructor, Irving Howe.

Tuesday night at 9:00 beginning on April 16: SOCIAL FORCES IN AMERICAN HISTORY (from the Civil War to the present time); Instructor, V. Jensen.

Friday night at 7:30 beginning on April 19: THE NEGRO AND LABOR HISTORY; Instructor, David Coiffage. Friday night at 7:30 beginning on April 19: THE MARXIST APPROACH TO THE STATE; Instructor, Ben Walker.

Friday night at 9:00 beginning on April 19: PROBLEMS OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION; Instructor, Max Shachtman.

Friday night at 9:00 beginning on April 19: THE WORLD TODAY (all sessions will have guest lecturers).

All classes will be held at Labor Temple, 2nd Avenue and 14th Street.

Admission for the six lectures is \$1.50. Mail registrations to Local New York Workers Party, 114 West 14th Street, New York 11.

PHILADELPHIA

HEADQUARTERS, 1105 Walnut St.

SAN PEDRO

LABOR ACTION HALL, 1039 So. Meyer St.

For information of other Workers Party branches and LABOR ACTION offices, write to the National Office, 114 West 14th St., New York 11, N. Y.

Newark Rings Bell In W. P. Fund Drive

By NATHAN GOULD, National Organizer, Workers Party

Every branch of the Workers Party salutes the Newark Local. Let the Fund Drive director of the Newark Local tell you why. Comrade Shaw writes: "Enclosed you will find two checks. One of them is for \$93 and puts us over the top in our Fund Pledge. (Newark quota: \$500.) The other is for \$41.87 and represents the branch dues up to date.

"We take only a small pride in being one of the first to achieve our quota, because, to be frank with you, we had sort of expected that OUR party would not need repeated exhortations to come across. And yet that scoreboard looks so damn full of zeros and other low percentages that I feel a sense of acute embarrassment every time I read it.

"Honestly, Natie, we would much rather have been at this date the LAST branch to have fulfilled our quota than the first. I hope that by the time the next LA comes out I will have been proved a premature pessimist."

The Newark Branch, it is important to know, is one of our very youngest and, as yet—though not for long—one of the smallest branches in the country. With but nine members at the time, the campaign committee recommended a quota of \$350 for the branch. Newark rejected this—upped its quota to \$500 and pledged to raise this within one month—and from its members alone. With the drive only in its fourth week, the Newark Branch has made good its word. The entire party must take note of the exemplary participation of the Newark Branch in the Drive. The entire party must seek to emulate this splendid example.

"WE CAN'T AFFORD TO FALL DOWN"

Tom McCarthy in Boston pledges \$50 for his city and writes: "I am fully conscious of what this drive means to the party. Your correspondence made it perfectly clear and we just cannot fail to carry it through 100 per cent. Entirely too much is at stake—it involves nothing less than the future of our movement. To me, I guess to all of us, these next two years are going to be decisive ones. . . I quite agreed with you—we can't afford to fall down, even on the slightest part of it."

In a letter received from Tom this a.m., he assures us that Boston will certainly go over its \$50 quota. Tom has already collected some. Don't hang on to it, Tom, until it accumulates. Send in your collections at least once weekly. Funds must be in on Tuesday to make LABOR ACTION deadline.

As we enter the fourth week of the \$15,000 LABOR ACTION and Workers Party Expansion Drive, we have collected \$4,096.50, that is, 27 per cent of our quota. This week Louisville entered the race with a \$25 contribution toward its \$200. That cuts to six the branches which have not yet made any contributions. By the next issue one-third of the Drive period will have expired. Let's drive ahead. Keep up to and ahead of schedule.

Table with 4 columns: Branch, Quota, Contributed, Per Cent. Lists various cities and their contributions to the fund drive.

Readers of LABOR ACTION: Send your contributions for an EIGHT-PAGE LABOR ACTION to LABOR ACTION, 114 West 14th Street, New York 11, N. Y. Be a LABOR ACTION BOOSTER.

WE ARE GOING TO HAVE AN EIGHT-PAGE PAPER!

The thousands of dollars required to make this advance must come from our readers. We appeal to every reader to send us a contribution to make the expansion possible. Fill out the blank below and send it to us at once. Make all checks and money orders payable to LABOR ACTION, 114 West 14th Street, New York 11, N. Y.

Name _____ Address _____ City _____ Zone _____ State _____ Amount \$ _____

Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor . . .

Liked March 18 Issue of Paper

Dear Editor:

I received LABOR ACTION of March 18 and also March New International. Both are good. Tell the gang they never had so many readers for one copy in all their living days. Incidentally, LABOR ACTION of March 18 was a specially fine issue as to content, except that in an announcement on page 1 you say "Don't fail to MISS the next issue of LABOR ACTION." (Our faces are red—ED.) The New International contents were also highly praised.

M. S., Conn.

Gets Subs for A Workers' Paper

Dear Editor:

As you know, I am engaged in this big sub drive for LABOR AC-

TION. So far I find myself deeply interested in this type of work. But as I began to work and spend evenings at home to read, such as LABOR ACTION and socialism, I find it interesting and it brightens my mind in learning many new things I never knew before.

R. H., Reading, Pa.

The Atomic Bomb And World Politics

Dear Editor:

Enclosed you will find some material issued by the Federation of American Scientists which may be useful to you in publicizing the reactionary drive for military control of atomic research as well as the atomic bomb. In the past, LABOR ACTION and The New International have clearly indicated the impact of the atomic bomb on national politics as well as a factor in international realignments.

New International Bound Volumes

Table with 2 columns: Issue Number, Price. Lists prices for various issues of the New International.

The atomic bomb does not change the nature of the bourgeoisie nor does it require strategic changes in the party's work but I can't help but feel that the atomic bomb will be used as a cover for a flood of reactionary legislation. First on the agenda seems to be that of giving

the military control over atomic research. This not only means rapid preparation for its military use but also the stifling of all of the peaceful medical and commercial uses to which the radioactive atomic products can be put.

The tradition is against the military having such wide powers over civilian activities. An editorial on the subject and follow-up articles using the enclosed materials can be tied in with the general counter-offensive the movement must initiate for increased democratic action.

Isolated as I am, things look none too bright for the masses of the world. With hunger facing Europe and Asia, and atomic bomb warfare being prepared for the moment the thieves fall out, the revolutionary movement has its greatest task before it.

Fraternally yours,

Fred.

Six Years of the Workers Party - - Our Record of Triple Vindication

By MAX SHACHTMAN, Nat'l Secy., Workers Party

A POLITICAL party, especially a working-class party, cannot always be judged by its material successes. That standard can be applied only in the long run. If it cannot be applied at every given moment, or for every given period, it is because such a party does not always have control over the development of the working class or of the general political situation.

But a standard that can be applied to any party and in any period, is this: Was it right in its analysis of the situation, in the way it put the problems of the working class, in the course of action it proposed? Was it right in what it said and what it did, and in what it called upon others to do? Only if the answer to these questions is in the affirmative does a political party justify its existence and deserve the support of the working class. To put it differently, a party must be judged primarily on the basis of its program and of those of its deeds in carrying out the program which its strength makes practically possible.

From this standpoint, the Workers Party, which celebrates its sixth anniversary this month, can proudly record a triple vindication.

Our Vindication in World Events

Ours was the only party which, from 1939 onward, when the Second World War broke out, as well as the day after Pearl Harbor, when the United States openly entered the war, told the working class the whole truth. Ours was the only party in this country which issued an official declaration after Pearl Harbor opposing the war as a struggle between imperialists for the domination of the world. Throughout the war, week-in week-out, we continued the struggle against imperialism and its war which we proclaimed in our Anti-War Manifesto. It was not a "popular" position. The whole weight of the capitalist class and its government was against us. The trade-union officialdom fought us with even greater vigor. The well organized Communist Party machine was active all along the line in demanding our suppression and in trying to suppress us by itself. But we did not compromise an inch or for a single moment.

We said: It is an imperialist war. It is not a war against fascism or for democracy. It is not a war for national liberation or the preservation of civilization. The war will only bring us a long step closer to barbarism.

They said—all of them: the capitalists, their government, their press, their theaters and their pulpits, their labor leaders and the Communist Party—they said just the opposite.

The war is over now. We live in the imperialist "peacetime." It is much easier for everybody to see now what the war was fought for. Who was right—we or they? World events give their tragic but unmistakable answer.

Europe and Asia are in ruins. The peoples have neither freedom nor security. The plagues of the Middle Ages never brought such devastation as we see in Europe today. There is not even a sign of that "freedom from fear" about which we heard so much during the war. There is fear of death by starvation; there is fear of death in the Third World War which is already the terror of the peoples before the terror of the Second World War has been dispelled; there is fear of slavery under the yoke of imperialists armed with tanks and pistols of the secret police or those armed with blackmail food, blackmail capital and blackmail atomic bombs.

Now that the "war-loving nations" have been ground down into impotent misery, the "peace-loving nations" are sharpening their claws to get at each other's throats. Imperial England fights like a mortally wounded beast for the plunder it accumulated all over the world in centuries of rape of the peoples. Stalinist imperialism, swollen with arrogance and livid with greed, fights to snatch from the British the Empire they snatched from hundreds of millions of defenseless people. American imperialism, with the bludgeons of food and capital for "reconstruction" in each hand and a stockpile of atomic bombs at its back, fights to become the supreme master of all the peoples and governments of the earth, dictating the lives of them all, and apportioning to each what is left over from the master's table. The plundering and enslavement of the peoples is open and shameless. That is what the millions died for.

Who was right? Every parent whose home and family were ruined; every worker who gave up his rights and suspended his fight for a decent life, all the people can see the truth for themselves and say: We were deceived. They lied to us. The dead and

we who lived suffered so that imperialist rapacity might triumph. The Workers Party alone told the truth.

