Nationalize the Railroads and Steel Industry!

An Editorial

Demand Nationalization Under Workers Control!

The great struggle of the railroad and steel workers, hard hit by the conditions created since the outbreak of the war, for an improvement in their economic position has reached a point similar to that of the earlier miners' strikes, with the result that the government has taken over the railroads to insure their operation.

Many workers believe that the government seizure of the railroads means government ownership, control and nationalization of them in accordance with a demand once vigorously pursued by the railway unions.

But it is clear from the steps taken in Roosevelt's order to the Army to operate the roads that this is not government ownership and control, and certainly it is not nationalization of the railroads.

He has merely "taken them over," asked the Army to supervise their operation, which the Army has done by appointing as colonels the heads of the leading railroads in the country. The companies will get every bit of compensation from this "change"; they will continue to get their profits. Nothing will have changed.

THE FIGHT FOR WAGES

The long struggle made by the Standard Railway Labor Organizations to get a wage increase was stubbornly resisted by the operators, who are now enjoying their most profitable years in history. When they finally agreed to an increase, Stabilization Director Vinson rejected the increase.

The bungling in Washington, the contradictory decisions made by officials in charge of price control and wages only helped to make matters worse. But they did not alter the fact that the original source of the trouble lies with the railroad operators, as it does with big business in all of industry.

The railroad industry is another example of a great monopoly which has floundered for years and which has been able to exist primarily by government aid. But government aid to the industry has not materially improved the conditions of the million or more railway workers of the nation.

WHO IS ESSENTIAL TO INDUSTRY?

Railroads are now earning fabulous profits. How did they get them? By their initiative, their skill, their industry or their intelligence?

Nothing of the kind! They have fattened from the war effort, from direct government assistance. They have grown rich out of hauling the vast amount of war goods produced. They have made money out of transporting millions of soldiers. These have been the principal sources of revenue for the railroad monopolists. The big "captains" of this industry have had little more to do than accounting the funds and making their allocation.

If you think this is exaggeration just consider for a moment what would happen if all officials of the railroads were suddenly taken out of their posts. Would the roads operate? Of course, they would!

Eliminate the hundreds of thousands of workers from their jobs. Would the roads operate then? Would they operate from the luxurious offices of the railroad magnates without these workers? The answer is as clear as day: they would not!

The same thing is true of the steel industry! The men who operate the roads, the men who work the mills, the skilled and the unskilled workers, the technicians, the engineers, these are the forces that keep industry going!

Private ownership of these vast industries has meant incompetence, waste and profits for the few. It has meant long hours, hard work, and a miserable pittance for the millions of workers who keep industry going.

That is why we raise the demand: Nationalize all war industries under workers' control! Nationalize the steel industry under workers' control! Nationalize the railroads under workers' control!

If this isn't yet clear to every worker in the land, it will become increasingly clear as time goes on.

FOR INDEPENDENT POLITICAL ACTION

But equally as important as the demand for nationalization of the war industry is the necessity there is for the organization of an independent political party of the workers, a Labor Party.

It has become abundantly clear that the parties of big business, the Democratic and Republican Parties, do not, cannot and will not represent the interests of American labor. They are the parties of big business; they represent the profit interests of the monopolists, the big land owners, the rich merchants, the poll-taxers-they are the parties of reaction! You have only to look at Congress to grasp the seriousness of this statement. You have only to look at the conduct of the Administration to see how it vacillates between the demands of one or another section of big business, while at the same time it tries to pose as the nd file of labor and the working

"New Deal" Is Outmoded

President Roosevalt has pronounced the New Deal outmoded, belonging to the horse-and-buggy political cite-gory—dead. Thus the "father" of the New Deal buries his eleven-year-old offspring. He took occasion to do this when an out-of-town correspondent, Dil-worth Lupton, columnist of the Cleveland Press, visited a White President Roosevalt has pronounced the New Deal outmoved, belonging to

Cleveland Press, visited a White House press conference and stopped to exchange greetings with the President. Later Mr. Lupton reported what the President said.

JANUARY 3, 1944

Stephen Early, presidential secretary, hastened to confirm Mr. Lupton's report. Yes, said Mr. Early, the President wishes to drop the New Deal label and adopt a "Win the War" slogan. Mr. Early also profoundly observed that "The term New Deal was born in 1932. It is now 1943."

What About the CIO?

By SUSAN GREEN

This unceremonious action by President Roosevelt leaves the CIO Committee on Political Action holding the bag. This committee, with Sidney Hillman and other CIO leaders at its head, and with \$700,000 of good union money to do it with, has been organizing for Mr. Roosevelt and the New Deal the waning support of the rank

The Strike at Point Breeze



anybody's mind that the CIO Com-

mittee on Political Action is pro-Roosevelt-New Deal.

DRIVE FOR HIGHER WAGES

LABOR ACTION

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

IL AND STEEL WORKERS

There has been propagated by labor leaders the most inexcusable rot about the New Deal. It has been presented as a shining chariot on which the working people will ride to a capitalist paradise - with Roosevelt, of course, in the driver's seat. The fact is that the New Deal was designed not to save the working people but to save the capitalist class. The crisis of 1929 was so deep and devastating that the capitalists were scared out of their wits. Their profit system was shaking at its foundations. Crashing banks, closed facto-

They were then in favor of any kind of a deal just so as to get their system functioning again-even with a few new features. Roosevelt was their man to try to stem the tide of mass discontent and to give the reeling capitalist system a leaning post. But today the outlook of the capitalist class is very different. The majority is through with the so-called "socialistic trends and ideologies of the New Deal." It is through with "coddling" labor. It is bent on putting the government out of business, (Continued on page 3)

By Carl Davis

Roosevelt Joins the Chorus; This week saw the struggle of hundreds of thousands of railroad and steel workers for wage increases reach a climax.

0.000 98

On Monday, December 27, more than 150,-000 steel workers went out on strike with the slogan: "No contract—no work." Following the brilliant lead given them by the coal miners, the steel workers declared they would not trespass on the companies' properties.

Up until all of the railway unions accepted President Roose-" velt's proposal that he act as final arbitrator in the railway wage dispute, all the operating and non-operating unions had voted to strike on December 30.

In the case of the steel workers, the men walked out when the WLB backed up the steel owners with a refusal to okay retroactive pay for any contract signed. Roosevelt intervened with a promise that any contract signed between the owners and workers would be retroactive.

Thus we have still another case of Administration run-around, sidestepping and overruling that has been characteristic of its in-

> tervention in labor-management disputes and collective bargaining. With a promise of retroactive pay, the steel workers have gone back to work. But this concession which they obtained from the President would never have been obtained had the steel workers sat back to await a grant from any conceivable quarter.

ONE CENT

In the case of the railway workers, the President has virtually promised wage increases, compensation for overtime work for which these work-ers have not hitherto been paid, and other demands made by unions, if they accepted his arbitration.

Thus after almost two years of negotiations and buck - passing, the railroad workers took the only action possible for labor to win even the slightest demands. Many of the reactionary papers are absolutely right when they point out that the steps taken by the railway and steel workers might not have been taken were it not for the fight which the coal diggers of America waged for their most elementary rights. While the miners did not win all that they asked for, they showed that it was possible to win by united and militant efforts.

or partitions in the toilets.



'friend of labor."

We must have a political party which would truly represent the live-and that is the organized labor movement.

There is only one political party which could truly represent the interests and desires of the workers, the poor farmers, the poor middle class which is ground down by big business, and that is an independent Labor Party!

The demand for nationalization of the war industries, the demand for nationalization of the mines, the railroads, the steel industry and others, goes hand in hand with the need for an independent political organization of labor and with the fight for a labor government representing the true interests of the great majority of the people.

BEGIN NOW TO BUILD A LABOR PARTY!

American Ship Workers Strike In Defense of Union Leader

By JAMES SHEA

the

CLEVELAND - As the "wildcat" strike at American Shipbuilding Company entered its ninth day, the number of strikers increased to over a thousand. The regional War Labor Board has refused to negotiate the strike until work has been resumed. It has referred the case to the national WLB and has recommended action by President Roosevelt as Commander - in - Chief of the armedforces, if necessary.

The strike resulted from the discharge of Howard (Darby) Ward, chief steward of eleven shipyard unions. He was fired for "absenteeism." At the time he was fired, Ward was a candidate for president of the Boilermakers Union. The day before the election, national and local union leaders, who had termed the strike "unauthorized," expressed the opinion that, even if elected, Ward could not legally hold office because of his support of the strike.

On the sixth day of the strike Ward won the election by a large majority. He immediately took a vote on resuming work, and the workers voted to remain on strike until he was reinstated.

Called before the regional War Labor Board and ordered to send the strikers back to work, Ward asked if he was to return with the other strikers and was told by Lewis M. Gill, regional chairman of the WLB, that the order did not apply to him. Ward said: "It is my position now. that the men should not return in compliance with the board's order." Gill then appealed to the strikers to "avoid a black eye to the labor movement and a shameful thing for this

region by forcing action from President Roosevelt."

This strike, the third at American Shipbuilding Company this year, is but another indication that the shipyard workers are fed up with the labor-baiting practices of the company and the WLB. They know that the pleas of their "leaders" (with the exception of Ward) to return to work on the ground that they are breaking labor's no-strike pledge are so much hogwash. They know that they were never consulted before such a pledge was given.

In spite of the fact that they belong to eleven different craft unions, and in the face of cancellation of work deferments and use of the armed forces by the President, these unions have displayed a marvelous unity without even the use of a picket line. These men know now the necessity of repealing the no-strike pledge and taking labor's representatives off the War Labor Board. They have seen how the company, taking advantage of the no-strike pledge, has tried to wreck their organization and labor's gains.

