



## Study This Picture, and Learn Necessary A-B-C Lessons

Take a good look at this picture—and think about it. In the center is Sewell Avery. He is the chairman of the powerful Montgomery Ward & Co. The company is connected with some of the most powerful banks and corporations in the country. Avery would give a good deal of his company's millions to smash the labor movement to a pulp and keep his workers at the lowest possible level. That is how he made his millions in profit. That is how he would like to continue to make them. Avery considers himself a very powerful figure in the country. He also considers himself to be absolutely indispensable to the running of Montgomery Ward. All the Averys in the various corporations of the country look upon themselves in the same way.

Yet—Mr. Avery is being carried out of Montgomery Ward and is being deposited on the street. Mr. Avery didn't want to be carried out. He was opposed to being carried out. But he was carried out.

Who is carrying him out? Just two men, one on his right and one on his left. Just two men are doing it—removing the powerful Mr. Avery from powerful Montgomery Ward. "You can't do this to me," says Mr. Avery. BUT IT IS BEING DONE. "Montgomery Ward cannot function without me," says Mr. Avery. BUT IT DOES FUNCTION WITHOUT HIM. He is not at all indispensable. The only ones who are absolutely indispensable to the operating of Montgomery Ward are THE WORKERS WHO WORK IN IT. If the workers were carried out Montgomery Ward would be dead and done for. It would not function at all, would it?

But even though Mr. Avery is out on the street, Montgomery Ward can function just as well, if not better, so long as the workers are there. Mr. Avery did not want to go. But it only took two men to move him out. If it was that easy for just two men to do, how much easier would it be if all the workers in the plant decided to do it, and to do it for good? A thousand times easier!

And if ALL the workers in ALL the big plants of the country decided to move out ALL the Mr. Averys and take over the plants that THE WORKERS built and WHICH THE WORKERS, AND THE WORKERS ALONE, keep in operation—what could all the Mr. Averys do about it?

Not much! Not much more, in any case, than Mr. Avery is doing in the picture. And as you can see, from looking closely, he isn't doing very much. But, someone may say, this is silly, because the reason why it is so easy for just two men to carry Mr. Avery out on the street is because these particular two men have a government behind them.

Right, absolutely right! That only means that to carry out all the Mr. Averys, the workers have to have a government behind them.

What government? The government that sent the men to carry out Mr. Avery?

No! Because the same government is going to carry Mr. Avery right back into Montgomery Ward. Just you wait and see!

The workers simply need a government that will carry Mr. Avery and all the other Averys out of Montgomery Ward and all the other industries—and keep the mout. The workers need a government that will run Montgomery Ward and all the other big corporations in the name of the workers, through the workers and in the interests of the workers.

The workers need—A WORKERS' GOVERNMENT to dump the Mr. Averys and keep them dumped! That's all there is to it!

## Gates On Tour

Albert Gates, editor of LABOR ACTION and assistant national secretary of the Workers Party, is still on tour and reports most successful meetings. Some of the topics covered by Gates at his various meetings are: "The Need for an Independent Labor Party," "The Struggle for Progressive Unionism" and "Post-War Prospects for Labor."

Gates has been meeting with groups of readers of LABOR ACTION, discussing union problems with them as well as the program of the Workers Party. His aim is to recruit new members for the party.

Gates has still to visit the following cities:

- Streator—May 7.
- Chicago—May 8-13.
- St. Louis—May 14-15.
- Louisville—May 16-17.
- Springfield—May 18.
- Columbus—May 19.
- Akron—May 20-21.
- Cleveland—May 22-23.
- Youngstown-Warren—May 24-25.
- Washington—May 26-27.

By MAX SHACHTMAN

The first seven points which the platform of the Workers Party urges the labor movement and the coming Labor Party to adopt as their program of action deal with the defense of the economic and political position of the working class now, today.

All sort of high-sounding words have been written into any number of "plans for a better post-war world." The mere fact that such plans are being drawn up implies a recognition of two important points: (1) that the world we lived in before the war, as well as the world we are living in during the war, demand a change and an improvement—the first was not satisfactory and the second is not; (2) that a better world cannot be obtained just by letting things "take their course" but must be planned and organized. Every thinking worker has recognized these two points to one extent or another for some time.

Do these plans really mean anything for the masses of the workers? There is at least one unfulfilling test to apply to all of them: What do they propose to do for the economic and political welfare of the workers

# LABOR ACTION

MAY 8, 1944

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR



ONE CENT

# FDR ACTION AT WARD'S NO SOLUTION FOR WORKERS

## Detroit PAC Hog-Ties Labor to FDR

By BEN HALL

DETROIT—The organizational convention of the Wayne County Political Action Committee, attended by 519 delegates from 112 local unions, held in Detroit on April 23 and 24, elected a governing executive board, called for a guaranteed annual wage for workers and for other labor legislation, endorsed Roosevelt for a fourth term and called upon CIO members to unite with "liberal" Democrats to demand progressive candidates on the Democratic ticket.

In the elections for executive board, the Stalinist slate was defeated, three to one, by an anti-Stalinist ticket which included the supporters of the Michigan Commonwealth Federation. A motion to endorse only those candidates for public office who publicly support a guaranteed annual wage was defeated, 156 to 223.

### LABOR WING OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Despite Walter Reuther's opening remarks at the convention that "the policy of the CIO is to build an independent political action group of labor, and not to become the tail to the kite of any political group," the convention turned the Wayne County PAC into the liberal-labor wing of the Democratic Party.

This course was a foregone conclusion, for only one week previously Richard T. Frankensteen, vice-president of the UAW, was the keynote speaker at the Democratic Party's state convention (an account of which appears elsewhere in this issue), and took over the job of digging up a Democratic candidate for Governor. At the same time, R. J. Thomas, who is national secretary of

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## WARD--MORGAN--AND CO.

The union-busting policies of Montgomery Ward & Co. are not a peculiarity of that company alone. Nor is the rabid labor-hated of its president, Sewell Avery, merely a little idiosyncrasy of that gentleman.

Montgomery Ward & Co. is a link in the intertwining chain of American big business. This second largest mail order house in the country—engaged not only in merchandising but also in manufacturing—doing an annual business of around half a billion dollars—netting an annual profit of around \$30,000,000—is closely connected with the pillars of American banking and business. As such it reflects the basic labor policies of the financial and industrial masters.

A look at the officers and board of directors of Montgomery Ward & Co. will reveal the intertwining chain that binds this company to top capitalism.

The ill-famed Sewell Avery, president of the company at a salary of \$100,000 and one of its largest stockholders, was president of U. S. Gypsum Co. before he took over at Montgomery Ward. Avery still is a director and the principal stockholder of U. S. Gypsum. By the way, the union-busting policies of that company match those of Montgomery Ward. The list of other giant companies of which Avery is a director are: U. S. Steel, Pullman, Armour, Peoples Gas, Northern Trust, and Pure Oil.

George Whitney, another director of Montgomery Ward, is nothing less than president of J. P. Morgan & Co., financial colossus. Whitney is also a director of fourteen other big corporations, among them, General Motors, Pullman, Consolidated Edison, New York Central, Kennecott Copper.

David A. Crawford, likewise on the board of directors of the mail order house, is president of the monopolistic Pullman, Inc. He is also director of Chicago's Continental Illinois National Bank & Trust Co., of Armour & Co., of American Telephone & Telegraph, of West Virginia Coal & Coke Co.

Philip R. Clarke, another director of Avery's company, is the president of Chicago's City National Bank & Trust, as well as a director of U. S. Steel and Pure Oil.

Charles F. Gore, Montgomery Ward director, is an investment banker and on the board of directors of several big companies, including Studebaker Corp. Percy B. Eckhart, Chicago financier, is another director of Avery's company. He is also president of De Soto Securities Co., head of B. A. Eckhart Milling Co. and a director of Chicago Title & Trust Co., of Armour & Co., of American Tel. & Tel.

Donald R. McLennan, Montgomery Ward director, is an insurance banker and a director of American Sugar Refining Co., of Armour & Co., of Continental Bank & Trust Co., of Pennsylvania Railroad, of Peoples Gas, of Pullman.

It is hardly likely that Sewell Avery was following a policy in opposition to the convictions of his big banking and business brethren on the board of directors. More likely it is that he was acting with their whole-hearted blessing.

Most likely it is that the absolutely unyielding hostility of Montgomery Ward to unionism and the open defiance of the government by the company was planned as a trial balloon for big business as a whole—TO SEE HOW FAR IT COULD GO IN ITS UNION-BUSTING DRIVE.

The balloon was burst only because of the strike of the Montgomery Ward workers, supported by the teamsters and railroad workers, who refused to make deliveries to and take shipments from the mail order house.

IT WAS THIS DIRECT FIGHT AND FEARLESS MILITANCY OF THE WORKERS WHICH FORCED ACTION FROM THE GOVERNMENT.

## Plan of Action for URWA

By BILL FORD

AKRON, May 1—Unionists of the United Rubber Workers of America here are beginning to see that the fight against Dictator S. H. Dalrymple, international president of the URWA, requires a great deal of organizing to push it to a successful conclusion.