Our Vindication in the Labor Movement

Throughout the world, ours was the only party that said, openly and boldly and consistently: Workers, this is the war of the imperialists. It is only in the nature of things that they should fight it their way. But why do YOU have to fight their way? You have a war of your own to fight—the war for your advancement and freedom, which is the war to emancipate all those who toil and suffer. Fight it your way, by your own class strength, with your own class program and aims, under your own class leadership. You have an advantage that they can never have—you number in the millions and your rulers number only in the thousands.

We warned the working class: The capitalist class and its government will, as always, utilize the war to strengthen their position and to weaken yours. Break with their way. Adopt the social-

- In Socialist Politics
- In World Events
- In Labor Movement

ist way, which is not only the struggle for the greatest ideal in human history, but the struggle for your needs and interests now, today and tomorrow.

Throughout the war, through our press, our meetings and above all in the organizations of the workers themselves, the labor unions, our party advocated a program for adoption by the labor movement. This is not yet socialism, we said, but it corresponds to the interests of the working class as much as it does to the interests of socialism—there is no conflict there.

Our program during the war and today can be summed up in one sentence: LABOR, RELY ON YOUR OWN STRENGTH IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE YOUR OWN AIMS. We pointed out that the workers, especially in this country, are strong enough to take over the leadership of the nation. We pointed out that progress, real progress, is possible only if labor takes over the leadership of the nation and reorganizes its economic and political life in the interests of its useful citizens. Otherwise, we said continuously, there will be chaos—wild and uncontrolled chaos or "refined" capitalistically-controlled chaos.

To take over the leadership of the nation means to proclaim that we, the working class, will organize economic life in an orderly and rational way so that there is plenty for all. It means that the tremendous economic plant set in motion for wholesale destruction, be organized and utilized for the benefit of all the people. It means that the capitalist bankrupts, who have admitted their inability to provide a high and rising standard of living for all, to provide a year-round job and a minimum annual wage for all, be replaced by the working class, which has the confidence that it can accomplish such elementary aims.

The only way to achieve such a program is through independent working-class political action which aims—what else can it seriously aim at?—to establish a workers' government.

Formation of CIO-PAC

The formation of CIO-PAC is the beginning of a break with the miserable old capitalist politics inherited from the epoch of Sam Gompers and his AFL. It is not yet independent working-class political action, but it is unmistakably a move IN THAT DIRECTION. Labor, alas, still pursues capitalist politics, but the advance lies in the fact that labor is for the first time ORGANIZED FOR POLITICS AS A CLASS. There is still much work to do. It is still necessary to get the labor movement, now organized for politics as a class, to take part in politics as an INDEPENDENT class, as a class for itself, as a political power which openly lays claim to the leadership of the nation. But it is inspiring to see that the old political moorings are no longer holding labor so firmly rooted to its ineffectual place.

The demands made by many labor organizations are likewise

encouraging. The miners demanded that the industry—the industry they created and the industry they maintain—provide for them in sickness and in health. The GM workers demanded even more, much more. What the union meant by these demands, is one thing. But what these demands represent in themselves, is quite another and a much more important thing. The GM workers said: We, labor, declare that this industry can provide a higher living standard for us without increasing the price of automobiles to the consumer, and without even wiping out a "fair profit" to the corporation. They said further: We don't take your word for anything any longer. Open your books and we'll prove that our demands can be met.—No wonder the entire capitalist press roared like stuck pigs. They felt the knife at their jaws.

If that's what labor demands today, tomorrow it will see and have to say: If the du Ponts cannot meet our demands, let the auto industry be nationalized. And if this government will not nationalize it, let us establish a government that will. That's when labor will be on its last lap in the race for freedom and security.

We need the Workers Party precisely in order to make all this perfectly clear to millions. We need it to see that the "tomorrow" comes not in twenty or forty or a hundred years, but in the shortest possible time.

Therein lies our vindication in the labor movement.

Vindication in Revolutionary Movement

We are a part of the Fourth Internationalist movement. We are what is commonly referred to as Trotskyists—the revolutionary socialist internationalists of modern times. However, inside the Fourth Internationalist movement, our Workers Party has, from its inception, occupied a distinctive place.

Our party was established as an independent organization following a bitter struggle in the old Socialist Workers Party which culminated in a split. We, as champions of workers' democracy in general and of party democracy in particular, carried on so successful a fight against the bureaucratism of the leadership of the SWP that it found no other way of "settling" the fight than arbitrarily running us out of the party in which we were supported by almost half the membership. The founding of the Workers Party in April, 1940, was the result.

The fight we led against bureaucratism and conservatism in the SWP was coupled with our fight on the "Russian question." When the Second World War began, with Stalin in the camp of the Axis, we declared that we would not support or defend Russia in the war. This was admittedly a change in the traditional position of the Trotskyist movement. But, we argued, Russia could not be defended in this war not only because she was part of one of the imperialist camps but because she was pursuing imperialist aims of her own.

A New Theory on Russia

Our views on Russia were almost as "unpopular" in the Fourth International as our views on the war in general were in the country as a whole. They did not become more popular when, after further consideration in the Workers Party after it was formed, we reached the conclusion that Stalinist Russia was not a "workers' state" or a "degenerated workers' state" in any sense of the term, but represented instead a reactionary social régime based on a unique form of the exploitation and oppression of worker and peasant. This departure from the old views of the movement brought down upon our heads all sorts of derision and curses and ominous forecasts of what would happen to us.

We persisted in our views, however, sustained by the confidence that Marxists always feel about the ample confirmation that events will supply to their analyses. Now, six years later, events have supplied the inevitable confirmation.

The last two years have seen the development of a new minority inside the Socialist Workers Party. Where we found it necessary to charge the leadership with bureaucratic conservatism, matters have reached a point in the SWP where the new minority, led by such authoritative comrades as Albert Goldman and Felix Morrow, find it necessary to charge the leadership with representing the germs of Stalinism. The new group has found considerable support for its point of view in many sections of the Fourth International. It is interesting to note that even those Fourth Internationalists who side with the leadership of the SWP do not find it possible to do so with enthusiastic conviction. Not one of them can or does defend the leadership as representing genuine party democracy. Even its warmest partisans in other countries find it necessary to urge upon this leadership the need of "doing everything"



to "preserve" party democracy; and there is ample reason for this urgent recommendation which is already half-warning.

WP for Unity; SWP Against

The course followed by this leadership in the matter of the unification of the SWP and the WP is also revealing. We said six years ago that the responsibility for the split in the movement in this country rested on the shoulders of the majority which ousted us from the party. But at that time, the case was not clear at all. It is becoming perfectly clear now. In spite of an assiduous effort by the minority in this country, and of groups in several other countries; in spite of the exceptional concessions offered by our party in the interests of unity—it has proved impossible to budge the SWP leadership an inch away from its opposition to unity, an opposition which is entirely obvious but not open, which is obdurate but not courageous. It is indeed becoming clear to the International movement and to all interested workers that the SWP leadership, and not we, is responsible for the division in the movement.

So it is with the "Russian question." It is hard to find anyone in the Fourth International who will today offer, with any measure of conviction, an argument in favor of "unconditional defense" of Stalinist Russia. Many of the Trotskyist militants in this country and elsewhere, who opposed us vigorously in 1940, are today abandoning this outlived and now reactionary slogan. Others go further in our direction by abandoning the preposterous theory that Russia today represents any kind of "workers' state." Among them, for example, are many of the comrades of the SWP minority, who are increasingly in solidarity with our party on all the controversial questions. If some of these comrades have not yet reached all our conclusions about Russia's being a bureaucratic-collectivist state, we think that this is due to their failure to see the problem with all the necessary clarity. But we are confident that time and discussion will straighten out this question too.

"Workers' State" Theory Dying Out

The important thing is that the "workers' state" theory, in whose demolition we are proud to have pioneered, is dying in the Fourth International and there is pretty nearly nobody around with enough belief in it to try to save it. How can there be? The head of Stalinist imperialism is no less ugly, no less alive and obvious, than the head of capitalist imperialism. It not only chokes off the socialist revolution and democracy and the labor movement in the countries it conquers, but enslaves the peoples over whom it extends its sway. To attempt, consistently, to speak any longer of Russia as a "workers' state" or of "defending" this reactionary monster, can only mean capitulating to Stalinism and giving up the fight for socialist freedom. That is already happening in France, where a handful of Trotskyists and ex-Trotskyists and near-Trotskyists, basing themselves on the theory that Russia is a "workers' state," have proposed to give up the fight against Stalinism: it is, you see, "extending" the "workers' state" and "socialism" all over Europe! That is the kind of swamp a reactionary theory can lead into.

The actual events of Russian development and the growing strength of our views in the Fourth International, are our vindication inside the revolutionary movement.

We are far from content with this. We prepare ourselves now for the coming years with the ineradicable conviction that the working class will fight against the conditions of its existence, that it will win its way to the program of our party because we will win our way to its heart and mind by our participation in the fight, until we achieve our ultimate vindication in the triumph of socialist freedom.

The Question in Everyone's Mind

Can U. S. Post-War Capitalism Provide Jobs for Everybody?

By ALBERT GATES

The war economy organized by the Roosevelt Administration brought about a number of changes in the United States which cannot fail to have important bearing on the future economic and political life of the country. There is hardly a person who does not know what occurred in general. The government organized and directed the war economy. Unemployment, which remained at the high level of between nine and ten million during the highest peacetime year of production in 1940, was liquidated almost overnight. An economy unprepared to meet the requirements of modern total war supplied the whole Allied camp with all the materials of war within a short period of time. Production expanded at a rate far exceeding all previous experience. While these things are known in general, it is the concrete developments which are not known.

Yet, in the concrete expansion of the American economy are to be found all the grave problems which confront the working class. A few examples will suffice to illustrate the tremendous changes which took place during the war and to indicate the insoluble problems they have created for American capitalism and the new problems created for the working class.

GOVERNMENT DIRECTS BIG BUSINESS PROGRAM

The government organized the war economy. This is the first point to bear in mind. The government determined what was needed for the war. It supplied the plans, the capital, the material, the plants, the tools, set the rate of profit for the capitalists, froze the wages of the workers, controlled the labor supply and in general supervised production so that we had, in effect, a state-directed economy during the war. Private industry merely carried out the government programs for which it was repaid in the biggest profits in American economic history.