Next Week:

David Coolidge, our labor editor, will write a review of the national labor situation. Don't miss it!

Company incites kace bias

persuade about nine thousand work-

ers to walk out.

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT

By V. JENSEN

Another lesson in how the bosses use the issue of race to divide Negro and white workers and prevent unionization and settlement of real grievances is to be had from the anti-Negro strike at the Baltimore plants of the Western Electric Co. This strike was called by the Point

Breeze Employees Association, a socalled "independent" union, after the War Labor Board had denied its request for separate toilet facilities for Negroes and whites. But what really lies behind this "strike" is an attempt to prevent the Western Electric plants in Baltimore from being organized by bona fide unions. Here's what actually happened:

When the company first began hiring Negroes in 1941 (there are now 1,700 Negroes employed), Baltimore had in the requirements of its health code that plants have separate toilet facilities for Negroes and whites. In 1942. Baltimore authorities were persuaded to remove this Jim Crow rge-

ulation from the code. By June, 1942, all the partitions had been torn down at Western Electric. There were no protests from anyone. Workers were not segregated in the cafeterias, locker rooms or any other place. Even the company admits that following this there was "little or no racial conflict."

Who Is Behind This Strike?

Now, after thirteen successful months of non-segregation, there is a strike to put back the partitions in the toilets. What has happened in those thirteen months is very simple-there has been an organizing drive put on at the plants by both the AFL Machinists Union and the CIO United Electricians Union. This summer the AFL brought charges before the NLRB that the Point Breeze Employees Association was company-dominated. After extensive hearings, the trial examiner for the NLRB sustained these charges.

Just a few days after the NLRB rulings, the Employees Association raised the issue of separate toilets and began a vicious anti-Negro propaganda campaign. They assiduously spread the slander that the Negroes were venereal, in spite of the known fact that every employee is given a. Wasserman test. They worked on every backward sentiment and prejudice of the Southern workers to

which existed prior to the strike." AFL and CIO organizers on the The company is well satisfied with scene have made the real .issues this state of affairs. In time, the Army clear. James E. Poulton, internawill go away, the profits don't stop tional representative from the IAMmultiplying for a minute and whe-AFL, pointed out the bad working ther the partitions go up or come conditions in the plant where there

down doesn't mean a thing to Westis chiseling on the "incentive pay" ern Electric. If its scab union will system and exploitation of workers have successfully pushed a wedge through the classification system. Poulton pointed out: "In some inbetween Negro and white workers so that they won't get together in a stances, supervisors are treating the employees like cattle. Working conreal union to fight for their demands, the company union will be worth its ditions generally are the worst in the weight in gold to the company and area. Despite all this, the Employcertainly worth a week's stoppage in ees Association chooses to strike on the production of what the company an issue which can win the workers up to, now has been most anxious to nothing.' call "vital war material."

Safeguarding Race Bias

Both Poulton and the CIO organizer pointed out the part the company is playing. Poulton said: "Anything that costs Western Electric money will never be part of the program of its Employees Association. The company and the Association are fleas off the same dog." Poulton further charged that supervisors inside the plant had sent workers to join the strike after reporting to work.

The CIO organizer, supported this charge by pointing out that the company had refused an offer of free radio time to urge the strikers back to work and it had asked the Mayor to prevent the CIO sound truck from operating near the plant to urge workers back to work.

After one week of the strike; President Roosevelt ordered Secretary of War Stimson to take over the strikebound plants. But this is no skin off the back of either the company or the company union. The presidential order directs that "the Secretary of War shall permit the management to continue with its managerial functions to the maximum degree possible consistent with the aims of this order."

As for the company union, the fomenter of this strike, the company is not raging against "agitators" here nor has it issued any statements asking that the strikers be drafted, nor has it asked for any of the drastic punishments that it would have if a bona fide union had gone out on strike to better the living conditions of its members.

The Army general in charge of the plant has said that the men would

PHILIP MURRAY

8

return to their jobs "with the same benefits, privileges and seniority Michigan CIO Leaders Move For Labor Party

By MARTIN HARVEY

DETROIT—The lines are being more clearly drawn in Michigan in the current fight to organize a Labor Party for the 1944 elections. Two prominent CIO officials went on record as being opposed to any move to give labor a political organization of its own.

Richard T. Frankensteen, political Southern workers have been kept action director of the UAW-CIO, takunorganized and exploited by such ing his cue from the Stalinists, deanti-Negro tricks as this for too long. nounced attempts to form a Labor If the Western Electric workers in Baltimore are going to go on any Party as giving aid, and comfort to the enemies of the labor movement. picket lines, let it be with their Ne-Walter Reuther, international vicegro brothers, together in the real president of the UAW, who presumfight for better working conditions ably supports the anti-Labor Party and better pay. That kind of fight position of the top CIO leaders, dispays-it's not just pie in the sky-(Continued on page 2)

The Campaign of Business

The yellow press as usual has carried on its lynch agitation against the workers. They have hidden behind the screen of the war and patriotism to denounce the workers. But, as usual, what really lies behind this campaign against American labor isa defense of the profit interests of big business.

This campaign against the workers of the nation is inseparable from the campaign against the renegotiation law which takes back some of the war profits of big business (and much too little at that when it is remembered that profits continue at the highest rate in history). This antilabor campaign, too, is inseparable from the campaign of the National Association of Manufacturers to bust

(Continued on page 2)

No Shortage of Profits For Canning Firms Either

Last week we published the figures on meat packers' profits which the OPA collected but which it refused to make public. The People's Lobby Bulletin printed portions of this report to show the huge profits made by the leading meat packing firms in the country.

This week we are publishing the figures on profits in the canning industry, for they show the same state of affairs there.

The OPA report on the canning industry says:

"Profits before income taxes of fruit and vegetable canners were five times as great in 1942 as in the years 1936-39 on less than twice the pre-war volume of sales. Their increase in profits exceeded that of any other food group and of all non-durable manufacturing industries except textiles."--(Emphasis in OPA report-Ed.)

The report further reveals a widening profit margin during the war years.

"Between the base years (1936-39)," says the report, "and 1942, combined profits of the thirty-nine companies (reporting continuously from 1936) rose from 5.5 to 22.5 cents per dollar of total capital invested.

Thus during the years 1936-39 profits of the above companies averaged \$6,000,000 on sales totaling \$17.-000.000.

In the year 1942, they had profits of \$30,000,000 on sales of \$319,000,000. As in the case of the meat packers, we have the following picture: Sales increased eighty-three per cent; profits increased by over four hundred per cent.

Says the Bulletin:

"In 1941, sales of fifty-eight concerns were \$329,-093,000, and profits before income taxes were \$27,-390,000; in 1942 sales were \$382,336,000 and profits \$35,-919,000-an increase of 31.1 per cent."

And the Administration wants to hand these profiteers a subsidy!

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

The Wage Fight of the Rail and Steel Workers --

(Continued from page 1)

Page 2

the union movement in this country and to make the workers bear an even greater burden in the war. Labor's Share

But behind this whole strike situation is the fact that the no-strike pledge given by the labor officialdom without the consent of the great rank and file, was based upon the Administration promise that prices would be kept down, rationing would equalize distribution of goods, and no black markets would operate in the country.

Exactly the opposite has happened! There have been sharp price increases; there has been no equity of rationing, and black markets have mushroomed all over the country. The cost of living has risen steadily.

But wages have been stabilized and frozen. Labor has in large measure been frozen. Withholding taxes on top of hidden taxes have played havoc with the wages of the workers. The higher paid workers have had their real wages lowered. The lower paid workers have had their real . wages reduced even further.

Who is at fault for this situation? First and foremost, the profit system under which we live, where everything is carried on for the private profit of a minority class of industrial overlords of business.

Big Business's Share

'Big business is producing for the war-that is to say, it is willing to operate its factories and "let" the workers toil-only on the condition that its profits are guaranteed.

The big industrialists have had new factories built for them. They have received all the materials necessary to operate their plants. They have received the government orders and money with which to proceed.

On top of all that, they have costplus contracts and where such contracts do not exist, they are guaranteed a very substantial profit. This is revealed in the fact that, despite the highest corporation taxes in history, big business will get more than eight BILLION dollars of profit in

1943. Their "reserves" run into tens of billions of dollars.

And yet they have organized their forces throughout the land, their newspapers, their hired radio commentators, their congressmen and senators to fight any concessions to the workers and resist their legitimate demands

In this situation, the Administration, seeking to satisfy the class interests it represents and at the same time placate labor by a few concessions, has made the situation worse.

The Little Steel Formula

The WLB has been a veritable bull in a china shop. It has contradicted itself endlessly. First it demands adherence to the rotten Little Steel formula. Next it announces that the formula is dead. Again it declares that the formula has been unfair to labor because it has resulted in laying the whole burden of the war economy, on the shoulders of the workers. And finally it resolves to retain in full force and effect the same formula!

Stabilization Director Byrnes and his deputy, Mr. Vinson, have only muddied up the waters on their own. Vinson has rejected proposals for wage increases in the railway dispute agreed to by the unions and operators and recommended by a special panel. He was supported by his superior.

The Stalinist Daily Worker rushed into print to denounce the congressional reactionaries and to praise Philip Murray, saying that the steel workers' strike is not like the coal miners' strike and that the head of the Steel Workers Union is not a John L. Lewis. To be sure!

But did not the same situation prevail in the case of the coal miners? Weren't the coal miners given the worst run-around in American labor history? Would the miners have obtained even what they did without resorting to their militant struggle for their rights?

