

SECTION Ia) The War and Technological Development

The impact of World War II has been deep and tremendous on the objective developments in all fields of American economy and on American society generally. Not a single field of endeavor has remained unaffected or untouched by the inroads and necessities of the imperialist war. A veritable evolution has been achieved through the many technological changes and improvements in technique in every important industry. There are few comparable periods in all known history. This revolution in industry, in science, etc. is still proceeding. No force in American society is capable of preventing its continued development. At worst, the consequences of such developments can emerge for a temporary period in distorted form without the benefits to society they are ultimately destined to achieve. In the corollary sphere of agriculture, this revolution has also been in process, and though not as complete as in the industrial field, it has made deep impressions on the agriculture forces of American life, in relation to productivity and on the lives of those engaged in agricultural pursuits. The significance and effects of these technological and rational advances in industry, agriculture and science upon all layers of society are so great that they must form the primary concern of revolutionaries in evaluation of the post-war period.

So common have been these achievements in the brief period of American participation in the war that to give one example is really to symbolize the course of development in all major, basic and even light industries. Thus, to cite (extremely briefly) the post-war plans of one air industry concern, which have become a post-war necessity for the entire airplane industry. Transcontinental & Western Air, Inc. has made application to the Government authorities for expansion of its passenger, mail and freight service immediately following cessation of the war. At present 34 cities are served or certificated along TWA's route. TWA proposes to add 99 more cities, or a total of 133 cities which would be directly served for normal passenger, trade and mail purposes: ontake and discharge of passengers, mail and cargo; operated, as a matter of course, with multi-engine, luxury airliners and similar cargo ships. Under TWA's post-war program, nearly all the towns of 5000 population and over would be within 25 miles of an airplane stop. Every state in the Union would be immediately affected by TWA's trunk-line service alone. And other airplane concerns plan similar expansions. Much could be said on these proposals alone in their ramifications in the social and political life of every human being in this country.

The airplane industry, achieving a gigantic revolution in its industry, can be regarded as the advance and militant guard of capitalism. It has a determined program for the vast expansion of its industry in all directions, and even a confidence in its relations with labor. This confidence and determination, after long discussion and controversy with the government, have had their effects on the more dubious government. Thus the latter has gradually been granting permission for the extension of the domestic Airline as well as the international. The Government's doubts find their source both in the problems of the industry and the relations to labor. The Government first subsidized the industry. Now it is permitting wide competition among the different air lines. Yet, even before it permits the

get seriously under way with its post-war plans, the Government raises grave doubts on the efficacy of competitive air lines struggles today, in a monopolist era, and on the wisdom, for instance, of the establishment of parallel line. Thus the Government recognizes directly the contradictions of the economic order which brings its best laid plans to naught or destruction. It fears that these plans for parallel lines can be achieved fundamentally only through such intensive exploitation of the workers as, we can say confidently, neither the air industry workers (or other workers) will permit any longer.

Take again, the prospectus issued by the New York Central Railroad on improvement and expansion of its lines. The prospectus follows, in its essential attitude and program, that of the TWA, e.g. for metal freight cars, roller bearing rails, refrigerator cars, etc. An examination of the post-war plans and programs of scores of major industries -- chemical, steel, building, aluminum, textile, plastics -- reveals the gigantic and grandiose vistas of the respective sectors of the capitalist class for expansion, yes, the virtual re-organization of the productive forces.

To cite briefly some other examples, Various capitalist spokesmen and capitalist builders are in accord on what can be done (assuming, on their part, non-interference by Government, and of course, a minimum by Labor) in the field of general housing and residential construction in the post-war period. Thus, even when based on a drastic reduction of the national income to \$100,000,000,000.00 in the immediate post-war period, the building demands of back-log orders alone, would require \$5,300,000,000 for general building; \$2,200,000,000 in residential construction, and \$1,500,000,000 for heavy construction.

Another illustration: In the winter of 1943, the anthracite coal industry increased production by 6 million tons. This was accomplished with 18,000 less workers. Over 50% of the anthracite miners were of ages from 45 to 65 years! (Statement of Anthracite Industries, July 30, 1944). This is observed again the simplicity of production even in an industry as tough as coal.

In broader terms, yet summarizing the course of development in all the industries, it is obvious to all - bourgeoisie and proletariat alike - that an unheard of era of production is possible. World War II has indeed proven the locomotive for a startling transformation of American capitalist industry within the brief span of the war years. Moreover, World War II's impact on our lives can well make it come true that Revolution is the airplane of history. Now, to bourgeoisie and proletariat alike, it has become obvious that there exists the key problem of the regulation and relation of industry to politics or Government - precisely: the problem of the regulation and control of industry. But by whom and how?

From the bourgeoisie or its spokesmen have come proposals. Thus, W.C. Vose, (Head of the Department of Building, Engineering and Construction, Massachusetts Institute of Technology) demands an integration program, specifically: An overall integration of American industry. This shall consist of a central council of representatives of all major elements, including "designers, manufacturers, financial agencies, workers, farmers and Government" in order to "capitalize" on the potentialities of the post-war period.

This represents the clearest expression of the need of the bourgeoisie for a peace-time "national unity" or class-collaborationist policy in industry.

agriculture and politics. The propagation of this bourgeois conception of national planning can be expected to increase as the difficulties of the post-war period swiftly draw closer.

The Roosevelt Administration, especially of the "New Deal period" is only the bourgeois democratic expression of a conception that finally can only find its last-ditch salvation in the "integrated" order of American Fascism. On our part it becomes imperative to present and to prove the case of Socialism as the only genuine and practical answer to the problems of modern production and society.

But first let us note that, with all the pitfalls and snares that capitalist economy may and does fall into, the enormous resources of American economy and the impending victory of American imperialism in this war have brought forth some significant assertions of confidence in the future of American capitalism.

Thus, ".....technological progress during the war has made the United States practically independent of essential imports, at least imports outside the Western Hemisphere," declares the research director, Mr. Lowe, of the Institute of World Affairs.

Throughout the history of mankind, significant change in the means of transportation and communication, have always resulted in great changes in the cultural and intellectual outlook of the people, as well as in their economic and social existence. It is not accidental that Marx spoke of revolution as the locomotive of history. As the people of the World consider and speculate on the shape of things to come, we may say that patterns of the past must be considered and utilized with great caution in determining the patterns of the future, especially in the United States. For the past will appear slow and cumbersome to a world attuned today to tremendously swift movements and changes in all aspects of life. These transformations in all the significant features of the objective world, sooner rather than later, are going to reflect or show themselves in the outlook and proposals which the people of the United States (and also the people on all the continents) will make - with and without precise articulateness, ideologically, programmatically and politically - to resolve the problems of life that modern economy has posed. That will in effect be the revolution. Whether this revolution proceeds to victory or defeat and reaction depends on factors for consideration in other parts of this document.

b) The American People and the War

The war has had a great impact on all layers of the population, on the working class, the middle classes, the servicemen and women, and the Negroes. These effects have been observable even in the midst of the war, when the cry for national unity might have been expected to lessen, if not to obliterate, class lines while the imperialists pursued their war aims. For well over a year, national unity has been changing into national disunity and sharper class struggle. For more than a year now, the working class, in its acts, if not always in its professions, has more and more turned to pursuit of its class interests, and less and less has been beguiled by the demands and propaganda of the ruling class. Insofar as they have "supported" the war, they have wanted it over quickly. Conscious of the need to get rid of German Fascism, the workers at the same time have maintained a healthy cynicism

toward the professions on war aims proclaimed by the administration. For more than a year, workers of all sections of the labor movement - AFL, CIO, etc.- have increasingly resorted to strike action in protection of their interests. In nearly all instances, these strikes - of various forms, content and extent - have taken place despite the expressed or unexpressed admonitions of the labor leadership and the "no strike" pledge. Even "D-Day" did not stop strikes except temporarily - for a few days at most. Nor could it, for labor and other domestic problems have been steadily and sharply superseding the war in the eyes of the masses.

Moreover, this increasing movement of strike actions has not been confined to the basic industries, but has become more and more extensive in all trades and industries. This is indicated the underlying widespread conscious concern and fear of the masses for tomorrow's situation. For instance, 25,000 labor disputes and grievances of varying importance before various Government agencies for disposition in the first six months of 1944 attest eloquently to the unrest and increasing difficulties among the workers. It is not accidental but symptomatic of the workers attitude and feelings that "War Bond Issue "E", directed and sold among the workers and other low paid elements of the population, took a prolonged period to sell, whereas the other bond efforts, profiting the big bankers and investors were quickly disposed of.

This sharpness in the change in the attitude of the mass of American workers and people toward the war and their own class interests is outstandingly expressed in the decision of the Auto Workers Convention to hold a referendum on the "no-strike" pledge. Thus it may be said, (and it has importance with regard to the militancy and consciousness of the workers when the imperialist war is actually finished) that the war has been "over" for the American workers for more than a year. (e.g., the government appeals to the workers, its insistence on the long hard push ahead, the workers leaving of war jobs for non-essential industries, their concern with the postwar period) As the war continues in the Pacific, we can confidently expect even more class actions, with the workers more and more letting the war be the exclusive concern of the bourgeoisie, except insofar as Government power and force compel the working class to participate in it.

