

On with the Struggle for Socialist Freedom

Twenty-five years of the history of the American Communist movement have just been brought to a close.

The leadership of the Communist Party has ordered the "dissolution" of the party. The party leadership has openly stated that it abandons the greatest ideal of the working class, Socialism, for the whole next period, and has denounced all those who continue the struggle for Socialist freedom as the enemies of labor and of progress.

Supporters of Capitalism

Now the Communists are openly committed to the support of capitalism and the rule of the capitalists. When? Right in the midst of the period when capitalism has reached the lowest point in its history of degradation, of suffering and misery imposed upon the peoples of the whole world, of the bloodiest and most horrible imperialist war ever known.

Now the Communists are openly committed to opposing the courageous struggles of the American working class against the growing capitalist reaction in this country. The workers, the union men and women, who resist the efforts of the big monopolists to place upon their shoulders the entire burden of the war, meet with no sympathy from the Communist Party, but with bitter opposition, couched in the language of the capitalist class itself.

At this critical moment, the Communist Party aims to unite with the National Manufacturers Association in the drive to paralyze the labor movement with the incentive pay system, the speed-up, the no-strike pledge. You have been driven into a terrible anti-labor position!

Now the Communists are openly committed to support of capitalist politics and to violent opposition to the increasing efforts of the American workers to strike out for themselves on the road of independent labor political action. The Communist Party is now the most conscious and consistent opponent of independent working class political action, of a National Labor Party. Wherever labor seeks to break away from the capitalist parties, it is the Communist Party that takes the leadership in trying to drive it back into capitalist politics.

Now the Communists are openly committed to the appeasement policy of the "lesser evil," and to the worst interpretations of this policy. Working class progress and victory, we are now taught by the party leaders, no longer lies along the road of class independence and class action, but in the practice of tying labor to the kite of one capitalist politician as against another. Do you not remember the attacks we all used to make upon the right-wing Social Democrats for their criminal "lesser evil" policy, which brought the working class of so many countries to disaster, especially the working class of Germany? Shall we now follow the same disastrous road in this country?

The Communist Party, which first attacked appeasement of reactionaries, now defends scoundrels like Giraud and Badoglio and even German Junkers. Do you not realize what this means in face of the rising tide of proletarian revolution in Europe? Are you content to see the C.P. become the watch-dog of reaction?

Why Has This Happened?

How and why has all this happened? How have you been led to this point? Is this what the revolutionary communist militants—the real founders of the movement in this country—wanted, hoped for and worked for when they first brought the Party into existence twenty-five years ago? Hundreds upon hundreds of communist workers were beaten on picket lines and in demonstrations; sent to hospitals or early graves; sent to prisons and jails; and some even killed in the course of the great struggle. Did they make these magnificent sacrifices in order to prop up the tottering structure of capitalism, in order to build a party that works for capitalism? Is their sacred memory to be spat upon so cynically? Browder & Co. can do just that. But what about you?

It is high time to think seriously and deeply, to understand and to act.

Here are the facts! Here are the reasons for the degeneration of the Communist Party!

In this country and all over the world, the official Communist organizations have become mere instruments in the hands of the

(Continued on page 4)

Addes: 'Break Thru Picket Line'

Not only Local 490, UAW-CIO, whose members struck in seven Chrysler plants, not only every member of the UAW-CIO, not only every member of the CIO, but every working man and woman in this country should voice an emphatic protest and condemnation of George F. Addes, international secretary-treasurer of the UAW-CIO. For a labor leader to urge workers to go through a picket line is about the lowest depth to which a man can sink in the labor movement. This Addes has done.

Thomas, Reuther and the other officials of the union were content to condemn the Chrysler strike as "altogether unauthorized." But Addes urged the men to "BREAK THROUGH THE PICKET LINES IF NECESSARY TO GET BACK TO YOUR JOBS." He must not be allowed to get away with this.

Local 490 did not follow his advice at its meeting held May 21, but decided to continue the strike against the advice of the no-strike-pledged national leaders and of the WLB. William Jenkins, president of the local, and its executive board stood with the men until threatened with "show cause" proceedings by the international officials, who have plans to take over the local.

On May 23, the local leaders called the strike off, but the international leaders have not cancelled the "show cause" proceedings. Jenkins and the local officials will be put on the carpet. As PM put it, they are "ACCUSED OF PLACING LOYALTY TO UNION MEMBERS" ahead of the no-strike pledge. This is exactly where the loyalty of union leaders belongs—and it is time the whole labor movement said so in no uncertain terms.

LABOR ACTION

MAY 29, 1944

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR



ONE CENT

CIO TOP LEADERS SCUTTLE LABOR'S POLITICAL POWER

How the Capitalists Figure Their Profits

By JOHN BERNE

The subject of profits should never be a dull one for the working people. Of course, there is never a more interesting one to the capitalist class. This class exists for profits—and the more there is of profits, the less there is of wages and of the things of life for the working people. The subject of profits will never cause LABOR ACTION to stifle a yawn until the profit system is abolished, and the working people receive the full return of their labor.

How do the capitalists figure their profits? The usual method is to take the total receipts for a corporation's products, deduct from that the expenditures for raw material, labor, interest on debts, overhead of all kinds, also for wear and tear, obsolescence of machinery and equipment, reserves of one kind and another, government taxes, other government allowances—and what is left is considered profit.

And what is left—even figuring this way—is indeed plenty, as readers of LABOR ACTION know from our constant exposé of the war profiteering of the capitalist class.

Yet, stupendous as profits are when figured this way, real profits are much greater. For profits should be arrived at on the basis of invested capital, to get a true idea of how much the capitalist is making on his money.

The CIO Department of Research and Education has made a study of profits on invested capital in the seven largest aircraft companies of the country, and found some amazing facts—FACTS WHICH SUPPLY IRREFUTABLE REASONS FOR WAGE INCREASES IN ADDITION TO THE EXCELLENT GROUNDS ALREADY KNOWN TO ALL.

Let us get down to these facts.

On the basis of the money these aircraft companies claim they have invested in the business, for the year 1941 they got a profit return of fifty-six cents on the dollar—and none but the capitalists can claim that a fifty-six per cent profit is really bad!

But we cannot take the say-so of the companies on the question of INVESTED CAPITAL. They have an idea that when they make excessive profits which they don't pay out in dividends, but stack up in the business as reserves or what have you, these profits should also be considered as invested capital upon which new profits are to be figured.

Here's an illustration. If a company carried a \$100,000,000 investment in 1941 and made \$30,000,000 profit on it, the dividends paid out could have amounted to only \$10,000,000—if the directors so decided—and \$20,000,000 of the profits could have remained in the business. So what happened? In 1942 the company claimed its invested capital to be \$120,000,000 and no longer \$100,000,000—and concluded that its profits for 1942 had to be \$36,000,000 instead of \$30,000,000 in order to keep the wolf from the door!

Going back to the seven aircraft companies which the CIO investigated and reported on in its monthly bulletin, "Economic Outlook," what do we find? Of every dollar of investment claimed by the companies in 1941, only thirty-nine cents are actually money invested in the business—and the other sixty-one cents are the accumulation of excessive profits since the year 1936.

So now the picture is clear. The 1941 profits of the seven largest aircraft companies based on their actual investment is not fifty-six cents on the dollar, but \$1.53 on every dollar—A MATTER OF ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY-THREE PER CENT.

And for 1942, these industrial owners actually made \$1.79 on every dollar they put into the business—OR ONE HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-NINE PER CENT.

All talk of six per cent, eight per cent or even ten per cent profit on invested capital is so much dust in the eyes of the workers. Figuring profits the only way that gives a true picture, the profits on real capital of the seven largest aircraft companies were 153 per cent for 1941 and 179 per cent for 1942.

The same situation prevails throughout all industry. The aircraft corporations investigated by the CIO are absolutely typical of all the rest. To hide the real extent of their robbery of the working people, the capitalist class plows back profits into the business, labels them "invested capital," and collects new profits on old profits on the same basis as if it were newly invested money.

However, the CIO Research Department, in arriving at the above figures of real aircraft profits, was fairer than fair. It did allow a reasonable profit even on plowed-back profits—and still the result for 1942 was 179 per cent on the dollar!

Drawing further conclusions from their findings, the CIO Research Department states: "By the end of 1942, only EIGHTEEN CENTS out of every dollar invested in the business rightfully belonged to the stockholders if they were permitted an eight per cent profit each year. The other EIGHTY-TWO CENTS came from excess profits kept in the business. These excess profits, ARISING FROM TOO LOW WAGES AND TOO HIGH PROFITS, were the worker-consumer contribution."

This is the extent of the robbery perpetrated by the capitalist class against the working people both as wage earners and as consumers!

Endorse FDR—Tie Unions to Politics of Capitalists

While it has been no secret that the leaders of the CIO and its Political Action Committee were going to support Roosevelt for a fourth term—in spite of the pretense of hanging back made at the last convention of the CIO—now the endorsement of the President for 1944 has become official.