The yellow Daily Worker and the liberal press point an accusing finger only one group responsible in Washington, the congressional antilabor bloc. But it would take all ten fingers to point to the anti-labor forces in Washington. Read the charges of the railway

'We Aren't Making a Cent' The Story of Steel Profits

at

By htis time, every worker is familiar with the lamentations of the profiteers that they cannot grant wage increases unless they are, at the same time, granted price increases. The argument of the industrial magnates goes this way:

"We aren't making a cent out of the war. The government takes everything away from us in taxes. All we are doing is sacrificing our skill, intelligence and labors for the war effort."

unions against the Administration! What Labor Must Do And you will find that the anti-labor The reactionaries and their press actions in Washington range from have used this fight by the railroad Congress to the Administration and and steel workers to carry on an anti-

trip over each other. The demand of the Stalinist Communist Party that the Little Steel formula he retained but that it be brought into balance with the stabilization program and the cost of living is a fraud. The only thing that can be done with the Little Steel formula is to throw it out of the window. It has served its only real purpose: to keep labor's wages depressed!

its many bureaus and agencies which

It is impossible to create any balance with it. It is necessary to discard the formula. There can be only one measure bearing any equity for the workers: An equal increase in wages for every increase in the cost of living.

Act 1. Post-War Planning in Reality

Layoffs at Brewster Plant

Time: December 23, 1943. Place: OUTSIDE of the Ford Building of the Brewster Aeronautical Co.

"Joe, are you going to tell your wife that you were laid off? I'm asking you because if you are going to tell her. I'd like to leave my tool box at your house until Monday. My wife doesn't take these things too easy, and I don't want to spoil Christmas for her and the kids." "Gosh, Pete, I wasn't going to tell

the old lady myself till Monday," replied Joe, "but I'll tell you what we'll do. Let's check our tools in at Grand Central till Monday."

Joe and Pete and over a thousand more workers were all trying to get into a small door, and a dozen uniformed guards were trying to hold them back. Every ten or fifteen minutes the guards would open the door a few inches and permit a handful of workers in. As the hours dragged on the workers kept pressing closer and closer to the tiny door. It was almost impossible to breathe, everyone was packed so tight. But, perhaps, it was better this way than standing in sin-

gle file-for it was cold. Inside that tiny door was their last pay check. These thousand - odd workers had been laid off by Henry Kaiser, president of the Brewster Aeronautical Corporation. They had been notified that morning when they came to work that the Brewster Aeronautical Corporation no longer had any use for their services. Would they please pack up their tools and

leave the building as soon as possible? Their money would be ready for them in the afternoon if they called for it, at the side of the building-by the tiny door.

And that is why Joe and Pete and the other discarded workers were here. To get their final wages. Two days before Christmas. Kaiser bicks to fire us." a little Negro givi was telling her companion. "Yeah," her friend added, "he's the guy that gave us that guff about jobs even after the war is over, and now he is firing us before the war is even over. At least, the presidents before him didn't give us that malarky."

"Don't worry, girls, the union is back of you - way back, far, far back," heckled a well known antiunionist. And the distressing thing was that a large number of the workers by that little door shook their heads in agreement with him.

A bareheaded fellow near the door who had often taken the floor at local union meetings turned around: "What can the union do? They can't force a boss to keep workers on the payroll if there, are no contracts. Where's the money coming from?"

"For the war, the government can find all kinds of money, but now to keep people alive and on jobs, there's no money."

It was impossible to see who had said that because the door was opervbody began pushing forward. The ened a few inches just then and evguards tried to shove the workers away from the door, but everybody kept pushing.

"We went to bat for you guys," one of the girls told a guard, "and now you act as if you own the joint. It won't be fong before you too are thrown out."

will find cost-plus contracts and

demanding "an incentive to produce."

ting its greatest profits in history!!

This is the real background to the

guaranteed profits.

about this situation.

or dispute!

war effort.

The chief of the guards tried to make a speech on patience or something. He was booed and cat-called back into the building. Then an admiral with gold stripes from his cufflinks up to his ears came out and stood on a chair and warned the workers that somebody might get killed if they didn't stop pushing. Wouldn't they rather come back the next day for their money? He would guarantee that it would be there.

Eventually it was possible to get into the building and then, another hour of waiting. But at least it was much warmer. The gas ration books and the identification cards were collected and the pay checks were distributed.

As the workers approached the door to leave the building their badges were taken and thrown into a huge box. One of the workers just in front of me said to the guard that asked him for his badge:

"This badge meant so much to me. I was in the last war, came back and was unemployed for a long time. Then I got odd jobs for a while, with very little money. Then unemployed again, then WPA. When the war started I went to school to learn this stuff, pulled strings to get in here, and when I got my badge I thought maybe things would be different from then on. But it's the same thing all over again, isn't it?"

De Gaulle Against Free Press

When General de Gaulle had won Thus when big business strikes for out over General Giraud in Algiers, its profits that is called legitimately it was hailed by the liberals as a When labor strikes for the right to great victory for democracy. Now live, that is called a strike against the the first fruits of the de Gaulle brand of democracy are known. All Senator David Walsh only last newspapers in Algiers have been week stated that when the soldiers submitted to a very close censorship, come back and find out about the only the Stalinist and the de Gaullist "unconscionable profits" made by big papers being exempt.

business, they will have their say The two news agencies which existed until now have been forced to The railway labor unions have amalgamate and have become statesaid as much and more. But it is controlled. The hypocritical explannecessary for the whole labor moveation which is given by de Gaullist ment to get up on its powerful legs circles is worth quoting: "The presand tell the truth to the whole counent limitations are temporary and dctry, to every segment of the popusigned to establish real freedom of lation: Labor is getting the heavy expression." These circles further end of the load; big business is get-

New Wave of Strikes in France

Censorship in recent months has been so tight that it was hardly possible to get any news about workers' resistance in Nazi occupied France, outside of indications about sabotage and guerrilla activity given out by the official news agencies. Recently reports have reached us that there have been a number of large strike movements in France against both starvation wages and wholly inadequate food rations, as well as against Nazi efforts to ship more and more workers to Germany in the so-called "labor draft." Fifteen thousand steel workers were reported to have struck in Lyon and another twenty thousand in southern France. No more details

were given. It was also reported that there had

Your Sub's Expired? Renew It! You Haven't a Sub? Get One!

first of the New Year, 1944. The year will be filled with events as important as those of last year. We are certain you will not want to be without LABOR ACTION, the fighting, truth-telling labor and socialist

weekly. Those of you who are now subscribers and those of you who are constant readers of our paper know it to be the one paper that stands by labor through all its struggles. The past year has been crowded with events. We covered them all:

the war, politics, labor problems, the Negro question, union struggles, and socialism. No other paper in the country has covered this news from the militant and socialist point of view. On all the great issues of the past

year, LABOR ACTION took a clear and unequivocal stand.

pointed out that "it would be dangerous to the relative stability attained by the Algiers committee if an outspoken opposition movement were permitted to develop." These are the typical totalitarian

arguments; Hitler used them and so did Stalin. These happenings are further proof that in the conditions of permanent crisis which exist in all European countries no ruling class can any longer permit itself the luxury of real democracy. Real democracy is impossible except under socialism. The old society can no longer survive in Europe without more or less thinly disguised forms of dictatorship. The fight for de-

mocracy and the fight for socialism have become one. been many demonstrations by wom-

en recently, especially before ration boards and other official offices, asking for food for the children and protesting inadequate rations. Other manifestations are reported to have taken place at the departure of trains deporting workers to Germany. It seems that in certain regions the situation is so much out of hand that the Petainist militia is inadequate to deal with popular discontent, and that special Nazi troops had to be called to the rescue.

Furthermore, it is reported that in certain mountain regions large bands of labor draft resisters are formed who attack isolated Nazis or Petainists whenever they venture into these inaccessible regions.

This issue of the paper marks the control, for equality in rationing and against the black market, against placing the burden of the war on the

> backs of the workers. It defended labor unions against its attackers, no matter from what anti-

labor quarter these attacks came. It was the only labor paper to come

to the unequivocal support of the coal miners in all their gallant struggles.

It was the one paper which exposed the reactionary, Klanist attack on the Negroes in Detroit!

LABOR ACTION will not deviate from this program. It will continue to be the only labor and socialist paper in the country to carry on a persistent campaign in behalf of the workers of this and all other countries, to fight and expose reaction and fascism wherever and whenever it rears its head.

You cannot afford to be without LABOR ACTION covered the great LABOR ACTION. But the best way to insure getting the paper is to scribe! If your sub has expired, renew it at once. If you are not a subscriber, subscribe now. Become a LABOR ACTION reader! Be a LABOR ACTION booster!

LABOR ACTION

labor campaign among the service

men. The labor movement must take

note of this campaign to tell the truth

What is the truth? The truth is

that labor bears the main brunt of

the war. Labor suffers from high

prices, poor quality of goods, inequi-

ty in rationing, the vultures of the

black market, high taxes, long hours

of gruelling work. The right of the

workers for better wages will not

and cannot enrich them. It can only

On the other side of the ledger

we have big business getting rich

out of the war. There you will find

the real culprits. There you will find

the profiteers in war goods and food

and clothing and rents. There you

make their lives more bearable.

to its brothers in uniform!

WORLD EVENTS By Europacus

We have branded this as one of the biggest lies in the war. We have shown time and time again how big business is making the biggest profits in history out of the war effort. The two most recent examples of crocodile crying and plain lying are the railroad monopolies and the steel industries.

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This doesn't include the high salaries of officials! This doesn't include bonuses and "expense accounts" of these offi-

cials.

And this doesn't include the "contingency" and "reconversion" funds!