This fact is high-lighted as a result of the special meeting of the big Firestone Local yesterday, which resulted in a temporary setback for the anti-Dalrymple workers.

The meeting had been called by

that local's executive board to get membership support for the action it had taken in publicly congratulating Goodrich Local No. 5 for having thrown Dictator Dalrymple out of its ranks (because of his unconstitutional expulsion of seventy-two unionists of General Tire Local back in January).

The Firestone Local's executive board failed to get support because of the parliamentary maneuvers of President Jack Little, a Dalrymple stooge, who outdid himself in filibustering the meeting and disrupt-

ing procedure on technical grounds. This is nothing new for Little in recent days; the Dalrymple forces are giving him excellent schooling behind the scenes in just how to prevent the membership from making its will effective.

SLOPPY METHODS BOOMERANG Because they have a perfect issue on which to fight—union democracy vs. bureaucratic dictatorship—many progressives have thought that they could get by with sloppy organizing

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## Workers Party Platform

NOW, and not in the distant and uncertain future? What do they propose to do NOW in defense of the economic and political interests of the workers?

Any of the "post-war plans" that fails to answer these questions concretely, which evades these questions with the argument that the workers must not fight now because "we are all fighting a war," but that everything will be all right once the war is over—is worth, at best, the paper it is written on, and nothing more. The authors of these plans are deceiving the people, or deceiving themselves, or both. It is the old story all over again:

A juicy carrot is dangled just in front of the donkey but out of his reach, only in order to keep him going with the heavy load on his back. Any faker is always ready to PROMISE the good things of life to the masses some time in the future—but nothing doing right now.

### WHY STRUGGLE IS NECESSARY NOW

The only fight for a better post-war world that has any serious meaning is the fight that begins right now. Whoever tells

the workers that they must accept their burden today because of the "war crisis," will tell them to accept the same burden, or a heavier one, tomorrow because of the "post-war crisis." The way to meet the post-war crisis—which is absolutely certain—is to meet the war crisis head-on.

How?

Let us see how the big monopolists are meeting the war crisis in preparation for the post-war crisis. These great economic and political octocrats do not say: "There is a war on, therefore we will sacrifice our wealth to win it. We will not make any demands for the protection or extension of our economic and political power. We will not make a fight over any question affecting this power, no matter how important."

On the contrary, they laugh up their sleeves at the very suggestion. The "war crisis" is a boon to them. They utilize the war situation for the constant improvement of their position. They mean to come out of the war with greater economic power and with a stronger political position from which to protect this power than they ever

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There probably isn't a worker anywhere who didn't applaud the soldiers carrying out of Montgomery Ward & Co., the giant mail order house, its \$100,000-a-year president, Sewell L. Avery. This exploiter of labor, who, in his campaign against the United Retail, Wholesale & Department Store Employees Union, had fired many expert workers because they are good unionists, was having it dished out to him. At least, that's the way it looked.

But, of course, it isn't just the same when an employer fires a worker and when the capitalist government takes over a plant, temporarily ousting its owners. In the first instance, the worker is cut off from his livelihood; in the second instance, the government goes right on making profits for the capitalist owners.

Be that as it may, however, the main point is that the capitalist government acted against a powerful corporation, which, by its ramified connections, is representative of American big business. Why did it do this?

The answer is as clear as the rising sun. The workers of Montgomery Ward had already taken matters into their own hands. It was a question of letting the workers settle accounts with Avery and his company in the only way that workers can settle such accounts—or the government doing something.

Proof of this explanation lies in the history of the case.

### A BIT OF HISTORY

Montgomery Ward has been defying the law, the WLB, and the union for many, many months. In fact, it originally signed a contract with the union only after a smear campaign that cost \$400,000 in advertising alone and only as a temporary expedient.

It never ceased its union-busting activities. It claimed that the union no longer represented the Ward workers, asked for a new NLRB election and maneuvered in other crooked ways.

On January 18, the WLB ordered Ward to agree to an extension of the existing contract until new elections were held. The company refused. At a hearing on March 29 the WLB found that the union was complying with all orders but that Ward was not. On April 4 the company was again ordered to desist in its defiance of government orders. The company did not desist—AND NOTHING WAS DONE BY THE GOVERNMENT TO ENFORCE ITS ORDERS.

However, on April 12, 6,000 Montgomery Ward workers went out on strike. The teamsters and railroad workers were refusing to make deliveries to, or accept shipments from, Mr. Avery's company. Ward employees in Kansas City were walking out. The whole labor movement was stirred to sympathy with, and approval of, the action of the Ward workers.

Over seven hundred people jammed into the East End Community Center this evening and told the League's executive committee to have picket lines ready to enforce the strike at 8:30 on the morning of May 1.

The meeting rejected the advice of three lawyers, one of whom was Chester Gillespie, Negro member of the Ohio Legislature, to use "legal" means of protest, not to strike, and to avoid "mob rule" and "violence."

The executive committee reported that a meeting with the housing project management the previous evening produced the expected results—no concessions, no rent reduction.

CLEVELAND, Apr. 28—Over 450 tenants of Outhwaite and Carver Park Federal Housing Projects at a protest meeting here enthusiastically agreed to fight the proposed exorbitant rent raises. They elected a committee pledged to carry out a fighting program, and a rent strike is now under way. The committee was instructed to contact all the other tenants in these two adjoining Negro

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Yes, the workers had decided to settle accounts with Montgomery Ward and Mr. Avery. This the government could not allow. Its prestige was at stake. It proceeded to steal the thunder from labor, and got into action itself.

This is no move by the capitalist government against the capitalist class. The Smith-Connelly anti-strike law has not suddenly become a "two-edged sword," as is being claimed. The capitalist government was simply compelled to assert its strength against the striking strength of the workers. The Montgomery Ward strike is the real and direct reason for the government action. AND LET NO WORKER FORGET THIS.

POLITICAL ANGLE Also let no worker forget that in taking this action, the President was killing two birds with one stone. He

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## "Wages" That Are Not Frozen

The General Motors Corporation, which is fighting so bitterly against the demands of the United Automobile Workers (CIO) for a guaranteed annual wage, wage increases and a post-war reserve for GM workers, has just announced the salaries of its top executives in a statement to stockholders.

Alfred P. Sloan, Jr., chairman of the board, got a mere \$200,800 in 1943. Eight other big shots made over \$100,000 in 1943, as follows:

Charles E. Wilson, president	\$150,900
Albert Bradley, executive vice-president	101,100
Donaldson Brown, vice-chairman of the board	100,925
Marvin E. Coyle, vice-president	100,650
Edward F. Fisher, vice-president	100,300
Ormond E. Hunt, executive vice-president	100,950
Charles F. Kettering, vice-president	100,700
John Thomas Smith, vice-pres. and gen'l counsel	101,500

And these "wages" AREN'T frozen!

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

AFL Post-War Proposals

This is the second installment of David Coolidge's article analyzing the AFL recommendations for the post-war world.

By DAVID COOLIDGE

Parts Three and Four of the AFL statement on post-war planning deal with "Guiding Domestic Principles" and "Immediate Domestic Program." The first guiding domestic principle reads that "our immediate responsibility is to win the war." The AFL leaders bestow great praise on themselves for "suspending the exercise of the hard-won right to strike." The result has been "an achievement of production without precedent in the history of mankind." No mention is made of the important fact that this production resulted in the highest profits in the "history of mankind."

Neither is it mentioned that giving up the right to strike resulted in the stabilization of wages, job stabilization, the Little Steel formula, the lengthening of the work week, the movement for piece work wages, the passage of the Smith-Connally Act and numerous state anti-labor bills; organized employer - WLB drives against the unions and the Administration's demand for a national service act.

The statement then launches into a line of airy nonsense about the AFL being "an organ and an expression of American democracy." This is true in only a limited and very narrow sense. It would be difficult to convince the Negroes or the white mass production workers that the AFL is an organ of democracy for them. "The essence of slavery... is to be compelled to work at the dictation of another." This is not the "essence" of slavery, but even if we accept the AFL statement, it is necessary to add

that workers have no alternative but to work at the dictation of another so long as we tolerate the existence of capitalist society. The working class must toil at the dictation of the capitalist ruling class so long as capitalism exists. We can better our condition by militant and aggressive mass actions but we cannot escape capitalist class dictatorship while capitalism continues.

"The right to work and the right to quit work are among the most basic rights of free men... the right of the worker to unite with his fellows to protect and advance his interests has been made a part of the law of the land... the AFL is determined to defend this right against any and all forces that may challenge it." How and when will the AFL defend these rights? By giving up the right to strike? By boasting about production and saying nothing about profits, salaries, dividends and interest? We shall see later what the positive contributions of the AFL are to the defense of workers' rights.

WORDS THAT HAVE NO REAL MEANING

Remembering the present high production, the AFL says that it will not "tolerate the defeatism which holds that under a democratic regime of freedom it is not possible to make this abundance actually available to our people." Available to who? Who are the AFL's people? Abundance and superabundance are already available to some of the people. Even under rationing, the capitalists and their immediate beneficiaries suffer not at all. Also, what does the AFL plan to do to see that "this abundance" is available to the working class and the poor? Give another no-strike pledge? Continue to make sweetheart agreements with

big business? Support Martin Dies for re-election to Congress?