The parent organization has issued a statement to that effect, and individual CIO unions have, at their recent conventions, called for a fourth term for Roosevelt. Among these unions are the United Steelworkers of America, with a membership of nearly a million, headed by CIO President Philip Murray, and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, with a membership of 325,000, headed by Sidney Hillman, who is also chairman of the CIO Political Action Committee.

With this conclusive action, the CIO has definitely kicked aside the opportunity offered it this year to form an independent Labor Party, rather than continue to corral labor's political strength behind a capitalist party.

The same wave of dissatisfaction in the ranks of the CIO which compelled the leadership to organize the PAC to do something to unify the political power of organized labor, could have been and should have been utilized to start a class political party of the workers. The same funds, contributed by every CIO union, which have gone once more to tie labor to Roosevelt's kite, could have been and should have been used to strike out on the path of independent political action. This was not done.

In making the call to his organization for a fourth term for Roosevelt, Murray said: "We here in the United States have a solemn duty to provide inspiration to our people at home and to all mankind. That duty can best be fulfilled by a declaration of unity in support of our Commander-in-Chief."

NO TIME FOR EMPTY WORDS

It will do "our people at home" and "all mankind" absolutely no good to roll out the old stock phrases at this juncture in history. What all the world wants is peace, economic security and freedom. What the people at home and the tortured people abroad yearn for is a society that will insure them against war, poverty and fascism.

How inspiring is it to groping and suffering mankind for the most militant labor organization of the greatest country on earth to choose as their political leader a man who has

(Continued on page 2)

They Sold Out to Roosevelt



National CIO Political Action Committee Conferring with Philip Murray. Seated, Left to Right: Van A. Bittner, Philip Murray, Sidney Hillman, Sherman A. Dalrymple; Standing, David J. McDonald, Albert J. Fitzgerald.

Liberal Party Repeats ALP Errors

All the fundamental errors which led to the collapse of the American Labor Party in New York were repeated by the liberal and trade union leaders who organized the Liberal Party at its founding convention in Hotel Roosevelt, New York, on May 19 and 20.

The new party's organizers are the same group that was defeated by the Communist Party—Sidney Hillman combination in the recent ALP primary elections. Led by David Dubinsky, president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, Alex Rose, of the Millinery Workers Union, Dr. George Counts, of the Teachers Union, and Dean Alfange, former ALP candidate for Governor of New York, the defeated group announced its withdrawal from the ALP on the quite truthful grounds that it had now become a mere cover for the Communist Party, and proceeded to establish a party of their own at the Hotel Roosevelt convention.

The convention, which was about as dull and uninspired as it could be, adopted a program and a "Declaration of the Liberal Party," elected a New York State Committee; and endorsed the candidacies of President Roosevelt for a fourth term, Henry

A. Wallace for the vice-presidency, and the Democratic Party politician, Robert Wagner, for another term in the Senate.

The endorsement of the candidates of the capitalist party in power today is a continuation of the disastrous policy which marked the birth, and contributed to the death, of the original American Labor Party. The more openly Roosevelt, and the Democratic Party on which he bases himself, manifest their anti-labor policies, the more steadfastly the Liberal Party leaders seem to cling to the leader of the Southern Bourbons and the Northern Democratic corruptionists and reactionaries.

THEY CONTRADICT THEMSELVES

The Declaration of the new party denounces the "major American political parties," that is, the Democrats and Republicans, as reactionary, as the home of the "forces of privilege, of race prejudice and of patronage" which "are daily becoming more aggressive and intolerant. They are attacking the rights of organized labor, economic justice to small farm-owners and share-croppers, equal treatment of races, and every proposal or agency for the

democratic, planned use of our nation's natural and industrial resources." (Continued on page 3)

Brewster Plants Shut Down

The Navy Department has cancelled all contracts with the Brewster Aeronautical Corporation. Its 12,500 workers face the immediate loss of their jobs. This probable shutdown of the Brewster plants foreshadows the vast problem of unemployment that faces the workers of America in the post-war period.

The men and women have been shut out of the Long Island plant for a three-day "holiday" in order to permit the company to make up its layoff list.

Only last week General Arnold, in order to cudgel striking Detroit foremen back to work, said that the invasion was being held up by a lack of fighter planes. The General claimed that 250 planes were lost to production by the strike. How would General Arnold explain the shutting down of the Brewster-plants if the need for planes is so urgent?

The Navy is sending the incomplete work on the "Corsair" fighter planes to Connecticut, a labor shortage area. This proves that they are using the partial cutbacks to smash Local 365. The union is one of the strongest and most progressive locals in the UAW and has won the highest wage rates in the airframe industry for the Brewster workers.

The membership of Local 365 is demanding militant action on the part of their leadership in an effort to meet the situation. They want to save their local union and their jobs. They desire to fight for severance pay NOW, and want reconversion to civilian production if they get no other war contract.

Straight Talk

By Ernest Lund

(The author of "Plenty for All" now writes a column for LABOR ACTION.)

Capitalists are the most class-conscious people in the world. The capitalist class of America is no exception in this respect. Despite their family quarrels over how to divide the wealth that is produced by labor and appropriated by capital, the capitalists all stand shoulder to shoulder when they sense any danger to their system of robbery.

Some capitalists call themselves Republicans, while others call themselves Democrats (though many of them contribute money to both capitalist parties).

Some are Protestants; others are Catholics or Jews. Some believe in no religion.

Most of them are of the white race, a few are colored.

They may represent many different opinions on a whole series of questions, even serious questions.

BUT THEY ARE UNITED

But one question finds all capitalists standing united, regardless of politics, race or creed. That is the defense of their "sacred" system of "private enterprise," as they hypocritically call it—or the system of capitalist exploitation, as honest men call it.

For the last year or so we have been witnessing a wonderful demonstration of class solidarity by the capitalists of this country. I refer to the flood of propaganda pouring out of the capitalist newspapers, magazines and radio stations in defense of the "private enterprise" system.

It was unloosed with the article on "Your Stake in Capitalism" by Eric Johnston, president of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, which appeared in the Reader's Digest a year and a half ago. Since then we hardly ever pick up the Saturday Evening Post, Liberty, Collier's or others of the slick-cover magazines, without finding an article devoted to the theme of "private enterprise." Its virtues are sung by nine out of ten newspaper columnists and it has become the recurring theme for editorials in the capitalist press from the big metropolitan dailies to the small country weeklies.

WHY ALL THE SHOUTING?

What brought about this amazing unity of capitalist propaganda, this united front of big papers and little ones, of Roosevelt-haters and Roosevelt-supporters, of the interventionist New York Times and the isolationist Chicago Tribune?

What has made it necessary that every politician—from reactionary Southern Democrats and reactionary Northern Republicans to liberals like Vice-President Wallace—somewhere in every speech cross himself and declare that he believes in the inviolability of "private enterprise"?

There is only one reason to account for the present fears of the capitalist class. They realize that it is going to be tough going in this country after the war. They don't believe a word of all the beautiful post-war promises which they and their hirelings are handing out to the working people. They only hope that they can succeed in hoodwinking enough people to trust capitalism to provide work for everybody after the war. They hope that the working class will be meek and submissive in the period after the war when our war jobs have folded up and nothing else has come into sight. They hope that they can convince enough workers to hunger in silence while waiting for the "private enterprise" paradise that has been promised us.

If they succeed, the capitalist class will be given a "breathing spell," during which they can prepare to defend capitalism with much sterner stuff than newspaper propaganda.

THEY SMELL DANGER

This reveals not only remarkable class solidarity and class consciousness. It also reveals a remarkably acute sensitivity to any threatening dangers to their class interests.

They realize, perhaps even more than we socialists do, that capitalism will be put to the most severe test in its history during the post-war period. Europe will be in revolutionary turmoil. The colonial world will take a deep breath and try to rise to its feet. Millions of veterans will return to seek the jobs and security they were promised. They will be swallowed up in the ranks of the greater millions of unemployed home front workers. Wages will be cut. Farm prices will go down. And every solution that will be worth serious attention will tread upon the sacred toes of capital.

The capitalists realize this and are already showing how they can stand shoulder to shoulder when their ancient privilege to live by the toil of others stands in danger.

Will the workers learn in sufficient time also to stand shoulder to shoulder? Will they recover from the New Deal hangover in short enough time to close their ranks in a show of class solidarity? Will they learn the bitter lessons quickly enough to develop the class consciousness necessary to stop voting across class lines and build their own working class party?

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Seamen Picket Service Hotel

By SCOTT BYERS

NORFOLK—The Seafarers International Union put a picket line in front of the United Seamen's Service Hotel Fairfax in Norfolk on Thursday, April 20, because of that organization's unfair treatment of union seamen. The communist leadership and a few stooges of the National Maritime Union would not recognize the line, but the hotel's business came close to a standstill in a week and efforts were made to obtain a settlement.

The SIU called a showdown, and at a special meeting of the membership, the northeast regional director of the United Seamen's Service, R.