Next, the lower middle classes, They have been so victimized economically and socially by the second world war, to a degree never before visited upon them, that they have also come to some conclusions with regard to the consequences of the war. The effects of the war upon these layers of the people have caused them, too, for a long while to look toward an early end of the war from the standpoint of their group or class interests. Only the small minority of the bourgeoisie understand this war to be "theirs" Yet, for them, too, the war is "over", in that they have long realized that imperialist victory is theirs, if the proletariat did not intervene in its own interests. Their concern to finish the job with the Axis Powers has been motivated with the desire to hasten the reorganization of the world in the post-war period in the interests of unquestioned American power, increased wealth and profits, and by the fear that an indefinite prolongation of the war would exhaust the entire ruling class of Europe and hasten the revolt of the European masses.

Substantially different is the outlook of the Government or Administration toward the progress and pursuit of the war. For it the war is not over, even in the military sense. Moreover, it carries in the eyes of the masses the factual and formal responsibility for the toll of killed and wounded

and the economic and social dislocations so far incurred and to follow. Its responsibility is immediate and historic.

Moreover, more immediately and potentially serious, the end of the war in a military sense only means that the Government must transfer its endless task of attempting to reconcile class antagonisms to peace times, when it cannot so easily hold the masses in leash by force or national unity propaganda.

The effects of the war have always created and raised even greater social problems for the masses and the nation as a whole following the war's end. Thus, for instance, the great shifts or migrations of the American population (apart from the Armed Services) the past few years is a matter of considerable importance to any plans of the revolutionary movement. The migrations of today have a significance - though of a different kind - for the future of America, comparable to the migrations of the early pioneers from the Atlantic Coast and Allegheny Mountains steadily westward. The migrations of 1939-1945 and those yet to come make puny-like in scope and importance the yearly migrations of agricultural workers (IWW) to earn their precarious livelihood. The shifts have been constant these past years. There have been mass changes in jobs in new geographical settings. There has been a new life for millions in all sorts of conditions and improvisations.

The migrations have been from the East, Middle West and South to the West Coast, notably Washington, California, Oregon, Nevada and Arizona. These shifts of the population involved millions of men, women and children, that is a dislocation of lives for hundreds of thousands of families from all walks of the population but overwhelmingly of the working class, poor farmers and lower middle classes, including tremendous numbers of the Minority group, the Negroes, white collar workers, etc.

It is estimated that only 50-60 % of these numbers want or expect (assuming it were possible) to return to their former homes and occupations. What import do these population shifts have for the social and political scene. At this time, it need only be stated briefly that as a consequence a broader, healthier attitude pervades the population generally in respect to human relations. Sectionalism - an unquestioned phenomenon for decades in American life - has been dealt its heaviest blows. The South still remains a section apart, but there the migration has taken the form of movement, not only to outside states like California but from the rural areas to the cities. This has not altered the regionalism of the South, but it has stirred up the population and has sharpened its particular conflicts. But this very sharpening of the problems brings the South closer to the national problems which are now being posed for solution.

Thus, the total effects of these migrations are to hasten on a national scale cohesive consciousness in the working class and toiling people as a whole. A modern humanism - the rights of human beings in the concrete, above all, of the exploited masses, is being realized as imperative to a degree never before achieved.

Second, this transformation of millions of the American people into nomads on a scale never before seen, has, on the one hand, produced a spirit of restlessness, uncertainty and feeling on insecurity, not only among the armed forces but in the population as a whole; and on the other hand, has

induced a greatly increased desire for peace, stability, homes, etc. Thus, a survey of safety bank depositors by the National Association of Savings Banks, reveals the immediate concern and aims of several millions of the working class and lower middle class population. They wish or intend to use their present savings for the following purposes:

Future needs.....	42%
Buy or build homes.....	13%
Refit present home.....	8%
Marry	5%
Buy farm.....	3%
Buy auto.....	9%
Establish business....	4%
Increase insurance.....	5%
Children's education..	11%

(The figures are not ascertainable, but a reasonable assumption is that at least 50% of safety bank depositors are workingmen). Without touching in detail on the meaning of these figures, it may be said, as a minimum that they reflect a conscious outlook of millions of workers for expansion and improvement (not retrenchment) in their living standards - capitalist warnings and chidings notwithstanding. It can be further noted that only a very small percentage (3%) think in terms of land property, i.e., farm land, for their security. This represents an even more marked trend toward the recognition that life today is and requires resolution where the people find themselves - in the cities and industries. The "Back to the Land" movement, to the farms, being fostered today in Congress as a post-war measure to allay mass discontent is doomed to failure.

Another social question affecting the population is the question of homes. The desire for permanent homes or more regularized existence is today deep-seated, and of course, can lend itself to conservative, even reactionary appeal. For the moment, it suffices to note the direction of the desire. The war has helped to make people more, not less, home conscious. Building figures indicate that anywhere from 300,000 to 800,000 new small family homes are planned for the immediate post-war period. A survey of the National Association of Real Estate Boards also confirms this trend of wide layers of the working and lower middle class population to use existing resources for small home building. But these surveys also reveal that the cost of building homes independently will be increased, thus probably shattering quickly the hopes of vast numbers, and that considerably higher rents will prevail. These two questions, the migrations of millions and the deep-seated desire for homes are symptomatic of the great changes which affect the people personally, in addition to the revolutionary effect upon their consciousness of the great technological changes which they have experienced in the factories.

c) The Proletariat

Of all the sections of the American population, the war has unquestionably made its deepest, most significant, impact on the industrial proletariat. To understand the depth of this change and to base our tactics, strategy and program on this changed outlook, is our major task today. In general terms, we declare that a theory or ideology is realized in the people to the extent of peoples' need for a theoretical or generalized attitude of a fundamental character. Revolutionary ideas and ideals do come to grip people steadfastly

in time. They move toward their realization more swiftly if the realities or necessities of life themselves compel a movement toward the idea, however much the idea may lag behind the objective situation. Today, in the United States, the synchronization, the closing of the gap between theoretical need and material necessity of the masses is definitely to be observed in the acts and motions of the proletariat on the various fronts.

At this point, it is not necessary to use political terminology to define the direction of the masses today. Broadly speaking, it can be said that they are going Left, insofar as Left or progress is defined in terms of conscious social and economic desires and susceptibility or far great readiness for radical solutions to the country's problems. At the same time, the counter-process among other class groupings towards the Right, and making for Fascist formations themselves, is also more clearly present.

In simple terms, the American workers today want more than bread out of life. War and its devastation have only whetted their hopes and desires for the abundant life; precisely because the productive forces utilized for effectively for war purposes have convinced them that vast production for life and living, not death and dying, is entirely feasible today. All the peoples know that modern capitalist society, culminating in imperialist war, frustrate their lives. They are not satisfied that such conditions shall be again repeated in their lives or those of another generation. They want to get out of such a horrible impasse or situation.

In what does this change consist of, as etched and wrought so deeply by the impact of the Second World War? The masses are not for or against capitalism in itself. Neither are they for or against Socialism in itself. They are less interested today in mere labels or terms than ever before. They want results, for themselves, through whoever knows how and gives proof thereof. That is why, for the first time on a nation-wide scale, radical or revolutionary labor has its great opportunity for an audience that will listen. Woe to those radicals who are deceived by appearance and form, and who fail to see the real urges and changes in working class outlook.

It is not necessary to use profound phrases to explain their changed outlook. On the contrary, it is necessary to be as simple and direct as they are in indicating their wants and desires. If we do not yet grasp the degree of this change, it is perhaps because the forms are deceptive. The people do not yet talk in terms of socialism. But they realize well today that significant changes must be made. That is more than sufficient for us as a point of departure for agitation and propaganda. This is the period of the auto and the trailer and pre-fabricated homes, not the era of cabins, covered wagons, pony expresses, or horses and buggies. This is the day of speeding trains and even speedier planes, the world in which canyons and deserts are replaced by awe-inspiring dams, vast airplane routes and great irrigated regions.

This is the era of the fundamental decline and decadence of capitalist imperialism and therefore of a new pioneer period for the proletariat. The American proletariat is ready to pioneer in modern style. That is the great change in America today. Through their own experiences, in the factories, in their migrations, into the factories and out of them, onto the fields and off them, through the increased uncertainties of life and the recognition of the needlessness of uncertainty and insecurity - they are ready today to pioneer

for a new life, with the same urge, necessity and determination that animated the early pioneers who colonized the Atlantic and Southern Coastal States, the pioneers of the covered wagon who crossed waters where there were no bridges and burning prairies fired by infuriated Indians. The difference is that where once pioneering meant breaking through natural and geographical boundaries, today it means overcoming social boundaries.