The AFL is for checking the "concentration of economic and governmental power." It wants the common people to "exercise effective control over the conditions which determine their livelihood." But if they are to do this, "the trend toward private monopoly and the concentration of wealth" must be reversed. What does this mean? How can the common people exercise control over an economy which they do not own; an economy owned by capitalists, operated for private profit, and this ownership and operation protected by a capitalist government?

FOR "FREE ENTERPRISE"

Furthermore, the AFL is for the perpetuation of this system of private profit. The leaders of the AFL are in full agreement with Eric Johnston, president of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce. They want "free enterprise" unencumbered by too much government regulation. They want the capitalist government to take its hands off of capitalist "free enterprise." What do these doddering old men think the government is? Suppose the government, with its police, state guards, auxiliary military police, secret police and army, took its hands off the unions? What would become of the no-strike pledge, the Little Steel formula, job stabilization and the Smith-Connally Act?

The AFL leaders see only a "trend" toward monopoly and concentration of wealth. In 1944 these evils are just getting under way, presumably, Green, Woll & Co. have read nothing, they see nothing, they learn nothing and they understand nothing save "free enterprise" and per capita tax. They have never heard of U. S. Steel.



ILO Meet A Capitalist Side-Show

By SYLVIA MERRILL

PHILADELPHIA—The fanfare and cordiality with which the capitalist press has greeted the opening of the International Labor Organization conference which began its sessions here April 20, should cast much suspicion upon it.

Aside from the method by which the votes are allotted to the delegates—two to government, one to the employers and one to labor—the very fact that the men who every day of their lives fight the unions suddenly come to map out plans for the benefit of all the people is like asking the workers to believe that the leopards have changed their spots.

THE "SPOTTED LEOPARDS"

For example, seated across from labor's delegates, and seeking a common solution to problems that confront the world, we find a representative from the Bolivian tin mines. The latter and their owner, Simon Patino, have received quite a bit of bad publicity in recent months. The intolerable conditions of work, the low wages paid and the coolie existence of the mine workers, have caused strike after strike in these mines. The mines yield tremendous profits. They also yield disease and misery to the workers. Yet in far away Philadelphia the representative of Simon Patino has come to work out a better world for all the people! But it would seem that this were not ironical enough. A representative of the Bolivian government has come to aid in the good work—and he, as all the newspapers openly admit, is also a representative of Simon Patino.

Here in our own country the situation is quite similar. The owners of the mines, mills and factories of the United States are suddenly to become great philanthropists. And what of England, where the miners have been on strike for a raise in wages? Talk is cheap, and that is all that we shall get from the meetings of the ILO. More it cannot give. To give more it would have to dig into the pockets of the powers that be—and that, as we know from our day-to-day experience, takes more than talk.

(To be concluded)

WORLD EVENTS By Europacus

Illegal Trade Unions in Belgium

When we wrote about illegal unions and shop stewards in occupied Europe, we were very often treated as indulging in wishful thinking. Today we are able to quote from an official Nazi paper which admits that such unions exist.

The Belgian fascist paper, Le Pays Réel, wrote on February 5: "Trade union fighting committees are active

in works, factories, shops and mines." In each industry the different cells have interunion connections which means, as stated by Le Pays Réel, "the resurrection of the Belgian CGT (General Confederation of Labor)." As a result of this, the official and German-controlled workers' union, "UTMI" has not developed as it would have wished.

There Are Strikes Even Behind Ghetto Walls

The Polish Jewish Bund, the socialist Jewish organization of Poland, reports that even behind the ghetto walls, in spite of German executions and atrocities without number, the Polish Jewish workers, the most oppressed of all the enslaved people of Europe, pariahs of the pariahs, have not yet abandoned their fighting spirit. The open armed resistance of the Jews of Warsaw a year ago is well known by now. It is less known that there were more such actions of resistance in a number of smaller Polish towns. The Bund reports on at least five similar movements. The London delegation of the Bund furthermore reports that they were informed through underground chan-

nels that the Jewish working class of Lodz—a big industrial town—driven into a ghetto just as Jews throughout Poland were, found their own ways of resisting the cruelty of their Nazi oppressors. An authentic report received here states:

"The Jewish workers employed in the German war factories in the ghetto of Lodz organized and executed a general strike in order to stop the mass executions launched by the Germans. The strike was effective for some time, at any rate, and the Germans were compelled to halt the executions."

The same report reveals that in the ghetto of Lodz, there were, at the time of the strike 150,000 Jews.

From Inside Germany: A Liar Confounded

Rex Stout, so far known mainly as the author of rather badly written murder stories, has recently gone into politics. Until now he only killed a couple of gargoyles here and there—now he is out for bigger game. He wants to establish that a whole people, sixty million Germans, are collectively responsible for Hitler's crimes—that all of them are in fact just as criminal. Mr. Stout has adopted Hitler's racial theories and just changed them around. But they do not become a bit better if, instead of shouting: "Kill the Jew," you shout: "Kill the German." If people like Stout would be amenable to reason and willing to recognize facts, a report like the following would make them think. But does Mr. Stout think?

deported by the Nazis and succeeded in returning to occupied Belgium summed up the situation in Berlin at the end of January as follows:

"After the air raids, the German workers said that the war was nearing its end. Many of them would prefer revolution to capitulation, so that they could get rid of members of the Nazi Party. There were frequent outbreaks of violence between the Nazi workmen and the rest.

"Most of the workers have ceased to pay any attention to the slogans of Hitlerite propaganda. In public places the Nazis still give the Hitler salute (with outstretched arm), but this is now greeted with smiles and jeers. When workers talk of Hitler they no longer say 'the Fuhrer,' but refer to him contemptuously as 'the other one.'"

A Belgian worker who had been

Just What Is a "Hero"?

"A man of distinguished valor, or fortitude; hence a great and illustrious person," says Webster.

Captain Eddie Rickenbacker was a "hero."

Yes, he was. He was an aviator in World War I, and every man who fought in that war was a hero.

Captain Eddie was sent on a special mission in World War II by the Secretary of War. Unfortunately (for labor), the plane which carried the captain was forced to land in the Pacific and the men aboard had to take to two life rafts.

That made Captain Rickenbacker a "hero" again. There were some other fellows in the mid-Pacific with him at the time, including a couple of union fellows, but no one seems to recall their names. But Captain Rickenbacker definitely was a "hero."

It was he who came back and told of the horrors of those days in the rafts. All of his men suffered equally. Rickenbacker came back to use his newly-won public sympathy to crack the whip over labor unions and labor generally.

What right did labor have to ask that wages go up with prices or that prices be stabilized so that the union dollar would not lose standing in America? What right did labor have to make such demands while he and others were fighting a war and were suffering?

It was a fair question for a man who had suffered to ask. The method used was not fair. It would have been fairer, for instance, if Captain William Cherry or Johnny Barbeck, both AFL unionists, had asked the question. Who are Cherry and Barbeck? Oh, they are two of the fellows who were with Rickenbacker on the rafts. Remember?

We say it would have been fairer for them than for Rickenbacker, because they were not presidents of large wartime corporations as Rickenbacker is; they are not being paid many thousands a year more because of the profits the Rickenbacker airplane is making because of the war in which he suffered so.

We say it was fairer for Captain Cherry to speak because he is the REAL hero of that mid-Pacific epic. It was Cherry who piloted the plane to safety so skillfully that no one was hurt. It was Cherry who had to go back into the ship to pull out some oranges for the men to live on for days afterwards. Rickenbacker, who expected the ship to sink in fifteen seconds, pulled his raft away hurriedly—and we can't say we blame him, but let's give Cherry credit for his nerve.

It was Cherry who wanted the rafts to separate so that there would be a double chance of discovery from the air, but Rickenbacker insisted the rafts stick together. Later he agreed with Cherry, and that was what brought the rescue.

Now all this is the story passed down by Drew Pearson, nationally known columnist. And Pearson goes on to say that Cherry "and one other man," possibly Barbeck, used their life jackets to collect water during a brief rain, while Rickenbacker and the others were busy drinking the raindrops. Later Cherry and his friend "were called upon to share the water they had collected," Pearson writes.

Naturally, with nerves on edge, with their very lives at stake, there would be a difference of opinion. Cherry used the mind God gave him to think with. It was he, not Rickenbacker, who should have been acclaimed the hero.—News Service.

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projects as well as representatives of all the other projects in the city to make the rent strike city-wide.

Tenants of the projects had received notices that their rents were being raised from fifty to two hundred per cent—example: from \$14 to \$44. Some tenants were notified that they would have to pay as much as \$56 a month for six rooms. These rent raises are being made at the same time that maintenance of the building is at a minimum and the wages of the few maintenance men hired are as low as \$1200 a year, or less than \$25 a week. These rent increases follow similar raises last year from twenty or seventy-five per cent.

The meeting was called by a group of LABOR ACTION supporters and a tentative program was drawn up by them. A representative of the LABOR ACTION group addressed the tenants and explained why he thought a militant program was necessary. He outlined the five-point program: (1) Form an Outhwaite Tenants

League; (2) Freeze the rents in the project; (3) Roll back those rents that were raised last year; (4) Refuse to pay rent until the above demands are met; (5) No one moves in and no one moves out—stand together.