Scott, was introduced to the rank and file with recommendations of his honesty by the local union chiefs. The result was that another attempt of rank and file workers fell short of concrete success.

The SIU and the Seamen's Union of the Pacific have long been the most progressive unions in maritime service, but when the United Seamen's Service was formed in 1942, as a beneficial aid to seamen, the leadership of these unions okayed it, as did the other maritime union leaders.

WHAT IS THE USS?

However, when the United Seamen's Service showed its true pur-

pose, that of aiding the government's and the companies' union-breaking attempts, the SIU-SUP were the first to raise their voices in criticism. The NMU continued its praise.

Union men other than SIU-SUP were fired, were not treated fairly at its ration boards; attempts were made to make them look like ruffians; they were accused of stealing and in turn were stolen from.

Then, as could have been seen from the beginning, the War Shipping Administration—composed of maritime bosses on a dollar-a-year vacation—revealed itself as the creator of the United Seamen's Service. Marshall Dimock, USS chief pie-card, spoke of his love for seamen but also for a cut in their bonuses. The SUP paper, "The West Coast Sailor," spoke loud and hard, but stuck to its no-strike promise.

CORRUPTION RAMPANT

In Norfolk the corruption of the USS Hotel Fairfax became too much for the rank and file to stand. Several men were "rolled," one of over \$800. They had checked their money at the desk, and, claiming it again, found some missing; but the only reply to their complaints was, "Go away, you're drunk."

With an avalanche of spirit from the membership, a picket line formed and immediately over 150 men, bag and baggage, checked out. A good number were members of the NMU.

Baggage filled the street and the people of Norfolk became attentive.

PICKET LINE A SUCCESS

The working people passing spoke to the pickets sympathetically. A group of sailors learned what had happened and entered and attempted to ransack the lobby. A Marine knocked the hotel manager unconscious.

By Sunday night there were only a few lights left in the windows of the Hotel Fairfax, even though the



NUM officials failed to recognize the picket line.

With this success, the spirit of the union seamen seemed at its best. The older seamen could be seen with the newcomers talking of 1934 and 1937.

The following Thursday the USS executive came by plane from New York, and in the SIU hall explained to the membership that he was a good man, that he was happy to be able to speak to the membership, and wouldn't they cooperate by taking off the picket line during the investigation. He stated that the investigating committee would be composed of a circuit court judge, a local hotel manager, an eighty-year old ex-labor man, a man from the War Shipping Administration, with himself in an advisory status.

The union leaders present approved the committee and recommended that the membership trust Mr. Scott—because he was a "commie-baiter"—and pull the picket line for ninety-six hours. After that time, if a satisfactory agreement was not reached, the picket line would again form.

RANKS DISTRUSTFUL

From the floor came questions about the lack of union representation on the investigation committee, and recommendations to keep the line on. But with reassurance from the leaders and the stipulation that Harry Lundberg, SIU president, would be contacted for a final opinion, the motion from the chair passed.

Tuesday, April 25, brought an end to the ninety-six-hour truce, and the SIU lawyer recommended that, although the union's demands hadn't been met, it would be dangerous to form the line immediately. Now the SIU leaders are waiting for the USS Hotel again to step out of line, at which time they will again recommend that another picket line be formed.

Union-Boss Collaboration

The new-found friendship between the Communist Party and the capitalist class is indeed touching—and in many instances most beneficial to the capitalists.

An instance in point is Joseph Curran's policy of union-boss collaboration. It is reported that ship operators almost fell off their chairs when invited by the Stalinist head of the National Maritime Union to send their representatives into the union hiring hall.

There is no bottom to the labor betrayals the Stalinists commit in carrying out edicts from Moscow. The union hiring hall for seamen has been fought for bitterly and won only after many costly struggles.

In Curran's own words is found condemnation of his anti-union policy: "For seven years I have fought to keep the companies out of the hiring halls. But now I'm inviting them in so we can work together for the war. That is what a war will do."

That is a lie! It is not the war itself that is accountable for this contemptible labor betrayal, but rather what side of the war Boss Stalin happens to be on. When Stalin was on Hitler's side, Curran did not invite the ship owners into the union hiring hall—orders from Moscow were different then!

Last Minute Stoppage of Cleveland Strike

By JAMES SHEA

CLEVELAND—After members of the Amalgamated Association of Street Electric Railway & Motor Coach Employees had voted seven to one to strike, union officials, under pressure from the city and federal governments, at the last minute called off the strike and submitted the dispute to a panel of the War Labor Board.

Although the case did not legally come under the jurisdiction of the WLB because the Cleveland Transit System is city-owned, the Transit Board from the beginning insisted that the wage dispute be submitted to this capitalist-controlled agency. Even after the union's executive board had been persuaded in the eleventh hour to submit the case to a panel of the WLB, the Transit Board continued to demand submission of the case to the War Labor Board proper. Mayor Frank Lausche, fearful of the effect of the strike on his gubernatorial aspirations, was successful in forcing from the Transit Board its consent to a hearing before a panel.

Both sides had to sign an agreement with the WLB committing themselves to acceptance of the decision of the panel.

This panel is to be composed of three members: one labor, one business, and one public. These members are to be appointed by the WLB. Inasmuch as the immediate cause of the strike call was the refusal of

the Transit Board to arbitrate, Thomas Meany, union president, and the executive board consider this a victory. However, Meany overlooks the fact that this panel will be appointed directly by the WLB, and the union will have no voice in the choice of the arbiters.

Most of the original demands will be submitted to arbitration, including time and a half over forty-four hours. Although Frederick Bullen, chairman of the regional WLB, promises that the Little Steel formula will not be considered by the panel in determining the validity of the union's demands, it is hard to imagine such a panel ignoring the government policy. Because the members of the panel are as yet unchosen, it is difficult to predict just what the decision of the panel will be. It is probable, however, that all but the minor demands of the union will be rejected.

AFL LEADERS JOIN BOSS PRESS

Once again the Cleveland Federation of Labor bureaucrats joined with the newspapers in denouncing the proposed strike and maligning both officials and members of Local 268 alike. William Finegan, president of the Federation, stated the transit workers union was "irresponsible," and A. I. Davey, editor of the Federation paper, the Cleveland Citizen, said: "Their action will reflect on all labor."

The newspapers, after having failed

to dissuade the street car workers and busmen from voting for the strike (the vote was 2,484 to 365), became even more vicious in the three-day interval following the strike vote and preceding the strike deadline. The Cleveland Press, with a front-page editorial, printed two pictures, one of a crowd waiting for a street car, and the other of an American boy dying in battle, and headlined it, "Men Will Wait and Men Will Die...If You Strike."

The Cleveland News called the union officials traitors and stated, "They ought to be taught a lesson they will remember." The Plain Dealer wrote: "...the people of Cleveland cannot afford to give one inch in the test of strength to which they have been challenged by the calling of a strike for tomorrow....

The time has come for a showdown." These capitalist sheets pull out their pay-triatic propaganda only when workers are fighting for a living wage—the war profiteers are a different thing.

All attempts of the management to cause disunity in the ranks of Local 268 failed, as shown by the vote. Two days preceding the balloting, individual letters were sent to the employees by the Transit Board, claiming that union leaders had misrepresented the case. The day of the vote, draft questionnaires were distributed by the management—as a hint.

If an unfavorable decision to the union is handed down by the WLB panel, it is very likely that a system-wide strike will occur in spite of the pledge to abide by the decision.

Three Dollars for One

The market value of all the stocks on the New York Stock Exchange at the end of last March had increased to \$49,494,092,518. Stocks are getting back toward the high figures of the big paper boom of 1925-29, when the "inflation" of Wall Street put them up to eighty billions. At the time Roosevelt claimed he was going to chase the money changers out of the temple, they were valued at fifteen billions. From fifteen billions to forty-nine billions is a gain of more than three times. The wicked money changers seem to have done mighty well under the New Deal. In addition to all their fat war profits, they have three dollars of capital now for every dollar they had when the New Deal came to Washington.—United Mine Workers Journal.

CIO Leaders Endorse Roosevelt---

(Continued from page 1)

over and over again declared his loyalty to the profit system which breeds wars and poverty and fascism?

How inspiring is it to those who look for a new and better social system to see the great CIO surrender

seeing at first hand the results of the Roosevelt-Churchill-Stalin imperialist triumvirate?

Murray may mouth fancy words as he scuttles the political might of the CIO, but fancy words will not deceive the people of Europe, who are

LET US SCRUTINIZE FURTHER

The official statement of the CIO regarding the Roosevelt endorsement is worth scrutinizing. One of the things—the big things—the CIO leadership says it expects from Roosevelt is "a more abundant life for all." But on what do Murray, Hillman and Company base their great expectations?

Perhaps on the fact that under the Roosevelt Administration the capitalists have been allowed to become the most blatant and gluttonous war profiteers of all history. Perhaps on the fact that the Roosevelt stabilization program has boiled down to the Little Steel formula for labor. Are these the Roosevelt policies that lead to great expectations?