Why are they ready to pioneer, to struggle without fear, to break through to new physical and intellectual frontiers. Negatively, they do not want to live any longer with the Damoclean sword of war always hanging over or plunged into them; and war done, to return once more to uncertain lives, mass job hunting, etc. But positively, the workers expect much, a great deal, after the war, or rather they no longer see no reason why they should not have MUCH out of life, materially, socially, educationally, etc. The conviction that abundance and security are possible for all today is impressed on the mass consciousness: 2 chickens in every pot, an auto for every family; these are sound believable ideas in their minds. They, too, have glimpsed the vast horizons of the future, by their experience, by observation of the social scene today. Thus, the idea of progress for the people as necessary and possible, has seeped to the very bottom, not only to the organized workers, but to the sharecroppers, to all the lowly and oppressed. What is another important foundation for the enunciation of our next tasks.

We need not be surprised at this phenomenon of the basically changing outlook of the masses toward American society. The very origins and subsequent power of American capitalism were bound to result in the social and political awakening of the American masses at the very productive zenith of American capital. The highest expression of one social order always gives birth to the highest expression of the social order to supplant it. That, too, is a part of the historic process which places today upon the American proletariat the greatest of all responsibilities to the exploited peoples of the world.

Servicemen

The decisive section of the population is, of course, organized labor. But the war has created a special body of men, over ten million, whose future course will have an enormous effect on the future of the United States.

The servicemen - above all, those who have been through actual combat and, next, those who are abroad and preparing for actual fighting - are intently aware of the injustices that have been perpetrated on their generation by the masters of society on a world wide scale. Those years, for the lower age groups particularly, which are the best for the forming of fine minds, strong bodies and vital, generous lives, are arbitrarily and cruelly taken away from them in the cause of war. But surely all, every bit of what they go through, will have its direct and swift impact on the world that is to unfold after the war. It is the former members of the armed forces who are going to be the most dissatisfied men and women of modern society, turning to Right or Left for succor and guidance, and by their decision en masse becoming in all probability the group that turns the balance toward Fascism or proletarian revolution. That is our fundamental problem in relation to the eventually returning armed forces.

It is too much to expect that any but a few will be concerned, while in the military struggle, with what is really happening in France, Holland, Germany, or with DeGaulle, Eisenhower, except in the military sense and its

immediate effect upon them. They think personally about their intentions or hopes for the post-war, not socially. Here are millions who have seen killing or who have been killed. They have been in association with one another, that is, with all kinds of people. Innumerable numbers of them are learning for the first time that something more, something bigger, greater, more awesome, awful and wonderful than their own little hamlet or town of Mudville constitutes the world. The effect on them is shocking and breath-taking. Not unimportant in its political and social significance was the popular song of some two decades ago, "How Ya Gonna Keep Them Down on the Farm, After They've Seen Paree?" Incomparably more meaningful is the impact of this war on the servicemen's consciousness.

Confronted with a return to a different or unsatisfactory life, after impressionable years in the army, great numbers of these men can turn to Fascism, just as easily as to social revolution. Their outlook is necessarily confused and uncertain, and that makes them prey to demagogues. Until what lies underneath in their subconscious minds, emerges into or penetrates the conscious mind, as they come into contact with the civil world again, we will be somewhat unsure exactly how to address them, because we do not know them fully. But that can be a swift transition for us. That elementary wish for "home" can easily be utilized by Fascists as by others. Susceptibility to Hitlerism very close to home (Couglin, Gerald Smith, Lindbergh) can prove very real if Labor fails the service people in economics and politics through lack of a program that fills their needs.

At present the only force diligently and seriously endeavoring to enroll and dominate the minds of the Second World War Veterans is the American Legion. The Legion's influence on American politics has always been great. Now it can become the greatest single force apart from Labor, in American politics. It is patent that the veterans of the present war will also enter onto the political scene. If Labor fails to resolve relations satisfactorily with them, Labor may face heavy defeats in the next stage, confronting such elements as strikebreakers, supporters of hoodlum, Fascist elements etc.

First of all, A F of L President Green's recent endorsement of the Legion's policy is a guarantee of Labor defeat and suppliance, if uncorrected. The Auto Workers Union, CIO, several months ago conferred on the question of attitude and practice toward returning service men in and outside its ranks, but beyond the conference nothing further has developed. At the moment the veterans of World War 2 are neither pro or anti Legion. Some of them have considered organizing a new service organization. The Legion already conducts a militant campaign to enroll them. As yet there are no signs of a consistent policy or procedure by either the CIO or AFL.

We repeat: There is need for Labor to move fast. For the veterans will return bitter, resentful, disillusioned or with illusions, easy pickings for reactionaries of various kinds, but people of action. They want to return to the United States, certainly, and not to function as Europe's or Asia's rehabilitators. Their travels or migrations have affected their outlook. Their callousness, hardness, their emotionally and morally a-social or anti-social adrift condition; their apathy in one respect, their cynicism, can be swiftly accentuated unless an organized force, the Labor movement, helps to integrate them as a positive force in society, draws them actively, consciously, programmatically, politically into alliance with Labor. As things seem to stack up in the next stage, they will be a dynamic force either to the Left or

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SECTION 11

4 Hours a Day, 5 Days a Week

Only the organized working class can solve the problem of society. The question for revolutionaries is how to help them to do so.

At the present time, the technological developments, and the pioneering mood of the American people, their great expectations, their fear that the productive system after the war might not only fail to give them what they want but give them crisis and unemployment instead - this demands on the part of labor a bold program which will concentrate and crystallize the hopes and possibilities. Such a program must be built around a central slogan. Such a slogan is the 4 hour day, 5 days a week. Later we shall go into more detail into the kind of program that labor will need. But the slogans for a 4 hour etc. must be regarded as the response of labor to the technological discoveries, possibilities of production, etc. This slogan, it must be noted, is not a socialist slogan. It appeals to all as a solution of their concrete problems and their hopes for the future.

The slogan will be raised by labor but it is not merely a labor slogan. It is a slogan for all the workers, and to millions of underpaid laborers and struggling white collar workers it will represent a new era.

The slogan may sound startling. It is not so to those who have understood what the war has done to the American people which we have striven to explain in previous pages. The slogan gives opportunity to explain in detail what the productive system has done during the war and what it can do. The workers and others who hear it presented will recognize the technological possibilities as their own experience. Those conservative workers and other elements who oppose this slogan as unrealistic will have to explain to the people why the great technological advances cannot be used for the people. The service man in particular will have seen the wonderful achievements of science and organization in the field of war. They will not be conservative as far as the technological possibilities are concerned.

A slogan such as the 6 hour day and 5 day week would miss the whole point, although it would seem to be only a few hours difference. The 30 hour week was raised by the AF of L before the war began. If raised today, it will mean that the new possibilities and the pioneering temper of the people raised by the war will be ignored. No. Our slogan must correspond to the times and must bring before the people a solution which will help them to think their own thoughts to their end. Later we shall go into detail into the question of a special program for each union and a general all-over program for the country as a whole. But this slogan is a slogan for all the American people as opposed to the small minority of exploiters and their supporters. It expresses in simple fashion the possibilities of the age in which we live. Labor must make this slogan its own. It must be known as Labor's slogan. That means that it must be the central slogan of the unions.

SECTION 111

(a) The Union Movement

The problems of the organized labor movement for the coming or post-war period are significantly greater in degree and will more and more approach a

distinction in kind than the problems confronting the labor movement before the war. It is the unions which will have to understand and carry out the immediate tasks.

By "simple" unionism we mean just this: that even militant class struggle unionism to protect its existence and standards will fail--unless the Labor Movement henceforth more and more and then swiftly motivates consciously its daily struggles and then its broader ultimate aims with an increasing socialist ideology, if not immediately the socialist goal itself. Great militant struggles-- and they are certain to come and persist--are no longer sufficient by themselves to serve labor's interests seriously. Without a sharp increase, in the next stage, of social and socialist consciousness, these struggles will run to earth in the face of a belligerent capitalism and then finally result in the disintegration of labor solidarity, courage and organization.

For labor really, not formally, to hold its own and to make headway in the coming period, its very immediate demands upon and struggles against the employing class and the Government must be of a kind that almost automatically envisage deep social implications affecting favorably all the exploited strata of society.

By and large there are three types of workers in labor unions. Each type needs to be considered in the presentation of program and tasks.

There are the undoubted thousands of revolutionists (with and without political party affiliations), buttressed by, certainly, hundreds of thousands, possibly a few millions, of workingmen who can be labeled class conscious; or as a minimum, genuinely militant unionists. It is this category, we all realize, who hold to and try to hold the labor movement together against all difficulties and obstacles. These do not themselves require to be propagandized or agitated on union issues. Yet all these need union and political direction of a definitive character in order for them to be in a better position to influence their fellow workers of lesser union, class or political development.

A secondary category of union workers are a few millions who understand the necessity for strong unions. They themselves will not demonstrate aggressiveness or initiative, but they are good followers. It is this very large force of unionists who can be reached in the future by a positive program. These workers are ready for more than agitation of general radical union propaganda. These require the elucidation of economic and political problems. These forces can be taught to understand and accept Marxist Socialist ideas in all their phases.