EXPLAINING THE DEMANDS

The speaker explained the league was necessary so that the tenants would have a united front against the management. Once the organization had been formed, he said, they could then demand freezing of the rents, as has been done outside the projects. A rollback of rents that had been raised last year would likewise be demanded. It was pointed out that wages had been frozen to 15 per cent over the January, 1941, level, while living costs had risen 43.5 per cent, and food costs alone 72 per cent.

The only way that the tenants could force action, the speaker said, was by refusing to pay rent. The fight against the rent raise last year failed because of lack of a militant program. When money stops coming in, the housing authorities will have to recognize the protests.

The committee heading last year's "fight" followed a policy of hiring lawyers to negotiate for them on a peaceful basis. Last year's committee, which was self-appointed, refused to consider a rent strike. Its leader, Ed Webb, who is also chairman of the management-sponsored Tenant Council, followed and is still following a completely Stalinist policy of discouraging militant activity in favor of writing to congressmen—and then giving up before the fight has begun.

A few minor concessions were granted last year's committee: families with three or more children had to pay only one-sixth instead of one-fifth of their total income; a prolonged illness of any member of the household would bring a reduction in rent; those who traveled continuously but had to maintain a home in Cleveland also were given a reduced rate. However, these concessions, small as they were, were given verbally, and are being violated.

To prevent evictions by the management when the rents stop coming in, the cooperation of all tenants is essential, the representatives of the LABOR ACTION group stressed.

TENANTS ORGANIZE TO ACT

Following this explanation of the program of the LABOR ACTION group, several of the tenants expressed their complete agreement with what had been said. Then Webb asked for the floor to answer the charges made against last year's committee. He was greeted with some applause and some boos. He said the program submitted is a rash one and that its supporters were inviting trouble. He pictured a class between whites and Negroes, bloody evictions, killings and a duplicate of the Detroit "race riot."

During his speech, Webb was frequently interrupted by members of the audience, who jeered him, called him coward and said that his policy was responsible for last year's fail-

ure. When he finished, one person made the remark: "Mr. Webb, you underestimate our race."

A motion was made and passed for the formation of a tenants' league. David Butler was elected chairman. After this there was more discussion on the proposed program, particularly on the refusal to pay rent. It became obvious that there was almost unanimous support among those present for such action. When the chairman asked if there was anyone present who intended to pay his rent, only one person stood up. A motion was made and unanimously passed that the program proposed by the LABOR ACTION group be adopted by the newly-formed league.

An executive committee of the league was then formed by volunteers. It was agreed that this committee would handle the negotiations for the tenants. A mass meeting was called for the following Sunday, the last day of the month.

At the first meeting of the league's executive committee, Thomas Penn, CIO organizer, was elected vice-chairman and Mrs. Howard, secretary. The committee set up picketing committees, which will picket the two rent offices in Carver Park and Outhwaite to prevent any possibility of payments being made. Picketing will start on Monday, May 1, in two four-hour shifts. Special committees were also set up to prevent evictions by the sheriff and be ready to take other necessary action. Plans were made to serve coffee and refreshments to the picketers.

The following day leaflets were printed and distributed to the two thousand families in the two projects, announcing Sunday's mass meeting and instructing all tenants not to pay rent until further word from the executive committee. The committee has scheduled a meeting with housing authority heads for Saturday night to present their demands. The results of this meeting will be reported to the tenants on Sunday.

URWA Ranks --

(Continued from page 1)

methods and without rallying the widest strata of the rank and file to turn out to union meetings. As a result of this, the Jack Little crew has been able so far to give the public a false impression that the small Dalrymple minority in the local is larger than it actually is.

A good deal more vigor seems to be needed all around in pushing this fight ahead. Experienced union members cannot tolerate further slipshod methods, either in Akron or in the field. As a matter of fact, the Dalrymple forces are banking very seriously on what they feel to be their superior machine throughout the country to give them victory. Exercising bureaucratic control of some fifty or sixty international organizers, they hope to bear down heavily on the smaller locals situated in isolated localities and come to the convention with enough votes to tip the scales in favor of retaining their undemocratic powers. Whatever "split" in opinion they can develop within

the large Akron locals, they will undoubtedly utilize to bolster the sagging morale of their stooges elsewhere.

News of the status of the controversy at present in out of town locals is meager, so far as LABOR ACTION can learn. The mere fact that such is the case testifies that intensive spade work needs to be done. Wherever workers have had direct knowledge of the Akron picture, or especially where the heavy hand of Dalrympleism has brought about other arbitrary expulsions outside of Akron, the ranks have not had any difficulty in appreciating what union-wreckers Dalrymple & Co. are.

The task of the progressives, then, remains what it has been from the beginning—to mobilize the rank and file within the whole URWA around a fighting platform to preserve union democracy, to settle accounts with the dictator and his Buckmaster-Burns-Joe Stalin accomplices, and to put a halt to the union-wrecking caused by the no-strike pledge.

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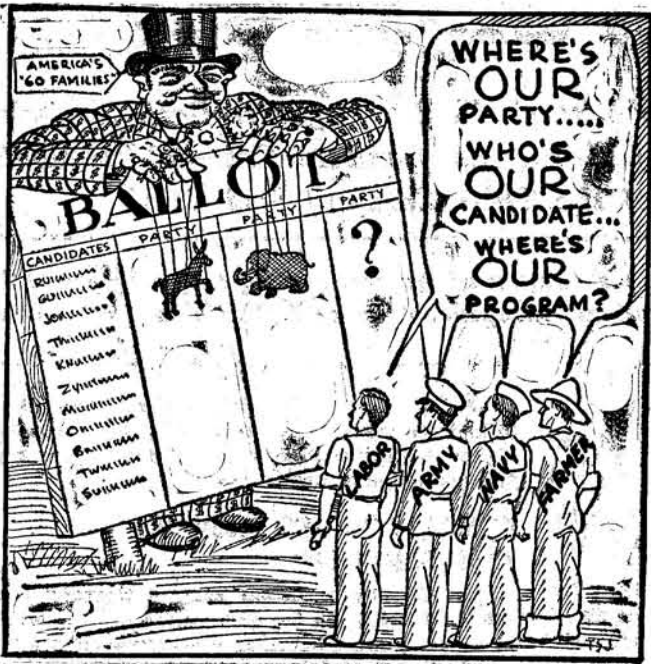
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The Answer! An Independent Labor Party



PAC Hog-Ties --

(Continued from page 1)

The PAC as well as a vice-president of the CIO and president of the UAW, was elected a delegate to the Democratic national convention, together with Frankenstein and a whole group of CIO leaders. The Wayne County PAC convention gave tacit endorsement in its resolutions to this line of action.

The CIO, said Thomas at the PAC convention, must unite with liberal Democrats to try to "convince the Democratic Party" to run "candidates who have the interests of the people at heart" and who "we hope will be for labor."

ENDORSEMENT OF ROOSEVELT

The PAC convention voted almost unanimously to support Roosevelt for a fourth term. The resolution passed was so unambiguously pro-Roosevelt that the Stalinists refrained from introducing their usual "draft-Roosevelt" resolution. Another resolution stated: "In our county we must work with progressives in the Democratic Party to get liberal candidates." One delegate who proposed that this resolution provide for unity with all progressives, not only those in the Democratic Party, was waved aside by the chairman of the resolutions committee.

The Wayne County PAC, following the policy of the CIO nationally, makes no plans for getting on the ballot in its own name and obviously intends to support regular Democratic Party nominees.

Only one delegate, Ernest Maze of Local 140, spoke against the pro-Democratic Party, pro-Roosevelt policies of the convention. He pointed out that the Democratic Administration of Pres. Roosevelt, as well as the Republican Party and the right wing of the Democratic Party, are responsible for attacks upon the labor movement. It was Roosevelt who devised the Little Steel formula. It is Roosevelt who is responsible for the policies of the War Labor Board. In answer to Keuther, who stated that labor must unite in politics today as it united in 1937 against the big corporations, Maze recalled that in 1937 the CIO had to unite against the bosses AND the company unions. Support to Democrats and Republicans is company unionism in politics, he said, and we must fight that kind of company unionism by labor political action independent of the Democratic and Republican Parties. Scattered applause followed his speech.

TUCKER SMITH AMENDMENT

As the convention reached a conclusion, Tucker P. Smith, a vice-president of the Michigan CIO and a member of the state committee of the Michigan Commonwealth Federation, proposed an amendment to the resolution on the guaranteed annual wage as follows: "The convention makes publicly pledged support to the guaranteed annual wage a condition of its endorsement of any candidate running for public office and urges this policy upon all Political Action Committees of the CIO."

The main speaker against Smith's amendment was Nat Ganley, delegate from UAW Local 155 and a leading Stalinist spokesman. Ganley argued that the amendment was in conflict with the decision previously adopted to endorse Roosevelt for a fourth term. It meant that if Roosevelt "for tactical reasons" failed to support the guaranteed wage, the CIO would be compelled to withhold its support.