Again, the CIO statement declares that the "character of his leadership may determine whether we will forever eliminate every vestige of fascism from the face of the earth...." How can a great labor organization rely on a capitalist politician to do a job which is primarily labor's? Specifically, how can labor place

its trust in a capitalist politician aligned in the same party with the most rabidly reactionary elements in the country, namely, the bourbon Democrats of the South? How can labor choose as its leader against fascism a man whose foreign policies are now revealed as favoring fascist elements of the "good" variety as against working class elements?

There is no use in going into further detail. The same mistake runs throughout the statement—THE RELIANCE BY LABOR ON A CAPITALIST POLITICIAN TO DO THE JOB THAT ONLY LABOR CAN DO FOR ITSELF!

However, one thing is certain. The official position of the CIO regarding the endorsement of Roosevelt and thumbs-down on an independent Labor Party, is not accepted by the whole rank and file. Great segments of the CIO have done some hard thinking on the question of political action, and now see that IT IS FOLLY TO VOTE FOR AND WITH THE CLASS THAT THE UNIONS FIGHT ON THE ECONOMIC FIELD.

These forces in the CIO have not been whipped into the official line. Their voice will be heard louder and their actions will become stronger—until the organization of labor as a class on the political field will be an accomplished fact.

WORLD EVENTS

By Europacus

Threat of Strike Saves French Workers

This report comes from a militant member of Resistance, who took an energetic part in the action organized in Dijon in order to save seven workers who had been condemned to death by the Nazis. It shows clearly what strength local groups of resistance can have, and the rapidity of decision of their leaders.

At the end of August, seven railroad workers employed at the Perrigny station were denounced and arrested by the Nazis. On November 27 they were condemned to death by a special German court-martial, on a charge of collusion with the enemy, receiving arms by parachute, and being guilty of sabotage. These men were well known, and deeply esteemed, and their condemnation to death aroused the anger of all Dijon railroad workers and the indignation of the entire population. A fortnight earlier, fifteen workers had already been shot at Dijon by the Nazis.

As soon as they heard about the sentence, the Perrigny railroad men determined to prevent this new crime. "The People's Committee" got busy and it was decided to call a strike for Monday, November 29. The prefect of the region was warned, and acting as a spokesman for the occupants, sent a delegation to appeal to the workers to avoid any action which may precipitate the execution of the condemned men.

In spite of this admonition, on November 29, between 2:00 a.m. and 4:00 p.m., 1,500 railroad employees remained from work; and, knowing that in order to be effective the strike would have to last for some time, they let it be known that they would continue their demonstration. On the 30th, the engineers gathered the shop workers together and read to them a threatening letter from the prefect. When the last word had been heard, one of the workmen got up on a bench, and replied, on behalf of his comrades, that the strike would continue.

Finally the departmental Railroad Workers Labor Union (an "illegal" organization) was urged to write to all workers and send out leaflets inviting them to join in the movement of protest. Although the secretary of the union refused to print such a

leaflet, labor union members requested all the station workers at Laroche, Troyes, Reims, Eprenay and Chalons-sur-Saone to organize concerted action.

On Thursday, December 2, at two o'clock, the strike broke out in Perrigny and all the personnel employed there by the Société Nationale des Chemins de Fer Français, about 2,000 in all, stopped work. Until 7:00 p.m. not one train, not one engine, could leave the station, and thousands of travelers—who were waiting on the platforms of the Dijon railroad station, heartily approved of this protest.

The demonstration took on more and more importance. At seven o'clock the same evening a delegation/left for Vichy to negotiate, having been called by Laval. Aware of the dangers of negotiating with traitors, the leaders of the strike continued to warn all workers and to organize counter-action, in case the promises made were not kept within the given time, Friday, the 13th.

The departmental Committee of "Liberation" organized for Sunday, December 5, and Monday, December 6, in the Rue de la Liberté, a demonstration taken part in by thousands of people, in spite of the presence of German field gendarmes, armed with tommy guns, and of Marshall Pétain's police force. Although a notice could not be sent out to all the population to inform them what decisions had been taken, several business enterprises in Dijon stopped work for an hour on Monday, the 6th. While waiting for the reply from Vichy, the means of organizing a general strike was studied in detail; the men in the engine sheds were warned, and the railroad men announced that they had unanimously decided to blow up any engine that was put on the tracks.

On December 9, the delegation which was discussing the case at Vichy was asked to go to Paris. The Dijon workers were informed that negotiations were continuing. On Friday, December 19, the delegates telephoned Dijon to say that the seven railroad workers had been pardoned.—From "Vie Ouvrière," Algiers, January 4, 1944.

Reading Incident Poses Soldier-Worker Problem

READING, Pa.—The problem of re-employment in industry of the returning soldiers and their relation to the trade union movement was actually posed in what probably is the most serious case of its type that has developed recently. It is the case of three medically discharged soldiers who protested their layoff during the week of April 23 from the ultra-modern Jacobs Aircraft Engine Co., in Potstown, near here.

The three men had been laid off under seniority rules of the union in connection with a general slackening of production, resulting from an anticipated change in the type of motor to be manufactured. None of the ex-soldiers had worked in the plant prior to their induction and claimed that the War Manpower Commission ordered them to accept employment at the Jacobs plant.

The union, American Aircraft Workers, Lodge 1674, AFL, assumed the correct attitude of defending and maintaining the seniority machinery that had been established to protect the position of the workers generally.

The broader issue that is involved and which will reveal itself as a political factor of primary importance, is the whole question of post-war

employment or unemployment. The fascists and reactionaries of all varieties will weight their program and ideas so as to make it appear that what is preventing the employment of the veterans and all the rest of the unemployed are the protective devices developed by the labor movement during long years of struggle.

If such false ideas were to influence important numbers of the veterans, it would not result in improving their lot but rather would have the effect of destroying the present conditions of the working class generally. It is necessary to demonstrate to the returning soldiers that any violation of the contractual protections would be injurious to their interests as workers once they have again entered the labor market.

The unity of the veterans and the labor movement can be really effected only with the adoption by the trade unions of a bold and realistic program of economic demands and the persistence of a political perspective that alone can achieve them.

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Gates Meetings On Tour

LOUISVILLE—On May 17, union workers from several of this city's key industries made up an attentive audience for Albert Gates, who presented to them the Workers Party program for progressive labor action. Brother Gates' timely denunciation of the no-strike pledge and his first-hand accounts of the rising spirit of union militancy in other parts of the country, were received with great interest.

After the talk, discussion arose about concrete ways to present LABOR ACTION's program on the union floor. Mr. Gates was also asked to explain his solution for the Negro problem, which has been causing considerable controversy in the CIO here.

Those present expressed the hope for an early return to Louisville of LABOR ACTION's representative.

ST. LOUIS—A meeting of readers and supporters of LABOR ACTION was held in this city on Sunday, May 15. Albert Gates, editor of LABOR ACTION, spoke on "The Problems of Labor During the War and Post-War Periods."

"The speaker dealt with the present situation in the country and the rising tide of labor struggles. Citing the sacrifices made by the worker, the speaker showed how the bosses, taking advantage of the no-strike pledge, have begun an offensive to weaken and destroy the effectiveness of the union movement.

He then dealt with post-war prospects and demonstrated that the only way out for American labor is through the program of the Workers Party, supported and advocated by LABOR ACTION.

A good question and discussion period followed the speech.

'The Militant' and Our Italian Comrades

Comments on a Policy Fatal to the Resurgent Socialist Movement

By MAX SHACHTMAN

Those of us who are interested above all in the victory of international socialism have received exceptionally good news. We have waited with patience and with confidence for the emergence of the genuinely revolutionary socialist movement in Europe. Our confidence has been justified; our patience rewarded. In Italy, where the imperialist front was first broken by the revolutionary uprising of the masses, the real socialists, the Trotskyists, have come together again and formed an organization of their own.

That is a sign of things to come. The treachery of the Stalinists, and the miserable capitulation of the right-wing socialists, has left the road clear to the growth of the revolutionary socialist movement represented in the United States by the Workers Party, in Italy by our new organization, and throughout the world by the Fourth International. In its growth lies the hope of tomorrow. Every worker to whom the ideal of socialism is dear follows its growth with passionate interest and the warmest solidarity.

We of the Workers Party greeted the formation of the new group with great enthusiasm, and immediately decided to give it the maximum aid. Our members and friends throughout the country have joined in this greeting with almost unprecedented vigor.

Like LABOR ACTION, The Militant, which is the spokesman of the Socialist Workers Party, also printed the first manifesto to be issued by our Italian comrades. Here is how they headlined it in the April 8 issue of The Militant: "Trotskyists in Italy Issue Call for Socialist Struggle. Denounce the Betrayers by the Second and Third Internationals; Summon Masses to Fight for Socialist United States of Europe." The editors commented that this "very important document" was "issued by the Italian Trotskyists in the name of the Provisional National Center which has been constituted for the building of the Communist International Party (Fourth International). The text of this document is the first definitive proof that the genuine voice of revolutionary socialism is beginning to make itself heard amid the crucial events in Italy."