Labor Party in Michigan --

12

(Continued from page 1) claimed any responsibility for the pro-Labor Party move. Emil Mazey and Paul Silver, UAW militants who had initiated the Labor Party drive, had previously been associated with the Reuther faction in the Auto Workers Union. In addition to Frankensteen and

Reuther, the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, which wields some influence in this area, has also come out in opposition to a Labor Party. Despite these blasts, however, the Labor Party movement seems to be gaining support. A closed meeting ty idea. The CCF, which recently

The Role of the Stalinists at U. S. Rubber Co.

was held recently by the Mazey-Silver group at which forty CIO, AFL and 'Railway Brotherhood officials were present. Among the decisions reached at this meeting was the setting up of a permanent committee for the organization of a Labor Party.

At the same time, Tucker Smith of the United Retail & Wholesale Employees of America, CIO, invited E. B. Jolliffe, leader of the Ontario **Cooperative Commonwealth Federa**tion, to deliver several talks to union groups here to spread the Labor Par-

emerged as a major party in Canada, is a left wing farmer-labor party with a vague program for the socialization of basic industry. It is supported by the CIO in Canada. The coming weeks should see the

formal inauguration of a campaign to organize a Labor Party in this key state. It is too easy to predict success but a clear presentation of the issues involved and a thorough discussion of them by the rank and file union militants cannot help but educate the workers to their political needs and set them on the road to independent working class action.

detail and presenting our labor program to thousands of workers. LABOR ACTION has carried on a

persistent campaign against the high cost of living, the absence of price

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Labor Action Bound Volume for 1943

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DETROIT-The main enemies of the unity of Local 101 on the basis of a fighting program to build the union is that group headed by John Marmon, which supports the policies of the Communist Party in the union movement.

Do not be deceived by Marmon's false and hypocritical declarations about "unity." In the same breath as he sanctimoniously appeals for unity, he attacks John L. Lewis and really the mine strikers as agents of the fascists. If he were really interested in unity he would stop his hate campaign against George Bass, John L. Lewis and the mine workers and the Akron strikers.

Marmon PUBLICLY appeals for unity in order to put his opponents off guard. But does he privately and secretly circulate slanderous rumors about members of the local whom he opposes? That's an old Stalinist custom. Remember that Marmon was found GUILTY by a local trial board of circulating false reports and misrepresentations among the membership.

Marmon and the Communist Party are not finally defeated by any means. They won the posts of secretary and treasurer and they polled a large minority of the votes in the run-off elections. They have a well organized group, which, unlike the American Party, knows what it wants. They may pull in their horns publicly but carry on a campaign secretly.

When we say that the Stalinist Communist Party is a danger to the labor movement, we are not referring to the idea of communism as a social philosophy. It is one hundred per cent true that we need a new social order based on socialism, or communism, to replace the capitalist profit system and that we need a real working men's government to achieve this.

But no working men's government exists in Russia and the Communist Party in this country long ago abandoned the fight for socialism. Russia is now controlled by a small bureaucratic class headed by Joseph Stalin. It is that class which derives most of the benefits from the Russian system, just as the capitalist class in this country derives most of the benefits from the capitalist sys-

The only real aim of the Communist Party in this country is to use American labor, Negro and white, as unthinking machines to help the Stalin regime in Russia and its foreign'policy. It will adopt any policy, regardless of what harm it does to American labor so long as it will help the bureaucratic rulers of Russia. Look at the record:

Just Before 1935 - The Stalin regime had no allies on a world scale. The Communist Party here called Roosevelt "a fascist" and was for "militant action."

1935-39 - Stalin had an alliance with France and sought one with

the United States and Britain. The Communist Party here was for moderation and called Roosevelt the great leader of the "People's Front." They opposed "militant action."

1939-41 - Stalin had an alliance with Germany. The communists said that "fascism is a matter of taste" and called for the acceptance of Hitler's peace proposals. The Communist Party here called the war on the

Allied side "imperialistic" and denounced Roosevelt as a war-monger. They were for "militant action."

1941 up to Now-Stalin was again on the same side as Roosevelt and Churchill. The Communist Party now called the war a "People's war for national liberation." Roosevelt became a great leader once more. It denounced all strikes and strike leaders as agents of Hitler, their for-

mer friend. The Communist Party now supports Roosevelt because he is an ally of Stalin. They try to appear to be "friends of labor" only in order to be able to tie it hand and foot and hand it over defenseless to the American boss class. They have only one price: Support Stalin.

That is why they want a fourth term for Roosevelt. That is why they oppose strikes and are for the no-strike pledge. That is why they are for incentive pay.' That is why they denounce the Akron strikers, the mine strikers, and George Bass and John L. Lewis. That is why they oppose LABOR ACTION.

The Communist Party is against local must be for full equality for any fight in the interests of labor be-Negroes and all minorities in the cause it will embarrass Stalin and CIO, in the local and in the shop. his new allies. The Communist Par-This will be the greatest step forward ty acts as an agent of the American capitalist class because the American government is on the same side as Stalin.

The Communists and the Negroes

Just as the Stalinists try to use all labor as tools to be manipulated in Stalin's interests, so they try to utilize the Negro people and the Negro movement.

They talk about Negro rights in order to appear as "friends of the Negro." They want Negro support as they want support from all labor in order to have bargaining power to put pressure on Stalin's allies.

When the March on Washington Committee was formed, and considered calling a big demonstration for Negro rights in Washington, the Communist Party carried on a campaign as vicious as that they carried on against Lewis, denouncing the idea of a demonstration. It would interfere with our preparations for the great war for democracy, they said. What they mean is that the Negro should abandon any sincere fight for democracy here at home because it would embarrass the Administration.

John Marmon, former president of Local 101, is only a small-time representative of this whole policy. All progressive unionists in the

for unity and at the same time a decisive blow against the demagogy of the Communist Party. "Trotskyism" John Marmon and the Communists call LABOR ACTION a Trotskyist paper. At one time, when the Communist

Party was still a party which fought FOR the working man and not AGAINST him, any worker who stood up for his rights was calle "red" and a "communist." Now the Communists have given up fight, the same type of worker called a "Trotskyist." And the Co munist Party is the first to take this new kind of red-baiting. strikes, they say, are called by "T skyists." Anyone who wants to up the fight against the sell-out p cies of the CP is labeled a "Trots

LABOR ACTION considers "charge" an honor. By Trotsky they mean that we urge that labor fight consistently in its own behalf, that we are for a working man's government and for a socialist form of society.

LABOR ACTION stands foursquare for all the rights of labor and against capital. It is for higher wages, better working conditions and against the profiteers and their system. It is for a society of plenty for all through socialism.

LABOR ACTION

From the Pages of World War I History

A Lesson in Workers' Solidarity

By STANLEY GREY

The pre-war isolationist policy of a large section of the American capitalist class is one of the more significant casualties of the war. Today, although some capitalists prefer to exploit South America, others China, still others Europe, all the capitalists are determined to make America (in this case, themselves) the ruler of the world. They are committed to a policy of cooperation with other powers to make the world safe for bosses' profits.

The best indication of this is to be found in the activities of the AMG in Italy. Through this agency, loaded down with big business men, the Roosevelt Administration supports a reactionary King and Minister in power, maintains fascists in key government positions, denies the workers their full freedom of organization and expression, prevents the people in that part of Italy which the Allies occupy from forming a democratic government. This is the meaning of the counter-revolutionary role that America's rulers play in Europe: By its control of food through the UNRRA. the American capitalists will seek to strangle (like Hoover did after the First World War) the powerful mass movements that will arise after the war to sweep away fascism and reaction in every form?

It is to the interest of the American working class now and when the war ends to see to it that America does not serve as the butcher of the European revolution. The American workers, too, must abandon their political isolationism. Just as the capitalists have learned, in their own profit interests, that this is "one world," that same lesson must become part of the feeling and thinking of every worker. The defeat of the workers in any country is a defeat of the workers of the world; a workers' victory in one country is a victory for the workers of all countries. Thus it becomes the task of the workers of America today to help the workers of Europe to establish and defend their own governments after the war.

A PAGE FROM HISTORY

By CHRIS SIKOKIS

Such international working class cooperation has taken place many times before. We will cite one example in detail, that of the British working class helping to save the Russian Revolution at the end of World War I. After the Allies had made the world safe for their own exploitation, they turned to meet a new enemy, the threat of the workers of the world to throw out their capitalist rulers, free the backward colonial areas and organize world production for use and not for profits, that is, on a socialist basis. This new enemy threat was represented by the successful Russian Revolution, whose leaders, having transformed one sixth of the world's area into a workers' state, sounded the call to the workers of Europe to follow suit. European capitalism in 1919 now faced a mortal enemy-the working class fighting for social freedom.

America, Britain, France, Japan, Rumania, Czechoslovakia sent armies of intervention into Russia in order to destroy the workers' government and thus deliver a defeat to the whole world of labor.

It was the British working class which prevented England from doing its dirty interventionist work. The British working class in 1919 was the most militant in its history. Waves of strikes took place all over the country. A "Triple Alliance" of the miners, railroad men and transport workers was formed. In April, 1919, this "Triple Alliance" demanded that conscription be stopped, British troops be withdrawn from Russia, the blockade of "enemy" countries be ended (Germany then was in revolutionary ferment) and repudiation of the "secret miliary circular."

This "secret" document had been sent to the officers of the British Army to get intelligence information about the soldiers. A general strike was impending in the country which with proper political leadership could very well have put the workers into power. The British capitalists knew this and wanted to feel out the sentiment of the soldiers:

"Will they assist in strike-breaking?"

"Will they parade for draft overseas, especially to Russia?"

"Whether there is a growth of trade unionism among them.'

"Whether any soldiers' councils have been formed."

This document caused a storm in the British trade union movement, and Winston Churchill, then Secretary of War, defended it.