A third category of the organized workers today are the millions who belong to a union for the first time, in a large measure because they must. They are pliable elements, for purposes good and bad. These are difficult elements to reach in order to teach them,--especially those who belong to Unions in small towns or cities (apart from workers like coal miners and steel workers.) They attend meetings but rarely. They are radio taught in large measure, which means that for the most part they are subject to anti-labor propaganda. Yet they are members of a union. As a beginning, in the interests of union maintenance and prevention of unseen dangers, such as lukewarmness or direct hostility to strike actions in the future, the Union movement needs to reach into each of these workers' homes with a live local or national paper.

Then, today as yesterday, there are Labor's bottleneck, the still vast unorganized workers. Many reasons establish the imperative need for the Labor movement seriously to mobilize its forces from top to bottom to organize the unorganized in the South and also in the North, East and West, despite relatively favorable preponderance of union organization in the latter as compared to the South. The fundamental reasons for a bona fide union organization drive are POLITICAL and not only the unquestionably important one of union organization.

Why? Certainly union organization is needed for elementary workers' organizational purposes. However, more significantly; the masses are headed for political action everywhere. If the masses are in labor unions as they turn toward political action, their ideas and actions can more surely be directed along class channels; toward a Labor Party, a class program, etc. If they are OUTSIDE the union movement, we can be sure that the greatest efforts will be made by the various forces of conservatism and reaction, including the potential fascist movement in the United States, to reach these workers with the most persistent anti-labor and anti-radical agitation and propaganda. These are the millions of workers, lodged in all kinds of trades and industries, who all too often ally their minds, and their actions, with their class enemies--employers and Government; or stand aside and fail to add their weight to that of fighting labor.

It is IMPERATIVE for labor's future--and thus ours--that the UNORGANIZED BE ORGANIZED. If this slogan was always valid in the past, it is a hundred-fold more valid in this historical period for, above all, political considerations which more and more will be the main considerations of the people. In this connection John L. Lewis's attempt to organize all workers connected with the chemical industries is of deep symptomatic significance. The chemical industries are likely to be of an importance in the future far beyond their role in the past. They offer a means of uniting all types of workers on an international plane. Lewis may or may not see this. But the issue is far beyond inter-union quarrels and raiding. The existence of the unions, the role they will play in industry as it is and as it is likely to be transformed and the political development of the working class all demand that this organization of the unorganized be realized for what it is--one of the key questions in the union movement.

The foregoing only sketches some of labor's problems. Nevertheless, they are the significant ones. Many of them have been left too long on the shelf.

There is, however, one other matter that requires special mention in the consideration of the post-war period. We have said that by and large we have to take the militancy of the workers for granted in the next stages. Fortunately, labor militancy will demonstrate itself in the key fields, for instance, in transport industry in general; on the docks with considerable consciousness; in maritime, in aircraft (though here more elementally and at the outset with insufficient clarity of purpose); in auto, in coal as always, in steel--to mention some of the most important industries. (In the main, it is to be noted that generally a far greater union and class consciousness shows itself in industries of motion, more than in stationary industry and trades. There have been exceptions, as in the needle trades, now vitiated by Stalinism and reformist collaborationists.) However, what is important is that the labor and revolutionary movement needs to anticipate the struggles in those key industries that will have far deeper repercussions on the social and political scene than has ever before been the case; and that will

particularly give an impetus toward independent political action by the workers.

(b) The Union Leadership

The official union leaders could not stem the trend of the workers even during the imperialist war. They will have still less success in the next stage, even where they will lean on the Government to help pacify the workers. Greatly increased unemployment and the widening crisis among the people will accentuate the already growing division between the ranks of the workers and the leadership.

If the class collaborationist ideology and practice of the labor leadership continues to dominate the labor movement, then the logic of the situation would result in the American unions, becoming, to use Trotsky's language, instruments of imperialism.* The American working class dare not fail to dislodge a class collaborationist and Government-depending union leadership with a militant and developing class-conscious leadership in the next years.

At this time, we can state bluntly that the mood of the American workers, especially in the advanced industries is not to accept or permit a truckling capitulating attitude and policy by the union leadership toward the employers or the Government. The kind of leadership that emerges in the organized labor movement in the next years may prove to be the final decisive factor in tipping the balance for the American labor movement toward adoption of developed class collaboration for the coming years (especially with relation to the Government and labor-management committees, bonus and profit sharing schemes) or the open espousal and adoption of a policy of militant class-conscious (not yet revolutionary) unionism, which would be followed or accompanied by the adoption of a program by the labor movement commensurate with its place in society.

It is not so much the old-time leadership of the Unions that needs seriously to be feared. They, in fact, are on their way out; less and less of them remaining and more and more being displaced, even though many familiar names may give a contrary impression. The fact is that a new younger leadership has gradually been taking over the labor movement fairly fast in recent years. This trend will be accelerated a great deal from now on. That is an opportunity, certainly, for the best elements in the unions to endeavor to achieve genuine leadership in various unions. On the other hand, if this forthcoming dominantly new and younger leadership proves to be clearly class-collaborationist and reformist in its essential outlook and practices, the labor movement is in for difficult times. For these leaders will have greater genuine abilities, more skill and suaveness, and hence will be more dangerous than the classical labor leadership of the old-style A F of L and the carry-over into the CIO. Such leaders, far more so than the old leaders who just tool many things for granted, will deliberately try to educate the masses along class collaborationist conceptions, philosophy and practices.

* In that case (not altogether to be ruled out as a possibility, not only would the labor leadership have ignominiously betrayed the workers, it would also mean that the European workers, for instance, instead of looking forward to and counting on the American masses for support in their own coming battles would have lost their most powerful international brother ally against European capitalism.

To assist in the creation of a new leadership is the task of the revolutionary movement. It can do this first, by permeating the ranks with bold slogans (4 hour a day etc.) which will bring them into immediate conflict with the conservatism or class collaborationism of the leaders. Each union must have a program which will appeal to all the various types of workers and even the unemployed. The white collar workers also threatened with the crisis must see in the union program for the industry a basis for the solution of their own troubles. Such a program is the counterpart of the 4 hour a day slogan. Each is useless without the other.

(c) A Union Program

The 4 hour day, 5 day week is one embracing slogan around which we can build both agitation and propaganda to rouse the workers (and lower middle classes, servicemen etc.) towards a recognition of the technological possibilities of the society. Of course, it is the workers in the unions, more than all the others who must advance this slogan and who must associate the program with us. At the same time, however, the unions must have their own union program for the reorganization of the industry to solve the problems posed by the technological developments and the needs of the masses. Such a program cannot be the work of any single individual. It must be the work of the party as a whole based upon the closest contact with the workers in a particular industry. But here must be given some indication (however inadequate) of what the revolutionary movement must make as its main propagandistic and agitational objective in the field of union work. We take, purely as an example, the aircraft industry. Earlier the importance of the aircraft industry has been fully emphasized. In the N.Y. Times of October 26, 1944 Mr Alfred Marchov, president of Republic Aviation Corp., at the aviation industry day luncheon, gave an indication of one alibi that the industry is already preparing. He wiped off 50% of the work as being done by sub-contractors who wanted to go back to civilian production, 30% was overtime, which wouldn't be necessary in peace time, another 10% was due to workers who were in the industry solely because of the war. Thus, according to this reactionary capitalist magnate, the present aircraft industry would be able to function perfectly on the basis of 5% of present capacity.

To this maneuver of the capitalist class (and other of the maneuvers of the capitalist class) the unions must be able to reply. This does not mean that we do not advocate vigorously our transitional program as a general program but it must be concretized.

Such a program, brief and concise, would deal with union proposals to make possible for the country the following results by means of a reorganization of the industry. Technological developments in the aircraft field are of such dimensions as to make possible for the period immediately following the war:

- (1) to reach Europe within ten hours. Right now it takes only six hours by the fastest bomber to do so so that the ten hour estimate is conservative, safe commercial flying.
- (2) to reach Europe at cost of no more than the trip from New York to Los Angeles -- \$165 as compared to \$330 trip by ship.
- (3) a dozen airplanes, each carrying 150 passengers to carry as many passengers as were carried 1st class by steamers in an average year during the period 1928-1938. Two such planes flying in each direction could carry 200,000 persons a year.

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(4) airplanes can carry freight and the manner in which they do so already shows there is no dividing line as to a "backward country". For example, the Soviet Union carried 47,841 tons of freight last year where the US carried only 4,786 tons; the Central T.A.C.A. (Latin American air lines) supported itself by carrying 20 millions pounds of freight.

(5) No city in the world is further away from any other city than 48 flying hours.

(6) Airplanes need not utilize only existing fields, especially since it is as easy to reach Europe and the Orient from other than existing airfields. For example, by air San Diego is only a little nearer Japan than Minneapolis, so there is absolutely no reason why a person in the US must first travel cross the country before going either to Europe or the Orient. Settlements will follow the air routes, as they have followed all transportation developments from the caravan route to the railroad track. The cost of building these new air routes will not be as heavy as it was to lay railroad tracks, signal stations and railroad terminals.

(7) Mass production of helicopters will make them no more expensive than automobiles.