It is true that in reprinting the manifesto, the editors noted what they called "the vaguest and weakest section of the document," namely, the section on Russia. The reason for this was that the section indicates that our Italian comrades have not fallen into the reactionary trap of supporting Stalinist Russia in the war or designating that slave regime as a "workers' state." The document, while showing how Russia serves Anglo-American imperialist ambitions and plans. But this defect is quite opposite to that of which the SWP complains. In any case, The Militant did speak of the document on April 8 as "the genuine voice of revolutionary socialism" and of our comrades as "the Italian Trotskyists." That was good, that was right, that was wise, that was intelligent.

A CHANGE OF MIND

But since April 8, the editors have apparently received instructions that are neither good, right, wise nor intelligent. In their May 13 issue, they make a turn-about-face which is downright disgraceful. Under the imposing heading of "Trotskyism and the European Revolution," the editors suddenly find that the manifesto of our Italian comrades is no longer the "genuine voice of revolutionary socialism."

The editors are of course aware that members of the Socialist Workers Party, like members of our Workers Party, have responded with enthusiasm and sympathy to the news from Italy. They know, also, that many SWP members are begin-

ning to reflect seriously and critically upon their disastrous party policy of supporting the Russian army as it advances to crush the coming European working class revolution under the weight of the GPU. The SWP policy of "unconditional defense of the Soviet Union" is not working out so well! So the editors proceed to pour an icy douche over this part of their followers:

"Nothing could be more fatal to the Trotskyist movement than to permit instinctive sympathy for any insurgent groups fighting under the difficult conditions which exist in Europe today—to betray us into political conciliationism."

Political conciliationism with the counter-revolutionary Stalinist regime is all right for the SWP—but no "conciliationism" with the revolutionary socialists of Italy. The editors piously note that they can help the revolution in Europe and help "build a strong Trotskyist organization, only by drawing a sharp line of demarcation between the genuine Trotskyists and the impostors and muddleheads." In five short weeks, the Italian Trotskyists have ceased to be Trotskyists or to speak with "the genuine voice of revolutionary socialism" and have become "impostors and muddleheads."

Why? Because the "wiser" heads in the SWP have now realized what was always clear: "The authors of this manifesto, who apparently wish to deny such defense [of Russia], felt the necessity of equivocating. No group can really be Trotskyist if it attempts to straddle the Russian question. The manifesto does not call for the defense of the Soviet Union. It does not characterize the Soviet Union as a workers' state. Therefore the manifesto is not an authentic Trotskyist manifesto."

The language and style are typically Stalinist (even if used in the name of Trotsky), and so is the spirit of this excommunication.

POSITION OF ITALIAN COMRADES

Just think of this:

After more than twenty years of fascist rule, after almost five years of the most devastating war in history, and in face of mountainous difficulties, a group of Trotskyists is organized and comes forward with a document which rings out as the "genuine voice of revolutionary socialism" even to the editors of The Militant. This group has what is so rare in the working class movement right now—a sound position on the imperialist war and both camps in it. It has a correct position on fascism, imperialist democracy and the struggle for socialism. It has a correct position on Stalinism and the right-wing socialists, the Third and Second Internationals. Its position on the Socialist United States of Europe and world socialism is correct. So is its position on the struggle for democratic rights and demands in Italy, and the relation of this struggle to the fight for workers' power.

All this is of tremendous importance to the reviving revolutionary movement in Europe, and therefore to all of us here in the United States. On May 13, however, The Militant sees absolutely nothing of all this and has not a word to say about it. Its original greeting is replaced by a venomous denunciation. The "Italian Trotskyists" become "impostors and muddleheads." Workers are warned against yielding to their "instinctive sympathy" for the new Italian movement. The whole fundamental position of the Italian revolutionists fades into complete unimportance by the side of their unforgivable sin: They do not adopt the SWP position on Stalinist Russia!

SWP WRONG ON TWO COUNTS

The editors of The Militant are wrong on two counts (we politely use the word "wrong" in-

stead of the more accurate term, "stupid and criminal").

First, so far as the "Russian question" is concerned, the Italian comrades are a thousand times more correct than the SWP. The latter can only help break the neck of the coming revolution in Europe. Today, the Russian army already stands on the threshold of Poland; tomorrow, perhaps, it will face Germany. The workers and peasants who will surely move to overturn their ruling classes and attempt to establish their own government power, will face an army which Trotsky once rightly called the tool of the Stalinist Bonapartes, the counter-revolution in Moscow. If the Polish and German masses follow the policy of the SWP, which calls upon them to work for the victory of the Stalinist army, they will facilitate the crushing of their revolution by this army and by the GPU—nothing less. The SWP is simply asking these workers to dig their own graves!

Our Italian comrades understand this; the SWP, with its mad fixation on "unconditional defense" of Stalinist Russia, refuses to understand it. We are entirely opposed to the SWP here, and entirely on the side of our Italian comrades and of all the other European Fourth Internationalists who have already taken or who will certainly take the same basic view.

Second, even if the Italian comrades were as wrong on Russia as The Militant says, since when has the position on this question become the only decisive test for partisans of a Fourth International? Who decided that, and when? We know that in the past many comrades were similarly "wrong" on the Russian question without being read out of the Trotskyist movement—and read out so shamefully at that. In 1939 and 1940, when half of the American Trotskyist movement was also "wrong" on the Russian question, in the opinion of The Militant and even of Trotsky, the latter strongly insisted that there was room in a united SWP for both groups and opinions, and that there should not be a separation over that question. If a split did nevertheless occur in the SWP, it was mainly because of the impossible conditions for membership the party leaders tried to make the opposition swallow.

Trotsky understood that the "Russian question" was not quite so simple as the SWP now holds it to be; that positions taken on it were much more subject to change than on any other important question in the revolutionary movement; that it was the Trotskyist movement itself, more than any other, which had modified its position on Russia a dozen times in accordance with changes in the situation and reconsiderations.

Trotskyism, for us, is modern revolutionary socialism. For us, all the fundamental principles of the socialist criticism of capitalist society, of the struggle for workers' power, of the building of the new society—the principles of socialist internationalism—are embraced by the word "Trotskyism," modern Marxism. Only idiots can reduce "Trotskyism" to one aspect of Trotsky's position—real or perverted—on Russia, and declare slavish adherence to this position THE supreme test of a revolutionary socialist.

It is the SWP leaders who have introduced this new twist in the Trotskyist movement. We shall see what the other supporters of the Fourth International, as well as the SWP members themselves, have to say about this innovation. The SWP itself has changed Trotsky's position on Russia—but in a reactionary direction, so that it becomes more and more the tail-end of Stalinism, as we have repeatedly shown in these pages. The party leaders are blind and seek to blind everyone who listens to them. Their attack upon our Italian comrades is one of the rottenest examples of what we mean. Will they open their eyes only AFTER the "defense of Russia" has brought about the crushing of the European revolution?

Platform of Workers Party

For a People's Peace and a Workers' World! Against Both Imperialist Camps! For the Victory of World Labor and the Colonial Peoples! For the Victory of the Third Camp of Socialism!

The Workers Party recommends this platform for adoption as the fighting program of the trade union movement and of the national Independent Labor Party which it must form.

LABOR MUST DEFEND ITSELF NOW!

1. For the defense of all democratic rights! Against wartime dictatorship measures! Abolish wage-freezing and job-freezing!
2. Restore full and unrestricted collective bargaining rights of the unions! Rescind the no-strike pledge! Repeat the Smith-Connelly anti-strike law!
3. A higher, not a lower, standard of living! For a \$1.00-an-hour minimum wage law, with time and a half for overtime, double time for Sunday and holiday work, and equal pay for equal work for all industrial and agricultural workers! An "escalator clause" in all wage contracts, hitching wages to the rising cost of living, plus a margin for comforts—a "cost-plus" wage!
4. No tax on wages and no sales tax on consumers' goods! Abolish all taxes on annual incomes of \$5,000 or less!
5. Down with control of rationing and price-fixing by the monopolists and the government bureaucrats! For democratic control of rationing and price-fixing by joint committees of working class organizations, farmers' organizations, cooperatives and consumers' organizations and housewives' leagues.
6. No government contract to plants without a union contract.
7. Maintain and increase all government social services and establish adequate federal medical service, health and accident insurance, old-age pensions, child care, protection for the unemployed!

SOAK THE RICH—LET THEM PAY FOR THEIR WAR!

8. Expropriate the "Sixty Families"—the plutocratic three per cent of the population who own ninety-six per cent of the national wealth!
9. A one hundred per cent tax on all war profits above a five per cent maximum on invested capital! Immediate renegotiation of all war contracts to cut the fabulous profits to this level!
10. A \$25,000 ceiling on total individual incomes!
11. A graduated capital levy on all accumulated wealth over \$50,000 to cover war costs and provide post-war security for labor!