A WORKERS "TRIPLE ALLIANCE"

On June 25, 1919, the Triple Alliance again demanded the end of intervention into Russia. In 1920 the tensions built up reached a revolutionary breaking point. In that year, Britain and France were supporting Poland in her war against the Soviet Union. Britain was thinking of allving herself with Poland and formally declaring war on Russia.

Then British labor moved. It "warns the government that the whole industrial power of the organized workers will be used to defeat this war." A Council of Action was formed in August, and the labor press was shouting the slogan "All Power to the Council of Action."

The council was determined to "resist any and every form of military and naval intervention against the Soviet Government of Russia." It was to remain in action until the government withdrew the armed forces, ended the blockade of Russia, and recognized the Soviet regime. If necessary, one labor leader said, "We will be compelled, even against all constitutions, to chance whether we cannot do something to take the country into. our own hands for our own people."

Mass demonstrations took place throughout

England. The threat of a general strike and the possibility of a workers' revolution frightened the capitalists into capitulation. The Monday following the demonstrations, Lloyd George stated in the House of Commons that "the policy of the government in regard to Poland and Russia would appear to differ in no way from that enunciated by the Labor Conference."

An ex-Czarist general, Golovin, described an interview he had with Winston Churchill and said: "Churchill told me the question of giving armed support was for him the most difficult: the reason for this was the opposition of the British working class to armed intervention."

AMERICAN LABOR'S TASK

The American workers and trade union movement must learn the lessons of that admission. Churchill and Roosevelt know the real significance of labor's militancy and disguise their counterrevolutionary acts with noble garments of "food relief." "liberation committees," etc.

The future of Europe and of the world depends in an important sense on American labor. American trade unions must prepare themselves to assume this responsibility by first understanding the real.meaning of Roosevelt's and Churchill's "internationalism" and second by increasing their strength and showing their own governments that they have an interest in the freedom of their working brothers overseas.

In the face of such an educated and militant working class, the American ruling class will think twice before it clamps down on the European masses. That is the main lesson of the British events, one which every worker should absorb into his very being.

LABOR ACTION

A Paper in the Interests of Labor

Published Weekly by the

LABOR ACTION PUBLISHING ASSN.

114 West 14th Street New York 11, N. Y.

ALBERT GATES, Editor

Subscription Rate: 60 Cents a Year

75 Cents for Canada, New York and Foreign

Re-entered as second-class matter May 24, 1940,

at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the

Act of March 3, 1879.

Vol. 8, No. 1

(3rd Floor)

January 3, 1944

The Story of Harriet Tubman and the American Civil War

By W. F. CARLTON

The American capitalist class knows that it won its own freedom by a revolution in 1776. The modern industrial and financial magnates know that the Civil War was in reality the Second American Revolution whereby the power of the slaveowners was broken once and for all. But the capitalists, having gained their power by revolution, now spare no pains in denouncing revolution and turning the minds of the workers from any radical solution of their problems.

One way of doing this is to suppress the role played by the masses of the American people in the great revolutions which helped to give power to their masters.

The book, "Harriet Tubman," by Earl Conrad, is a case in point. The author tells us that the white capitalist publishers refused to publish it. He finally had to go to a Negro publishing company, the Associated Publishers, Inc., Washington, D. C., in order to get his work to the public. The book tells the story of one of

the greatest women in American history, a Negro revolutionary, Harriet Tubman. It tells the story of what the Negro masses did in the Civil War, how much they contributed to the victory. For this very reason it is of enormous interest and importance to the American working class.

A Heroic Figure

Harriet Tubman was one of the most extraordinary figures who have ever appeared on any great stage of history. She was born a slave and escaped to the North when she was about thirty years of age. She could neither read nor write and never had any schooling. But she made up her mind to spend her life in freeing as many Negroes as possible from slavery.

Nineteen times she made the journey into the South and brought away in all some three hundred slaves. Never once did she lose any of the persons she was bringing to freedom. At one time sums of money amounting to \$40,000 were placed upon her head by the Southern slaveowners. But she continued to go to the very plantation where she had been born and reared.

Once she saw her former master coming along the road. She had some chickens tied to a string ready for just such an emergency. She now caught her. let them go and ran after them to

catch them. Thus she escaped recognition. On another occasion when the pursuit was hot, she took a train going into the South. Her pursuers paid no attention, for they were confident she would be heading North. On yet another occasion she took out a book and the Southern police watched her and passed her by because it was known that Harriet could not read. Harriet devoutly hoped that the book was right side up. Thus she played with death for ten years.

Long before the Civil War began she was a national figure. She plotted the Harper's Ferry raid with John Brown, who always referred to her as "General Tubman." Only illness prevented her from going on the raid with him. She was an intimate friend of Seward, Wendell Phillips, William Lloyd Garrison, Frederick Douglass and the other great figures of the time. She was welcome for long periods at their houses, where she did a ceaseless propaganda and agitation on behalf of the Southern slaves. She considered herself their representative and they

treated her as such. Among all these learned and skillful politicians, Harriet Tubman, the activist, held to a consistent policy. They can talk peace as much as they like, she said, I know it is going to be war. When Northern capitalists and their supporters were looking for a compromise, Harriet, who knew the South well, understood the po-

litical situation perfectly. This is one of the great merits of this scholarly book. The writer realizes the tremendous political consequences of this mass flight of the

slaves and the role that Harriet

played in it. She operated chiefly in

A Heroine of the Slaves

Maryland.

Since 1857 the flight of slaves from Maryland by the Underground Railroad was front-page news. In some neighborhoods nearly the whole slave population had made their escape. The Maryland slave-owners held a state-wide convention in 1859. They had to stop this drain on their property and the panic that had set in. All their measures proved useless. They held a meeting in one of the large cities of Maryland and put a special price on Harriet's head, threatening to burn her alive if they

begged her not to go back. She continued to go. In Maryland, Delaware and Pennsylvania everybody, slaves in particular, talked about her. The slaves called her Moses. She was the scourge of the Eastern slave-holders. Her fame spread over the country and crossed the Atlantic Ocean."

Page 3

By 1859, the failure of John Brown's raid seemed at first to be a setback to the Abolitionist cause, but in the spring of 1860 Harriet Tubman led a brilliant and daring raid to rescue a fugitive slave from the armed hands of the law in Troy Town, New York State. She held on to the prisoner for half an hour, and though terribly beaten by the police and guards did not let go until they were exhausted and released the prisoner. She had to go into hiding for weeks afterward.

During the Civil War she joined the Northern army, being in all probability the first American woman to do so. She acted as spy and nurse and was present at some of the great battles. She was active in the struggles for women's rights and spoke on many a platform with Phillips, Garrison and the rest. She rejoiced when, during the Civil War, she not only carried a rifle but wore a pair of long bloomers. She lived on to 1913, active to the last in a variety of causes.

Labor's Great Tradition

No wonder the present ruling class does not want the life of this great revolutionary women known to the workers. The capitalists want the workers to remain docile. But particularly they want the Negroes to be thought of as religious or jazzplaying elements of society, as people unable to display revolutionary initiative and heroism in the struggle for liberty.

As the working class begins to realize its responsibility for reorganizing society, it begins to be interested in its past history. Only when it actually rules the country will it be able to make the necessary investigations and popularize the truth about the great role played by the masses and the Negroes in the development of American history. The American workers and the American Negroes in particular have a great revolutionary tradition of their own. In it Harriet Tubman holds a foremost place. In studying her role in the Second American Revolution, we prepare for the great tasks of the

The leaders of the Abolitionists

FDR "Buries" the New Deal--

liberal press was surprised and terrified. They could not understand how Archbishop Spellman, appointed Spain. by President Roosevelt as military Spellman's Political Trip vicar of the armed forces of the United States, could be permitted to write articles praising Franco.

Bishop Spellman Speaks For Franco

We do not intend to poke fun at The letters defend the overthrow the poor liberals, who seem to become more naive as the war contin-

If the liberals were not so hog-tied

to the Roosevelt Administration they

would have seen that these letters

are much more than just a "defense

of the Franco dictatorship." Spell-

man's articles were published in a

given wide circulation in order to in Collier's, the liberal and pseudoprepare the people of the United States for the NEXT MOVES in

Archbishop Spellman's trip was a political trip. /It was said that as military vicar he was to visit the United State's chaplains and the soldiers at the various fronts. But there

that. He is desperately trying to drive a bargain. His present policies reveal his desperation. On one day he favors the restoration of the monarchy and the next day he is cool toward the idea. He plays ball with the United Nations and then sends congratulatory telegrams to the Japanese puppet head of the Philippines.

He is now planning a token release rom the prisons and concentration

(Continued from page 1) and business on the basis of unrestricted "private enterprise." If it has any fears about the stability of the capitalist system, it feels it can bolster it up by suppressing 1

whole gamut of reactionaries in this country.

labor to one of these boss outfits.

With the president of the General

buries the New Deal in order to en-

ter into a new political deal with the

Implications of CIO Position Mr. Roosevelt is not frightened by the criticism of the labor leaders. He thinks he still has the labor movement bull-dozed to get its support for a fourth term. And no wonder! Did not the most militant labor organization in the country, the CIO, come out definitely with the capitulating statement: "We have no desire to organize another political party."

interests protected, no matter which way an election goes, the CIO lead-

ership can do no better than hog-tie

of the Spanish Republic by Franco and the fascists, and picture the Loyalists as savage beasts. All the lies the fascist propagandists uttered against Republican Spain are to be found in this book. There is not one word about the thousands of innocent people who were murdered, tortured, imprisoned and exiled by the armies of Franco and his partners, Hitler and Mussolini. Franco is given a clean bill of health.

Archbishop Francis J. Spellman's

letters to his father, which recently

appeared in Collier's magazine, have

now been publishing as a book called

"Action This Day." The letters were

bishop was on his recent tour to

ostensibly written while the arch-

Portugal, Spain, Italy and Africa.