The government at present owns 90% of the aircraft industry which is almost only on the production of airplanes for war purposes, producing approximately 80,000 planes a year and utilizing about half a million workers. These workers produced between 5 to 6 million automobiles a year and there will be a market for that many if the planes continue to be built, this time for constructive peace purposes, instead of destructive war purposes, and hence we will need even more workers than are now employed in the air craft industry, particularly as the war time hours are injurious to health. Hence the union should demand the following:

- (1) Government should retain ownership of aircraft industry.
- (2) Turn the aircraft industry to production for peacetime use.
- (3) Retain all workers in industry; none need to return to home towns if they do not wish to do so.
- (4) 4 hour day and five day week to be instituted in aircraft industry.

A careful and systematic study of the industry, in which non-party but progressive workers can be included, could then result in a program, hours conditions of labor, etc. for the accomplishment of the above possibilities. This should be done for every major industry. To it should be added such important matters for the workers as work conditions in factory. For instance, union must recognize much of workers lives lived in and surrounding factory and hence they must aim for magnificent factory conditions; for ex., new designs, special night architecture (night shifts now regular in industry); new conveniences for workers; interior treatment, changes to remove all noise irritants to workers to be included in layouts of plants. Also, modern homes instead of the miserably inadequate defense housing built to house these emergency workers who now become the steady employed. Again, the union must urge establishment of health centers, nurseries, play areas for workers children, solariums. Shopping centers in larger plants. Hospital cleanliness to prevail everywhere. Workers aren't just dirt

The plan need not be a blueprint down to the last detail. Such is impossible and is not required. Also, we are not going to fall into syndicalist errors and give the impression that each union will run its own industry. It must always be clearly understood that this is a special union contribution to what must be a general over-all plan for industry, coordinated by the workers' government, resting on the unions and the political party of labor; but our comrades in the unions in the coming period must be able to propose, as centers around which to rally workers, the four hour day and five day week and this specific union program which must be understood to be the contribution of revolutionary socialists and the solution of the problems confronting the working class. Our agitation in the press must always have these as their center. The business of socialists in the unions must be to distinguish themselves from left-unionists by the fact that they constantly hold up these two proposals before the workers. In this way we constantly bring pressure to bear not only on the government but on the labor leaders who have no serious program for meeting the difficulties of the workers. In this way also we prepare the workers to concretize the inevitable struggles which are going to take place in the postwar period. Not only will there be new forms of struggle but by placing constantly before the militant working class these concrete proposals we are able to intensify and to sharpen the new forms of struggle and to place ourselves in the position of not only theoretical but practical leaders.

(d) New Forms of Struggle

The American workers have in the past year shown a remarkable capacity for developing ingenious devices to circumvent trickery and opposition and legal obstructions by the employers and government. For instance, "sickness" to overcome anti-strike penalties in the Smith-Connally Act, "resignation" etc. All are aware of the variety of forms that sit-down have taken. But since the ruling class is also ingenious, newer forms of struggle will have to be forthcoming by the workers. To illustrate one possibility. There will be sit-downs in the future. However, besides the inevitable spontaneous sit-downs, the impending struggles will require that the workers and the unions plan well-timed sit-downs for specific objectives. Such actions will hereafter necessitate planned coordination from inside and outside the plants. Naturally, there are required elements of secrecy in such forms of struggle. However, what we stress here is that the elements of consciousness and plan will play a greater role in such hitherto spontaneous actions in order to be effective.

Further, the workers must anticipate in the future the attempt of the government to intervene in their labor disputes; in strikes, sit-downs, and so forth. Till now, intervention by the government has always meant that the initiative and role of the workers has been displaced or removed by the Government (one agency or another, including the armed forces); sometimes with the willing acquiescence of the workers under the false assumption that the Government was acting in their behalf. However, since the hostile role of the Government in respect to labor will show itself more blatantly in the future, it is necessary for labor to prepare, and for us to help labor to anticipate and prepare for new methods of struggle to circumvent both Capital and the Government,

A definitive study needs to be made by the labor movement and by us of the history of new forms of struggle developed by labor in recent years

(e.g., the Minneapolis Teamsters Strike, the Toledo Automobile strike, the auto struggles, rubber workers strike, steel struggles, the four strikes of the coal miners during the war both against the employers and the orders of the Government, etc.), the methods used by workers in some cases during the war to overcome Government obstacles; the Brewster strike, etc.

Labor must make a digest of all these struggles, the lessons drawn and placed in written form for the benefit of the militant workers in the future. One cannot in advance say what penetrating conclusions might be drawn but we can be sure that positive lessons of a far-reaching nature are so many that such a historical study is imperative, precisely to be able to draw from them possible new forms of struggle that labor can advantageously utilize.

SECTION 4 - POLITICAL ACTION

(a) Labor and Government Ownership

The Responsibility of Labor

The productive capacities of American economy clearly demonstrate that there can easily be an abundance of all material needs for every person in the nation. This cannot be remembered or repeated too often.

On all major issues, American labor is either coming to or being forced into decisive attitudes and conclusions, including the all-decisive one of labor's attitude toward the productive forces and their relation to the Government. And hence to POLITICS. This is the basis of our confidence in the rapid political evolution of the American workers.

The trend toward the stification of industry has long been observable. The necessities of the imperialist war sharply accelerated this trend. Not all the "free enterprisers" multiplied many times over, can reverse this direction even though there will be some big efforts, and small successes, here and there in "de-governmentalizing business"

IT IS NOT DECISIVE, from the standpoint of developing working class views, whether the bourgeoisie are successful, in greater or lesser degree, in having, in the next immediate stage, government-owned properties and wealth returned outright to private ownership, as proposed by a Congressional sub-committee and by Roosevelt. First, the trend toward stification will take its course. But more significantly, it is not now possible to erase from the minds of the masses the direct relation of Government to jobs, living standards, their entire life. For the second World War has indolibly impressed on the masses the decisive relation of Government to their very existence.

This itself conditions the certainty that the American masses are about to enter American political life in a manner sharply different than in the past. If the fundamental direction of the capitalist economy in relation to Government is accepted, then what is significant for us is the effect that this greatly changing American economy is having on the outlook and actions of the masses. Here the issue relates to production and the masses.

The bourgeoisie talk about production capacities and limitations. The masses talk about jobs and living. That is a basic distinction. The bourgeoisie "produce" great plans or prospectuses for production. The masses

by their reactions to cut-backs, to the Brewster sit-in, etc.--now say: "Good. Production is simple. We have seen that with our own eyes; achieved it with our own hands and heads. So, go ahead and produce! But produce that we shall no longer be jobless or starve." That means, in other language, produce for us; produce for **USE**.

There can be production without the employers. That is what the masses have learned as never before in this war. That fact was demonstrated each time the Government has seized a war plant during this war and ordered production to go on. Hence, the masses are simply going to refuse to be consoled by statisticians and economists who will drool to them about the unavoidable consequences of labor displacement by capital because of modern research and development in industry, on the land, in science, etc.

However, if the thought process of the masses here is eclectic, limited or insufficient, it can be asserted that the next thought stages will be reached rapidly. The objective conditions have so matured that this subjective development is assured. Therefore, the dialectics of their mental development will be expressed in their next mass actions when they will strike or demonstrate against the employers on wage and living standards, jobs, etc. and receive unsatisfactory results. Almost immediately thereafter, in a political-social sense, large numbers will raise the cry: "Let the Government own and produce so that all may live. The private monopolies and corporations have failed again. There can be no more of that!" The cry of the slogan of the Government ownership on the part of large masses of workers is inevitable in the next period (during which workers in various industries will put forth many and varied proposals for their own industry, e.g. auto.) The problems of capitalist modern economy, especially in the post-war period, appear and are complex for the bourgeoisie. At the same time the proletariat is catching up with capitalism. Therefore, what is complex and difficult in solution for the bourgeoisie will be put in simple, direct terms and proposed solutions by the workers. The slogan of Government ownership of industry, implicitly the idea of a centrally integrated and planned economy, will be raised more and more from now on- Labor Party or no Labor Party - simply because Government is standing out more and more, indelibly in fact, as the major single factor in the lives of the masses today. Government ownership will become in their eyes synonymous with producing and living.

It would be folly to ignore the discussions pro and con that have been taking place, during the course of the war, among all classes of the population, in Government councils, in the labor unions, on the issue of the maintenance of Government control or ownership on many war developed industries once the war is concluded.

Nevertheless Marxists understand very well that Government ownership doesn't stand on its own merits or inner strength. Government ownership with workers control is our formula. But correct formulas by revolutionaries, thought necessary, are not enough. What matters is whether the workers are moving to the same idea. The answer is, Yes, even if slowly hitherto.

For example, the workers in the airplane industry threaten to be engulfed by the industry's dislocation as war production ceases to dominate their employment. We may accept as fact that these workers will react with elemental class reactions, i.e. engage in struggles with the employers to protect themselves. However it is just such actions of the working class

hundreds of thousands of men, also have migrated to their present jobs from long distances - who can make the leap or draw the most drastic and sound conclusions respecting their interests when they are catastrophically and swiftly jammed into extreme and difficult living and social situations. Not by logic, not by profound knowledge but out of profound necessity. They themselves witnessed and experienced the colossal growth of this industry. They have reaped gnats from their labors, the employers everything. They hear the great plans of the private owners and Government for the gigantic expansion of the air industry, and they, the workers, are the victims.