The war economy program was a big business program. The reason for this is obvious. War production could not be carried out by small plants and individual producers. It could only be done by the immense mass production plants, by the monopolistic enterprises. Thus, the multiple boards in Washington were in the hands of the representatives of big business who controlled the whole war economy and conducted it entirely in the interests of monopoly industry and banking. Because of government organization, direction and planning, the following immediate results were produced:

a. There was a rapid and continuing rise in production and a vast expansion of industrial plants.

b. Unemployment, which almost ten years of the New Deal could not solve, was liquidated practically overnight.

c. There followed an absolute growth of the labor force, i.e., the size of the working class.

Production rose from the record peacetime year of \$100 billion in 1940 to \$155 billion in 1943. While in 1940 only \$2 billion was devoted to war production, by 1943, \$85 billion represented the share of war production. By 1944 production had risen to \$198 billions (allowing for price adjustments).

The volume of manufactured goods outpaced all other production. It had tripled within a period of five years, indicating the tremendous possibilities inherent in the American productive apparatus to supply the necessities of life, when, as a matter of fact, it was concentrated on the production of machinery of destruction.

Manufacturing capacity prior to the war (including government arsenals and navy yards) was estimated to have cost \$40 billion. Even with this manufacturing capacity, capitalism could not maintain full employment at a time when production was rising. In five years of war, \$25 billion in new plants and equipment, and cost of converting to war, were added to the \$40 billion. Of this new manufacturing capacity the government expended \$17 billion or two-thirds of the above amount.

To meet the requirements of war production and to make use of the expended manufacturing capacity created by new plants, an absolute increase of the working force was needed. The working class grew from 54 to 64 million (including the armed services) in the five war years, or an increase of 20 per cent. This factor is of immense importance in assessing the prospects of unemployment in the coming peacetime years, again remembering that until the war broke out, capitalism was unable to liquidate unemployment.

When the war was drawing to a close, government economists began to concern themselves with the problems of production and employment in the post-war period. They knew that unless production was maintained at a rate comparable to the war years, the economy was destined to experience a sharp crisis through a decline in production and consequent rise in the mass army of unemployed. The "liberal" capitalists, the New Dealers and their economists and statisticians, demanded that private industry must

maintain full production and full employment to prevent the chaos of a post-war crisis. If private industry would not adopt such a program, said these New Dealers, the government would have to guarantee high production and full employment. The Roosevelt Administration adopted the slogan of: 60,000,000 jobs! President Truman reindorsed this program.

PROBLEMS OF POST-WAR ECONOMY

The capitalists, however, rejected this program with full knowledge that the costs of such a program would indeed be heavy for them. The program of the New Dealers aimed at maintaining peace at home because they know that low production and mass unemployment creates the conditions of intensified class struggle and they want to save the disintegrating system of capitalism by making concessions to the people without changing the profit character of society. This program big business rejects. Big business feels powerful and rich. It is determined to solve its problems by heavy blows against the working class and by a general lowering of the standard of living. And their program will prevail over that of the New Dealers in the next period as it is prevailing now.

Capitalism is a profit system wherein production is carried on for market and for the enrichment of the capitalist class. This class will resist any efforts to encroach on its property and profit rights. The immediate post-war period has already provided ample proof of this fact in almost every action of Congress and the Administration. Tax rebates to guarantee the high wartime profits of business have been passed. Wages have declined sharply, while prices rise and the cost-of-living has continued to mount over the war years. No steps have been taken to alleviate the abominable housing conditions which are universal. Congress deliberates over vicious anti-labor measures and in general proves over and over again that the government in Washington is a government of the capitalist class.

The situation in the country is not yet severe. Actually, we are witnessing the beginning of a post-war boom based on many millions of workers still at work, a large demand of consumer goods following the war and vast accumulated reserves. But this boom cannot and will not last long. The capitalists know that in a short period of time this condition will cease to exist. They know that their chances for continued production and vast profits lie in

foreign trade, in complete control and domination of the world market.

CAPITALISM CANNOT ACHIEVE STABILITY

The war solved not a single important problem for capitalism. It did not bring peace, freedom and security for the peoples of the world. It merely resulted in the defeat of one group of rivals of American imperialism and brought into existence new rivals. Because the future of American capitalism lies in its economic and political conquest of the world, we will witness an increasing imperialist policy developed by the native capitalist class and its government. It is for this imperialist policy that the ruling class and its political and military servants are pressing for permanent peacetime conscription. In addition, we are witnessing an increasing militarization of life and a tendency toward peacetime totalitarianism which is reflected in the dispute over the control of atomic energy and the continued rule of government by decree.

American imperialism, however, will not find it easy to achieve its world aims. To achieve them it requires peace, stability and order. But the outstanding feature of the world today is that there is no durable peace, no stability, no equilibrium. These factors only make American imperialism more determined and more ruthless in its expansion with the result that peace, stability and order will become increasingly impossible.

The disintegrating and decaying character of world capitalism will have a pronounced effect on the still powerful American capitalism which is completely intertwined with world economy. It cannot and will not escape the disintegrating influences of a world society in decline.

The American working class is not wholly unaware of these prospects for capitalism and what it means for the mass of people. This is already reflected in the great struggles now taking place. These struggles presage even greater ones to come. The working class is now struggling for security, to prevent the burdens of a peacetime economy with declining production, employment and standard of living from being placed on its shoulders. The working class realizes that all the promises made to it during the war were never meant to be kept; that the wage freeze, the long hours of work, the high cost of living were its rewards for the tremendous sacrifices made during the war. It increasingly realizes that the war benefited only one class: the capitalist profiteers.

(Continued on Page 3—Magazine Section)

U. S. LABOR'S BURNING NEED:

The Struggle for the GM Strike Program

(Continued from Page 1—Section 1)

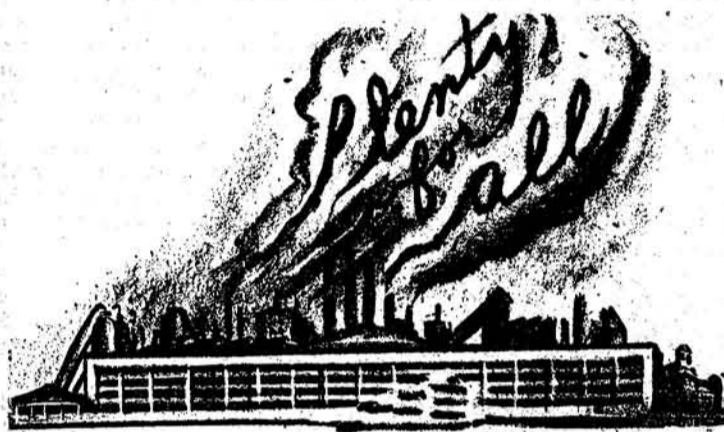
Because the workers said that production and distribution, profits and prices as well as wages, are no longer the exclusive affair of the champions of "free enterprise," that is, the wealth-swollen and power-swollen monopolists, but the affair of the workers.

How did the country react to the GM program?

GM Program Inspired Little People

Millions of workers were cheered and inspired by it. They felt that a new road had been opened up to them. They have their belly full of the champions and beneficiaries of "free enterprise." They remember this gang of bankrupts from the days of the crisis and the mass unemployment. They remember also that the only time they were able to overcome unemployment was when plants opened up to produce the means of death and destruction. They see that now that the war is over, they cannot get a guarantee from these monopolists that they will have a year-round job and a minimum annual wage. The GM program was a challenge to the bankrupts and it immediately gained vigorous support from workers everywhere.

Millions of consumers, even the middle class people, were rallied by the GM program. The consumers are weighed down by the monopolistic prices on commodities which the big corporations enforce. They know that if they are left in the hands of these corporations, prices will be kept high. They know that the monopolists can sooner or later break the feeble OPA "ceilings" and get what they want in prices. The workers said: We can get higher wages and still keep prices down. More power to you, cried the millions of consumers. It is hard to remember a time when the labor movement was supported so enthusiastically by the consumers as a whole, by the middle classes as well, as was the case with the support they gave the GM program. Every newspaper



was forced to concede this fact. It showed that all the people (except the monopolists) can be gotten to follow the lead of labor IF labor adopts a course which shows that it wants to be the spokesman and leader of the nation against the monopolists. That should be a lesson to all of us.

The capitalists, however, reacted as one man. Every capitalist paper fumed and shouted and lamented and threatened—but they did not represent the heart and mind of the people. The CAPITALISTS knew what the GM program meant—if not today, then tomorrow. Labor wants to take over industry, they yelled. Well, what's wrong with that? Labor wants to replace "management," they bellowed. Well, what's wrong with removing these self-confessed bankrupts who cannot guarantee a decent living for the workers but can only guarantee their own fabulous profits, even in wartime, or rather especially in wartime?

Reuther Displays Weakness

There wasn't an intelligent worker in the labor movement who was moved by the miserable hysteria of the capitalist press campaign against the GM workers. But we regret to record that Walter Reuther, author of the GM program, was moved. But instead of moving forward, in line with the simple logic of the GM program and in line with the needs of the workers, he moved backward. He jack-knifed under the capitalist press barrage. He wrote a letter to the highly respectable and authoritative spokesman of the monopolists, the New York Times, of December 5, 1945, in

which he begged for mercy. Here is the core of his complaint against an earlier Times editorial which denounced the GM program for its "radicalism":

"No reference whatever is made (by the Times) to the union's proposition that if GM can show that it cannot pay this wage increase under existing prices, then the union will scale its demand to what GM can pay without raising prices. That is not a demand by the union to fix the prices and profits of the corporation. It is a demand for a wage increase that can be paid without injury to the corporation's customers or stockholders."