When these letters first appeared popular magazine and are being

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are no American troops in Spain, nor ues and the capitalists brazenly and in Portugal, nor at the Vatican, and openly spread out their real war aims that is where the archbishop was a for full observation. It is their supgreat deal of his time. port of the war that is the cause of Spellman's trip to Spain and his their confusion and bewildernment.

visit to Franco were for political nurposes. Franco is facing a crisis in Spain. Reports are coming out of that country daily showing how the people are uniting against his regime. Hunger and starvation are widespread. Even Franco's cohorts are deserting him by the hundreds as they see the instability of the regime.

Roosevelt fears a revolution in Spain and he hopes to stave it off by having Franco step down. The real owners of Spain, the rich landowners and the church, also realize that the workers and peasants of Spain will not tolerate the Franco regime much longer. The Vatican is just as for now. anxious as Roosevelt to prevent the revolution, for it knows it would not fare too well in a workers' Spain. The first revolutionary spark from Europe will ignite Spain. The United Nations will find it difficult enough indeed to keep the workers down in the various countries they "liberate" without having rebellions flare up where their military power is not present.

The problem for the United Nations is what kind of a government to establish in Spain. The Vatican wants the return of the monarchy, and Spellman's articles throw out a few feelers by saying "There are many Spaniards who desire a return of the monarchy and are in agreement more now than formerly, for the pretender to the throne has married a Carlist, which unites in one family both groups desirous of monarchial rule." Spellman knows better. The monarchy's only support in Spain is to be

found among the capitalists, the large land owners and the clerical hierarchy.

Franco Straddles

The Allied interests recognize that Franco cannot hold the country in check much longer, now that he cannot obtain help from his former Axis partners. They are searching frantically for some form of a puppet regime that will be less objectionable than Franco to the dissatisfied and starving masses. Roosevelt and Churchill have no objection to forcing an unwanted monarchy upon the people; in Italy they are going to great lengths to keep the King from being overthrown. Franco, of course, is reluctant to step out of the picture as easy as all

camps of a portion of the hundreds of thousands of Loyalists, socialists, anarchists and militant workers and to disband his fascist militia. This is an attempt to convince the United Nations that such a high degree of internal order exists in Spain that he does not fear thousands of opponents outside of the jail walls; and that his government is so stable that the fascist militia is no longer necessary to

protect his regime. Thus he hopes that the United Nations will be convinced his government is deeply rooted and will grant him economic favors which he needs very bady. Spain needs raw materials of many kinds and, on the other hand, she needs markets for her products. This is what the "Little Butcher of the People" is angling

"Sacrificing" for His Regime

Franchalso hopes that by releasing the prisoners, disbanding the militia and promising other reforms, the edge will be taken off the sharp hatred the people hold for him-at least long enough for him to make a few alliances with new capitalist partners.

Although the landowners and the clerical hierarchy are willing to permit Franco to try these maneuvers, they have made up their mind to give the regime a "new" face by trying to restore the monarchy in hopes of preventing a new revolt. And they have every reason to expect aid, and not interference, from the United Nations, if they have Franco play the role of a Badoglio. Franco will do whatever his capitalist masters want him to do. This is what Archbishop Spellman means when he says that Franco is "willing to sacrifice himself in any capacity and to any extent for Spain."

India in Revolt **By Henry Judd 25 Cents Postpaid** WORKERS PARTY 114 West 14th Street New York 11, N.Y.

even to the extent of using fascist methods.

In a word, Mr. Early is quite right. The year 1943 is not the year 1932. Which means that Mr. Roosevelt has naturally and inevitably yielded to the reactionary trend of the capitalist class which he serves. This is the disease of which the New Deal died.

Not a Surprise

Though Mr. Roosevelt's burial of the New Deal is not ceremonious. being done very quietly by making a statement to a single reporter, it is not unexpected. The corpse has certainly been smelling up the place for a long time.

The President's anti-labor actions and his buckling under to congressional reactionaries have long ago indicated the moribund condition of the New Deal. Furthermore, there is a considerable list of "fired" New Dealers - from Leon Henderson, bounced off the OPA, to Vice-President Wallace, bounced off the Board of Economic Welfare. In all cases Mr. Roosevelt has put into office men more acceptable to the reactionaries. As much as he hated to do so, even the kow-towing Sidney Hillman has had to express his "disagreement with many of the things practised, not only through the agencies carrying out executive orders, but some of the things written into the executive orders themselves." Mr. Roosevelt, he it remembered, is the man who issues executive orders these days-and they have very little of the New Deal about them.

Things on FDR's Mind

Though the CIO leadership insists on rewarding its "friend" even after its "friend" has had a change of heart, Mr. Roosevelt has other fish to fry.

The CIO leadership plaintively begs: "Come back to the New Deal, Frank, and all will be forgiven.' But Franklin Delano Rosevelt answers: "That old thing is dead! I've got other things on my mind.'

Mr. Roosevelt is now so used to the shameful spectacle of labor leaders licking his boots that he isn't too worried about their support. Now he has on his mind the Na-

tional Association of Manufacturers, who are going all-out against the same so-called "socialistic trends and ideologies of the New Deal." Now he has on his mind the Bourbon Southern Democrats, who also don't like the New Deal, to put it mildly. It is the favor of such as these that Roosevelt now curries. He officially

As long as the labor movement is not confident enough to project its own class party, Mr. Roosevelt is not afraid. He thinks that as against a Republican-even the "liberal" Willkie-he can still pass as the better "friend" of labor.

Just consider the implications of what the CIO has done in regard to political action.

With the New Deal dead and its uardian angel about to bury it, the CIO leadership at its convention was so behind the times that it decided to go to town for both.

With big business, as always, financing the Democratic and Republican Parties to be sure to have its special



On to an Independent Labor Party!

The \$700,000 of union money used by the CIO committee to boost Roosevelt should have been the nestegg for forming an independent Labor Party. Labor has no time to lose. Action as a class in its own interest is urgent. Pressing problems such as unemployment, soldier relief, fascism at home, can be solved only by labor itself-through its own class party working toward the establishment of a labor government.

Let Roosevelt bury his dead New Deal. For labor it was a harmful decoy. Labor's next step is to turn its back on Roosevelt, on Wallace, on Willkie, on all so-called "friends" of labor, on all boss politics.

On to an independent Labor Party of the working class!



EDITORIAL PAGE

peoples who were deprived of it, not

only by the Serbs in the past, but

were being deprived of it in the

most barbarous manner by the ex-

isting imperialist oppressors, the

German Nazis and the Italian Black-

The result has been a striking de-

cline in and discreditment of the po-

sition of Mihailovich and a corre-

sponding growth of the Partisans and

of the position of the Stalinists in-

has been hastened by the fact that

vader was uncompromising and un-

The Mihailovich-Tito Struggle

The Meaning of the New Yugoslavian Provisional Government

shirts.

Mihailovich's Decline

By MAX SHACHTMAN

The setting up of a provisional government for Yugoslavia by the Partisans led by "Marshal Tito," in opposition to the government in exile of King Peter and General Mihailovich, is one of the most important political developments of the war. The government of King Peter was

one of the most reactionary in all Europe. Together with the government of Peter's father. Alexander, it had a record of oppression and persecution of every democratic, working class and revolutionary movement in Yugoslavia — an artificial creation of the Versailles and St. Germain treaties-that was hard to equal in any other country.

From its inception, Yugoslavia-the "Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes"-was a prison of the numerous peoples who composed it. A minority among the Serbs, who themselves made up'only a minority of the whole population of the country, exercised virtually all the power. The majority of the population, made up of Croats. Slovenes, Montenegrins, Dalmatians, Bosnians, and half a dozen other distinguishable peoples, felt the brutal hand of oppression under the Serbian reaction for twenty years, and the martyrs of the struggle against it number in the tens of thousands.

Background to the Present

In 1929, all pretense of constitutional government was discarded when King Alexander abolished the constitution, declared himself the dictator of the country, and proceeded to rule openly with those dictatorial and savage measures which Peter sought to continue when he assumed the throne and which he hopes to resume upon regaining it.

After the occupation of Yugoslavia by the Germans and Italians, Mihailovich. Minister of War of Peter's

Workers Party School Ends; **New Term Begins in February**

old oppressor.

Who Is Tito?

led by Tito.

labor movement today.

New Sessions Planned

On Friday, December 17, the first semester of the Workers Party School came to a successful end. Two classes were given during a period of six weeks; one in the "Fundamentals of Marxism," by Albert Gates, editor of LABOR ACTION, and the other in the "History and Principles of the Workers Party," by Max Shachtman, national secretary of the Workers Party.

Both classes were attended by large groups of interested workers, who heard the lectures and participated in discussions on a great number of problems of the labor movement.