Smith's amendment was defeated, 223 to 156. The delegates who voted against chanted, "We want Roosevelt." Those who voted for shouted, "We want a guaranteed wage."

The defeat of Smith's amendment underscored the impotence of the whole CIO political policy. The CIO favors a guaranteed wage but endorses Democratic candidates regardless of their stand. The CIO has entered politics to support Roosevelt but NOT to support its own program!

MCF AT THE CONVENTION

Members and supporters of the Michigan Commonwealth Federation who had expected that their party leaders would take an independent position were disappointed when the latter submitted in silence to the political policies of the PAC convention.

R. J. Thomas threw a bombshell into the MCF when he reported that

at a meeting with Sidney Hillman in New York, held at the request of "leading members of the MCF," the latter pledged to support the candidates endorsed by the PAC and that this was the policy of the MCF. NOT ONE SPOKESMAN OF THE MCF CHALLENGED THIS REPORT ON THE FLOOR OF THE CONVENTION. On the contrary, their role at the conference sessions confirmed Thomas.

Matthew Hammond, state chairman of the MCF, was prominent at the convention as chairman of the credentials committee, but was silent on every political question. Paul Silver, organizational director of the MCF, failed to take the floor on a single important issue. He and other MCF supporters accepted posts on the PAC executive board, aware that the PAC intends to endorse Democrats and that the constitution adopted by the convention provides for the removal of any executive board members who campaigns against any candidate endorsed by the PAC. Silver's only course of action now must be to oppose the running of MCF candidates in opposition to PAC endorsed Democrats. He will be compelled to oppose only "bad" Democrats and not to oppose "good" Democrats.

Ben Garrison, former president of Ford Local 400 and one of the sponsors of the MCF, played the most ignominious role of all. He was chairman of the resolutions committee and reported out resolutions endorsing Roosevelt, favoring an alliance with "good" Democrats, and pledging to Roosevelt "uninterrupted production by the workers."

The MCF leaders vigorously condemn the "friends of labor" policy of the CIO—but only at their own private MCF meetings. At the PAC convention they give their tacit endorsement to this same policy.

The above reported amendment by Tucker P. Smith came as a last-minute face-saving device, for he had previously permitted the pro-Roosevelt, pro-Democratic Party resolutions to pass unchallenged.

FOR LABOR POLITICAL ACTION

The official policy of the MCF is as follows: "The party shall never endorse a candidate of a rival party." On the basis of this policy the MCF can become a powerful factor in every working man in the state. Hammond and Silver weaken MCF by rejecting its policy in PAC.

The strong vote for the Smith amendment proves that a large potential support exists for the MCF within the CIO. If the MCF leaders, instead of capitulating to the Thomas-Democratic Party policy, had reached these elements by putting up a clear-cut fight for the above policy of the MCF, the convention could have been the scene for a big advance in labor politics.

A denunciation of the Thomas-Democratic Party deal, an exposure of the fake liberals of the Democratic Party, an opposition to endorsement of Democrats or Republicans, a demand for support only to independent labor candidates—these are real issues before the CIO and should have come before the PAC convention. But instead of fighting for their own policies the MCF leaders permitted their followers to become dissolved in the movement for unity with the Democratic Party.

Thomas emphasizes over and over again his desire for unity with the leaders of the MCF and THEREBY ADMITS ITS STRENGTH. In the first place he needs their support to ensure against the capture of the PAC by the Stalinists, and in the second place he fears that a consistent fight for independent political action will win over the best elements within the PAC and expose it as a wing of the Democratic Party.

Thomas wants to trap the MCF leaders into the pro-Democratic Party movement, swallow up their supporters and render the MCF impotent. The MCF leaders are falling into the Thomas trap.

To follow one policy inside the MCF and a contrary policy in the PAC is not only impermissible but suicidal for the MCF. MCF leaders must carry out MCF policy.

No support to Democratic or Republican Party candidates regardless of who endorses them.

For independent labor candidates under the MCF banner.

CIO Leaders Sell Out To Michigan Democrats

By BEN HALL

DETROIT—Who captured whom at the Michigan State convention of the Democratic Party? Did the ward-healers capture the CIO or did the CIO capture the ward-healers?

Richard T. Frankenstein, vice-president of the UAW, turned up as keynote speaker at the Democratic Party state convention held in Detroit over the week-end of April 16 and a slew of CIO members and leaders were added to the list of delegates to the national convention of the Democratic Party, including R. J. Thomas, Frankenstein and Shelton Tappes, secretary of Ford Local 600.

In return for this "recognition," the leaders of the CIO will turn over the support of their Political Action Committees to the Democratic Party and will wage an irreconcilable campaign against the Michigan Commonwealth Federation, independent party formed recently by representatives of many local unions for the purpose of running candidates independent of the Democratic or Republican Parties.

DEMOCRATS ON DECLINE

Realizing that only the officials of the labor movement could keep up the drooping Democratic banner, the politicians have been setting a snare for the CIO Political Action Committees. And now the clever CIO fox boasts that it has "captured" the Democratic trap!

The Democratic Party went into hiding after its stunning defeat in the last state-wide elections. During the mayoralty campaign which followed, it left to the CIO the task of rallying support for the Democrat, Fitzgerald. The stock of the party went down to the near-zero point when a group of its representatives in the State Legislature were indicted for graft. They sold their votes, at \$65 each, to a combine of insurance companies.

The top leaders of the CIO are anxious to dig the Democratic Party out of its grave in order to offset the progress of the Michigan Commonwealth Federation and to stymie the trend toward independent labor political action in Michigan. They fear that the MCF will put the Democratic Party out of business.

In his keynote address, Frankenstein admitted that the Democrats have been steadily losing support among the working people. "It is sig-

nificant of the thinking of the ranks," he said, "that the trend of the Democratic Party has been away from liberalism." At the Political Action conference of the CIO on March 12, R. J. Thomas announced: "The Democratic Party in the State of Michigan has been shot to hell."

SEARCH FOR CANDIDATE

Even the assistance of the CIO officials seems inadequate for reviving the party. The convention adjourned without finding a candidate willing to risk his reputation as DP candidate for Governor. Frankenstein took over the job of finding a candidate, but did so in vain. He preferred the distasteful candidacy to Frank Isbey about whom R. J. Thomas spoke last month in these words: "Isbey? What has he done? He is just a good war bond salesman."

Isbey turned the offer down. Frankenstein tried a local banker, Theodore I. Fry, but since the convention had already adjourned, Fry was unwilling to accept.

Thus far the CIO-Democratic combination has been unable to find a candidate. The Detroit News characterized the Democratic Party as "floundering through a state convention fantastic in its leaderless ineptitude..."

"LIBERAL PRINCIPLES"

"We are ready to shake the bushel for votes," said Frankenstein, "but feel that the Democratic Party must give us principles worth fighting for."

Thomas and Frankenstein are already "shaking the bushel." But what "liberal principles" did they get?

Not a single resolution was passed at the convention denouncing the Little Steel formula, the wage freeze, the labor draft. No endorsement was given to the chief points in the CIO's own platform. That, of course, is only natural, for it was a DEMOCRATIC PARTY convention!

One might suppose that at the very least the CIO officials would demand the endorsement of some plank in the CIO platform... at least the most important ones. But no! Our labor leaders participated in the Democratic Party convention as stooges of the Democratic Party politicians.

Working men can well ask: "You sold out to the Democratic Party, but what did WE get?"

Labor Solidarity Is Strongest Fortress Against Jim Crow

"Hell, shoot me. It's your country. I'm supposed to die anyway. Go ahead and shoot."

Thus spoke a Negro soldier wearing the uniform of the United States: "land of the free and home of the brave." The place was Charleston, S. C., and the other man was a white policeman, an officer of the "law." The Negro soldier was accused of being drunk. When he remonstrated that he was not drunk the policeman, in the manner of policemen, especially Southern policemen, began to club the soldier, uniform and all. Not even Negro soldiers, being trained to die for democracy and the four freedoms have rights which policemen and white army military police are bound to respect.

The "man" Bilbo is speaking: "We people of the South must draw the color line tighter and any white man or woman who dares cross that color line should be promptly and forever ostracized.... The superior ability of the white race has been proved both cranologically and by six thousand years of planet-wide experimentation.... If you do not accept this as true, then you brand as false both history and biology."

Senator Eastland of Mississippi announces in the Senate: "White boys in the Pacific are fighting for white supremacy." During the past twenty-one months, ten Negro soldiers, in

uniform, have been severely beaten by white military and civilian police in Mississippi.

Maybank of South Carolina announced in the Senate after the Supreme Court decision on the Texas primaries: "Regardless of any Supreme Court decision, any laws that may be passed by Congress, the South will maintain its present political and social institutions." And what are these political and social institutions to which the senator refers? First of all, lynching and mob murder. Next, the perpetuation of ignorance among the common people, both white and black. Also the maintenance of the poll-tax, which disfranchises millions of white and black human beings.