Everything is wrong with this "complaint," this "correction" by Reuther. It isn't a strategic retreat; it's a capitulation. You can't have it both ways. EITHER wages should be increased or lowered on the basis of whether or not it will do "injury" to the corporation's... stockholders" (poor, suffering, poverty-stricken stockholders)—OR the corporation's interests should be considered on the basis of whether or not they will do "injury" to the workers. The first is the basic capitalist viewpoint. The second is the basic labor viewpoint. And you can no more mix or reconcile the two than you can mix or reconcile business unionism with labor unionism.

A consistent champion of the GM program—and that's what every thoughtful militant in the labor movement should be—would take a different tack entirely. He would follow the program through logically and from the standpoint of labor's needs and interests. He would say, we number tens of thousands and the du Ponts number a dozen. We make the automobiles, they make the profits. We come first, they come last.

Therefore, our GM program is a challenge. We say, labor needs a 30 per cent wage increase in order to live decently—not like a multi-millionaire du Pont, just decently. They say, labor doesn't need 30 per cent more. We say, industry can pay the 30 per cent. They say, it can't. We say, prices of cars can be kept low. They say, high prices must be raised to a higher level. We say, their profits are too high and are extorted at the expense of worker and consumer. They say, our profits must be raised at the expense of worker and consumer. We say, open the books. They say, no (we're afraid to).

A New Organization of Industry

Now, if "management" (as these parasites like to call themselves) say they can't or won't do all the things labor says they can and should do, what is left for labor? Either it's right or wrong. Either it means what it says or it's bluffing. We say it's right. Therefore? Therefore it should conclude by saying: If you can't or won't organize industry so that it pays decent wages, and charges the consumer fair prices and still yields a fair profit—WE DECLARE THAT INDUSTRY CAN BE ORGANIZED THAT WAY, AND WE DECLARE WE ARE READY TO ORGANIZE IT!

U. S. Capitalism and Jobs for All - -

(Continued from Page 1—Magazine Section)

The working class has seen what the government was capable of doing for war, for the purposes of world-wide destruction. It observed how the government planned economy, provided the capital, new plants, material and the means to maintain a high level of production for destruction. It will not easily understand how and why a government which is capable of doing that in the interests of war cannot and will not provide for full employment, a rising standard of living and the well-being of the people during peacetime.

A PERIOD OF GREAT CLASS STRUGGLES

The present struggle for higher and guaranteed wages is a forerunner of new and greater struggles on the part of the working class. Already, the present strikes developed beyond ordinary bread and butter struggles. In the GM strike the UAW was compelled by the extreme urgency of the situation to raise the slogan of "Open the Books," which was a slogan of tremendous political and social implications, for it challenged the very structure of capitalist property relations.

The working class of this country is a powerful and militant class. It has great confidence in itself. Its great weakness however,

That's where Reuther stopped short. The simple, logical and necessary step to make the GM program a real fighting program lay in this simple proposition: The monopolists are bankrupts, THEREFORE we demand that the industry be nationalized!

But suppose the Truman Administration, which Reuther AND Thomas AND Murray helped put in office, won't nationalize the industry, as it won't? Truman and Co. were ready to "nationalize" workers into the Army; they were ready to "nationalize" labor by freezing wages and jobs; but they won't nationalize the industry of the sacred du Ponts and Fords and Chryslers. We know that.

Our Own Government Necessary

But if nationalization is right and necessary, all that means is this: We must have a government of our own, a workers' government, that WILL nationalize industry, that will run it so that the country is assured full production, labor is assured a decent living standard and a year-round job and a minimum annual wage, and the consumer is assured a decent price level.

Such a government requires that labor have a party of its own which openly declares its intention to establish a government based on this program. It requires a party that breaks completely with capitalist politics, capitalist political parties and capitalist politicians.

And that's where Reuther also stops short. And that's why the GM program, elaborated, amplified, rounded out, made applicable on a national scale; in other words, worked out consistently so that it could sweep behind it the support of all the common people in the country, was watered down and practically abandoned during the strike.

Reuther and his associates are simply scared at their own boldness! They are scared of breaking all down the line with the reactionary ideas of the privileged monopolists. They are scared of breaking all down the line with the capitalist politicians who are such noble "friends of labor" every election day. They are scared of the very challenge they hurled into the faces of the GM autocracy. Hence their retreat and capitulation.

But why should the workers be scared? Look at the power they have and the power they have displayed. There isn't an industry they haven't been able to shut down. When they quit, all the efforts of "management," multiplied by a hundred, can't get a wheel to turn. All they should be scared of is: low living standards which make life a misery; high prices which make life a misery; the coming unemployment which makes life a misery. All they should be scared of is GM's "industrial economic dictatorship" and the "road to World War III and, with the atomic bomb, the blackout of civilization," which Reuther charged the du Ponts with in his statement of last November 24th. But their program, which scared the du Ponts, should not scare them. They should press their great

challenge to the hilt and let the monopolists squirm and squeal to their hearts' content.

We want to open the books! Indeed we do! But that demand has been exaggerated and its meaning distorted.

The du Ponts say: If our books show a deficit, will you take a wage cut?

Reuther answers... with a tragic and helpless silence! He doesn't know what to say, or he fears the consequences of the right answer. And the right answer is a bold and simple one:

The Books Must Be Opened

Gentlemen, if your books show a deficit, you're a gang of bankrupts. Get out! If you can't provide labor with a decent living standard, we have no use for you. Get out! We will nationalize your industry and run it so that labor can live like human beings, live in security and abundance. We will form a party of our own on that simple program. We will win with that party and it will set up a workers' government that will "retire" the self-confessed



bankrupts by nationalizing industry and running it for the benefit of all. We have all the necessary confidence that we can win, because we have already seen how the simple presentation of our GM program brought us the support of millions throughout the land. We are ready to take the leadership of the nation!

That's what we have to do if we are to survive, let alone prosper. Otherwise it's the old vicious circle. A little wage increase, then a big price increase. Another little wage increase, then a bigger price increase. A still higher price increase and then—the collapse of the market, depression, crisis, unemployment, the end of painfully accumulated savings, the ruin of family, the debasement of human dignity, chaos, and then after a while, it begins all over again. That's why our program breaks with the old union policy. We want to determine not only wages, but prices and profits. And because of all that has been said above, the last words in the great GM program MUST read, a Labor Party and a Workers' Government!

That, we believe, is the fundamental meaning of the fight in the UAW convention, before it and after it—because the fight will not end when the convention adjourns. That is how we socialist interpret it. And that is why it is a fight that concerns and will continue to concern every worker in the country.

Our job—the job of the Workers Party especially—is to make this fully clear to all. It is a job we mean to do with all the strength we have and can win to our standard.

First in A Series of Articles

The Stalinist Menace to World Labor

By J. R. JOHNSON

Stalinism is now a word more or less familiar to substantial numbers of American workers. It represents to them the Communist Party of the United States, its fellow parties the world over, all associated with the now mighty empire of Russia.

First of all, let us look at the more obvious material facts.

In Russia the Stalinist bureaucracy rules over 200 million people. Trotsky to his dying day insisted on calling this bureaucracy a caste. A class, he said, fulfills a certain role in production. Workers, capitalists, farmers, all play a special role in producing commodities. The petty bourgeoisie, small shop-keepers, functionaries in offices, etc., also play a role in the economic system. But the labor bureaucrats are not a class. They are a caste. They perform an organizational, administrative social function which is only remotely if at all connected with the actual productive and distributive process. The Stalinist bureaucracy, so ran Trotsky's argument, was a caste, an unusual, an exceptional, an unprecedented caste, but nevertheless a caste.

The theory did not die with Trotsky. The Socialist Workers Party (Cannonites) and a majority of the Fourth Internationalists all over the world still hold it.

WHAT THE BUREAUCRACY LOOKS LIKE

Let us admit for the moment that the Stalinist bureaucracy is not a class. The facts, however, are these:

It has complete control of the economy of the country. It runs it, apportions labor, regulates as best it can the flow of wealth to different departments of production. It fixes wages, distributes the surplus, manages the foreign trade, decides where new plants should be opened and where old ones should be closed. Place on it the label caste. Take off the label and write class instead. What, today, is changed thereby?

The Stalinist bureaucracy organizes, controls, directs a mighty army. It controls a secret police force of two million men. It appoints and removes its ambassadors abroad. It makes wars and declares peace. It performs all the functions of government, exercises all the privileges, bears all the responsibilities, exactly as if it were a class that had a history of five centuries behind it. No Comrade Trotsky was wrong. He maintained a distinction which was not only meaningless but harmful.

Trotsky, he it noted, was not a sentimentalist, seeing Russia through the eyes of an old Russian revolutionary. Nor was he unaware of the realities of Stalinist Russia. Not at all. He recognized the enormous theoretical difficulties he would face if he abandoned his theory. That cannot be discussed here. But the final proof of the weakness, the impossibility, of maintaining Trotsky's theory is this. To remove that bureaucracy today would require a revolution greater in scope than the October Revolution. Now what kind of caste is this that is more powerfully established as a government than the old combination of landlords, bureaucrats and capitalists who ruled Russia up to 1917?

Previously this question was, in the minds of the average American worker, confined to Russia. But now two problems or, more precisely, three problems are being posed.

AN INTERNATIONAL REACTIONARY FORCE

1. This Russian society has loomed up as a deadly and direct rival to United States imperialism. The air is filled with the fear of war. What is this Russian state and why does war between it and the United States appear as inevitable as war between Britain and Germany in the old days?

2. The Russian type of state is no longer confined to Russia or territories directly annexed by Russia. It is obvious that Poland and Yugoslavia are, to put it moderately, heading as fast as they can toward régimes modeled on Russia rather than the traditional European form. The question there is by no means settled. But the struggle is on.

The Russians, in the part of Germany which they occupy, are obviously laying the foundation of the type of régime which they have at home. They do not do so openly, but every step that they take shows their ultimate aim.

On the other side of the world, in Manchuria and Northern China, they have the same aims. They adapt their policy to the local circumstances, but a blind man can see what they will do if they can.