It is in this industry that an all-inclusive program for the air industry may be grasped most easily and appear to these workers the most immediately real of all such projected industry programs.

The same fundamental thoughts and ideas about life in the future are penetrating each and every group of the working class. There are undoubtedly differences, even rather large differences, in the degree of development among them. But a common denominator is beginning to appear. Private employers - production - joblessness. Government-production - jobs. This is not put forward schematically. It expresses a dynamic conception invading the minds of the masses. Certainly this invasion is a process and not yet an accomplished fact for the mass of workers. Nevertheless, it is necessary to recognize and observe that this process toward the idea of Government ownership and unavoidably therefore, the idea of workers control, is taking hold steadily, and to realize that future struggles will not just assume the old forms of bitter employer-workers struggles.

Merely to say that the American working class is backward is to tie ourselves to a conception which leads to political sterility. We must be aware that the labor movement is in process of rapid development, pushed along by the tremendous developments of the war. The PAC (to be dealt with later) is only one proof of this. And only on a lively recognition of this fact is it possible for us to formulate and carry out the program necessary for the development of the party and the development of the working class. Above all, we must be aware of lagging behind with constant repetition of the "backward working class."

However, this is not the end of a difficulty or problem for the working class. It is only the beginning of the greatest problem of all for them to resolve, namely, their own responsibility as a class to the newly developing situation. When the working class moves toward the acceptance of Government as a dominant factor in their lives, it is not only implicitly begins to reject the necessity for private industry and property in their lives, that is negative, it also imposes implicitly, if not yet with full consciousness, their new role.

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That/the way the question of the Labor Party really presents itself. That is the way the Labor movement little by little and then with greater speed will itself find posed the issue of the parliamentary Labor Party. The bourgeoisie is aware that Labor will do just this as a step on the way to doing more. This is the meaning of the following statement by Eric A. Johnston president of the US Chamber of Commerce: "Many changes for the benefit of the masses must be made if capitalism is to survive...The masses are conscious of their power as never before, and the present capitalistic system is on trial and must prove itself." He recognizes the general fact. We however

have to see the steps by which the masses will move perhaps with great rapidity toward replacing the system which is on trial and cannot solve their problems.

(b) The Political Action Committee and the Labor Party

American history shows the frequent rise of apparently spontaneous huge mass movements and organizations. They were grounded and did not achieve their ends. It is not necessary to enter into the reasons for their subsequent demise. Among such movements in the modern period were Theodore Roosevelt's "Pull Moose" Progressive Party, the Non-Partisan League (in North Dakota, Minnesota, Montana and other states; the elder Robert La Follette's Progressive movement in Wisconsin and several other states; the "Ham and Eggs" movement in California, Huey Long's "Share the Wealth" movement in Louisiana and the South; the bona fide Farmer-Labor and Labor Party movements and organizations in Minnesota and the Northwest area (after discounting the exaggerations of the Communist movement in relation to them); and Labor's Non Partisan League, sponsored by the CIO and having the soundest base of them all (as did also the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party)--in the organized labor movement*.

The social foundations and urges of the masses who founded and struggled to build these movements are to be seen today in the Political Action Committee of the CIO. But the latter has a broader, more deeply rooted and significant base than these others were able to achieve; namely, the organized proletariat of the basic industries. It is this movement which has the real and best prospects to achieve the social objectives which the masses behind the PAC really want. It can go the way of the others after the 1944 presidential elections either by outright collapse or decline; or continue as an appendage of the Roosevelt Administration. The PAC is for us of fundamental importance, yet we have neglected it. Indeed if we are to judge by its present role, as dictated by Hillman, Murray et al, there would be no future for the PAC, so far as the ranks of the workers are concerned. However, this would be counting without the looming and giant host -- the pressure of historical necessity in the immediate years ahead.

It is possible to note the temper and direction of the peoples of Europe to see a reflection in the US, of course, on a different scale and style in respect to the political development of the masses. It would be pertinent to note the sharp rise of the Canadian Commonwealth Federation during the war itself, with a program for "socialism" receiving the articulate support of the masses.

The United States is entering a period of extreme political flux. First is the actual, if not necessarily formal break-up of the traditional parties, with the Democratic Party under Roosevelt aegis still making prodigious efforts to incorporate the laboring masses bodily into or behind it on the basis of "reform" Democratic Party. This is ABC knowledge to our movement. What is important is the recognition by both parties in fact of the role of labor.

* A historical examination of the rise and fall of these and similar movements in the past decades would unquestionably be fruitful. However, all that is necessary here is to take note of the frequent rise of significant mass movements, rooted strongly in the people's needs, in various parts of the U.S.

in society. This has never been the case in the past anywhere approaching the degree that is the situation today. It wasn't necessary. A few lip-service words at election times were about all that were required, to which labor nodded and then gave support to one or the other traditional parties without too much questioning. Now the capitalist class, whose need for a non-belligerent and programless class is imperative, nevertheless unwittingly helps to impress on labor a sense of its real importance. Nothing would be more fatal than to make a superficial judgement of the political direction of labor because of the apparent sameness or repetition of things today as yesterday.

Never before-- almost like an avalanche, and just as dangerous and deadly if the labor movement should not get out of the way in time--have the spokesmen, the leadingmen of industry, commerce and finance, descended on Labor's international union conventions in such numbers and with such deadly seriousness not only, or even primarily, to plead the cause of national unity but above all, to plead indulgence for capitalist society in its relations to labor, and to promise for tomorrow the millenium. What other President of the US has opened his national presidential campaign by appearing before an International Union? Not the war, not only the present election, but fears for Labor's prospective independent political turn, is what concerns all these capitalist spokesmen in appealing directly and frequently to the labor movement itself. What is indicated, among other things, is the rise of genuine competition by the bourgeoisie for labor's support.

It would be foolish to state that the political development of the working class can proceed on a straight line toward a Labor Party. All that can be said is that the political regroupments will accelerate, and that independent labor is due to take first place in the regrouping process. The Labor leadership, for instance, might be successful (though it is seriously to be doubted) in continuing to channelize labor in non-independent political directions. The returning servicemen and women can prove an outstanding factor in the retrogressive, standstill or progressive political development of labor. But grant these and other possibilities, as Marxists must do, and must still say, if one looks to the bottom, to the ranks, to see what is happening, the change toward independent political action is seriously underway.

When one is talking about the labor movement, it is necessary also to see the limits. What is decisive, however, is to see the bottoms. To recognize that workers can be or are disoriented by their leaders is one thing. But to fail to see the gropings of labor, in all sorts of ways, for a positive solution to their problems, is another. It is exactly in the question of political action, or the Labor Party, that this distinction must be kept very clear, especially when it is necessary for us to allow at all times for contradictory developments of both labor and political struggles in the coming period.

It maybe even pointed out that possibly millions of laboring people, new industrial workers created only during the war, are probably not even fully trade union conscious yet. Yet true union consciousness, desirable as it is, far from excludes independent action by these workers in the next stage, because the next era dominating the masses is the political era. Conscious unionism serves enormously to buttress sound independent politics but does not predetermine its coming into being today. The formation of the CIO through stirring struggles itself laid the foundation for certain development of the

decisive sections of American labor into independent political channels. For the CIO, from the outset, exhibited itself as more than a union movement. It is, in these historical circumstances, a social movement. A social movement inevitably directs itself into political channels. It can be misdirected politically but that, for the moment, is another matter.

After several years the CIO's Labor's Non-Partisan League appears to have become only the CIO's Political Action Committee, still playing around with and depending on the Democratic Party or the Roosevelt Administration. However, between these two events has occurred America's participation in the Second World War. The latter will provide and prove the decisive factor in assuring the turn of labor to an independent political organization. Officially through its director, Sidney Hillman, it has stated that it is against forming a "third party". However, Hillman, sensing the real mood of the ranks, qualifies this declaration by saying not "at this time". That Hillman and other labor leaders would be willing to go on indefinitely without a "third party" (read, a Labor Party in the minds of the ranks) and to play ball with one or another "favorable to labor" administration, there can be no question.

However, resting their base on labor's ranks, there can also be doubt that if labor's ranks become militantly articulate for an independent political party, the labor leaders will be more than ready to get in stride, even though with the purpose of giving such a movement their coloration and program. That is elementary attitude and conduct on their part, as with nearly all non-revolutionary labor leaders. Yet nobody knows better than the American labor leaders the eruptive (disruptive at times in their eyes) character of the American workers. "Non-partisan" labor is headed for the limbo, and Hillman, Murray and the others know this better than anyone else. Why? Simply because labor is entering politics with both feet—yes, through the CIO PAC—behind. Roosevelt formally and factually; but by way of the PAC to independent politics next.