AND IN THE NORTH

This is the South. The North is only a little better. The North is not so direct and openly brutal as the South. Above the Mason and Dixon line they are slimmer and more piously hypocritical. The pattern of segregation, insult and Jim Crow is the same. It begins in the federal government at Washington. The late Secretary of the Navy was against trying any "social experiments during the war." He meant by this that no Negroes should be allowed to sleep on battleships with white sailors. No Negroes should be officers in

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

WLB on Maintenance of Membership

By MIKE STEVENS

The recent War Labor Board decision that a maintenance of membership clause in union agreements, affecting editorial and reportorial newspaper workers, was not an abridgment of freedom of the press or a violation of the first amendment of the Constitution, brought loud denunciations from the owners of the newspapers.

Most of the newspapers and news services are owned by wealthy men. And the few that are not have to obey their advertising customers. The press is "free" to express its capitalist master's voice. If a labor or socialist paper is suppressed by some agency of the government, the "kept" press applauds or at best remains by the side-lines—freedom of the press is not the issue so far as they can see. But if a child labor law is suggested that prohibits children from selling newspapers in the middle of the night, you will hear a howl. Or perhaps a newsprint limitation which means less advertising from firms that have no products for the readers anyhow, will bring on hysteria.

But the occasion when newspaper publishers really go on the warpath in a big and sordid way and raise the battlecry that the "freedom of the press is at stake" and that the future of the country is in jeopardy, is when the newspaper workers organize.

PUBLISHERS FIGHT UNION

It's an old game with these newspaper publishers. Through their organization, the American Newspaper Publishers Association, they attempted many decades ago to prevent the printers from organizing. Failing in that, they instituted an open shop drive in the industry, shortly after the last war, in an unsuccessful effort to break the printers' union. The ANPA claimed that the printers would edit or even refuse to set certain news matter if they had a union shop. Today the same cry is being raised by the ANPA against the reporters' and editorial writers' union, the American Newspaper Guild, CIO.

From the day of its birth the Guild has had to fight against the ANPA for every single inch of progress it has made. The newspaper workers organized despite all the attempts and the propaganda of the publishers to stop them. After organizing, the

union's demands were met with delay upon delay, with coercion, blacklisting, legal tangles, etc. But the Guild grew despite all this, and it grew because it showed the publishers it was serious about its demands and often went on strike to prove it.

With the entry of the United States into the war, and the labor leaders giving up the right to strike, the ANPA saw an opportunity to "break the Guild." Whenever a Guild Chapter (local) attempted to negotiate an agreement with a publisher, it was given the run-around for months, every single point in the agreements was discussed, rediscussed, taken apart, and always ended up in a stalemate. Then the same process would start all over again before a panel of the WLB.

PUBLISHERS HOPED TO WIN

The owners, knowing that the union was pledged against striking, carried on these long negotiations with the main emphasis against the union shop clause. The publishers hoped, by dragging out these proceedings, to show the workers that nothing could be gained through the union. They hoped the workers would get discouraged and drop out of the union, and that new workers would not join. Then those who dropped out could be given promotions as a suggestion to others, that only through the company can one get anywhere.

Eventually, if a union agreement was signed, the wage increase would obviously be small (the WLB would see to that), and without the union shop clause it would not be too difficult to clean house of the active unionists. Or else by this time everybody would be apathetic toward the union and it would disintegrate.

This is the way the publishers have been thinking, so that less than forty-eight hours after the Smith-Connelly anti-strike bill was passed, the ANPA sent out a special bulletin gloating over the terms of the bill and emphasizing the opinion that it aided the publishers in defeating the Guild. The publishers know the importance of the strike weapon. They had the union's promise of "no strike" and now it was even a law. Why bother even to carry on this farce of negotiating on the union shop clause? Better demand that the workers withdraw this clause. The Guild, stuck with its "no-

strike" pledge, turned all its hopes to the WLB, which it had right along severely and correctly criticized. The Guild's paper wrote: "Meanwhile, coinciding with the distribution of the ANPA bulletin, negotiations elsewhere were stalemated with management demands that the Guild forthwith withdraw any demands for union security clauses, thereby starting a new series of disputes before the board."

The WLB was eventually asked for its opinion on the constitutionality of maintenance of membership clauses in Guild agreements. The WLB decided, by a two-thirds vote, that it was constitutional. The labor and public members voted "Yes." The labor members were, of course, expected to vote for it. The public members voted for it, for they knew that many newspaper cases have been before the WLB for periods ranging from one to two years and that the newspaper workers were sick and tired of this run-around. They feared that a decision against the newspaper workers at this time would set off the spark.

The WLB decision is important, but it should not be exaggerated. The decision is only a GUIDE for the WLB panels as to whether they should permit the question of maintenance of membership, and similar clauses, to be negotiated. It does not mean that the WLB panels MUST consent to this clause being in an agreement.

The publishers are going to continue their same old game, and unless the Guild puts up more than "words" in this fight, it will be the loser.

WINDSOR, Ont.—Godfrey Youell, a veteran of the First Canadian Division, who enlisted in 1939 and was discharged in 1941 after service overseas, supported the Windsor Ford strikers. He said that the greatest concern of the men overseas is what kind of conditions they are coming back to in Canada. Will they be the same, better or worse?

"If these are the conditions they are coming back to, they're pretty damn rotten.... Most of the boys overseas believe in unions. They want them. Apparently the company does not want them. They're out to break the unions. When they hit us below the belt, they're hitting the boys over there."

ing for? For "white supremacy"? That's what Eastland said the white youths were fighting for. (Incidentally, we don't believe this. We believe that Eastland is a scoundrel and a liar.) Are these Negro youths fighting for the maintenance of present-day Southern social, economic and political institutions? Are they fighting for the poll-tax, white primaries, a Jim Crow Army and Navy and a Jim Crow federal government? Are they fighting to keep Africa and India enslaved to the ruling British capitalist class?

Are they fighting for the right to be lynched after the war is over? We don't believe that's what Negroes are fighting for and we don't believe that is what the overwhelming majority of white youth is fighting for. But if white and Negro youth, white and Negro workers, don't know it by now, they will learn that this is the end that is being planned. This will be the practical result of their efforts if the capitalists and their political henchmen have their way.

WILL THEY HAVE THEIR WAY?

We don't believe, though, that they will have their way. We don't believe that the South will be able to maintain its present social and political institutions. We don't believe that the North will be able to maintain its present economic set-up, which, of course, is identical with

that of the South. The trade union movement and workers' political action will take care of that. With 500,000 black workers in the labor movement today and thousands more going in, the South and North will discover that it will be increasingly difficult to Jim Crow, segregate and lynch Negroes.

As Negroes discover that as others their strongest fortress is the organized labor movement, especially the industrial unions and the revolutionary political party, they will more and more turn their backs on their anti-union advisers and the Jim Crow Democratic and Republican Parties.

When thousands more white workers learn that the Negro workers are their allies and brothers, their comrades in arms, they will throw off their unnatural prejudices, their white "superiority" attitudes, and fight beside the Negroes for the democratic rights of the Negro people, against Jim Crow everywhere and for the social, political and economic equality of the Negroes.

When the white workers learn who their real enemy is: that it is the white ruling class, they will unite with the black workers and unitedly have their revenge against their common exploiters and oppressors: North, South, East and West.—(D. C.)

Roosevelt Action at Ward No Solution --

(Continued from page 1)

was killing the impulse for direct action manifested by the workers—and at the same time making himself stand out as the "friend of labor," something which he was in great need of doing right now.

Roosevelt had to do something to recapture the waning support of rank and file workers. After all, unorganized as workers still are politically, they can see when a spade is a spade. The President's policy of wage-freezing, of insisting that the stabilization program is being carried out when prices have risen 43.5 per cent, of holding the labor leaders to the no-strike pledge, of proposing a slave labor law—all these have been easily recognized as anti-labor policies.

The President's order to seize Montgomery Ward is, therefore, a political master stroke. The anti-Roosevelt capitalists and their press have been yelling blue murder against the seizure. And, on the other side of the medal, we see the pro-Roosevelt labor leaders claiming FDR as their most illustrious "friend"—once more come home to roost on labor's fence.

Let no worker be deceived by such political machinations. In the Montgomery Ward affair FDR is still asserting that labor has no right to strike to settle its score with the employers.

FUNDAMENTALLY SPEAKING

Furthermore, fundamentally and in the final analysis, even regarding the President's action as a war measure and nothing else, is this an anti-capitalist move?

The million-mass of workers have been uprooted from their normal lives to serve in the armed forces or on the production front. The hardships at the war fronts are hard to describe in mere words. On the home front, the worker is merely the tool of the war production machine, which funnels unprecedented profits into the pockets of the industrial masters. The war is also rapidly making American imperialism and the American ruling class the most dominant in the world, industrially, financially and politically.

So what does the capitalist class lose when one of them is called to time—so that the good of them all can be served uninterrupted?

The anti-Roosevelt forces argue that the President's action and Attorney General Biddle's assertion of absolute war power for the President institute totalitarianism in government. It is to be remembered that no such cry was raised when the government took over the mines in order to break the miners' strike and take over the

railroads in order to forestall a railroad strike.