3. In the countries of Western Europe, Communist Parties devoted to Russian aims and following Russian policy wield such political power as has rarely been exercised by any parties except those of a ruling class itself. In France the Communist Party has the decisive control of the united French trade unions, nearly six million strong. The party itself has over a million members.

In Italy the Communist Party has 1,700,000 members.

Just to complete the general picture, Communist organizations in Greece have the large majority of the population behind them. These organizations, here, as elsewhere, are fanatical followers of the Stalinist line.

Taking the situation as a whole therefore the Stalinist state and its ramifications represent without a shadow of doubt the most powerful organized social and political force in the world today. Its strength comes from its unification and the resulting cohesion.

TOWARD UNDERSTANDING STALINISM

The American worker therefore must realize:

1. That the Stalinists whom he meets in his factory or in his union may be few; their party in the United States may not be very powerful; but that they are part of a world-wide organization of enormous actual power. To underestimate them by judging them solely by their strength in the United States would be a terrible mistake.

2. The problem of the Stalinists being a world problem, to fight them here requires first of all a clear understanding of what their Moscow general staff aims at today and tomorrow. This is world politics in the most profound sense of the term. The American worker seeking to probe this question to the roots must be prepared to grapple with the whole world scene. The days for preoccupation with purely national problems are past. The worker too must see the world as "one world." This I propose to take up in this series of articles. But one thing must be established, and established without any sort of misunderstanding. The antagonism between the U. S. government and the Stalinist régime is one thing. That antagonism the U. S. government extends to the Communist Parties all over the world.

But the antagonism of the working class movement to Stalinism is something fundamentally different. The U. S. government opposes Stalinism because Stalinism is now its rival for world mastery. A class-conscious revolutionary opposes Stalinism because it betrays revolutionary struggle and, as far as it can, manipulates the working-class movement for its imperialist ends. Thus while American capital and American labor are both threatened by Stalinism, that makes for no solidarity between American capital and American labor on this issue. The class line is as sharp here as elsewhere.

Letter from German Comrade Tells of European Barbarism

Members and friends of LABOR ACTION and the Workers Party have been sending relief packages of food and clothing to Europe. We reprint herewith another commentary from a German comrade for its interesting details on the situation of occupied Germany.

My Dear Friends:

As you know, I spent three weeks at Saarbruecken, which you are familiar with. Without exaggeration and without patriotism—it was certainly a beautiful city despite its industrial aspect.

In order not to confuse you, I employ the past tense, for today, after that damned war, it is a city eighty-five per cent burned or destroyed. I will try to give you an idea of what the city of Saarbruecken is like. The first ward of Saarbruecken proper is ninety-five per cent uninhabitable, the second ward a similar percentage, the third ward is forty per cent uninhabitable. St. Arnulf has not suffered much, nor has Jaegersfreude, but Burbach is ninety-five per cent uninhabitable. Nevertheless, there is today a population of 65,000 souls. It is incredible but true that almost the whole population has sought refuge in the third ward. A real anti-hill, I tell you.

The freight yards have been plowed up by bombs, all the bridges have been blown up. A real jumble of scrap iron, stone, etc. Misery stares at you through all the windows... whole trains, innumerable locomotives and coaches which have been ripped apart are scattered along the tracks. An unimaginable catastrophe has fallen upon this country. Entire cities lie demolished.

Food rations are worse than mediocre, and it is to be feared that if there is no amelioration of conditions serious cases of sickness will arise. Because of the war, the bombardments and the poor food rations, the state of health of the population is not rosy. Many people drag themselves around, thin, weak, pale, haggard, with their faces yellow as if from jaundice.

When I tell you that women and girls go out with soldiers and give themselves to them, it is not out of jealousy that I say it, but to give you a full account of the life. These are not sporadic cases at all, my friend, they involve a third of all the women.

Children of less than ten hang out in cafes en masse to drink beer. Nobody pays any attention to them, and everybody finds it the most natural thing in the world. Well dressed kids go to restaurants to look through the ash trays for cigarette butts.

The population is exhausted. Everybody yells at everybody else. People subject each other to the filthiest language everywhere and at all times.

Because of the lack of food, people fend for themselves, each in his fashion. But, in general, people travel sixty miles or more searching for things to eat. For lack of good rolling stock travelling is done in freight trains. Never in your life have you seen such a spectacle. The trains are jammed with knapsacks, suitcases, boxes, and so on. As the trains come into the stations horrible scenes take place. Curses are exchanged and even kicks and blows. Politeness doesn't exist and people brutally seek to gain a place so that they won't be left behind.

A bureaucracy exists such as has never been seen before. No matter what office you enter you feel that you are in a Prussian barracks. There is neither whispering nor genuine politeness. A Prussian drill sergeant's tone is employed everywhere. It is worse than ever! In street cars, railroad trains, behind ticket booths, in public buildings, in the public services, everywhere the bureaucrat shouts. Von der Wiege bis zum Grabe Formulare! Papers from the cradle to the grave! Such is the leitmotiv of the German bureaucracy. In order to make a request for entry, around twenty papers were necessary without counting the mountains of questions which were asked.

Politically there is not much to say since in the French zone not a single political party is authorized at this time. But the humor is that in a short while three or four parties (Socialist, Communist, Liberal, and Catholic-Center) will be authorized. As I have already told you people worry only about food for the moment, which explains the frightful indifference of the largest part of the population. In fact, the purging of the administration, business and everywhere is put off. Former ardent Nazis still occupying more or less important posts, don't worry. For the time being they occupy almost all their posts as under Hitler. Incredible but true.

As to the packages which you have so generously lavished upon me, I insist upon thanking you once again. Will has informed me that recently a package from George has arrived for N... I have told my comrade to acknowledge reception of it.

ADOLPHE

WORLD POLITICS

By IRVING HOWE

The record of the British Labor Party government in domestic affairs has not received as much attention as its record in foreign policy, if only because the latter has been such a flagrant continuation of Churchillian imperialism. But a number of highly interesting questions arise with regard to the Attlee government's domestic policies; and one of them, the problem of nationalization of industry, we shall briefly examine here.

The Labor Party government has promised to nationalize several basic industries, such as coal and transport; it has already "nationalized" the Bank of England, in a way we shall describe later. Nationalization, as outlined by the leaders of the LP government, means that the government takes over and runs the given industry while reimbursing the capitalists, often at a rate higher even than the face value of what has been taken over.

Does this, then, mean that socialism—willy-nilly, partially, hesitantly—is being built in England? Does it mean that the LP reformist government is, contrary to the predictions and expectations of the Marxists, capable of bringing socialism to England, and through strictly parliamentary means at that? We believe the answer to these questions is No and we shall briefly show why.

First let us note the limitations of these measures. In a speech in Canada, Herbert Morrison, a member of the Attlee cabinet, bluntly stated that the bulk of British heavy industry would not be nationalized during the rule of the Labor Party government. He made it clear that only those industries on the verge of bankruptcy, those unable to shift for themselves (that is, make a profit for their owners) would be even considered for nationalization.

"FAIR COMPENSATION" FOR THE CAPITALISTS

The second limitation: the LP government promises "fair compensation" to the capitalists in all cases of nationalization. As the British Trotskyist magazine, *Workers International News*, writes about this matter:

"What this 'fair compensation' means can already be clearly seen from the example of the recently published bill for the nationalization of the Bank of England. The shareholders of the Bank of England hold an amount of stock with a nominal value of 14,553,000 pounds. On this stock they have for the past 22 years been receiving an annual dividend of 12 per cent. These shareholders will receive as compensation from the Labor Government bonds to the value of 58,212,000 pounds, i.e., four times the NOMINAL value of Bank of England stock. These government bonds will bear an annual interest of 3 per cent—in other words, the Bank of England stockholders will go on receiving the same incomes as they have done in the past. No wonder that the news of the government's proposals have brought about a rise in the selling price of Bank of England stock."

The third and most important limitation is in the complete lack of any proposal for workers' control of those industries to be nationalized. Presumably they will be run on the same basis as the Bank of England; the same directing personnel retained, the same methods, the same policies. The state is to own these industries; but if the workers themselves do not control both the state and its executive agencies in the nationalized industries, they will benefit precious little.

This is a far cry from genuine socialism, isn't it? Most industries are to remain in the hands of private capitalists. Those that are nationalized are only the industries which private capitalism has brought to the verge of bankruptcy and which do not promise to be very profitable in the future. And the LP government merely helps those capitalists along by "compensating" them, so that they retain their wealth, their ability to invest in other industries and to exploit labor. Thus far, only the Bank of England has been "nationalized." But it was already a semi-governmental institution; now that it is nationalized, and its stockholders properly "compensated," its directing personnel remains the same and its function as a financial servant of British capitalism continues. And the joint stock banks, the great insurance

companies and the Stock Exchange continue under the ownership and control of private capitalists.

These are the limitations of the nationalization program. It has nothing in common with socialism. But, aside from its limitations, what is its significance?

THE DILEMMA OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE

British capitalism, we should remember, is in a terrible fix. It has come out of the war on the verge of bankruptcy, its resources depleted and its prospects for recovery slight. On the one side, it is pressed by Russia's threat to its near eastern empire. On the other side, and even more fundamentally, the United States is driving it out of market after market.

The British cannot compete with the superior productive efficiency and capacity of the United States. To cite one example: America with 600,000 miners produces 500,000,000 tons of coal each year; Britain has 700,000 miners who produce only 200,000,000 tons of coal. From 1939 to 1943, the output of coal in Britain fell 18 per cent. This situation, which makes Britain unable to compete with United States imperialism on the world market, is due to the fact that England was the first major power to become industrialized on a large scale. This head start made it possible to build the Empire; but it is now the cause for the decline of the Empire, since the late comers like Germany and the United States were able to utilize the most modern developments in technology and thereby bypass Britain.

This economic inferiority with regard to the United States is to be further aggravated as a result of the forthcoming loan from the U. S. to Britain. The price which Britain will pay for the loan will be the surrender of the only two defenses she has yet found against American imperialism: the sterling bloc and the Empire preference system. Thus British capitalism moves from contradiction to contradiction. It must modernize its obsolete plants and mines. The only way it can get the necessary capital to do that is to borrow from the U. S., but to do that it has to weaken further its economic position and help strengthen the very rival to compete against whom it desires to modernize its industry.