The first class started with a general presentation of the wide range of subjects covered by Marxist theory and devoted a good deal of the time to an introduction to Marxian economics. Of particular interest was the section which dealt with the manner in which the boss makes his profits out of the toil of the worker.

government, which fled to London and then to Cairo, made an effort to who are the most active and influenassemble a military force which was tial elements in the Partisan moveto be the basis for reestablishing the ment, had neither the desire to rerule of Peter and the Serb reaction store the regime of Peter, nor the after the ousting of the conquerers. stupidity to advocate so violently un-Mihailovich sought to exploit the popular an idea. indignation of the peoples of Yugoslavia against their foreign oppresing an armed force of all the peoples sors in order to build up the popuof Yugoslavia, in which neither nalarity of Peter, and pave the way for his return.

tional origin nor religious belief was made the basis of discrimination, as It soon became apparent, however, was the case in Alexander's and Pethat the aims of Mihailovich, like ter's Yugoslavia. those of Peter and his reactionary The Stalinists wisely appealed to gang, boiled down to the idea of rethe democratic sentiments of the storing the old regime of Serb oppeople, who had suffered for twenty pression. Having learned nothing years from a marked absence of any from the new temper of the masses serious democratic rights. And, of of workers and peasants, who have course, they came forward as the no desire whatsoever to return to most aggressive adversaries of the the old and rotten state of affairs that prevailed before the Germans took over, Mihailovich soon found "Peace on Earth, Good Will that all the inflated publicity in the

world about his "Chetniks" could not succeed in winning the support of the popular masses in Yugoslavia. On the contrary, the latter regarded him and his forces with increasing suspicion and hostility. These millions, ground into the

To All Men," with Weapons dust for decades by the Serbian reaction, by the royalists and semifascists or open fascists with whom they were associated, by the Serbian landlords and by the reactionary politicians of the Serbian Orthodox

It is this mood which accounts,

basically, for the growth of the

forces and popularity of the Partisans

Tito, or Josip Broz, is not only the

leader of the Partisans, but also of

Church, were in no mood to fight against the German and Italian oppressors in order to bring back the

> all the plans of the powers that be, you will find that what they are banking on is an armed "peace" and a "good will" imposed by tanks, battleships and bombers.

"Peace" Enforced by Guns

the Communist Party, whose gen-Thus in Mr. Roosevelt's Christmas Eve speech broadcast throughout the world, he constantly referred to the use of force "to keep international peace."

The President spoke of the "great military power" of Britain, Russia, China and the United States, and asserted that "the other three great nations who are fighting so magnificently to gain peace are in complete agreement that we must be prepared

The President's statements are not, of course, the first indications of a post-war "peace" bristling with tanks, battleships and bombers, Plans are therefore being made to.

> law to be passed pronto. The Chicago News added its bit: "Now those who preach the winning of peace should be listened to with skepticism unless they are for universal military training, and no repetition of Harding Administration folly

of Nations fall apart? It became the that "not only Britain but the United States and probably Russia would need sizable post-war armies to police Europe, the Middle East and Far against German imperialism had by no means changed the nature of the

Mr. Wadsworth's Suggestions

In this country, Representative Wadsworth has presented the country with a Christmas present in five parts. He hands out five very concrete suggestions to keep up the military power of the United States in the post-war period. He wants: 1. Compulsory one-year military training of all able-bodied men between 18 and 21.

2. Maintenance of a small but highly trained army which could be increased swiftly by calling up trainees.

3. Preservation of the Fleet, now the greatest sea force in history, and of a second-to-none air force.

4. Retention of a nucleus of munitions factories with plans for quick extension if necessary. of British imperialism? No, not at

5. Peacetime continuance with the armed service of a big technical and experimental staff to keep abreast of the art of war.

Consider for a moment what a commentary this prospect is on the "progressive" nature of the capitalist system. We "progress" from a partial freedom of no military training in peacetime to universal military training in peacetime. We "progress" from the need for a powerful army, navy and air force only in wartime to the need for them at all times. We "progress" from periodic wars to a state of permanent warfare. That's capitalist "progress"!

The truth of the above is conceded trigues of power politics are going by a great many people. The prospect of policing the world, of union; some hidden, some open. The versal military training, high

or, according to strong reports, even went so far as to collaborate to one extent or another with the Nazis, the Italian fascists, or their Serbian Quisblowing. lings in his repeated attempts to crush the Partisan groups by force.

The bold move of establishing a provisional government in opposition to Peter, accompanied by a complete disavowal of Peter's government and its Minister of War, Mihailovich, comes right on the heels of the Molotov-Eden-Hull conference in Moscow and the Stalin - Roosevelt - Churchill conference in Teheran.

side the Partisans. This development There is every indication that it Tito's fight against the German inwas agreed at these conferences to leave Peter and his crew high and interrupted, whereas Mihailovich eidry, and to recognize Tito in their ther suspended the fight against the place. The official aid now extended

world power under Hitler.

Has Capitalism Changed?

victorious nations?

cism to have it.

masse.

The all-important question today

is this: Will a victory over German

imperialism under Hitler in any way

change the capitalist nature of the

Has the war changed the character

all. Right in the midst of it, the

British rulers are benevolently let-

ting their Indian subjects starve en

Has the war changed the character

of American capitalism, which sup-

plied Japan with oil and steel for

profitable consideration, while Japan

was attacking China? Anybody who

reads the daily press knows that it

is exactly this kind of "free enter-

post-war period. And they are de-

enterprise" even if they resort to fas-

Furthermore, right now the in-

eral secretary he is. The Stalinists, aspiration for national freedom of the Germans for long periods at a time to the Partisans, as against Mihailovich, aid not only from Russia but also from the United States and England, shows the way the wind is

What Stalin Gains

Recognition of the Tito regime by England and the United States, while not completely formal, is a sign that Stalin has, at least thus far, won from his allies the demand for Russian domination of Yugoslavia, which is probably the most important key to the whole of the Balkans. This latest development is another

step in the plans of Russia, England and the United States to divide up shattered Europe among themselves, with so many half - colonies, vassal states and spheres of influence for one, so many for the other, and so many for the third.

Under the circumstances, the new Yugoslav government is of course a vassal regime of Russia. With the continuation and consolidation of Stalinist domination of the regime, that is all it can and will be. If there should be such a consolidation. then all the progressive and entirely praiseworthy aspirations of the peoples of Yugoslavia for national freedom, and freedom in general from all center of international intrigue. forms of exploitation and oppression, Why? Because winning the war

would be frustrated. Stalin's Great - Russian oppression of subject nations and nationalities is capitalist rulers of the Allied powers. only a slightly more refined version of classic national oppression.

For example, no sooner did the Right now, of course, while they British and French powers pledge eternal brotherhood in the League of are still seeking the support of the masses, the Stalinists in Yugoslavia Nations than each began to connive are still singing very softly. These to weaken the other as a European worshippers and practitioners of topower. The British naturally turned talitarian oppression are presenting to those terrible Huns and built themselves to the world as the most them up again-just enough to take some of the wind out of the French idealistic of democrats. sails. But that was all that German In Yugoslavia, they have gained imperialism needed for a new try for

the collaboration of an assortment of capitalist liberals and even some

Montgomery Ward's Boss Avery Seeks To Suppress Union Paper

In Chicago, a tiny mimeographed union newspaper is the subject of a powerful attack by the head of a billion-dollar corporation. The corporation has sued the union for a million dollars of damages (because it says the union's statements hurt its business and relations, with its employees) and for an injunction to prevent publication of the truthwhich it labels as "slander."

The paper is The Spotlight, organ prise" that the American capitalist of the United Mail Order, Warehouse class wants to make sure of for the & Retail Employees, Local 20, CIO. It tells the painful truth about the termined to have this kind of "free anti-labor policies of Montgomery Ward, giant mail order house. The corporation head is Sewell L. Avery. Avery is head of Ward's giant empire, consisting of nine mail order

priests, but the Stalinists are the force that dominate, both in the army and in the provisional government. Their program speaks of the "inviolability of private property," in order not to drive the capitalist elements away too quickly and above all in order not to arouse too much antagonism among the Anglo-American imperialists. But the Stalinists will have no difficulty and no hesitation whatsoever to expropriate private property and establish their own exploitive regime of bureaucratic collectivism as soon as they find it expedient to do so.

In the great and noble struggle of the peoples of former Yugoslavia for freedom from national oppression under German imperialism, it is not Peter and the Greater-Serbian imperialist reaction that is the main threat. Serbian imperialism and its banner-bearers are discredited beyond redemption among the people. The danger comes from the consolidation of Stalinist influence and rule, which would only mean a new national oppression under the Kremlin. and a new exploitation of the masses by the Kremlin bureaucracy.

Victory for the cause of freedom in Yugoslavia, as in the Balkans in general, lies in the overthrow of the German oppressor, and in setting up fraternal federation of free Balkan peoples and republics, as part of a union of free peoples of Europe. The triumph of Stalinism means blocking the road to this goal.

The triumph of the working class, free of all imperialist control, be it Anglo-American or Russian, means reaching this union with the greatest speed, and ending the agony of the Old World. The continent's freedom, security, prosperity and peace depends upon the successful organization of the United Socialist States of Europe.

overtime as stipulated in NRA code. 1936-Avery loses his fight against the income tax in the U.S. Supreme Court. Avery is compelled to pay \$39,110 in back taxes.

1940-Avery is accused of illegal price-fixing as head of U.S. Gypsum by U. S. Department of Justice.

1941-Avery is compelled by National Labor Relations Board to reinstate five workers fired for union activity in the Kansas City mail order house. He pays back wages to the tune of \$30,000.

1942-Avery is charged by OPA with violating price ceilings.

June, 1942-Avery challenges the right of the War Labor Board to handle the dispute between Local 20 and Ward's.

organization to stem the tide of reaction, the types of organizations within the labor movement, the rea-

sons for the development and role of to keep the peace by force." bureaucratism in the labor movement, the duties of the revolutionary party, the betrayals by the Stalinists and their dangerous influence in the

When Congress passed the Connally resolution favoring a "general international organization" of all "peaceloving states." the New York Times run the second semester of the lost no time in pressing for a "uni-Workers Party School to meet the versal compulsory military service" needs and wishes of the students. A

By GERTRUDE SHAW At this season of the year when the air vibrates with prayers, songs and speeches about "peace on earth" and "good will to men," it is fitting East. to ask in all seriousness whether the system of capitalist imperialism, which dominates the earth, can bring

Instead, they went about organiz-

about that peace and good will so ardently desired by humanity. If you strip down to rock bottom

The class ended with the brief presentation of what socialism is and how the socialist society will differ from capitalism.