PREPARE NOW TO WIN POST-WAR JOB SECURITY AND PLENTY

12. Government planning to guarantee the highest national production and income, a year-around job and a minimum annual wage to all, and a rising standard of living!
13. Conscript all war industries! Nationalize the banks, big industrial monopolies and transportation systems. No handing over of government-built and owned plants and facilities to private ownership!
14. For a two hundred and fifty billion dollar five year program to provide decent housing for all, extensive public works, rural electrification and modernization!
15. For a guaranteed \$5,000 annual income to all workers' families, made possible by a planned rise in the total national income and a thirty-hour maximum work-week.

DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS TO THE DRAFTÉES

16. The right of free speech, free press and free assembly for the men and women in the armed forces! The unrestricted right of the armed forces to vote in all elections and participate in all political campaigns!
17. For doubling present dependency allowances paid by the government with no deductions from the serviceman's pay!

18. For a two years' base pay grant to all demobilized veterans, with option of trade school and higher education facilities at government expense, and guarantee of decent jobs!

DOWN WITH JIM CROW AND ANTI-SEMITISM

19. All discrimination against Negroes, Jews or other minorities in the armed forces or by employers in industry must be made a criminal offense!
20. For complete political, social and economic equality for Negroes!
21. For lifting all immigration barriers against Jewish and other victims of fascist terror! For government aid in rescuing and transporting these victims to safety!

PROTECT THE FARMER

22. Adequate government provision of land, technical aid, machinery and supplies to all small farmers! Cancellation of all small farmers' debts to government and banks!
23. Nationalize all absentee-owned farm lands. Abolish tenancy and sharecropping by turning over the land to those who till it.

PROTECT THE YOUTH

24. Adequate government provision for free education of all youth, including trade schools and universities! The right of all youth, male and female, to vote at the age of eighteen! Government-maintained nurseries for the children of working mothers.

AGAINST REACTION—FOR A LABOR PARTY AND A WORKERS' GOVERNMENT

25. For Union Defense Guards, trained and controlled by the unions, to defend labor, the Negroes, Jews and all racial minorities from native fascists, Jim Crow rioters, anti-Semites, Klansmen, Silver Shirts and other capitalist tools!
26. For a break with bankrupt and reactionary capitalist politics and politicians and complete independence of labor from them! No political support to the Roosevelt government! For a party that is labor's own, an Independent Labor Party, based on the unions and controlled by them!
27. For a workers' government to organize the country for freedom, security, peace and plenty for the masses of the people!
28. Operate all big industry for the welfare of the plain people, with workers' control of production through the unions and plant committees!
29. Democratic control of the distribution and price-fixing of consumers' goods by the labor unions, farmers, consumers' and cooperative organizations.

FOR A DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S PEACE AND A WORKERS' WORLD

30. For an end to the war and fascism by a democratic people's peace, without annexations, indemnities, tribute, or the dismemberment and oppression of sovereign nations and peoples!
31. For complete, immediate national independence, to all colonial or semi-colonial peoples! Against all old or new annexations, or depriving nations of their sovereignty and independence, by American, British, Russian, German or Japanese imperialism!
32. For a Socialist United States of Europe and a World Socialist Federation! A socialist world will destroy capitalist imperialism, recurrent wars, fascist barbarism, oppression and exploitation, and establish a new order of freedom, plenty, peace and security, and world brotherhood!

A Strange Pair

Shelton Tappes and William E. Dowling make a strange pair. Both are delegates to the Democratic national convention.

Tappes is secretary of Ford Local 600 and a Negro leader consistently supported by the Stalinist Communist Party.

Dowling, Detroit prosecutor, was the author of the infamous "Dowling Report" on the riots of June, 1943. His report aimed at whitewashing the Ku Klux Klanist elements in Detroit by intolerantly assailing the city's Negro population.

Why do you join up with Dowling, Mr. Tappes? Will he help fight for "liberal principles" such as the elimination of discrimination against all minorities, including Negroes? Or will you give a labor cloak of respectability to the reactionary racist policies represented by Mr. Dowling?

New Liberal Party Repeats ALP Mistakes---

(Continued from page 1)

sources."

Right after having written this, the Liberal Party leaders proceeded to endorse for re-election the outstanding spokesmen of one of these two reactionary parties: Roosevelt, Wallace and Wagner. Not one of these candidates can be elected without the support of the very "forces of privilege, of race prejudice and of patronage" which the new party Declaration denounces. Not one of these candidates will fail to move heaven and earth to assure the support of these same "forces," and consequently to be under obligation to them, and in the last analysis, under their control.

The new Liberal Party shares its candidates with the Southern lynchers, the poll-tax Democrats, the labor-baiters of the North and South, the rotten Democratic Party machines of the Northern cities, like Frank Hague's in New Jersey, Tammany's in New York, Mayor Kelly's in Chicago, and the same kind everywhere else; and, not least of all, with the Communist Party, which has climbed aboard the same bandwagon.

NOT A LABOR PARTY

Anyone who expected the Hotel Roosevelt convention to lay the foundations for a genuine Labor Party, for genuine independent working-class political action, must have been sorely disappointed. If anything, the Liberal Party marks a step backward as compared with the American Labor Party. Even though the latter was not a real labor party, it at least called itself by that name. The leaders of the new party seemed so anxious to run away from any "class organization" or working-class control, that they dropped the name "labor" altogether and adopted the wishy-washy, typically middle-class name of Liberal Party.

In his convention address, Dubinsky did indeed say that "labor needs a party of its own." But he and the rest of the new party leaders took special care to see to it that the

Liberal Party was not a political organization that labor can call its own. The party Declaration nowhere even suggests that it aims to be the party of labor. On the contrary, it emphasizes that it seeks to be the organ of expression and action of "the progressive forces of America," and therefore invites "all liberal-minded citizens, regardless of occupation or previous party affiliation, to join with us."

The party program, which runs into well over a hundred paragraphs, devotes exactly three to "Labor's Right of Organization." The program does not even come out in favor of the nationalization of big industry and banking, but confines itself to a muddled advocacy of a muddledheaded idea: the combination of "public planning and free enterprise." The rest of the program is on a par with this.

The structure of the Liberal Party is substantially the same as the old American Labor Party. It provides only for individual membership or organized on the assembly district basis. No attempt or provision was made for basing the party upon democratic trade-union affiliation, which would not only have provided the party with a serious and solid basis among the workers that would justify calling the new party a labor party despite its middle-class program, but would have put it under the control of the organized labor movement.

The party leaders, however, were as determined to prevent such control in the new party as they were in the old. They have no hesitation whatsoever in calling upon organized labor to support their party, to vote for it, to give it funds and all other possible aid, but as for giving organized labor voice and vote in determining the party's leadership and policy, on the basis of labor's organized strength, that is an entirely different matter!

The convention nevertheless made a big display of its claims to "trade-union representation." Many of those seated at the convention as delegates

were spoken of as representatives of this union and that one. How they came to consider themselves as representing the organizations to which they belong, or of which they are officers, was an unexplained mystery. So far as is known, the question of sending and electing delegates to the Liberal Party convention never came before the membership of any of the unions of New York. If trade-union officials did appear at the convention, the only possible conclusion is that they were present in their own name and only in their own name—not as the selected spokesmen of their organizations.

WHY DIDN'T THEY SPEAK UP?

It is worth noting, moreover, that a number of trade-union leaders present at the convention were members of unions that have gone on record for a genuine labor party, based upon the trade unions, completely independent from the two capitalist parties, and pursuing a policy of contesting all elections with its own independent candidates. Prominent among such union organizations is the famous Brewster Local of the United Auto Workers. Among the delegates was its treasurer, Gabe De Angelis.

In his case, as in all others known to LABOR ACTION, the question of the Liberal Party convention never came before the membership and consequently the local was not represented by its own delegates. Moreover, it is unfortunate that De Angelis and other delegates who are members of unions that have taken a militant position on the Labor Party, failed to challenge the basis upon which the Liberal Party was formed, and failed to present to the convention the point of view to which their respective union organizations are officially committed.

In this failure, we have another case of the subordination of the organized labor movement to capitalist or middle-class politics, in which labor is called upon to act as mere voting cattle for the candidates of

the reactionary capitalist parties whom they cannot control, whose whole political existence is concerned with protecting the basic interests of capitalism, and who cannot possibly serve the interests of the working class or the toiling people in general.

The attempt of the new party to continue the tragic and misleading

experience of the American Labor Party must be met by the militant and class-conscious workers with renewed activities in favor of a real Labor Party, based upon the mass organizations of labor and controlled by them, and completely independent of the capitalist parties. For the workers, no middle-class substitute is worthy of support.

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Editorials

Those Who Got Slapped

Everyone knows that Sewell Avery got properly slapped by the victory of the United Mail Order, Warehouse & Retail Employees Union, CIO, as bargaining agent for the Montgomery Ward workers in Chicago. But this union-buster is by no means the only one of that category who was put in his place.