NATIONALIZATION—CAPITALISM'S PATCHWORK

Which way out? There are three main possibilities. First: overthrow capitalism and strike out on the socialist road. But that the reformist LP government will not do, by its very nature, cannot do. Secondly: establish a fascist dictatorship which would squeeze wages and thereby make things easier for the British capitalist class. That at the moment is impossible, for the British workers are too strong and there is no substantial fascist movement in England. Thirdly, patch up the capitalist system a little more. And that, willy-nilly, is what the LP government is doing.

That is the true significance of the nationalization program. When one sector of the capitalist economy becomes obsolete, incapable of yielding profit, and without prospect of a profitable recovery under private auspices, then the capitalist state as a whole takes over that part of the private economy, all the while conveniently "compensating" the former owners. The capitalists deprived of their former holdings are enabled to invest in new and more profitable ventures. The state bears the expense of running and renovating the obsolete industries—and that means that eventually the workers pay for it through higher taxes and lower wages.

That it is, ironically enough, a Labor Party government which directs and initiates this program does not in the slightest degree invalidate the idea that this program has as its OBJECTIVE result the continuation and buttressing of capitalism. One cannot sit on two stools at once for an indefinite period. The reformist Labor Party government having rejected the perspective of socialist revolution, has no alternative but to try to patch up, to bolster here and there the crumbling capitalist economy of England. The British program of nationalization, then, has nothing in common with socialism; on the contrary, it has as its purpose the perpetuation of capitalism.

The European Trotskyists During the War:

An Heroic Record of Revolutionary Resistance Against Fascist Terror

By JAMES M. FENWICK

LEON TROTSKY once said that the Fourth International was like the apex of an inverted social pyramid upon which the whole weight of capitalist society pressed down.



LEON TROTSKY

Despite all this, in virtually every country of the globe there exist gallant bands of men and women, inspired by the great emancipating doctrine of Marxism who, resisting all the bribes, threats, and persecution of the enemies of socialism, have chosen as their life work the struggle for the first human society, socialism. They are ranged within the parties of the Fourth International.

In the crucible of war all political parties are subjected to the severest proofs. The Fourth International came through the war unscathed, able to hold its head high before the tribunal of the working class and say, "We discharged our revolutionary socialist obligations!"

Alone of all working class political parties, the parties of the Fourth International opposed the imperialist war, stating that it was a war for capitalist profits, and calling for the fraternization of workers and soldiers of all countries.

Unlike the social democratic organizations of World War I that collapsed under the patriotic capitalist pressure, the Fourth International opposed the bloody carnage from the earliest hour.

THE RECORD OF OUR FRENCH COMRADES

In France the first resistance paper to appear in illegality was *La Vérité* (Truth), the organ of the International Communist Party, French section of the Fourth International.

Throughout the war our French comrades worked with model bravery, fighting in the resistance movement, conducting fraternization with German soldiers, taking up workers' demands in the shops where, that was possible, issuing *La Vérité* and other papers, aiding workers sought by the Gestapo, forging identity papers, etc.

For their activity the French comrades paid a heavy price in persons shot by the Gestapo and

the Vichy police and deported to the infamous concentration camps in Germany.

Following the close of the war our French comrades continued their struggle against French capitalism. Ceaselessly hounded by the French government, their paper illegal, and persecuted by the Stalinists, our comrades are showing a gratifying extension of their influence as demonstrated by recent election returns.

Though information is scanty because of the war conditions which obtain, news in the capitalist press reveals that our comrades in French Indochina have been active in the nationalist struggles which have been taking place there. Their work has been complemented by the agitation of our comrades in France who have been waging a campaign in support of France's colonial populations.

THE RECORD OF OUR BELGIAN COMRADES

In Belgium our comrades were very active during the occupation, especially in the mining areas, where Trotskyist influence has been traditionally

conducted agitation against the royalty, for a uniform pension, against the no-strike legislation of the Van Acker government, etc., basing their program upon the transitional demands of the Fourth International.

THE RECORD OF OUR GERMAN COMRADES

Because of the terrific repression to which German political parties were subjected, and because of the difficulties of communication today, not much is known of the activity of German Trotskyists. A little news has leaked out, however, showing that our German comrades held high the banner of international solidarity under the unprecedented repression of the German capitalists.

At the time of the siege of Aachen, for instance, a group of soldiers under Trotskyist influence, deserted and formed a guerrilla band which fought the SS and the Gestapo. Trotskyist activity is likewise being carried on among German prisoners in France.

A great number of our German comrades remain, of necessity, in emigration in France, England, Switzerland, the United States, and South America. The majority of the Spanish section likewise exists in emigration.

THE RECORD OF OTHER SECTIONS

Active sections of the Fourth International exist in Ireland and England. In England the group is exceptionally active. It publishes a paper, "*Socialist Appeal*," and a theoretical magazine, "*Workers International News*."

Trotskyist groups exist elsewhere throughout the British Empire. Sections exist in South Africa, Australia, India, etc. News concerning these sections has been relatively scanty up to the present because of war-time restrictions.

Despite nearly twenty-five years of the Mussolini dictatorship, which destroyed so much of working class thinking, a section of the Fourth International has been established in Italy.

A group exists in Holland.

Our Greek section has done heroic work, and has paid exceptionally heavily for it. Not only were our comrades persecuted by the Ovrá, Mussolini's secret police, but over a hundred were slaughtered by the Stalinists during the attack upon the ELAS and EAM in 1944-1945.

Such is the proud record of the Fourth Internationalist movement throughout the world. It is a living testimonial to the desire of the working classes of the world to establish socialism wherever mankind exists.

In many countries such as in the United States, where two Trotskyist tendencies—the Workers Party and the Socialist Workers Party—exist, there is more than one Trotskyist movement. Such a condition exists in Australia, South Africa, and Greece as well. In many of these countries it is heartening to note that unity negotiations are going on.

In the ensuing period we hope to see the political rearmament of the Fourth International along the lines developed by the Workers Party.



strong. Conducting a struggle similar to that of the French organization, the Internationalist Communist Party, Belgian section of the Fourth International, published illegal papers in French, German, Flemish and Polish during the war.

The Belgian comrades similarly paid heavily for their loyalty to the international working class.

Following the war the Belgian comrades con-

Exclusive Eyewitness Account:

The Militant French Printers' Strike

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENCE

PARIS—The recent strike in Paris of the newspaper printing workers of the Syndicat Du Livre, CGT, and its suppression by the government has further indicated the divergence between the needs of the French working class and the policies of the leading political and trade union representatives of French labor.

Following several months of fruitless negotiations the Syndicat Du Livre of Paris finally went on strike on January 20th and until February 1st no newspaper appeared in the city. The strikers demanded a wage increase to offset the greatly reduced purchasing power of their salaries resulting from an ever increasing inflation.

It had been the policy of the previous DeGaulle government and the Gouin government today in collaboration with the communist, socialist, and CGT ministerial representatives firmly to suppress all actions taken by the workers demanding wage increases on the theory that by keeping wages stationary and attempting to reduce prices France could control inflation.

In France today the problem of inflation and the impoverishment of the entire working class is especially acute. "Franc Tireur," an influential Parisian daily, published the following graphic figures in its February 7th issue: the cost of living has risen from 100 in 1938 to 850 in 1945 where wages only rose from 100 in 1938 to 350 in 1945, adding to this an additional 2% in wage "adjustments" recently allowed by the government.

A net loss of 55% in real wages has taken place since 1938. These figures do not take into account the fact that virtually all French workers are forced to purchase many basic necessities from the black market at fantastic prices.

THE PRINTERS GO ON STRIKE

Reacting to this tremendous decline of real wages and following in the footsteps of the miners of Lens and the Public Service workers of Paris, the Parisian printers finally went on strike on January 20th.

Immediately the Stalinists and the Socialists attacked the strikers as disloyal and irresponsible. The Stalinists outdid themselves in insulting and

calumniating the strikers. The newly installed Stalinist Minister of Labor, Ambrose Croizat, made a speech over the radio in which he roundly condemned the strike and threatened to issue a government newspaper as a reprisal. "All is not possible in an impoverished France," he cried, the same Croizat who with his fellow Stalinist deputies, last January, voted for the 125 billion franc budget for the army whose greatest expense today is the brutal suppression of the heroic Indo-Chinese nationalist movement.

The CGT leaders together with the government finally selected Louis Saillant, president of the National Resistance Council and official of the World Federation of Trade Unions

to act as arbitrator. Saillant informed the strike leaders that if they would call an immediate halt to the strike he assured them that he was empowered to arrive at a just solution of the strikers' demands. Acting in good faith the printing workers returned to work.

The following morning the Council of Ministers issued a statement that it was not bound by the decisions to be arrived at in the arbitration and that Saillant was not empowered to authorize strike indemnity payments by the employers to the strikers, a traditional right accorded to strikers in France. The CGT leaders and the Gouin government, having succeeded in ending the strike through the false assurances of Saillant then disavowed

its former promises to the strikers. This scabby action came from a government in which the overwhelming majority of its elected deputies are communists and socialists.

On February 7th, the first day in which newspapers reappeared following the end of the strike, "*L'Humanité*," central organ of the French Communist Party appeared with partially blank columns in the article dealing with the printers' strike. This article had been so foul an attack on the strike that the workers at the print shop where "*L'Humanité*" is printed became indignant that such a scurrilous attack on them was being published in the column of a party newspaper supposedly fighting for the interests of labor and they deleted the offensive sections of the article to indicate their protest.

STALINISTS LOSE MEMBERS

Prior to the strike the Communist Party had a fraction of 38 members in the "*L'Humanité*" print shop. As a result of the CP's sellout of the strike 30 members tore up their party cards in disgust. Alarmed at this loss, Ducloux, Stalin's number one man in France and general secretary of the party came down in person to the press room of "*L'Humanité*" and attempted to explain the party position on the strike and to urge the former party members to rejoin. The result was that three more members of the CP quit.