The second class covered a brief history of world affairs since the last war, with emphasis on the important and decisive events in the labor movement which led to the formation of the Workers Party. In this class, discussions were held on the development of the Russian Revolution, and the reasons for its decay. Shachtman discussed the advent of fascism and the failure of the working class All are welcome to attend.

who attended the first series intend to come back for the second. The school, however, is also open for new students who can obtain information about classes, hours, etc., by writing to the:

questionnaire was presented to them

in which they were asked to indi-

cate their choice of subjects for the

second semester which will start

during the first week in February,

1944. We have been assured that all

Workers Party, 114 West 14th St., New York 11, N.Y.

Also, watch for announcement in LABOR ACTION.

During the months of January, between the two semesters, the Workers Party School will run three round-table discussions at which students will be able to thrash out their views and present questions on the material taken up in the two classes. These will be held on Friday evenings, January 7, 14 and 21.

in tearing down cantonments and condemning military talent to bridge clubs and golfing greens."

Later, Secretary of the Navy Knox spoke in Chicago about "the backbone of our post-war naval police force, already organized and functioning" with "the British Fleet's control of the eastern Atlantic, they Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean, while the United States guards the western Atlantic and the entire Pacific."

In England similar plans are being made. When asked in the House of Commons whether it was proposed to adopt a system of military training after the war, Mr. Churchill replied, "I hope so." British military experts also see

taxes to maintain a "peacetime" war machine is not a happy one. But, they argue, if this will keep the "aggressor" nations down and prevent the outbreak of another holocaust like this one, maybe it's worth it. The argument goes on to the effect that if the United States had joined the League of Nations after the last war and if the League of Nations had organized a world police force, maybe the present war would not have taken place.

A Lack of Understanding

All of this is very naive and based on lack of understanding of the true nature of capitalist imperialism and of international power politics.

What was it that made the League- peace and security.

bitter struggle for spheres of ence rages among the United Nations even while the enemy is still unvanquished. Russia wants eastern Europe under the bear's paws. England wants western Europe under the lion's claws. The United States wants strategic outposts all over the world under the wings of the eagle.

influ.

This is realistic reasoning. The nature of capitalist imperialism cannot be changed.

The yearning of the peoples of the world for lasting peace on earth and good will among men can be fulfilled only through a social system based on human needs. That is international socialism.

World socialism is the goal of humanity. It is the only way to have

ses. five factories, six hundred and fifty retail stores and innumerable catalog offices. Sales, \$800,000,000 a year; profits in 1942, \$20,437,583. Avery is also head of U. S. Gypsum and director for U.S. Steel, Armour, Northern Trust, Pullman, People's Gas, Light & Coke, Pure Oil and the Illinois Manufacturers' Association-

a rich and powerful man. Avery earned \$100,000 for himself last year.

Avery gained his reputation as a leader of reactionary, anti-labor business interests in the following way: 1935-Ward's loses the right to display the NRA blue eagle because Avery refuses to pay Ward's share of the cost of administrating the retail code. Avery fails to pay minimum wages or time and one-half for

November, 1942-Avery refuses to accept WLB order that he sign a contract with Local 20. He spends \$400,000 of stockholders' money for newspaper ads to fight Local 20.

December, 1942: The President of the United States tells Avery to sign that contract. Avery stalls. The President again says: "Sign!" He is forced to sign.

1943-Avery is on the carpet again in the federal courts for violating price ceilings.

The union's fight against the company's campaign to muzzle it was called "a historic battle for freedom of labor and the labor press" by the Workers Defense League, national non-partisan labor defense agency, in a widely-distributed statement.

S.

Resolution of the Workers Party-The Struggle for an Independent Labor Party in U.S.

The following is the concluding half of a resolution on the Labor Party, adopted at a plenary meeting of the National Committee of the Workers Party. It deals with the all-important question of independent political action of the labor movement and the necessity for the establishment of a Labor Party.

AGAINST REFORMISM

The Workers Party, which vigorously and assiduously champions the formation of an independent Labor Party as a great historical advance by the United States working class, is a party of revolutionary socialism and internationalism, and consequently an intransigent opponent of social reformism in all its varieties. While urging the formation of an independent Labor Party based on the trade unions and democratically controlled by them, it nevertheless counterposes to the adoption or retention of a reformist program and a reformist leadership by such a party, the adoption of a militant, bold working class program of struggle against the capitalist offensive, the capitalist class and capitalism itself, with the aim of raising labor to the position of ruler of the country in a workers' government. The Workers Party thus distinguishes itself from all other parties and groups in the working class, not only by its fundamental program of revolutionary socialism, but also by the program for immediate political action which it advocates for the working class and by the militancy of the struggle it carries on for it.

It is difficult to indicate concretely the prospects for the formation of a Labor Party in the United States or the stages through which it will pass.

The lesser likelihood is that the working class, in breaking with the bourgeois parties and developing their independent political class consciousness, will move directly to affiliation with or support of a revolutionary socialist organization such as the Workers Party. The main task of an organization like the Workers Party is to help develop the class and revolutionary consciousness of the

proletariat. At the present time, in this country, the first step in fulfilling this task is the work and fight for independent political organization and action by labor. In advocating the formation of a Labor Party, the Workers Party, far from diminishing its own significance as a consistently revolutionary proletarian organization, can only enhance it and draw into its own ranks those workers who reach agreement with its program not only in the written word but also in the deed.

It is more likely that the first steps in political and class consciousness will be taken by American labor in forming a Labor Party. At the present time, the overwhelming majority of the labor officialdom, its Stalinist wing prominently and viciously among them, is opposed to the formation of a Labor Party and seeks to keep labor tied to the wagon wheels of capitalist politics. The fight for a Labor Party thus becomes at the same time a fight to expose the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class

It is even possible that the labor leadership will remain stubbornly and stupidly opposed to the formation of a Labor Party even in the turbulent days of crisis ahead, opposed even to the formation of a thoroughly reformist party which is strictly under their control. Their efforts to liquidate or at least to deepen the paralysis of even such a caricature of an independent working class political party as the American Labor Party show how strong is this possibility.

In such a case, the movement for independent political action would not be stopped cold, but would merely take on different forms. Given the continued opposition to a Labor Party by the trade union bureaucracy, it is possible that such a party would come into existence "from below," as a result of a powerful political upsurge in the ranks sweeping over the heads of the official leadership, and throwing up a new leadership; at least 'in part. That is, a development might take place in the political field comparable with the rank and file upsurge that produced the mass unions of the CIO.

However, there is greater reason to believe that the sharpening

of class antagonisms in the country will generate enough pressure upon at least a section of the labor bureaucracy to impel it to take the leadership of an independent labor political party lest the movement of the masses "get out of hand." Such a prospect is not immediately in sight, that is to say, not before the 1944 elections. But the declining ability of the remnants of "New Dealism" to give any serious concessions to labor, or even to the labor officialdom, is a factor that will impel the labor movement, from bottom to top, to seek more radical means of wresting concessions from the government. More radical means can only signify the formation of an independent political party of labor, or at least the first hesitant, timid, half-way steps in that direction, upon the model of the New York ALP, whose leaders are already engaged in initial, if not very bold, attempts to spread their organization to other states.

DANGER OF "THIRD PARTYISM"

Finally, it is possible that the prospects of an independent Labor Party will be thwarted, at least for a time, by the subversion of the movement into a middle class "third party." This was the case in 1924, when La Follettism absorbed and destroyed the Labor Party movement. However, it should be borne in mind that by 1924, the first big post-war crisis had come to an end and the "prosperity period" was setting in. There is no realistic similar prospect ahead. The United States faces not another "prosperity period" but another crisis in the midst of another world crisis. While the danger of "third partyism" undoubtedly threatens the incipient Labor Party, it has neither the strength nor the prospects it had twenty years ago.

In any case, the revolutionary vanguard cannot and does not content itself with passive contemplation of prospects and possibilities from the sidelines. It is its duty to participate in the struggle and help direct the course of events. To direct them in a forward direction, which means in the general direction of the socialist power of the proletariat, means, concretely, now, in the United States, to concentrate and centralize all political agitation, propaganda and activity around the slogan of a Labor Party and a workers' government. A Labor Party as a radical break with the parties of capitalism; a workers' government as a radical break with the rule of capitalism.

That the workers will conceive these two ideas in a reformist manner, that they will think of realizing them by reformist means (that is, without a fundamental and revolutionary assault upon capitalist class rule)-that is the greater probability, above all in the first period of the struggle. Nothing could be more "natural," for that matter. This concerns the Workers Party only insofar, as it means that at each stage of the struggle it must put forward such demands, such a program, such a road, as will help bring the working class and its party into clearer and more conscious conflict with its class enemy, as will help them shed their reformist illusions, as will help them, through their own concrete experiences, understand the need for the final struggle for power and the socialist organization of society.

As part of its campaign for a Labor Party, the Workers Party therefore puts forward from the very beginning a minimum program as ITS proposal for the program that an effective and militant working class party should adopt. Even if, as is most probable, the coming Labor Party does not adopt such a militant program, the Workers Party, while giving full support to all the practical activities of the Labor Party and those who are working to form it and build it, will reserve the right to present its criticism of the program that the Labor Party has adopted and the leadership that represents it, and the right to continue urging upon the party the program which it, the Workers Party, considers suitable and necessary in dealing with the social problems facing the working class.

The Workers Party, as a consistent revolutionary socialist organization, thus not only maintains the organizational and political' ndependence which are indispensable to its proper and effective functioning, but remains an advanced but inseparable part of the working class movement, distinguished from its other sections only by its uncompromising opposition to capitalism and all its supporters and by its unequivocal support of both the immediate interests of the working class and its socialist future.

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