The danger of the totalitarianism inherent in Biddle's opinion is not against the capitalist class—for whatever the capitalist government does along these lines is in the interest of preserving the power and profits of the capitalist class as a whole. The real danger lies in the fact that the dictatorial powers established in this case will be used as a precedent AGAINST LABOR.

Make no mistake. We hold no brief for Mr. Avery. We are not only in favor of carrying Mr. Avery out of Montgomery Ward, but of carrying all the Averages out of all the industries of the land—BY SOLDIERS OF A WORKERS' GOVERNMENT. Nor are we concerned with whether Montgomery Ward is a war plant or not—about which so much fuss is being made. What we are concerned about is the interests of the working people—who must understand that in the dictatorship of the capitalist government lies power aimed primarily against labor.

The lessons for labor of the Montgomery Ward affair are simple. It was the strike at Montgomery Ward, spreading and getting wider support, that compelled the government to assert its "dignity."

This action does not make FDR more of a "friend of labor" than he was before, but only demonstrates once again his political cleverness.

The totalitarian power arrogated to itself by a capitalist government is primarily aimed against the workers, all the yelling of the anti-Roosevelt

forces to the contrary notwithstanding.

And basically, of course, the lesson to be learned is that both ECONOMICALLY AND POLITICALLY labor must walk in its own strength as the most numerous and potentially powerful class in all history.

April New International Out

The April issue of The New International reached the newsstands last week, and all indications point to another banner month of heightened interest and mounting sales.

In the editorial feature, "Ups and Downs of the Labor Party Movement," one finds a detailed discussion of the minimum conditions that must be fulfilled before a Labor Party is worthy of that name. Analyzing the newly-formed Michigan Commonwealth Federation and the recent primary election victory of the Hillman-Stalinist forces in the American Labor Party in New York, the editor contrasts the two and draws conclusions that constitute "must" reading for all progressive workers.

Space permits only a brief listing of the other articles of interest this month. "Second Stage Opens in Italy," by Max Shachtman; "The 'Good Neighbor' Goes to Arabia," by the editor; "The Politics of Technocracy," by Paul Temple; "Spain, 1936," by Miriam Gould; "Art of War," by Walter Jason; and the third section of Rita Stone's series on China entitled "China Under the Stalinists."

Single copies of The New International are twenty cents, but what with the possibility that your newsdealer doesn't carry the magazine or is fresh out of it, your best bet is a yearly subscription.

# Workers Party Platform Explained --

(Continued from page 1)

had before. They fight every inch of the way for bigger profits, for lower taxes, for firmer control of the government machinery. They fight every inch of the way to keep labor's economic standards low and to reduce them even lower, to deprive labor of its bitterly-won rights, to heap the war burden higher and higher on labor's shoulders. They know perfectly well that the stronger they are the weaker labor is, and the other way around. They understand perfectly well that the fight for a better post-war world FOR THEM is so much windjamming unless they keep fighting for their class position NOW. They are serious people, these monopolists.

They did not reach their powerful positions by crawling on their bellies. They fight for their power. They keep on fighting for it, and will not yield an inch of it without a fight. They do not procrastinate or postpone. They go their own way without paying the slightest bit of attention to the "good advice" of labor leaders.

## LABOR MUST ACT FOR ITSELF

Labor must take a leaf out of their book! It must act as a class, with a class movement and a class program and a class struggle of its own. It must not allow itself to be talked into the paralysis of "Act tomorrow, act any time in the world—but NOT now!" It is precisely now that it must act, in order that it may really be able to act effectively tomorrow.

"Labor must defend itself now!" The platform of the Workers Party opens with this call.

Labor cannot defend itself without defending and exercising all its democratic rights. These rights are all interlinked, and an assault on any one of them is an assault on all of them. A whole series of dictatorial measures have been imposed upon the masses. These are class measures through and through. It is not the monopolists they hurt, but only the workers and sections of the middle classes. They are promulgated in the interests of the monopoly-capitalists. The latter are "forced" to produce what the government decides

they shall produce. But the government supplies them with orders, with raw materials, often with plants and machinery, and even with labor. Above all, the government guarantees them a profit—a profit such as they have never had before in all their history—and it is profits, first, last and always, that the capitalists are concerned with.

As for labor, it is frozen to the job. Workers cannot leave their employment without the permission of the employer. But the employer can fire them from their jobs by the thousands when his plant no longer has any use for them. The workers' position is being brought closer and closer to that of a slave. With job-freezing, there is wage-freezing. The employer uses his economic and political power to get the highest profits in history. The wages of the workers are forcibly kept at the lowest point. If they attempt to improve their economic position by the use of their organized strength, the whole machinery of the government is brought to bear against them.

## AGAINST SMITH-CONNALLY BILL

For over a hundred years, the American workers have fought for the right to organize and the right to strike. In that cause, many violent battles were fought, blood shed, and martyrs buried. With a stroke of the pen, the reactionary Congress adopted the Smith-Connally anti-strike law. The only criticism of the Roosevelt Administration was that the law did not go far enough.

This vicious law must be repealed, along with all other legislation that infringes upon or abolishes labor's rights. The no-strike pledge, which has been a boon to the bosses and a curse to labor, must be rescinded. The right of full and unrestricted collective bargaining rights of the unions must be restored.

Labor has been forced into a preposterous position, and the labor leaders have helped put it there by their servile attitude. Labor can no longer negotiate collectively with the employer. That bargaining right has been cut to pieces.

Labor can come before the employer with

the most modest and most justified demands in the world, and the employer can laugh in its face: "What are you going to do about my refusal to grant your demands? You will not fight. You will not strike. Your leaders have pledged you to a no-strike policy. The government says you can't strike. The government says you can't quit work here without my permission. So, back to your benches, and don't let me hear another word out of you."

But even where the employer cleverly admits the justice of the workers' demands, all he needs to say now is: "It is out of my hands. You cannot settle any negotiations with me. You cannot bargain with me. It is in the hands of Washington. It is in the hands of the War Labor Board." And the War Labor Board functions like a cemetery of labor's grievances and demands.

The demand for restoring genuine collective bargaining rights, out of which labor has been tricked, goes hand in glove with the demand for restoring the right to strike. If the right to the first is to mean anything, labor must have the right to the second.

There is still another aspect of the question which is of key importance. Workers do not join unions in order to be regimented into the docile service of the employer. They will not stay in the unions for that purpose; or if they do stay, their hearts will not be in it. They will not be good and enthusiastic union men, but reluctant or uncertain dues-payers at best.

Workers join unions and become good union fighters because a union is needed to protect and raise their economic standards. A union is needed to enforce the just demands of the workers by exerting their organized strength upon the employers. Once the union gives up its right to exert its organized strength in the only way that employers understand, it creates the basis for workers either losing interest in the union or quitting it altogether.

The restoration of the right to strike is indispensable to the growth of the unions, indispensable even to the maintenance of union organization as it is today.

In our next article we will deal with the demands that labor must make in defense of its economic position.

which to sprout. Some of them are even now creeping up above the surface, fostered by interested individuals in business, in industry and in government. Tomorrow they may well become the unified fascist party. The American labor movement can smash these incipient fascist movements by: (1) recognizing them for what they are, and (2) evolving and presenting labor's program for the solution of the post-war social problems.

To throw the spotlight on today's native American fascists is the purpose of this series. Forewarned is forearmed.

try are turning and that their profits are created by the work of others.

The workers want jobs in order to live and in order to produce the things they need to live. The capitalists want industry going in order to make profits. In this lies the insoluble conflict between the two classes, the workers and the capitalists.

## ASSAULT UPON LABOR

To get industry going again and to guarantee the highest profits, the capitalists will try especially hard to cut the wages of the employed workers and to use the unemployed against them. This means an assault upon the workers' organizations, the unions, in the first instance.

Fascism will be consciously and deliberately financed, directed and used by big business to smash the resistance of the workers and poor people against the unbearable conditions imposed upon them. It is not the fascists who will hoodwink the capitalists in order to get the money from them, as Vice-President Wallace seems to believe. On the contrary, big business will use fascism for its ends. The only ones to be hoodwinked will be the people who will not understand what fascism is.

Race-hatred, regional hatred, anti-Semitism—these are the weapons of division, disunity and distrust aimed at destruction of the labor movement. Outright hoodlumism and terror are the weapons used. The fascist movements are perfectly cut out for these practices.

FASCIST CAMOUFLAGE  
It would be foolish to think that the fascists will declare that they are working for the preservation of the rule of big business. They would hardly be able to attract any followers in that way. Instead, they offer a program of "social reforms" which on the surface appears to be directed against the capitalist system. They make all sorts of promises—which they never intend to keep—to those who have lost hope in their own resources.

In this way they hope to gather to themselves the disillusioned youth, the veterans without jobs, the unemployed and the ruined middle classes. They will blame labor for the evils of which it is the chief victim and which stem directly from the capitalist system. Their real aim is the establishment of a bloody dictatorship which will suppress the labor movement, its organizations, and all those who in any way want to fight for a decent way of life.

Already these forces are at work. The seeds of fascism are planted in the American soil. They are waiting merely for the right weather in

## 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! Repeal the Smith-Connally 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. Conscrip 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 DRAFTEES

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!