The Trotskyists were the only party to declare their complete solidarity with the strike; a committee representing their party, met with the strike committee and offered the facilities of the party and the use of "*La Vérité*," organ of the PCI to defend and to publicize the demands of the strike. Their solidarity and cooperation were gratefully accepted by the strike committee.

The temper and feeling of the printers of Paris mirrors the growing resentment and opposition of an increasing number of the trade union rank and file in France today. The pressure from the workers will result in an ever increasing number of strikes in opposition not only to the bosses but also against the socialist and communist union leadership.

International Socialist Notes

ENGLAND

Readers will recall that the Revolutionary Communist Party, English section of the Fourth International, recently addressed a letter to the British government, asking for representation at the Nuremberg trial.

Representation was desired so as to be able to question the prominent nazis on trial there, with whom Trotsky, the famous revolutionary leader, was accused of conspiring by the Russian prosecution in the Moscow frame-up trials in 1936, 1937, and 1938.

Readers will likewise recall that the famous Dewey Commission absolved Trotsky of these slanders.

Representation at the Nuremberg Trial was denied by the British government. The reason is not far to seek. The British government is not interested in rehabilitating the memory of a famous Marxist who was a pitiless enemy of everything for which British capitalism stands.

Furthermore, Britain is not anxious to cross Russia unnecessarily in the mortal chess game she is now, along with the United States, playing with Russia. For Trotsky was the hated enemy of the Russian bureaucracy as well. And in the fight against Trotskyism—that is to say, against revolutionary socialism, the hope of mankind—the Russian bureaucracy can never make a concession.

The Socialist Appeal, the Trotskyist organ in England, recently welcomed the impending repeal of the Trade Disputes Act, passed by the British government in 1927 in reprisal against the well-known general strike of 1926. Of the action against the bill by the labor government, the Socialist Appeal said: "There are few measures that the Labour Government takes to which we Trotskyists give wholehearted support. The repeal of the Trade Disputes Act is one of them."

The Trotskyists, interestingly enough, were the only labor group

ever prosecuted under this act. Four comrades were jailed as a result of their role in furthering a strike aimed against the war-time Bevin plan for the conscription of mine labor.

FRANCE

As the elections approach, our French comrades are being subjected to increased harassing by the French government, acting upon provocations caused by the Stalinists, who fear the significant influence shown by the French party in previous elections.

La Vérité (Truth) was recently seized by the police for appearing as a non-authorized journal. *La Vérité*, the first resistance organ to appear under the occupation, is the only labor paper denied publication in France today.

The seizure by the police was preceded by attacks against sellers of the paper by Stalinist thugs, who also made an attempt on the party headquarters.

Such attacks are witness to the actual and potential strength of the French party, which can only increase as the Gouin government demonstrates its inability to cope with the continuing economic crisis in France.

BELGIUM

The coordinated international campaign against Trotskyism which has been unleashed by the Stalinists has borne fruit in Belgium also.

As a result of a Stalinist pressure campaign carried on in its press, necessary signatures for the placing of our party on the ballot in Brussels were invalidated.

At Charleroi, however, where the Belgian party ran candidates, 1,100 Trotskyist votes were secured in this densely populated working-class area.

The comrades conducted a model campaign, funds for which were over-

subscribed. A sound truck was used for the first time in the history of the organization and 50,000 pieces of literature were distributed. A mass meeting of 600 at Gilly was the largest held by any party there.

The capitalist courts of Belgium have just acquitted two collaborators whose names were a stench in the nostrils of all Belgian workers during the occupation.

They are Bologne and Destexhe. They turned over to the Gestapo the names of numerous Stalinists, Trotskyists, and her militants during the war.

Trotskyist families, whose sons or husbands were taken by the Gestapo as a result of these denunciations, were not permitted to testify at the trial.

Capital, whether it worked for Hitler or not, knows who its friends are—and its enemies.

—J. M. F.

MINORITY VOTE CONVICTS ITALIAN REVOLUTIONIST

The January 7 issue of *Quattro Internazionale*, organ of the Italian section of the Fourth International, contains the following item:

"The prison commission of the Province of Foggia has condemned Comrade Romeo Mangano to five years of imprisonment.

"Of the five members of the commission, two only, the prefect and the magistrate, voted for the sentence; two other magistrates voted against the verdict and the police captain (sitting as a member of the court) abstained.

"Nevertheless, Comrade Mangano remains condemned to the maximum penalty."

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10. Taxing the Profiteers... 11. Workers' Control of Production... 12. An Independent Labor Party and a Workers' Government...

13. Nationalization of the Banks, big industrial monopolies and transportation systems, and no handing over of government-built and owned plants and facilities to private ownership.

One-Tenth of the Nation

On Organizing the South

By J. R. Johnson

Two political developments are taking place at the present time of great significance for the Negro people in the United States. One of them is taking place in the government and in Congress. That is to say, in the stronghold and executive committee of the capitalist class as a whole. The other is taking place in the labor movement.

IN TRUMAN'S CONGRESS

Over the last few months in Congress, the Southern Democrats have been acting in the closest alliance with the most conservative Republicans. Of course, they have always worked together. But under the pressure of the class conflicts in the country as a whole and the militancy of the labor movement, they have reached the stage where they are thinking of forming some kind of organization to fight against the advancing claims of the working class.

On account of this, President Truman and particularly Hannegan, the boss of the Democratic Party, find themselves in a serious spot. Previously, they tried to follow in the tradition of President Roosevelt and maneuver between the labor movement, on the one hand, and the Southern Democrats on the other. But little by little in the U. S. today, the space for maneuvering between conflicting classes is getting less and less.

Politicians are able to point in one direction today and reverse themselves the next day with the greatest facility. But it seems fairly clear that Hannegan and Truman are warning the Southern Democrats that this situation cannot continue indefinitely. Elections are coming near and to win the elections the Democratic Party will have to align itself clearly and unmistakably with the labor movement against the Southern reactionaries.

IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT

So far, Congress. Now for the labor movement. Philip Murray has announced a great organizational drive in the South to bring the millions of unorganized workers there within the ranks of the CIO. Any organizational drive in the South that is serious means the organization of hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of Negro workers.

But this is no mere trade union question. We know what the social situation of Negroes in the South is today. Any serious attempt to organize them on a large scale means automatically raising the basic question of social segregation and political discrimination.

There is no political party of labor in the United States. That is unfortunate. But precisely because of this, the CIO performs many functions which ordinarily would be performed by an independent Labor Party. Murray may think what he pleases. But

industrial organization of the South on a large scale means raising the question, for example, of the poll-tax, of the anti-lynching bill, of the permanent FEPC. And it means raising them not in Congress where senators can filibuster, but raising them among the masses of the people themselves in the form of action by organized labor.

In the CIO News of March 25 there is an article demanding action now on the poll-tax. A reading of the article, however, shows that it is concerned solely with the poll-tax in so far as it is a matter of Congressional action. The article states that Senator Homer Ferguson and Senator James Mead called upon the American people to make a special effort during poll-tax week. The article points out that there is support for the bill by Senator Claude Pepper and by Barry Bingham, Kentucky newspaper publisher. Isn't that wonderful?

A JOB FOR THE CIO

At its recent board meeting, the CIO Council issued a blast against Democratic Congressmen who join hands with the representatives of the Republicans and thwart the wishes of the majority.

Now this is the same game that has been going on in Congress for years. And the leadership of the CIO is playing it. Organized labor has its own decisive methods of struggle. The place where the decisive struggle for the abolition of the poll-tax will be fought is not in Congress, by slippery senators, or in the pages of Kentucky newspapers. If the CIO proposes to organize the South, then a fundamental part of this campaign must be not merely industrial organization, but abolition of the political discrimination against the Negroes in the South.

There is no organization in the United States today which can more easily point out to white workers in the South the consequences not only to Negroes but to themselves of the continuance of the poll-tax in the Southern states. The CIO has enormous prestige in the South. White workers are the ones who for familiar reasons are most subject to the social prejudices imposed upon the South by the reactionaries. If an organization with the prestige and the power of the CIO seriously sets itself to break down these prejudices, it can do so. Instead, however, while on the one hand, its leaders announce a great organizing campaign, they continue to direct the attention of the organized workers and of the Negroes to the maneuvers in Congress.

Two important conclusions can now be drawn. I am not interested in what is in the heads of Philip Murray and of the other leaders of the CIO. But this much is obvious. The present situation in the Democratic Party being what it is, if Philip Murray and the CIO leadership seriously set out to mobilize the power of organized labor in the South against the poll-tax, they will make the already tense situation in the

Democratic Party an impossible one. The Southern Democrats could not for a single moment tolerate a serious assault upon their social position in the South by the masses of the people educated, organized and led by the CIO. Murray and Co. are faced with this situation. Build a powerful labor movement in the South. Organize the workers and lead these workers to the smashing of the reactionary Southern domination. Just begin seriously to do this and as sure as day that will break up the Democratic Party as it is constituted today.

Or. Try to organize as many workers as possible and keep such issues as the poll-tax in Congress, writing articles against Senator Pepper and Senator Mead and so on and so forth. The same old maneuvering which has brought no results for the last twenty-five years.

TIME TO DO SOMETHING

That is the first conclusion. The second conclusion is one of action. So far organized labor, progressives and the Negro organizations have sent innumerable telegrams, held mass meetings, overflowed Madison Square Garden and filled the air with protests against the fakers in Congress and the Southern Senators. Now is the time to do something else.

The CIO leadership must be made to face its own responsibilities squarely. What do you propose to do about the poll-tax? Do you propose to go into the South and organize black and white workers? Do you intend to confine your campaign to the question of wages and trade union demands, or do you propose to organize mass pressure from the South itself, pressure by the masses of the people against the state and federal governments? If not, why not? Is it because you are afraid that by doing so, you will break up the Democratic Party? And to take the question one step further, if you break up the Democratic Party, but at the same time gain the masses of the people in the South, why shouldn't you, having now organized labor in the North, and the great masses of the people in the South, why shouldn't you then be able to form a new political party which would be strong enough to seize the power and rule the country?