In the present active sense, support of the Roosevelt administration by the PAC is only a variation of old party politics, the lesser evil, etc. Yet the average CIO worker does not regard the PAC as merely another kind of old style politics. He recognizes or senses that he isn't on sure ground in accepting the PAC's official policy. In other words, the leadership, has succeeded thus far in pacifying and deflecting the workers from genuine independent politics and organization. He has accepted the advice and pressure of the leadership, but very grudgingly, with considerable skepticism and even with outright distrust. It is true that the union conventions have gone on record for support of Roosevelt formally by unanimous or heavy votes. That is a fact. It is also a fact that the labor leadership has had to do a tremendous amount of "educating" and pressing, working the "war is on" issue to the very marrow, in order to swing the conventions heavily behind the Roosevelt bandwagon. It is even more true that these votes far from represent or reflect the actual proportions of the real attitude of the ranks on this and related issues.

Further in the last analysis, the Roosevelt endorsements are episodic and their significance not to be exaggerated. What is important is that the bulk of the ranks of the CIO workers (and unquestionably also vast numbers outside the CIO, in the AFL, railroad workers, coal miners, too) instinctively and openly accept the PAC as a workers political movement, organized in his interests, and hope, if at all possible, it become exactly that in the period

following the 1944 elections.

The closest estimation of the PAC is the working class, the best workers too, in politics, but definitely as yet in the wrong way. Can this movement be turned into a genuine political movement of the working class, a Labor Party? It is possibly unlikely or far more difficult certainly to achieve this aim if the present leadership and its ideology continue to dominate indefinitely. It is imperative that such a movement as the PAC in fact crystallizes fairly soon around a broad, yet fundamentally working class program and a corresponding organization. Can it do so? It is conceivable, even probable that it will.

The imperialist war had hastened a fundamental change in the attitude of the masses toward present-day society, following the tremendous economic-technological changes induced by it. But it would have been too much to expect --at least it hasn't happened--that labor's changing attitude would be reflected in the actual formation of an independent political party while the war was still on. There are the deterrents of the war itself upon labor (e.g. the no-strike pledge), as well as the deterring, if less potent and significant than before, factor of the Roosevelt administration. True, the Canadian Commonwealth Federation experienced a very great advance during the war. But it must be remembered that the CCF is an organization of many years standing and has always been of some political significance on the Canadian scene. It was thus able to galvanize and project itself quickly on the scene to take advantage of the rapidly advancing social and political consciousness of the Canadian people.

Despite the inhibitions and restrictions placed on labor by the war and its spokesmen, in and outside labor's ranks, it is to be noted that the Michigan C.F. has organized a political party based on the labor unions. Its conventions demonstrate the confusion, vacillations, uncertainty, lack of clarity on program that other local and state political parties of labor will also have when first formed, and of course the national labor party also. Yet the direction of the supporters of the MCF is unambiguously clear. They definitely incline to and do move toward an independent political organization of labor without strings to the bourgeois parties. It is sufficient at present for Marxists to see that this movement goes in the correct direction, must be supported, and that similar movements are developed.

It would be unworthy an wrong of us if we gave main consideration to the unavoidable weaknesses of such movements at this stage, and especially if we devoted very much our time to the considerations and doings of political wings in those movements, such as the S.P. and the S.W.P. Woe to us if we do not look almost entirely to the confused but progressive-thinking and moving rank and file workers in the MCF, the PAC, etc. and give only minor thought to the maneuverists in these movements, whether of the Right or Left. Otherwise, it is we who then will also be swallowed up or find ourselves involved in doings with the "tops" of the moment while the movement proceeds on its way, well or not so well.

It is the CIO which now makes up the backbone of the historically significant PAC. That the AFL does not give the PAC movement official support signifies, of course, the real rift that prevails between the CIO and AFL organizations. It is not only at the top, in the leadership, but has a basis in the differences between the aristocracy and the masses of labor. That

labor problem--unity of labor's ranks on economic field--is not for consideration here. It may be said in connection with the orientation of the AFL that the AFL leadership too will not be able, for very long after the war's end, and the struggles sharpen, to hold their ranks and file in check. Not so much in respect to the urge for trade union unity in both organizations among the ranks but more especially in respect to their subsequent political orientation.

Thus the AFL apparently continues on its old "non-partisan" political course. However, unlike the average AFL convention or gathering in other years the AFL leadership did not and could not prevent the ample discussion of politics at various AFL gatherings. There has not been the usual affirmation of Comperist philosophy either respecting union or political problems. The large portion of the AFL press clearly reveals a definite, strong trend away from the traditional AFL "non-partisan" policy in politics.

Still behind other bodies, but changing under the impact of events also characterizes the trend in the AFL. Especially is this so among the new members who have never been under the influence of the stodgy and reactionary philosophy of the old AFL school of leaders--and this is not to discount the conservative role the Freys and Mathew Wolls are still able to perform with some degree of success. The requirements of the times are also pulling the ranks of labor toward a new political road.

Thus, every encouragement and effort must be given to hasten the possible (and prospective) transformation of the PAC into a bona fide political movement of all labor--a Labor Party. This will not be easy, even though the trends and wishes of the masses will be in that direction. The PAC is capable of becoming a party and a party of power, which is the only kind of orientation a Labor Party can seriously have if it wants to receive serious mass support in the future.

The PAC is the best proof of the analysis made in the foregoing parts. Yet we have continued to concentrate on union work in general, instead of upon this clear proof of what the American workers are doing. This typifies the attitude of our party and its conception of its tasks.

SECTION 5 THE TASKS OF THE PARTY

(a) The Organization Question

What are some of the practical tasks which face us if we understand the process which is developing and which we expect will be accelerated after the war. Our party is small but the principles of Marxism as we were taught them in the early days of the Comintern hold good. The organizational practice of the party depends upon its analysis of the objective situation and the concrete tasks we draw from this analysis. No amount of re-organization will alter what is wrong with our organizational practice (discipline, fraction functioning, sloppiness etc.) unless we redefine our political tasks. As long as we have our present political tasks which though correct in general do not correspond to the needs of the working class as it is moving rapidly forward (though unconsciously), we shall continue to have the organizational problem, so-called.

We must become known as the party of the four hour day and the five day week.

If we agree (and there is general agreement) that there is a social crisis, coming, we must be the ones who have the plan (worked out with the more far-seeing of the workers in the unions) but our plan - the plan of the Workers Party. The 4 hour day, 5 day week, and the concrete plan gives us the basis for a constructive socialist propaganda. We must become the party of socialists and socialism. We should step up the transitional program and use it as a general program for what it was intended to be., to mobilize the workers stage by stage for the struggle against capitalism by the social revolution.

This means a change in the activity and the education of the party which will be felt in every sphere. Around this we can organize.

At present we devote an excessive time to such things as the no-strike pledge and maneuvers with the tops in the unions. We try to meet the ranks and to work with them but we find ourselves continually preoccupied with tactical questions in the union. We can and do over-estimate these things and their value. The positions we gain we cannot hold. A change in the objective situation can wipe away all or nearly all of the work in such fields (the case of Brewster, L.A., etc. This can happen in many of our concentrations) The party can easily find itself left without any basis and disappointed and disillusioned after attempting tasks too big for it and without the basis in the ranks. In the old phrase "Better loss but better". If we recognize that the tasks must be redefined and see what they are we shall be able to organize our forces to accomplish these tasks. But if we have no definite tasks except a general perspective of raising the level of workers and just doing what the tactical objectives of the union struggle demand at the moment we will never get properly organized. New forces will not help us appreciably. Disorganization and "sloppiness" cannot be cured as long as we go on from day to day meeting problems as they come. To believe that we can cure disorganization by the PC members coming on time, formal discipline, fraction functioning is to get us nowhere.

This also must affect our education. Our comrades are for the most part young and inexperienced. The Trade Union Committee takes up detailed problems as they arise so that there is little or no time for anything else. The education should be aimed at making the comrades able to take care of themselves in unions. They should be taught general lessons which they must then learn to apply themselves. In the long run it is the better way. Being in the unions they can test their principles by the experiences they make. Otherwise so much is to be done that there is no time to teach fundamentally and then we have complaints that the fractions don't know how to conduct themselves. We must define clearly the role of the party in the unions in the present stage (meaning the post-war stage) and (building around the 4 hour day, 5 day week slogan and the special program for each union) we can find an axis around which we can use our limited forces to organize.

(b) Labor Party and Political Action

We find that our propaganda for the Labor Party is too general and is somehow ineffective. We can concentrate it and concretize it by understanding the role and possibilities of the PAC. We can carry out an organized propaganda and agitation for the Labor Party along the following

lines which give us something concrete around which to organize ourselves.

Hence a first big task is to expose the character and leadership of the PAC as it is and functions today while emphasizing the political possibilities of the PAC itself as an organization and movement. Change its orientation, change its program, maintain and build the PAC as an independent political force of labor. In our press in the unions, we must persistently propagandize and agitate with this positive view toward the PAC.

Following the 1944 elections, the local PACs, even if only small committees, must not be permitted to dissolve and to fall into desuetude. They must be maintained and extended by having new forces infused into them. The Local PACs must be oriented for participation in ward, city and State election campaigns.

Every effort must be made to develop a local program of an entirely working class character around local PACs. Following the national elections, it will be much easier in these local PACs to propagandize for only workers candidates on these programs selected by the Unions through representative convention gatherings to run for political offices. Where possible, the PACs should be changed formally, by conference action of the union bodies, into Local Labor bodies (whatever name they may go by, provided the conception of independent workers politics is achieved.)