## First of a Series on American Fascism

# How Fascism Comes About

By REVA CRAINE

There are many workers in the United States who erroneously believe that fascism is a foreign "ism" and that its danger comes from foreign shores. While they justly are horrified at and condemn the barbarism and brutality of Nazi despotism, they are often prone to dismiss lightly any talk of the American variety of fascism with "It can't happen here."

### IT CAN HAPPEN HERE

This false conception is often fostered by the native brand of fascists themselves, who even repudiate the name fascist in order the more effectively to beguile and befuddle their followers. They are unwittingly assisted by those people who constantly emphasize the connection between the American fascists and the spies and agents of the German Nazi government while neglecting to tell what is more important, namely: that the growth and development of the American fascist movement takes place on American soil upon the basis of American conditions and that this movement is and will be the servant of the American bankers, big businessmen and profiteers—in short, of the American capitalist class.

While some of the would-be American fuhrers, the small-fry of the fascist movement in this country, have worked with the Nazi agents here (as the current seditious trials are revealing), the greatest danger does not come from them. American fascism will develop because the capitalist system in this country will create the same or similar conditions which German capitalism developed. If such a movement becomes a real threat to the American working people, it will be because it is supported, financed and directed by the big capitalists in this country, just as happened in Germany.

The native fascist movement has not yet achieved the strength and size where it is actually on the verge of seizing the government and establishing a dictatorship on the German style. As yet, there is no unified fascist party in this country, nor do the many fascist leaders see eye to eye on a number of problems. Some of the smaller and less influential ones have been linked to the Axis agents in this country and have been arrested. Some have already been sentenced; others are still being tried.

Yet it would be the greatest folly if the American workers were to shut their eyes to the existing fascist organizations, in the belief that in this country are safe from their

poisonous propaganda and deadly activity. In the last half year, many of the pro-fascist organizations, which have been keeping quiet since Pearl Harbor, have come into the open again. They have begun holding rallies and meetings, preparing for the days to come.

If the working class can learn to recognize the fascists, no matter under what name they disguise themselves, if we can prepare now to beat them down, then they will never grow strong enough to be a real danger to the American labor movement. But to be able to do this it is necessary to understand what fascism is, how it operates, whom it benefits and whom it seeks to destroy. In addition, the labor movement must have a program and organizations of its own with which to combat the incipient fascist movements.

### CAPITALISM BREEDS FASCISM

Even now, men and women working hard and long hours in the great war production plants, are wondering how long the current "prosperity" is going to last. When the war is over, what is going to happen to these vast plants which are now turning out the instruments of death and destruction? Will they be put to use, producing the things needed to sustain life and raise the standard of living of all the people? Will they continue to operate so that every man and woman who lives by his or her toil will have a job? Will the returning soldiers find decent jobs at decent wages?

Government experts have predicted that even under the best of all possible circumstances the post-war period will witness ten millions of unemployed in the United States. That is, they consider ten million unemployed as "normal" in this country. And if the circumstances are not the best, as is most likely, there will be between twenty and thirty millions out of work.

What do these cold-blooded statistics signify? They mean working class families starving, or near-starving on home relief handouts. They mean ruination for the storekeepers, the professionals, the small businessmen. They mean that the owners of the idle plants will have to take a vacation from profit-making and live off their fat wartime profits.

Now, such a situation cannot continue for a long period of time without the workers and middle class becoming restless and looking for a way out. Even the big capitalists will be itching to get back to business, because while they will not starve or suffer, they know that they make money only if the wheels of indus-

try are turning and that their profits are created by the work of others.

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To throw the spotlight on today's native American fascists is the purpose of this series. Forewarned is forearmed.

### By GERTRUDE SHAW

I. F. Stone is a liberal journalist. He writes for The Nation and for PM. His heart is in the right place, as the saying goes. As a reporter who comes in contact with Washington, its scandals and intrigues, he is not afraid to grind a journalistic axe.

Yet LABOR ACTION shouts from the house tops that such liberals have really nothing to offer when it comes to action in the interest of the working class. Mr. Stone proves this to the hilt in a recent piece he wrote in PM, entitled "Some Facts of Life."

He starts out thus: "I think the time has come to open our eyes and look at a few facts of political life not at all pleasant to us assorted liberals and leftists."

### A FEW POLITICAL FACTS

Mr. Stone then proceeds to enumerate some of the evidence of the reaction that stalks the country. Senator Pepper of Florida comes out for "white supremacy," not because he is anti-Negro, according to Mr. Stone, but because he is having a tough time in the Democratic primaries and must pander to prejudice. Lister Hill, "another good New Dealer," in Mr. Stone's words, compromises with the reactionary farm bloc in order to make the nomination in Alabama. Barkley of Kentucky is still "too much of a New Dealer" to suit the Democratic Party machine of that state. And in Wisconsin the liberal Willie didn't get a single delegate.

"Are these states exceptions?" asks Mr. Stone. "I have yet to talk with anyone from any part of the country who sees a progressive tide anywhere." A very dark outlook indeed! But—

### FACTS MR. STONE OVERLOOKS

The demise of the New Deal, the slinking away of New Dealers to other folds, the growing reactionary and anti-labor trend in the President's policies, have taught an outstanding lesson: CAPITALIST POLITICS, NO MATTER IN WHAT ENTICING MASK IT AT FIRST PRESENTS ITSELF, TURNS OUT TO BE NOTHING BUT CAPITALIST POLITICS.

From this lesson the conclusion is inevitable that labor must organize its political power into its own class party and take the lead to rally all truly progressive elements of the population.

"Assorted liberals and leftists" don't want to see such facts as these. For on the road of independent labor politics lies inevitably the taking of power by the working people, and the end of the capitalist status quo—under Roosevelt. To

present-day liberals, President Roosevelt and the demised New Deal are the be-all and end-all of "progress." To be sure, the President "has made many compromises which we dislike and have quite properly criticized," admits Mr. Stone. But, "can the President risk a strong affirmative, progressive policy on domestic issues at this time; can he defy prejudice and the political machines more than he already has, if he is to be re-elected?"

### ANYTHING TO BE RE-ELECTED

Mr. Stone is saying, in extremely plain English, that it is quite in order to give up "a strong progressive policy"—to court "prejudice and the political machines"—to compromise with reaction—IN ORDER TO WIN AN ELECTION.

This, of course, is not new either in the Democratic or Republican Parties. This is indeed the meat of their diet. What is new is that the "assorted liberals and leftists" now give political horse-trading their blessing—BECAUSE MR. ROOSEVELT IS THE TRADER. Mr. Stone even condones, "more, not less, compromise" which he predicts will be required if the President is to be re-elected and stand in with Congress.

Ah, but there is an out for the President. "The extent to which labor and the liberals and the left can register the vote and change the temper of public opinion will largely determine the extent to which the President can abandon the policy of retreat."

So Roosevelt is to be saved from his own policies by the "assorted liberals and leftists"—and by labor.

In the first place, the "assorted liberals and leftists" who base themselves on the continued existence of the capitalist system and are only too happy when a capitalist politician comes along whom they can dub "progressive," are not really a dominant force in politics. LABOR, HOWEVER, HAS INDEED THE POWER OF NUMBERS AND OF ECONOMIC IMPORTANCE TO CARRY DETERMINING POLITICAL WEIGHT.

But why should labor waste its power on horse-trading politicians whose "progressiveness" goes with the wind when re-election is in doubt? Mr. Stone would have labor continue to support a once "liberal" capitalist politician, hastily turning his coat. Labor is merely to hope that the President will "abandon the policy of retreat."

### CONCLUSIONS—AND CONCLUSIONS

To sum up, Mr. Stone is right in his facts. The forces of reaction have become bolder and the New Dealers are scurrying for cover under its pressure. But his political conclusions are incorrect—for labor.

Not seeing "a progressive tide anywhere," the liberal Mr. Stone is willing to go with the reactionary tide. If Roosevelt can stay in power by compromising with reaction to a greater extent, the "assorted liberals and leftists" must not "push him over a political precipice" by criticizing him too much.

Perhaps Mr. Stone, being a liberal, doesn't look in the right place for evidence of "a progressive tide." It is a fact, however, that this very reaction which Mr. Stone, President Roosevelt, the New Dealers, and the "assorted liberals and leftists" quail, is awakening in labor a new political conviction, namely, THAT IN LABOR ALONE LIES THE LEADERSHIP FOR PROGRESS THROUGH AN INDEPENDENT CLASS PARTY OF ITS OWN.

Though officially through the CIO Political Action Committee, labor is "pledged" to its "friends" among the capitalist politicians, the rank and file has its tongue in its cheek. The recent formation of the Michigan Commonwealth Federation, though a fumbling and uncertain step, was prompted by this trend toward independent labor politics.

The trend is not yet a tide, to be sure. It is not yet dashing upon the political shore and sweeping all obstacles out of its way. But it is there—the most progressive thing in political life today.

But the "assorted liberals and leftists" hold onto Roosevelt for dear life. To them Roosevelt can do no wrong though he makes "many compromises" which they "dislike and have quite properly criticized"—AND WILL MAKE "MORE, NOT LESS, COMPROMISES" TO GET RE-ELECTED.

## LABOR ACTION

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