There is also, for example, Harry Bridges, head of the International Longshoremen & Warehousemen's Union, CIO, and one of the Browder boys. As a union-buster—which is the role he was playing along with Avery—Harry Bridges also got slapped by the union victory at Ward's. Here is the story:

Bridges' union is the bargaining agent in some of the Ward plants not located in Chicago. Asked by the Ward strikers in Chicago for support, Bridges refused it. The Dispatcher, national organ of Bridges' union, wrote: "ILWU Local 215, which is the bargaining agent for employees of the Montgomery Ward workers in St. Paul, immediately reaffirmed its no-strike pledge, although it received requests from the Chicago strike leaders not to handle goods."

That was on April 21. On May 5, with the splendid Chicago strike at its height—

getting active support from labor as a whole—Bridges published a signed editorial in the Dispatcher, saying: "The ILWU is organized in plants of Montgomery Ward elsewhere than in Chicago and under no circumstances will our union be a party to the game that was played in Chicago or anything like it. If anything, we'll be more affirmative than ever in our adherence to the no-strike pledge."

It is not hard to see on whose side Bridges was fighting. "The game that was played in Chicago" was a life-or-death game for unionism. Practically the whole labor movement realized that and rallied to the side of the Ward strikers. But Bridges snatched up the dirty and bedraggled banner of the no-strike pledge, waved it aloft and—in effect—trampled under foot the standard of unionism.

And why is the no-strike pledge more sacred than all else to the Browder boys? Orders from the Kremlin—which are to support Roosevelt, who supports Stalin, who in return commands his faithful stooges to crucify labor on the no-strike pledge.

So Bridges got slapped by the union victory at Ward's—and with him all the other Browder boys. Included among them are the lie-slingers on the Daily Worker who called the Chicago strike a "Trotskyite conspiracy"—a phrase by this time recognized by labor to mean all militant labor action that shows up the reactionary line of the Browder boys.

Mission to Moscow

Although Father Orlemanski's name is no longer appearing in front page headlines, a few remarks on the subject are still pertinent.

Father Orlemanski is a figure among Polish-American people. He is one of those supporters of Polish "independence" who do not mind giving a slice of Poland to Russia. A slice from Germany on the West—

if and when that may be possible—will be acceptable compensation. In the meantime, he fully endorses the brand of Polish "independence" Stalin wants.

The good father did not, of course, go to Moscow on his own whim or initiative. Stalin—suddenly become a "co-religionist"—pulled the string that gave the father his so thrilling experience. The publicity given the Springfield priest's message about Stalin's wish for an "independent" Poland and for friendship with the Catholic church, has set the whole Polish-American population agog. Stalin hopes thus to win friends in America and gain okay for his little grab.

The timing of Father Orlemanski's visit may have been determined by the fact that there will be in Buffalo over the Memorial Day week-end, a convention of Polish-American organizations. According to Eric Estorick, writing in The Nation, American citizens of Polish origin will discuss American foreign policy as it affects Poland, and pressure Washington to support the Polish government in exile against the Russian demands on the Polish-Russian boundary question. Father Orlemanski's mission to Moscow and the pro-Russian propaganda surrounding it may very well have been pointed specifically at the Buffalo convention.

LABOR ACTION has no interest in passing upon the AWOL aspects of Father Orlemanski's trip on behalf of Stalin. But as to the political aspects, there is this to say:

The working people of the world must oppose every imperialist slicing-up of any country by the big powers. This does not imply support of the autocratic, fascistic, anti-Semitic Polish government in exile as against Stalin. They are birds of the same feather.

The peoples of Europe can have real national independence only by a struggle against all the imperialist and would-be imperialist powers.

Deal With Franco

By JULIAN STERN

Since February 1, there is supposed to have been an embargo on wolfram shipped from fascist Spain to Nazi Germany. However, this embargo was just on paper and was not enforced by the Allies.

Recently an official announcement was made by the U.S. State Department about a deal with Spain. That country was to reduce her shipments of tungsten ore to about ten per cent (twenty tons per month) of what Germany would normally receive. In return, said the State Department, "permission will now be granted for the renewal of bulk petroleum loadings by Spanish tankers in the Caribbean and the lifting from U.S. ports of minor quantities of packaged petroleum products in accordance with the controlled program in operation prior to the suspension of such loadings." In more precise language, it will be possible for Spain to obtain per month 48,000 tons of petroleum for itself, 13,000 tons for its colonies, and 1,500 tons of miscellaneous petroleum products such as lubricants.

The Franco government, in addition to agreeing to cut the ore shipments, agreed to recall the Spanish soldiers from the Russian front; to release several Italian freighters now interned in Spanish ports, to submit to arbitration the question of Italian warships and finally to expel designated Axis agents from Tangier, the colonies in North Africa and from Spain, as well as to close the German consulate in Tangier and expel Consul General Dr. Kurt Reith. But, according to latest reports, Franco is taking his time about this last point, and the British are getting restive.

Concerning the Spanish forces on the Eastern front, their withdrawal was assured time and again, and as many times nothing was done. Says the New York newspaper PM: "They have changed the name of the Spanish forces; they have withdrawn the original fighters and replaced them with another volunteer division; they have merged the Spaniards with the Germans."

On the question of wolfram, according to The Nation, Germany will in reality get around SEVENTY-TWO PER CENT of the 1943 shipments, not including the wolfram sent secretly to Germany.

WHY FRANCO IS CODDLED

The policy of the U.S. regarding Spain is not dictated by the abstract principles of the Atlantic Charter but rather by grim imperialist desires and motivations. The Allied governments have two considerations to take care of concerning Spain. The first is to keep Franco from going all the way in aligning Spain on the side of his Nazi brothers, and then to cut down to a minimum the possible aid that Spain can give to the Axis.

However, there is another point. The Franco regime is based solely on his armed might. His regime is decidedly unstable and most unpopular with the masses. The prestige given it by the continued recognition by the United Nations is altogether unwarranted. The oil received by Franco from the U. S. is used to fuel his military machine—the only thing that stands in the way of mass rebellion.

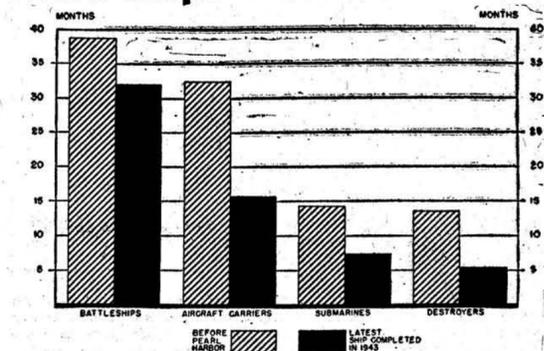
The trade that goes on between Spain and the Allies is to bolster Franco against the Spanish people. The Allies would support with equal ease a monarchy or any other authoritarian system in Spain as long as it acted as a bulwark against an uprising from the left.

The State Department stated: "One of our objectives in these negotiations was to continue to deprive Germany of Spanish wolfram. Although agreement was reached on a basis less than a total embargo of wolfram shipments, this action was taken to obtain immediate settlement on the urgent request of the British government." The old gag about "military expediency" remains—with the possibility of passing the buck and saying, "It's the British."

Representative Celler of New York blames the whole matter of soft-soaping Franco on Ambassador Carleton J. H. Hayes. Says Celler: "There is no doubt that our State Department was anxious to crack down on Franco... Hayes, with his fanatical ideas of appeasement and his nostalgia for all things Spanish, balked the efforts of his superiors and abjectly surrendered to Franco... Why he is continued in his post at Madrid is most baffling. It is the old story of appeasement, and some of the appeasers are in the State Department. I have every reason to believe that our distinguished Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, is not aligned with Hayes' policy, but, apparently, powers unseen stay our hand."

Representative Celler is absolutely correct when he says that it is most baffling why Hayes stays at his post—unless it is because he is doing exactly what is expected of him! Celler refuses to see this fact. It's the appeasers in the State Department who keep Hayes where he is. Doesn't Hull control his own State Department? If not, why doesn't the President do something about his administrative family? Is it not because Hayes, Hull and Roosevelt are in substantial agreement?

More Ships--Less Time



FOR A NEW WORLD

Labor Can Produce Plenty For All—with Time for Leisure

By NANCY NATHAN

Humanity as a whole has been working toward ever greater productivity of labor for two reasons: to get enough of the things of life, and to get it without ceaseless and back-breaking toil—so there can be some leisure for enjoying the good things of life.

These two aims could now be realized were it not for one thing—CAPITALIST OWNERSHIP AND CONTROL OF PRODUCTION.

LABOR'S POWER TO PRODUCE

Take a good look at the above chart to get an idea of labor's power to produce. The chart represents, in graphic form, a report made by Admiral Ernest J. King to the late Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox on the time required for the production of the various types of naval craft.

You will see that while before the war a battleship took around forty months for completion, in 1943 it took around thirty months—only three-fourths the time. Before Pearl Harbor, shipworkers finished an aircraft carrier in thirty months, more or less, but in 1943 they finished one in fifteen months—only one-half the time. Submarines were turned out in fifteen months before the war, and by 1943 the time was cut down to ten months—only two-thirds the time. Destroyers formerly fifteen months in construction, in 1943 were being produced in the record time of five months—only one-third the time.