The Southern senators are reactionary. Congress is dishonest. Good. We know that. But what does the CIO leadership propose? This is the question that should be hammered at it from all who are pledged to work for the abolition of the poll-tax. We do not propose to run Murray's campaign for him. We want a political declaration.

Those are the issues involved. Murray must know the power that the CIO can exercise in the South if it wants to. Murray must know also the consequences which would follow the exercise by the CIO of this power. The public must know what Murray thinks. I shall return to this subject next week.

OFF LIMITS

By JAMES M. FENWICK

\$417,260,127,310

Look carefully again at the figure which heads this column. It looks like one of those astronomically large, almost incomprehensible, figures which are used in describing distances between the stars in our universe, doesn't it?

It represents the amount of money Congress appropriated during the years 1941 through 1946 for war purposes.

To help you realize just how large this sum is, imagine that it were all turned into one-dollar bills. Then imagine you started counting this money at the rate of one dollar a second. Imagine, further that with true capitalist enterprise you worked tirelessly day and night. It would take you 13,247 years to complete the job. You would finish in the year 15,193.

Had you begun counting in the past so as to finish this year, you would have had to begin to finish the pyramids in Egypt, thousands of years before the Biblical flood, thousands of years before the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah by "fire and brimstone from the Lord out of heaven," 13,246 years before the destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki by atomic bombs dropped from the heavens at the behest of our capitalist lords and masters.

CAPITALISM—CREATOR OF DEATH

This dazzling mass of wealth, more magnificent than the wildest dreams of Indian maharajahs or dissolute emperors of antiquity, was used by capitalism to create death and destruction, and hunger, heartbreak and mutilation on a scale unparalleled in previous history.

What wonders could have been worked had this wealth been applied to socially useful ends!

Fifty-five days of such expenditures would have paid for the entire WPA program, which capitalism so begrudgingly allowed millions of workers to exist on during the depression.

Had this mass of wealth been divided among the nearly 35,000,000 families in the United States, each family would have received \$11,936.

In other words, every family in the United States—your family!—would have received the following:

A spick and span new \$7,000 home.

House furnishings valued at \$1,500.

A \$1,000 new car.

An educational fund of \$1,000 for the children.

A reserve fund of \$1,436 in the bank, to be held for emergencies.

What a revolution in our lives it would have meant!

SOCIALISM, THE HOPE OF HUMANITY

Why can't capitalism, which can create miracles of production for war, do the same in peacetime?

The reason is very simple: Capitalism disposes of manufactured products only when it can turn a profit. That is why, though periodically under capitalism huge surpluses build up, and though at the same time millions of people in the United States desperately desire these products, capitalism will not release them.

There is no PROFIT in it. So that is why people go hungry when there is too much wheat, are poorly dressed when there are too many clothes on the market, and go cold when there is an excess of coal.

Socialism destroys the profit system and substitutes production for use. Under socialism, goods which are produced will immediately flow into the hands of those who desire them without being dammed up because of the necessity of extracting a profit.

For desiring such a social system, socialists are called visionaries, crackpots.

Capitalists, of course, are notoriously sane—sane, that is, if you consider the spending of \$417,260,127,310 for the destruction of human life a mark of sanity, sane if you consider the feverish preparations for atomic warfare the sign of a balanced mind, sane if you consider toying with the disintegration of the globe itself a national act.

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MAY DAY CELEBRATION

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Hear

Max Shachtman Nat'l Sec., Workers Party

Chairman: Robert Ferguson Chicago Org., Workers Party

Editorials

Yes, Food for the Hungry!

Every working man and woman in the United States with an ounce of human feeling, not to speak of the workers who feel their class solidarity with the toiling masses of the world, wants everything possible done to save the peoples of Europe and Asia from famine.

Is Truman doing everything possible? Even "Hooverville" Hoover has to say that they are "starting very late."

Truman, Hoover & Co. will do everything possible except (as Tolstoy said about the Russian landlords) get off the backs of the masses.

What do these gentlemen propose? They propose that loaves of bread be smaller, that we save on wheat by reducing our bread consumption. Very good. If it is necessary to eat less bread in order to help the hungry of the world, then we must do so. There is, however, something particularly revolting about their approach.

Restaurants where the "high and mighty" gorge themselves on stupendous riches of food, politely request that their patrons go easy on the bread. At a recent dinner for the very honorable Mr. Winston Churchill at the Waldorf-Astoria, the guests were served fillet of sole in lobster sauce, baked breast of guinea hen and other trifles. A note alongside the richly laden plates requested the diners not to overstuff themselves on bread! The picture of the Waldorf-Astoria saving food for Europe's needy is a gruesome as it is ludicrous. Bread for the hungry is a necessary staple; it is not something with which to wash down a mouthful of guinea hen.

By all means, if there is not enough wheat to go around, let us eat less bread. We are, and should be, willing to share our food with our class brothers of the world. And why only bread?

There are, however, two considerations. If the baker reduces the size of the loaf, then the cost must be brought down proportionately. And so on down the line. The second consideration is weightier. HOW MUCH OF A WHEAT SHORTAGE IS THERE? The few bites that we save will not feed the millions of hungry. But they must have food, and there IS food!

We shall take a single example for the present: At the same moment when it is appealing for ways and means of sending abroad a maximum of

wheat, the Truman Administration is responsible for the fact that tens of millions of bushels are being burned as a fuel substitute!

Where? In Argentina. This horrible fact is casually reported in the March 3 New York Times:

"Europe and Asia must have approximately 17,000,000 tons of wheat in 1946 to prevent wide-scale starvation. Of the four great wheat-producing countries—Canada, the United States, Argentina and Australia—Canada's crop last year declined as a result of bad weather, Australia is only partially recovered from the extensive drought of 1944, and ARGENTINA IS BURNING WHEAT TO COMPENSATE FOR A FUEL SHORTAGE. This leaves only the United States, with Canada second, in a position to export substantial stocks."

Why is Argentina burning wheat? It is a very costly and inefficient substitute for oil and coal. Argentina is burning wheat BECAUSE THE TRUMAN ADMINISTRATION HAS CUT OFF OIL FROM ARGENTINA AND WON'T LET ARGENTINA CHARTER TANKERS TO BRING OIL FROM ELSEWHERE.

Normally Argentina is the second largest exporter of wheat in the world, next only to North America. In 1940, for example, Argentina exported 135 million bushels of wheat while North America exported 197 millions. How many millions, and tens of millions, of bushels have instead been burned this year, thanks to the Truman policy?

Peron of Argentina is a reactionary scoundrel but that is NOT why Truman is fighting him. There are plenty of other reactionary dictators with whom Truman is holding hands! Sure, Peron is a scoundrel; and we will give our assistance to the Argentine masses who fight him. But we must not let the hungry pay the penalty for Truman or Peron. It is criminally insane to burn wheat for fuel.

Food for Europe and Asia! It is an obligation we owe. We must give of our own. But, above all, we must disclose the hoards that exist. We have the means of plenty. We must not let the food monopolists and the imperialist politicians stand in the way of our own needs and the needs of the world. If the monopolists can't manage it, WE CAN!

Attlee Offer Is a Fraud - -

(Continued from page 1)

his fellow Labor Government imperialists, of course.

And how convenient was the immediate response of the reactionary M. A. Jinnah, head of the Moslem League. He announced that, suddenly, the Moslem people of India had become a "nation" and would accept nothing less than a division of India in two—Hindu India and Moslem India. Without this, Mr. Jinnah threatened civil war (an old threat of his). Never before in the history of Indian nationalism has the claim been made that the Moslems of that country are a separate people and nation! The claim is false from top to bottom and further emphasizes the reactionary role of the Moslem League leadership.

WHAT IS ATTLEE AFTER?

But, nevertheless, isn't it true that the British have gone further than at previous times? Aren't they playing with fire when they broadcast such statements? Undoubtedly this is so. It reflects the increasingly difficult situation of the Empire in the post-war world. The colonies are seething with revolt; America is pressing for commercial entry into India and the Empire markets; the Russians are pressing dangerously close to the Indian life-line. The offer of Attlee thus recognizes the gravity of the situation and is an effort to find allies for the struggle for Empire preservation.

Whom does Attlee seek as his ally? The Indian Nationalist Congress Party—that is, the political party of the Indian capitalist class. This party, led by Gandhi, Nehru and other spokesmen for Indian capitalism, is in a fine bargaining position today and will drive a hard bargain with Attlee and company. It is not at all impossible that a "deal" will be made, granting important political concessions and giving greater freedom to the Indian capitalists. If this "deal"

does not come off, then Attlee will resort to the familiar argument that India is too divided internally to be given independence.

The reactionary Moslem League and its spokesmen, fearful of a deal with the Congress Party over their heads, are screaming their empty threats for this reason. At present it is too early to see the outcome of these new negotiations, but some form of agreement is very likely. In London circles, it is already rumored that the whole matter has been privately arranged and cooked up. The real aim of British imperialism now is to make a ruling bloc with the Indian capitalist and landlord class, since it recognizes that it can no longer hold India without such a bloc.

But such a deal would answer not a single one of the nation's fundamental problems: the misery of the workers and peasants; the question of who is to own and get the benefits of the nation's resources and industry; the question of the agrarian revolution and a democratically federated, united India, etc. It would be a mutual accord between the old imperialists and the native capitalists AGAINST the people. It would not mean real freedom.

WHAT IS REAL FREEDOM?

In the first place, what right do the British have to influence or regulate in any way whatsoever the future of India, or the nature of its new Constitution? Independence means that all outside pressures and influences are withdrawn, leaving the Indian people themselves to decide what they want.

Thus Point One in a real independence program requires the British to announce immediately that India is completely free, and to prove this by beginning the immediate withdrawal of all their troops. In a word, to carry out in practice the "Quit India" slogan.

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