The PACs, which will probably remain skeleton committees for a while after the national elections, should be joined wherever possible by militants. The local PACS should be built by sponsoring educational activity under its auspices; by sending speakers wherever possible to speak on the working class objectives of the PAC. CIO and AFL ranks should be asked to give support to its efforts. Meetings of the local PACs should be formalized.

Local headquarters should be established for the year around. The headquarters should become the center of all year round educational and political activity, 95% devoted to attention to workers in unions. In other words, to assure an independent orientation and development for the PAC demands a movement from the bottom - in each local Union, in the Central bodies if possible.

Undoubtedly, nearly all the technical and organizational media now being developed in the campaign for Roosevelt could be utilized for an independent political orientation of the PAC. So far as possible, these apparatus and methods should be maintained, but infused with new forces. While this seems perhaps like a big task, it will actually be easier in many respects than words make it appear. They are elementary procedures and methods for building a political organization of wider proportions than that of a revolutionary party.

Moreover, we emphasize again, the foundations are already laid by the PAC (even if at this moment for Roosevelt, et. al). The local PACs must not be dismantled but taken hold of, and the steady, maybe even long patient task of building solid local political organizations of the PAC begun. In the period following the national elections and subsequent local, state and Congressional elections, militants will have a great opportunity to help create the local labor parties in fact through the PAC - if they will see the actual possibilities and historic potent of the PAC.

Without a doubt it is possible to pass by and fail to see what can be done with the PAC in the next years, if we look at the summits only or at the leadership now dominating it. There is no guarantee for success. But it can become Labor's political party. But by our over-concentration on day to day tasks in the unions, we miss this opportunity of doing the work which is our main task and which we are best fitted to do.

(c) Labor Action

Labor Action shows our weakness and the necessity to redefine our tasks. The paper must reflect this change using the same type of material in a different way. At present we present tactical and strategical problems of labor from which are drawn or dragged in general social and political conclusions, e.g. for a Labor Party, for a Workers Government, or for Socialism. In the main we should proceed the other way, with the stress on social needs and a program of the times from which follows as a start, the ameliorative immediate measures proposed in one or another section of our transitional program. Labor Action is too general, too negative, consisting too much of defensive and negative, if militant responses to the operations and ideology of capitalism. We fail to reach the positive constructive attitude towards life of the American workers. And by being so general, so negative, so defensive, our education and our organization have the same negative defensive attitude. If we in the paper and elsewhere become what we really are, people with a positive Socialist program, then we can organize all our forces and the paper for the purpose. The paper reflects the kind of work we do in the unions. It has to be changed and must be changed. The leadership had this responsibility.

In our concern to be with the masses, our party too frequently follows the path of the Unions, in regard to the issues of kind of work our members and the militants should carry out, and that should be fostered in the union ranks as a whole. Considering the limitations of time, there is a far too great concentration of efforts on immediately pressing union tasks of all description, and insufficient time and energy given to propaganda of a more general but more lasting effect. The paper must set an example and educate our members. I can only indicate here some of the points.

Even if carried out academically in some respects, a persistent individual propaganda by members and militants in the ranks on the fundamental danger of various forms of Government intervention in labor disputes and into the unions; on the role of capitalist government in relation to labor, will count more in the political education of the workers than disparate agitation on a variety of immediate issues, undoubtedly important as they are. This work, for example, could take the form of a systematic expose on why it is necessary to oppose unqualifiedly the intervention of the armed forces in strikes; and actively to develop a reasoned conscious hostility by Labor toward Government utilization of the armed forces. In many respects, the campaign conducted over a period of years by the labor movement (AFL) against the intervention of the Courts in labor struggles; against Injunction law or settlement of strikes, is one of the most noteworthy in the education of the laboring masses on the role of Government specifically in regard to labor. The persistent educational and organizational campaign against Court injunctions in every possible layer of the population did finally result in the adoption of the Norris-La Guardia Federal Injunction Law. It can be said that nothing La Guardia has ever expressed or done has raised or maintained

his prestige more with labor generally than his active sponsorship of the Anti-Injunction Act.

Thus too, it is not enough for us to go on repeating that the Government is a strike-breaker. Exactly how and why the Government performs such a role through the years can best be understood through educational efforts by the militants and the Union and revolutionary press, apart from the "education by experience" which speaks for itself.

Another example. Right now the auto workers stand out as the most militant forces on behalf of their labor rights. The history of the auto workers is a short one, even if tremendously spectacular, stimulating and significant from labor's standpoint. Yet it must not be forgotten for one second that it is the coal miners as a Union OFFICALLY—with a force and determination that the leadership could not ignore (apart from Lewis's own independent axe-grinding purposes)—who struck the mines four times during the imperialist war. That is not of episodic significance to labor's future. That is historic import and value in the future of labor, precisely in relation to the role and power of Government (and also the limitations of even Government power in certain conditions,

It is the coal miners who again demonstrated that they are the classical group in American labor who defend their labor interests, and thus class interests of labor, before all other interests, despite all obstacles.

A truly great contribution can be made for Labor's future through a Marxist study in the press and then issuance of literature to reach all labor on the role and meaning of the coal struggles. Especially will they be found to have political import of a high order and probably the key to the direction or road of American labor in the coming years.

It is equally, possibly more necessary, to study the meaning of the recent Brewster sit-in; for in such questions we have matters in which in the future every individual union member of our own organization can play a role. It is necessary to show how. We have already commented on the need for planned sit-downs in the next stages. These are only some of the points which show the change which must take place in the paper so that we can concentrate our efforts on what is our special role.

(d) The Individual Member

Many points have been left out in this document which will be treated at a later time (e.g. Workers Government, Negro question, Fascism, Public Works, Program for Serviceman, etc.) All these must be treated in a manner to harmonize with the ideas expressed. But summed up in the organization of ourselves to produce socialists. Our forces are small but that only makes the individual member more important. Our members are at present too young and inexperienced to play the role which is possible in the coming situation. As long as we do not set this goal clearly before us and organize for it we shall only patch up the organizational problem. If we do that we cannot only organize ourselves as a party but shall organize our members to be really effective.

Individuals can play powerful roles in factories; in specific actions of the workers and establish genuine influence over many workers (without

the existence even of a fraction). For instance, assuming readiness or willingness, educated members can establish their leadership permanently in a given situation. The conception that an individual member constitutes an organization in himself in a plant can well be realized if a member is able, not to just agitate workers, but to explain and to educate his fellow workers. The worker-Bolsheviks in the Russian factories had the necessary patience to teach Marxist doctrines to fellow workers. The distinction between propaganda and agitation becomes in such circumstances a distinction of degree and not of quality. Militancy has to be equated with intelligence and knowledge. Otherwise we can be with the masses, but not necessarily teach or lead them adequately or genuinely.

But, above all, sound estimation of our role and tasks in the Labor Movement must resolve itself into the more assiduous, determined task of Socialist Education of individuals and groups. To make Marxist Socialists or revolutionaries of every person possible within the Union is the number one task of the revolutionary unionist. And then to recruit, naturally, such an educated worker into the Workers Party.

Continued misunderstanding on which of the many-sided tasks of our Party in the labor movement are paramount will only mean that our Party members in the union will wear themselves out in myriad tasks without having made serious advances among them--except in our own minds by illusion or delusion.

Trade union work as conducted, in the main, in by the SWP and the WP, resolves itself too much into agitation on general labor problems and issues, even if including agitation for the Labor Party; into heavy energies being thrown into organizational aspects or maneuvers in the unions, fractions, progressive groups and union conventions; (and sometimes into maneuvers, even where it is unintentional on our part, with the tops instead of relations with the ranks) Thus, too, all too often, we have deluded ourselves through the years in thinking we have achieved very much because (quite fortuitously by pressure of determination, etc.) we get membership on some important committees, far out of proportion to our real strength and influence among the ranks. The revolutionary movement always pays for self-deception or self-illusion and no more so than in the labor movement.

At the risk of the label of sectarianism, our task now and in the coming period is to seek every possible means for the systematic education of individuals and groups of workers in the fundamental principles of socialism in all their ramifications: economic, social, political, revolutionary. TO MAKE MARXIST SOCIALISTS, as the best subjective foundations for the eventual transformation of the union into unions with a socialist outlook and policy; and as the best foundations for the growth of a revolutionary party that can then significantly influence the Union movement politically--that is our prime task in the organized labor movement.

Such a role goes hand in hand with the other major efforts (indicated in essential outline before) to get the labor union movement to adopt an all-inclusive program in relation to society, and for the important International Unions to adopt such complete programs in relation to their own problems.

Without the Unions moving in such a direction and without the Revolutionary Party seeing its role clearly along these roads, both the Union movement and the revolutionary movement, while carrying on all kinds of

of struggles and activity year after year, will find themselves extremely weak in combats with the employing and ruling class. In this fundamental sense of role and program, we can say that both the union movement and the Party confront both a crisis and an opportunity.

H. Allen