The men and women in the shipyards almost doubled their output in two war years. Labor's productivity rose so that the average time consumed in building the various kinds of ships was reduced by nearly a half. That's a record. And it's a record made throughout war production. Labor has reached a peak in output unknown before.

AND MORE OF THE SAME

Nor has the rising productivity stopped in 1944. The creative efficiency of the workers continues to increase. It is stepping up right along, as shown by a recent report of the Cleveland Trust Company. This report on output per worker in munitions production reveals a rise of thirty-six per cent from January, 1943, to December, 1943, and already in February, 1944, the increase was up to thirty-eight per cent.

To put the report of the Cleveland Trust Company into more concrete language, it means that by the end of 1943 three workers were turning out more than four workers were turning out at the end of 1942—and that in 1944 the output per worker continues to climb.

Another very striking illustration of an almost unbelievable increase in labor's output was given by Henry J. Kaiser, retiring as chairman and president of Brewster Aeronautical Corporation, when he reported that from October, 1943, to May, 1944, the man-hours per plane fell from 27,000 to 9,500—a drop of almost two-thirds.

But there is no need to multiply the evidence. Without the almost fairy-tale quantity and quality of American labor productivity, this global war could not be fought.

A GOOD THING MISUSED

But instead of being misused in the service of war and destruction, the amazing development in production output should be turned to satisfy the yearnings of the common people for enough of the things of life and for peace and leisure necessary for a better life.

This, however, is far from the reality today.

Who has benefited—first and foremost—from this tremendous productivity of labor? The capitalist class! The Cleveland Trust Company—itsself part and parcel of that class—admits: "Production increased so rapidly that contractors made greater profits than anyone had expected would be possible."

Who is getting it in the neck—first and foremost—from this tremendous productivity of labor? The useful producers themselves, the working class! Labor has turned out so much that cut-backs in orders are already in full swing—and with them the layoffs of workers who are being punished for having produced so much and so well.

Illustrating the extent of layoffs already in full swing, we can again refer to Mr. Kaiser's report regarding Brewster. In the same period during which the labor-hours required to build a plane fell from 27,000 to 9,500, the labor force was reduced from 20,000 to 12,500 workers—and now the whole plant is being shut down. This is only an illustration of what is going on throughout all war industry.

THE POINT OF SATURATION

Ah, but you say, reader, that war production can't go on forever. The point of saturation is being reached. True, very true.

LABOR ACTION, of course, makes no plea for the continuation of war production. Just the contrary is the case. LABOR ACTION deplores, and is indignant about, the incalculable waste of labor power and raw material swallowed in the bloody abyss of imperialist war.

It is the principle of capitalist production here involved that we are talking about.

What matter if the government places orders for the war, or private traders place orders during peace? The saturation point is finally reached in any case. Orders stop coming in. Layoffs begin. The workers are punished for having produced too much and too well.

A post-war crisis, such as is expected to engulf us, is different only in degree, and not in kind, from the post-prosperity crisis that workers are so familiar with. During war and during peace the rapid increase in labor's output means greater profits for the capitalist owners of industry—and then, for the worker, a place in the army of unemployed, without grub, bed, uniform or pay.

To stop this vicious and senseless circle, there has to be workers' ownership and control of production. There must be born the system of socialist production to replace the crazy system of capitalist production.

This is the only way in which the splendid and ever more promising increase in labor's productivity will no longer be misused to enrich the already rich in times of war and peace prosperity—only to be followed by devastating crises that prevent steady progress for the working people.

Some Don't Play the Horses

In his book, "Tell the Folks Back Home," which is an account of his globe-girdling trip, Senator James M. Mead tells a story of India, which brings out in bold relief the contrast between imperialist overlord and colonial slave.

The senator writes he was shocked that, at a time when thousands of starving people lay on the sidewalks of Calcutta, the British authorities were still devoting precious space in freight cars for race horses en route to the Calcutta Gold Cup.

This is the nature of the British Empire, which Churchill has time and again declared his determination to preserve!

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On with the Struggle for Socialism---

(Continued from page 1)

bureaucracy that rules Russia. Inside these organizations, all the militant and revolutionary elements have been rooted out; in Russia itself, they were expelled, then framed up (as "agents of capitalism"), imprisoned and shot. The membership was taught that the supreme revolutionary virtue and duty was blind obedience to the party leadership, regardless of who was appointed and regardless of what policies and how many turns in policy were undertaken.

The Russian Stalinist bureaucracy has deceived and betrayed the Communist workers. It has cunningly traded upon your devotion to the great principles and achievements of the Bolshevik Revolution, and exploited this devotion for its own reactionary ends. Meanwhile, in Russia, the bureaucracy has abandoned these great principles and wiped out the great achievements. The Russian working class enjoys no rights; it enjoys no power. It is gagged, bound and fettered by the bureaucracy, which has a complete monopoly of power, rights and privileges.

The Russian and the Communist Workers

This bureaucracy looks upon you, and the communist and other workers throughout the world, only as tools. Its only interest in you is to use you to maintain it in power. It is not concerned with the interests and the socialist future of the working class, either inside Russia or outside. That is why it forced the Communist movement through all the ridiculous and criminal "turns" in policy every year or every six months. That is why it forces you into opposition to a united front one day, and support of it the next; into calls for insurrection one day and support of capitalism the next; into opposition to the imperialist war one day and support of it the next; into support of labor's struggles one day and strike-breaking the next; and now, into outright abandonment of the ideal and struggle for socialism which it long ago abandoned in practice.

Once the capitalist class and capitalist reaction feared and respected the Communist movement. Today it ridicules it, treats it with contempt, or praises it for its "respectability."

The big international machinery of the Communist Party has sought systematically to poison the Communist workers against the Trotskyists, that is, against the revolutionary socialists who have always remained true to the principles they learned from Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky. But now it is easier to see how they lied about us. We are still revolutionary, international socialists, irreconcilable enemies of capitalism. They are now the avowed agents of capitalism. Time will tell, we said. Now, time has told.

We understand perfectly that the true Communist worker has not really abandoned the cause of Socialism. We know that he has been told, behind closed doors, that the "new line" is only a clever maneuver. We know that he has been told that this is the best way to help Russia and the Russian working class; that if he "pretends" to support capitalism here, the capitalists will be more inclined to work with Moscow. That is the meaning of Browder's demagogical references to "Unity Behind Teheran."

But that is a gross deception. The party leaders are only

fooling you, and if you believe them, you will be fooling yourself, with fatal results.

The new line IS a "clever maneuver." But for whom? In whose interests? Not yours, for it is not in the interests of the American working class to lie prone while capitalist reaction tramples upon it. Not the Russian workers, for it is not in their interests to strengthen the power of the bureaucracy that rules it with an iron hand. It is a maneuver exclusively in the interests of the bureaucrats themselves, and to the vast detriment of the international working class and of socialism.

You are told that the abandonment of the fight for socialism is only for the war and post-war period. In actuality, that fight was abandoned by Browder & Co. long ago. But even if you do not believe this, do you not see who will be the real and only gainer from this "maneuver"? If you give up the class struggle and support capitalism now and for the whole next period—then, later, when YOU are ready to resume the class struggle for socialism, you will find that meanwhile you will have enormously strengthened the capitalist enemy, and terribly weakened, disoriented and demoralized the working class. The class struggle cannot be abolished or postponed under capitalism. The capitalists always defend their class interests. If labor does not fight as a class, capitalist reaction and fascism will surely triumph. Do you want to be guilty of helping the enemy win?

On With the Fight for Socialism!

Now, comrades, is the time to re-dedicate yourselves to the revolutionary socialist principles and to the struggle for socialist freedom! It is high time to break from the paralyzing and distorting grip of Stalinism! Return to the ideas and ideals taught us by the Bolshevik Revolution and its leaders, Lenin and Trotsky! Turn your back on the base falsehoods and cynical treachery of the Browders who try to treat you like robots and not like revolutionary socialists! Unite in battle against capitalism and its servant, fascism!

The Workers Party, part of the world-wide movement to establish the Fourth International on the foundations of Marxism and Leninism, appeals to you to join its ranks, and thereby to resume the noble fight for working-class emancipation and socialist freedom. We have the right to call upon you to enter our Party, for we have never flinched from the struggle against capitalism and never forsaken the principles of socialism.

To every Communist worker who has reflected deeply and carefully on the events leading to the destruction of his old party, to the shame of abandoning the struggle for socialism, we say:

There is a comradely place for you in the fighting ranks of the Workers Party!

Long live our great socialist leaders, Lenin and Trotsky!

On with the struggle against decaying capitalism, with its oppression, exploitation, wars, misery and slavery!

Long live the cause of socialist victory and socialist freedom!

NATIONAL COMMITTEE, WORKERS PARTY,
MAX SHACHTMAN, National Secretary.